

HOMELANDS

TRANSKEI

GENERAL

April — Aug.

TRANSKEI CALL TO SA GOVT FOR REFERENDUM

SEVEN TIMES
(EXTRA)
4/14/76

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY — official Opposition of the Transkei — has written to the Minister of Bantu Administration to ask the South African Government to get the Transkeian Government to have a referendum "so as to give Transkeians a chance to decide about their future just as White people were given a chance in 1960 to decide whether they wanted South Africa to be a Republic or not".

The letter, which is signed by the leader of the Democratic Party, Mr H B Ncozazi, deputy leader, Mr Ompondo, and national secretary Mr W D Pupuma, states that the Democratic Party is "mindful of the fact that the Transkei Parliament by a majority vote, opted for independence".

"Nevertheless", it continues, "we feel an important political undertaking of this nature should get the approval of the citizens of this homeland".

Sacrifices

"Needless to relate, to you, sir," the letter states, "the sacrifices made by the relatives and friends of 3-million people of the Transkei during the world wars when they decided to forget the humiliations and suffering they were facing in their country and fought shoulder to shoulder with the South African troops and their allies defending the human race against German Nazism".

"Now, 33 years later," the letter states, "they are being condemned to perpetual suffering and misery accompanied by unrelieved bitterness and rancour".

bid in every conceivable way.

"Now we feel we must make this appeal to you on behalf of these defenceless victims of Chief Matanzima's ambitions and empty promises.

"Also", the letter states, "for the past 15 years the Transkei Government has been deceiving the world into believing that the passing of the Emergency Regulations under Proclamation 400 was a spon-

cause people of Pondoland were protesting against being fenced in under the rehabilitation scheme against their will".

The letter implores the Minister of Bantu Administration to remember that "a divided plural society will never stand, or as Abraham Lincoln put it, no state can live half free and half slave."

The letter appeals for "one united, democratic South Africa where all

By HOWARD LAWRENCE

taneous reaction to crimes committed by the Transkeian people because they hated the chiefs.

"Nothing is further from the truth", the letter emphasizes, "these regulations were passed be-

people participate in decision-making, regardless of race, colour or creed".

"The survival", the letter states, "of this country, its normalcy and peace hinge on serious consideration of this fact."

The letter also states

Democratic Party move

that the Democratic Party executive recently resolved to request the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, to convene, "as a matter of great urgency," a national convention to discuss the future of South Africa and its 25 million people."

The present policies whereby the Black people have no role in determining their destiny are fraught with disaster for all South Africans.

They also re-emphasized that the control of movement of Black peoples through the pass law system and influx control regulations is a continual source of bitterness.

The Democratic Party asked for equal educational

facilities for Black children with White children and implored the Government to reduce the defence budget to make funds available for welfare programmes.

"This attitude comes out of the realization," the letter states, "that in a situation like ours, where the majority of the people are dissatisfied with the status quo, no amount of armaments can help and people can only be loyal to their country if they have some stake to protect and die for."

The letter also appeals for amnesty for all political prisoners, exiles and people under restriction orders "to enable them to make a contribution towards a national convention".

The letter states that the 3-million people of the Transkei together with some 17-million other Black people have suffered more ravages and have endured more wrongs and hardships than the Afrikaners from the British people in 50 years.

Experience

"We have also learnt from bitter experience that to take up arms against any government causes unnecessary loss of human life and property, and also history has it that nations deprived of liberty and happiness never rest until they achieve their birthright.

"The history of South Africa is replete with many examples underlining this fact," the Democratic Party letter to the Minister continues.

Therefore, taking the initiative of forcing Chief Matanzima to succumb to this demand for a referendum you will be doing a great service to the people of the Transkei in particular and South Africa in general.

Amazement

"For the last 16 months the Democratic Party has been persuading the Transkeian Government to arrange for the referendum, but to our deep amazement the South African Government, through your department, has been buttressing Chief Matanzima in this

103

R120m launching for Transkei

By HUGH MURRAY
Political Correspondent

THE Government is launching the Transkei into independence with a R120-million payout this year — an increase of nearly 100 per cent on last year's budget for the fledgling state.

Finance Minister Owen Horwood increased the Transkei allocation by only R30-million in his budget this week.

But Bantu Administration Secretary Mr. I. P. van Onselen told me yesterday the new R96-million budget would have to be supplemented by "many, many

millions" this year to enable the Transkei to administer its own departments of defence, foreign affairs, posts and telegraphs, and other sections not yet transferred to the homeland.

"This expenditure has not been included in the budget and we'll have to make a plan later on," Mr. Van Onselen explained.

He said the additional payout after the October 26 celebrations would be "very substantial".

One official reckoned it would exceed R25-million, giving Africa's newest independent state a R120-million start.

CAPE TIMES

5/4/76

Mandela:

reports

to Kruger

Staff Reporter

THE Minister of Justice and Police Mr Jimmy Kruger yesterday confirmed that he had asked his two departments for reports on Nelson Mandela following a request for his release from Robben Island by the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Chief Kaiser Mantanzima.

Mandela, sentenced to life imprisonment after the Rivonia treason trial, is a Xhosa, and member of the Transkei royal house.

Mr Kruger said yesterday that the request for his release had come by way of Mr M C Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. He would reply to the request for Mandela's release once he had studied the reports, he said.

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② 103

103

Hansard 3

133

MONDAY, 9 FEBRUARY 1976

Cost of residences of Transkei head of state/Ministers

180. Mr. T. G. HUGHES asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) What is the estimated cost of (a) the land and (b) the furniture of the residence of the future head of the Transkei state;
- (2) what is the estimated cost of (a) the land, (b) the building and (c) the furniture of (i) each of the residences being built for the four additional Ministers of the Transkei cabinet and (ii) the new Government administration block being built in Umtata.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) and (2) (a) (i) The land vests in the South African Bantu Trust and will in due course vest in the Government of the Transkei to whom it will be transferred free of charge.

(a), (2) (b) and (c) As it is to be provided in the discretion and at the expense of the Government of the Transkei, the cost is not known to us.

(2) (a) (ii) R280 557.

103

Hansard 3 col 124 9/2/76

Official residence for Transkei head of state

75. Dr. F. VAN Z. SLABBERT asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

Whether an official residence is being built for the future head of the Transkei state; if so, what is the estimated cost of the building.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

Yes, an official residence is being built. A complex is being constructed on entirely undeveloped land outside the built-up area of Umtata, which inter alia comprises the following: site preparation, roads, stormwater and other drains, water mains, guest accommodation, aide-camps' quarters, President's dwelling and housekeeper's quarters, living rooms including a banqueting hall, kitchens, wine cellar, laundry, conveniences, secretariat block including two floors of offices with the necessary additions, a basement with garages, stores, transformer and generator rooms and telephone exchange, servants' quarters and guards' quarters.

The all-inclusive tender price for this is R1 639 000-00.

Hansard 3 col 222 13/2/76

103

White-/Coloured-owned land in Port St. Johns: Priority for purchase

18. Mr. C. W. EGLIN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) Whether his Department has laid down a priority scheme for the purchase of White and Coloured-owned land in Port St. Johns; if so, (a) what is the order of priority laid down and (b) when were the owners of land in the town informed of the scheme;
- (2) whether the Adjustment Committee received any offers of land since that date; if so, (a) how many and (b) by whom was each offer made;
- (3) whether the offers were of an urgent nature; if so,
- (4) whether any reasons were furnished for the urgency of the offers; if so, what reasons in each case;
- (5) whether the Adjustment Committee decided to purchase any of the properties offered; if so, which properties.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

No basic priority scheme has been determined for the area concerned. Depending on the circumstances, purchase priorities are determined from time to time.

(1) to (5) As a result of the general financial position and curtailment of funds my Department is compelled to determine priorities in the light of anticipated funds to be made available for the next financial year. A number of offers have already been received by my Department and the Adjustment Committee which offers are considered on its merits and some offerors mention circumstances which they consider as urgent. For obvious reasons I cannot furnish all the required particulars in connection with the offers. As soon as funds have been made available for the next financial year, my Department will contact the owners concerned.

Departmental purchase of properties in Port St. Johns

*6. Mr. T. ARONSON asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) Whether any properties at Port St. Johns were recently acquired by his Department; if so, (a) how, (b) for what purpose, (c) what is the extent of the land acquired and (d) what is the date of (i) acquisition and (ii) transfer;
- (2) whether he will lay the deed in respect of the acquisition upon the Table;
- (3) whether sworn appraisers assessed the value of the properties for his Department; if so, (a) what were their names and (b) what was the assessed value of each property;
- (4) whether the prices paid were based on any other factors; if so, what factors;
- (5) whether any of the properties were proclaimed townships; if so, what services had been provided;
- (6) whether any plots had been sold; if so, (a) how many and (b) on what terms;
- (7) whether his Department has put any of the properties out on lease; if so, (a) what are the names of the lessees, (b) what is the amount of the rent in each case, (c) on what basis was the rental calculated and (d) what are the terms and conditions of each lease;
- (8) whether tenders were called for the lease; if not, why not.

†The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) Yes.
 - (a) Purchase by mutual agreement.
 - (b) Consolidation purposes.
 - (c) 32,4047 hectares, which have already been transferred.
 - (d) (i) and (ii) 18 and 21 November 1975.

A sale has been concluded with Mr. R. C. Upton but his property, 58,4819 hectares in extent, must still be registered in favour of the South African Bantu Trust.

- (2) The transactions were concluded on written offers and written acceptances and no Deeds of Sale are available which documents are according to well established practice not laid upon the Table.

*Hansard 3 vol 213
13/2/76*

Tabel 14 Arbeidskoste

Jaar	Kon- tant	Bonus	To ta ko ta
"55/56	144,82	1,65	146
"56/57	152,32	8,58	160,90
"65/66	205,63	/	205,63
"66/67	224,77	/	224,77
"67/68	231,95	/	231,95
"68/69	244,41	27,58	271,99
"69/70	258,56	28,70	287,26
"70/71	266,69	31,75	298,44

- (3) As mentioned in my Press Statement recently, the properties were valued by valuers of the Adjustment Committee.

(a) and (b)

The nature of the required information is confidential and it is not considered in public interest to divulge the particulars concerned.

†Hon. MEMBERS: Shame!

†The MINISTER: Certain information was asked for and this is the reply.

†Hon. MEMBERS: Shame!

†The SPEAKER: Order!

(4) No.

(5) No. The properties were planned and surveyed for subdivision and a number of stands were sold subject to proclamation. The owners of the properties were requested by my Department to delay proclamation.

(6) Yes, a number of stands were already sold to individuals but it was confidential agreements between the previous owners and the buyers and the particulars can therefore not be obtained and divulged by me.

(7) Yes.

(a) Tweedstrand Hotel en Vakansieoord.

(b) R5 000 per annum.

(c) The rental was based on the financial statements.

(d) Improvements must be maintained and insured by the Lessee.

It should be mentioned that although the property bought from Mr. R. C. Upton has not yet been registered in the name of the South African Bantu Trust a person has already applied to lease the property from the South African Bantu Trust.

103

- (8) No, because it was a condition of the sale that the property be leased back by the previous owner for such a period the South African Bantu Trust may consider necessary. If it had not been let immediately the property would have been left unoccupied at that time, resulting in all the usual undesirable consequences.

Mr. T. G. HUGHES: Mr. Speaker, arising from the hon. the Minister's reply, may I ask him, in connection with the properties bought and referred to by him, whether Mr. Schoeman and Mr. Henning, or companies controlled by them, were involved in these transactions?

The MINISTER: There were two different companies, not connected with each other, of which those two persons were the directors and shareholders. I shall have much more to say about Port St. Johns on Monday when I take part in the debate.

Mr. T. G. HUGHES: Mr. Speaker, arising from the hon. the Minister's reply, because we want to have much more say now, and not on Monday, may I ask him whether there was a priority list considered by the Government in purchasing properties at Port St. Johns?

The MINISTER: Not a priority list, but I shall reply to the question of priorities on Monday.

Mr. T. G. HUGHES: Mr. Speaker, may I ask the hon. the Minister another question? What procedure was adopted in offering the properties by these two gentlemen to the Trust?

The MINISTER: The normal procedure. They approached us and they had to supply the necessary information as in all cases of owners of properties.

Mr. T. G. HUGHES: May I ask the hon. the Minister whether they advertised as required by the Government?

The MINISTER: We did not regard it as necessary for them to advertise to whether they could get Bantu persons to buy, because in those cases it is quite impossible to get such buyers.

Mr. T. G. HUGHES: Do I then understand that the normal procedure was not adopted in this case?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order! The hon. member has had his reply.

Mr. T. G. HUGHES: If the Minister will not answer that question, may I ask him how a rental of R5 000 was arrived at? On what basis was it determined?

The MINISTER: As I have said, it was on the basis of the financial statements of the property, as administered by the owner previous to our purchase there.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order!

Mr. T. ARONSON: Mr. Speaker, arising from the reply, were any of the valuations based on the property being a proclaimed township?

The MINISTER: We had to take that into account, yes; of course.

Mr. T. ARONSON: Arising from that reply, if it was not a proclaimed township, how could that be taken into account?

The MINISTER: It was partly proclaimed, but certain conditions had still to be complied with as requested by the province and the local authority, and they stalled that process.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order! I think that I have allowed ample opportunity for supplementary questions. There will be an opportunity on Monday to pursue this matter further.

103

Hansard 3 col 212 13/2/76

South African Bantu Trust: Properties in Port St. Johns

*3. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

Whether the South African Bantu Trust has since 1 December 1975 purchased any properties in Port St. Johns; if so,

(a) how many, (b) who was the owner of each property, (c) what are the even numbers of the properties and (d) what price was paid for each property.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

No. (a), (b), (c) and (d) fall away.

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BERON:

Source: Department of Statistics. Report on Agricultural and Pastoral Production 1972/73. Agricultural Census No. 46. Report No. 06-01-10.

Footnotes:

- 1) There are no White domestic farm employees.

Handcard 6 2/3/76 col 456

103

Xhosa resident in White areas who qualify for Transkeian citizenship

411. Mr. C. W. EGLIN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) What is the estimated number of Xhosa resident in the White areas of the Republic who qualify for Transkeian citizenship;
- (2) how many of them (a) have applied for registration as Transkeian citizens and (b) have been so registered.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) 1 300 000.
- (2) There is no provision for the registration of Transkeian citizens.

103

Properties in Amabele area

*7. Mr. S. A. VAN DEN HEEVER asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

Hansard 10

col 687

30/3/76

- (1) (a) Who were the owners of the two properties purchased in the Amabele area for consolidation purposes, (b) on what date were the offers for these properties (i) dispatched by his Department and (ii) accepted by the owners and (c) when were these properties transferred to the South African Bantu Trust;

- (2) whether the Xhosa Development Corporation made any representation to his Department concerning the sale of any of these properties; if so, when and (b) what representation

†The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

- (1) (a) Messrs. K. R. Attwell and Liebenberg.
(b) (i) 12 August 1975 and 12 September 1975.
(ii) 12 August 1975 and 12 September 1975.
(c) 14 October 1975 and 17 December 1975.

- (2) No. (a) and (b) fall away.

Mr. H. G. H. BELL: Mr. Speaker, from the hon. the Minister's reply, he tell us whether any organizations or persons other than the sellers made representations in regard to the sale of these properties?

The MINISTER: Not as far as I remember, but if the hon. member asks his question, I shall be able to give a proper reply.

FRIDAY, 2 APRIL 1976

† Indicates translated version.

⊕ For oral reply:

White-owned properties in Transkei/Ciskei

*1. Mr. H. G. H. BELL asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) Whether the priorities for the purchase of White-owned properties in the Transkei and Ciskei homelands are considered separately for each such homeland; if so, on what basis is the allocation of funds for this purpose made to each of these homelands; if not,
- (2) whether such priorities are considered for both homelands together; if so, when was this policy adopted.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU DEVELOPMENT:

(1) and (2) Priorities for the acquisition of properties in the Transkei and Ciskei are considered separately. Separate funds are voted for the acquisition of properties in the Transkei in terms of the provisions of the White Paper, while properties in the Ciskei are being bought from funds allocated for the purchase of land by the South African Bantu Trust.

Mr. H. G. H. BELL: Mr. Speaker, arising from the hon. the Deputy Minister's reply, can he confirm that the priorities for Port St. Johns are included in the priorities for the Transkei?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Yes.

Mr. H. G. H. BELL: Further arising from the hon. the Deputy Minister's reply, will he agree to enlarge on the basis of allocation of funds between the two homelands when the Bantu Affairs Vote is discussed? [Interjections.]

Mr. SPEAKER: Order!

103

Handled 10 col 724

Hansard 10 vol 725

2/4/76

103

White-owned properties in Transkei/Ciskei

*2. Mr. H. G. H. BELL asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) Whether offers which were made by his Department for White-owned properties in the Transkei and Ciskei and which were subsequently withdrawn, delayed or postponed will be reviewed on renewal; if not, why not;
- (2) whether renewed offers to purchase will be made according to an updated priority list.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) Such offers will be reconsidered in the light of circumstances at that time.
- (2) Renewed offers will be made, subject to available funds.

103

Hansard II col 81
9/4/76

Capital schemes in Transkei

680. Mr. T. ARONSON asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) (a) In respect of what capital schemes in the Transkei, other than the houses for the future head of the Transkei State and the four additional ministers of the Transkei Cabinet, have instructions been given to professional persons associated with the building industry and (b) what is the estimated cost of such schemes;
- (2) (a) what is the estimated capital expenditure on projects in the Transkei for each year from 1976 to 1980 and (b) what are the projects concerned.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) A reply can only be given in respect of capital schemes of the South African Bantu Trust and completed schemes are not included. On this basis my reply is as follows:

(a)	(b)
Umtata Airport	R1 230 000
Alterations and extensions for South African Mission, Umtata	R300 000
Defence facilities	R3 950 000

(2) No information is available at this stage regarding projects envisaged by the Transkeian Government after independence and estimated capital expenditure by the South African Bantu Trust, only in respect of the 1976-77 financial year is furnished as follows:

(a)	(b)
R	
5 500 000	Bantu Townships
1 230 000	Airport
100 000	Completion of Wellington Prison
1 210 000	Houses for officials
300 000	Alterations and extensions for South African Mission, Umtata
2 250 000	Defence facilities

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HANSARD NO. 12.

FRIDAY, 23 APRIL 1976

874

† Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

Land for incorporation into Transkei/Black homelands

*1. Mr. C. A. VAN COLLER asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) Whether he has received any representations from the Government of the Transkei in connection with the incorporation of the coastal strip of land between Port Edward and Port Shepstone and the towns of Kokstad and Matatiele into the Transkei.
- (2) whether this land will be considered for incorporation into any Black homeland;

Homelands
Transkei - General

875

FRIDAY, 23

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

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU AFFAIRS:

- (1) No.
- (2) No.
- (3) No.

103

Queenstown district: Purchase of farms for consolidation with Transkei 908

A/ 753. Mr. S. A. VAN DEN HEEVER asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(1) Whether the South African Bantu Trust has purchased farms in the Queenstown district since 1974 for

consolidation with the Transkei; if so, (a) from whom were the farms purchased, (b) on what date was each farm purchased and (c) what is the (i) extent and (ii) purchase price of each farm;

(2) whether any of these farms have been occupied since they were purchased by the South African Bantu Trust; if so, (a) by whom, (b) when did the occupation take place and (c) who authorized the occupation.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a), (b) and (c) Nine properties with a total extent of 12 856 hectares have been acquired by the South African Bantu Trust since 1974 in the Gwaty-Bolotwa area. The properties were acquired from various owners and it is still the practice not to disclose the purchase prices.

(2) Yes. (a), (b) and (c) It has been approved by me that the acquired properties concerned be made available to the Xhosa Development Corporation after date of acquisition. It has also recently been approved that only the dwelling on one of the acquired farms be made available to the Chief Minister of the Transkei.

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(e) Will everyone be able to hear? Will you need to use a microphone? Is there a public address system already installed? Will there be any distracting noises and can these be silenced during your presentation?

(f) Can the room be darkened easily? Are there sufficient power supplies for any projected visuals or recorded sound?

Visuals

(a) What equipment will you have at your disposal? Will there be an experienced projectionist available?

(b) Are there any suitable visuals or other aids (e.g. films, videotapes, sound tapes, slides, etc.) already available?

(c) What facilities are there for obtaining or making others you may need?

Budget

Has a budget already been prepared? If so, how much money has been allowed for:

103

HAASARD NO. 13

APRIL 1976

901 Magisterial district of Maclear: Incorporation into Transkei

*2. Mr. B. W. B. PAGE asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

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- (1) Whether he has received any representations from the Government of the Transkei since 1 January 1975 in connection with the incorporation of any part of the magisterial district of Maclear into the Transkei;
- (2) whether any part of this district will be considered for incorporation into any Black homeland;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter.

Has the venue for your presentation been decided? If so:

Will you be playing at home or away, and is the meeting room familiar to you?

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) No.
- (2) In terms of the consolidation resolutions adopted by Parliament, certain portions of the district of Maclear will ultimately be added to the Transkei.
- (3) No.

Is it suitable as a meeting place for your audience and as background for your subject?

Is it the right size for the audience expected?

- (d) Will everyone be able to see? Is there a dais or platform? Is there enough room for the proper positioning of one or more projection screens?
- (e) Will everyone be able to hear? Will you need to use a microphone? Is there a public address system already installed? Will there be any distracting noises and can these be silenced during your presentation?
- (f) Can the room be darkened easily? Are there sufficient power supplies for any projected visuals or recorded sound?

Visuals

- (a) What equipment will you have at your disposal? Will there be an experienced projectionist available?
- (b) Are there any suitable visuals or other aids (e.g. films, videotapes, sound tapes, slides, etc.) already available?
- (c) What facilities are there for obtaining or making others you may need?

Budget

Has a budget already been prepared? If so, how much money has been allowed for:

917 Independence celebrations of Transkei

*7. Dr. P. VAN Z. SLABBERT asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

A110

What amount has been allocated for the celebration of the independence of the Transkei.

APRIL 1976

918

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

No provision has been made on the estimates of my Department of Bantu

Administration and Development for expenditure in connection with the celebration of the independence of the Transkei.

... been decided?

If so:

- a) Will you be playing at home or away, and is the meeting room familiar to you?
- (b) Is it suitable as a meeting place for your audience and as a background for your subject?
- (c) Is it the right size for the audience expected?
- (d) Will everyone be able to see? Is there a dais or platform? Is there enough room for the proper positioning of one or more projection screens?
- (e) Will everyone be able to hear? Will you need to use a microphone? Is there a public address system already installed? Will there be any distracting noises and can these be silenced during your presentation?
- (f) Can the room be darkened easily? Are there sufficient power supplies for any projected visuals or recorded sound?

Visuals

- (a) What equipment will you have at your disposal? Will there be an experienced projectionist available?
- (b) Are there any suitable visuals or other aids (e.g. films, videotapes, sound tapes, slides, etc.) already available?
- (c) What facilities are there for obtaining or making others you may need?

Budget

Has a budget already been prepared? If so, how much money has been allowed for:

103

HANDBOOK NO. 13

TUESDAY, 27 APRIL 1976

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

Transkei: Farms transferred to paramount chiefs and others

*1. Mr. S. A. VAN DEN HEEVER asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) Whether the Transkei Legislative Assembly adopted a resolution under which farms will be transferred to paramount chiefs and others; if so, when was the resolution adopted by the Legislative Assembly;
- (2) whether the resolution has been approved by the State President; if so, when.

†The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) I have not been informed of any resolution in this connection.

Compare restrictions of your own

2. PLANNING

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TUESDAY, 27

(2) Falls away. The State President only approves legislation of the Transkei Legislative Assembly but not ordinary resolutions.

Hire of accommodation and any special assistance?

Travelling expenses?

stances. If you feel too organizers so that you can achieve

talk:

HORIZONTAL PLAN

2.1.1 The Vertical Plan

- 1) Take a sheet of paper. Think about your subject. Jot down 20 to 30 words associated with it.
- 2) Working on a 5 minute talk, ring the three words you think are the most important on your list.
- 3) What do these words say to you? What specifically do you want your audience to think and do at the end of your talk? Now, write the aim of your talk in one short sentence.
- 4) Write your aim at the top of a clean sheet of paper.

The Body

- 5) Leave about six lines for the introduction. Write your three main points down leaving a few lines in between each.
- 6) Go through your list of ideas again. Underline those points that support your three main points.
- 7) Write two sub points under each main point.
- 8) At this stage you should refer to books, interview specialists, check figures and statistics, find quotations, apt examples or demonstrations. Your talk should be an expression of your own ideas on the subject, backed by outside opinion.

103

HANSARD NO. 13

Transkeian Homeland 890

465 Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) What is the total area of the Transkeian Homeland;
- (2) (a) what is the total number of Transkeian citizens and (b) how many of them are permanently resident in the Transkei;
- (3) how many of the economically active Transkeian citizens are working (a) in and (b) outside their homeland;
- (4) (a) what were the total earnings of the workers (i) in and (ii) outside the Transkeian Homeland in the latest year for which statistics are available and (b) in respect of what year are these statistics given.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) 4,1 million hectares. Please refer in this respect to the explanation given in reply to Question No. 458.
- (2) (a) and (b) Due to the fact that Certificates of Citizenship have not yet been issued in terms of the Act to all the Xhosa and South Sotho speaking people, the numbers requested can unfortunately not be furnished.
- (3) (a) and (b) As this question is also connected with citizens and the concept of economic activity, which is being interpreted in different ways, the particulars cannot be furnished.
- (4) (a) (i) and (ii) In view of the fact that all the Xhosa and South Sotho speaking people have not yet been issued with Certificates of Citizenship and that some of

APRIL 1976

891

MONDAY, 26

the Xhosa and South Sotho speaking workers may have connections with the Ciskei, Lesotho and Qwaqwa, authentic information cannot be furnished.

(b) Falls away.

103
105

HANSARD NO. 15 11/5/76

WEDNESDAY, 12 MAY 1976

Audio/visuals

† Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

Properties purchased for consolidating Transkei/Ciskei boundaries 994

Is it essential to show any audio, such as a film videotape?

Is it for your been decided?

608. Mr. S. A. VAN DEN HEEVER asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) How many properties in the (a) Amabele, (b) Port St. Johns, (c) Braunschweig, (d) Frankfurt, (e) Stutterheim and (f) Peddie area have been purchased to date for consolidating the boundaries of the Transkei and the Ciskei;
- (2) what, in respect of each property, was the price (a) recommended by (i) the Department of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure and (ii) the Adjustment Committee and (b) paid;
- (3) what was the reason in each case where there was a difference between the price recommended and the price paid.

playing at home or the meeting room you?

Is it as a meeting for your audience and as for your subject?

What is the right size for the room expected?

Will we be able to see? Is there a stage or platform?

Is there enough room for the positioning of one or more projection screens?

Will we be able to hear? Is it possible to use a microphone?

Is there a public address system installed? Will there be any distracting noises and can these be silenced during your presentation?

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) (a) 2, (b) 3, (c), (d) and (e) 180, (f) 48.
- (2) and (3) As mentioned previously, it is still the practice not to furnish particulars of this nature.

- (f) Can the room be darkened easily? Are there sufficient power supplies for any projected visuals or recorded sound?

Visuals

- (a) What equipment will you have at your disposal? Will there be an experienced projectionist available?
- (b) Are there any suitable visuals or other aids (e.g. films, videotapes, sound tapes, slides, etc.) already available?
- (c) What facilities are there for obtaining or making others you may need?

Budget

Has a budget already been prepared? If so, how much money has been allowed for:

Handwritten: (103) Hamsard 17 25/5/76

3.

Transkei: Overseas loans

934 Mr. T. ARONSON asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) Whether the Transkei has obtained any loans overseas; if so, (a) from which countries, (b) for what (i) amounts and (ii) periods, (c) on what terms and conditions and (d) who negotiated the loans;
- (2) whether the South African Government is required to sign as a surety for such loans

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) No, not at this stage.
- (2) (a) to (d) and (2) Fall away.

Compare your two lists of circumstances. If you feel too restricted negotiate with the organizers so that you can achieve your objective.

2. PLANNING THE PRESENTATION.

2.1 Constructing your plan:

Two methods for planning your talk:

VERTICAL PLAN and HORIZONTAL PLAN

2.1.1 The Vertical Plan

- 1) Take a sheet of paper. Think about your subject. Jot down 20 to 30 words associated with it.
- 2) Working on a 5 minute talk, ring the three words you think are the most important on your list.
- 3) What do these words say to you? What specifically do you want your audience to think and do at the end of your talk? Now, write the aim of your talk in one short sentence.
- 4) Write your aim at the top of a clean sheet of paper.

The Body

- 5) Leave about six lines for the introduction. Write your three main points down leaving a few lines in between each.
- 6) Go through your list of ideas again. Underline those points that support your three main points.
- 7) Write two sub points under each main point.
- 8) At this stage you should refer to books, interview specialists, check figures and statistics, find quotations, apt examples or demonstrations. Your talk should be an expression of your own ideas on the subject, backed by outside opinion.

103

HANSARD NO. 20

Agreements/treaties between Government/
Transkei

5 JUNE 1976

1222

1224

*22. Mr. J. D. DU P. BASSON asked the
Minister of Foreign Affairs.†

Whether the Government has made or
will make provision for all agreements
and treaties concluded between the
Government and the independent govern-
ment of the Transkei to be published in
full as soon as they have been ratified; if
so, what provision.

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AF-
FAIRS:

After the Transkei's independence,
agreements and treaties concluded be-
tween it and South Africa will be treated
on the same basis and in the same way
as agreements and treaties which have
been or will be concluded with any other
independent country.

103

HANSARD NO. 20

JUNE 1976

Computerized records on Transkei citizens

1221. Mr. H. E. J. VAN RENSBURG asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

What will be done after the Transkei has become an independent State with the computerized records relating to Transkei citizens and kept in the Bantu Central Reference Bureau.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU DEVELOPMENT:

No decision has as yet been taken.

STAR 11/4/76

Black pay call—Vorster cited

Own Correspondent — The Trans-keian Chief Minister was "more qualified and better educated" than the South African Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and should be paid the same salary, Assembly member Mr Cromwell Diko said here.

Mr Diko, a controversial member of the ruling party, made this emotional plea when he introduced his motion to raise the salary of all Transkeian servants, chiefs, headmen and labourers to those of their counterparts in South Africa.

used to close the wage gap. He warned his own government that its new army had learned about coups and if the people who worked for the state were not properly paid within a year, the Govern-

ment would be toppled by a coup. The leader of the Opposition, Mr Guzana, said Transkeians must get away from trying to attain the same wage as a White man because "anyone who thinks this way is being colour and race conscious."

Maritz predicts bright future for new TDC

DAILY DISP. 7/4/76

UMTATA — In about a year the Transkei Development Corporation could be twice as big as the old XDC, Mr Franko Maritz said here yesterday.

Mr Maritz is to be head of the new TDC, which broke away from the Xhosa Development Corporation a week ago. A similar corporation, known as the Ciskei National Development Corporation, has been set up in the Ciskei.

"We are getting very involved in new development projects in agriculture and tourism as well as in industry," Mr Maritz said.

"In the long term we are prepared to put millions into farming projects. The Transkei has vast agricultural potential — it is said maize yields could be as high as 80 or 100 bags a hectare. And the cabinet has decided to double the area of timber plantations."

The TDC would go on acting under the South African Government while the staff and assets of the XDC were split between the two homelands, Mr Maritz said. The switchover could be before independence in October, but it could take until April next year.

He said about 80 per cent of the XDC's activities had been in the Transkei and the staff and assets were being split between the Transkei and the Ciskei in a roughly 80:20 ratio. At a guess, he said, share capital in the 1976/7 financial year would be about R80 million.

Top management would be under ten senior men, all white as yet. But one Transkei official, Mr A. S.

Nkonyeni, was completing an MBA course at the University of Cape Town this year and he would be joining top management.

A middle management structure of 17 people would include Transkeians. The TDC employed some 7 000 blacks and nearly 600 whites.

The XDC, with its headquarters in East London, would go on for another two years until a new overhead body was formed, which would absorb it as well as the Bantu Investment Corporation, the Bantu Mining Corporation and development corporations in other homelands.

— DDR.

Port folk left in the dark

8/4/76 NM

Mercury Correspondent

UMTATA — Port St. Johns property owners are in the dark over what is to happen to their property once the Transkei attains independence on October 26.

The Town Clerk of Port St. Johns, Mr. H. Clarence, said 395 privately owned properties at Port St. Johns had been advertised for sale, but as yet no sales had been made.

"A municipal evaluation of these properties, which includes the land and building of privately owned properties in the area, was last carried out in 1971 by three provincial land evaluators from East London," he said.

"The figure given to me was R4,28 million, but what worries the residents of Port St. Johns is that an amount of R3,5 million has been budgeted for the purchasing of properties in the Transkei," said Mr. Clarence.

The Mayor of Port St. Johns, Mr. C. M. Richards, together with the Town Clerk and other municipal officials, were unable to get to Umtata to attend the two day convention when the Pretoria delegation arrived in Umtata to discuss the future of municipal officials.

Mr. Richards said the residents had become

disturbed by the lack of information about their future and the "last straw," as he phrased it, was that the Railways luxury bus service which made daily visits to the coastal town would no longer call at Port St. Johns.

"As from April 18 this tourist transportation service will cease to exist — the road is in such a bad state of repair that the South African Railways have decided that on their Cape Town to Durban trip, they will now exclude Port St. Johns.

Sunday Times

Once the Transkei is free — by Kaiser Matanzima

**IN AN INTERVIEW WITH
NICHOLAS VAN OLDISHOORN**

PARAMOUNT Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, this week held important talks on the Transkei constitution, with the South African Prime Minister, Mr Vorster.

In an exclusive interview in Umtata immediately after his return, Chief Matanzima revealed major aspects of his Government's policies and plans, which will come into operation with independence on October 26.

His views:

On amnesty for prisoners:

It is a question of a general amnesty for all prisoners in the Republic who are Transkei citizens.

It is the usual thing that is done in most countries when a country becomes independent.

On OAU membership:

We are definitely applying for OAU membership. We are first going to invite all OAU members to our independence celebrations. The question of application will follow independence.

It is not certain yet whether all African countries will be invited to the independence celebrations. The Cabinet will decide on those countries which they consider well disposed towards the Transkei. No decision has yet been taken on whether the chairman of the OAU, President Idi Amin, will be invited.

Communist aid

On accepting aid from communist countries:

The Transkei will accept funds from any country that will freely give these gifts without any strings. If Cuba or Russia or Red China offered funds as a gift, who would refuse?

On the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act:

These were not listed in the Acts to be repealed with independence because that list was in terms of the constitution, not in terms of the Acts that will be repealed through Bills which will be introduced after independence.

The question of the Immorality Act does not affect our constitution at all. We have stated our policy that the Transkei will be non-racial.

I don't think the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act will be retained after independence. But the Cabinet of the time will decide. As far as I am concerned I would not like them to be retained.

On international recognition for the Transkei:

I expect recognition from all the countries of Africa and Europe. It may not be immediate, but it must come. In Africa in particular there are countries that have assured us of recognition.

There have been no assurances from Western countries but there is nothing negative. There is an indication that European countries will recognise us. But in any event there is no reason why they should not.

The Transkei is being confused with the rest of the Black countries in Southern Africa which were taken over militarily. Our position is different.

We never had any military engagements with the British forces in the Cape Province. The Ciskei did.

As far as we are concerned the chiefs in the Transkei ceded part of their country to the British King for protection. The British Government re-

QUOTE

The question of the Immorality Act does not affect our constitution at all. We have stated our policy that the Transkei will be non-racial. I don't think the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act will be retained after independence. But the Cabinet of the time will decide. As far as I am concerned I would not like them to be retained.

cognised the Transkei as the native territory and there is no other part of South Africa which has this recognition except Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.

But instead of the Transkei being left alone in 1910, the British Government let us down and handed us over to the Union Government. And from that very day my people have fought for self-determination.

If you look at the Blue Books of our General Council you will find that motion after motion called on the Union Government and later the South African Government to grant the country self-government. In 1962 this was granted — before some of the other Black countries in Africa received their independence. Swaziland, for instance, only got its independence in 1968.

On Transkei passports:

There are always passports between independent countries. Passports are a consequence of independence. It is immaterial to us whether other countries do or do not recognise us or our passports. We shall be an independent country and nobody has the right to prescribe independence for another.

Other countries will simply have to accept the position that we are independent.

Our constitution is a document that will determine our position and we cannot understand how anybody can say we are not independent. Our constitution makes it clear that we are a sovereign state.

Diplomatic links

On diplomatic and consular links:

Immediately after independence we will have our embassy in Pretoria and South Africa will have an embassy in the Transkei. We shall have consular representatives in the various main cities in South Africa.

On membership of the Southern African customs union:

We have applied for full membership of the customs union between South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

On Transkei citizens who live in South Africa:

Their status will be dealt with on international lines in the forms of international agreements. Such a treaty has not yet been finalised.

On income tax and other taxes of Transkei migrant workers in South Africa:

We will get all the actual taxes which will be paid

by our people in the Republic of South Africa. Nothing will be kept back by South Africa.

On migratory labour:

The Transkei will have to develop industrially in such a way that all the Transkeian people will in future be employed in the Transkei.

On an airline for the Transkei:

We are planning an airline for the Transkei. We have not yet decided on the name or the type of aircraft to be used. The new international airport at Umtata will be called the K. D. Matanzima Airport.

On a radio station:

After independence we shall have our own broadcasting corporation. It will be independent of the SABC. It will be operating from Umtata. I do not know yet when it will be ready.

On a Transkei newspaper:

I think we shall have a newspaper published by the Government. We would like it to be a daily published in English and Xhosa.

On school apartheid:

We would never emulate the American system of busing children to school. We would like the freedom of the individual to be maintained. In other words people must not be forced into a situation which they don't like.

So if the White people (in the Transkei) would like to maintain their own schools which are private schools why should we, as a Government, interfere with that. We can't force desegregation on to them as long as they are private schools and not Government schools.

The Republic of South Africa will pay for these White private schools which will fall under the Cape Provincial Administration.

Sports links

On sports links with South Africa:

It will depend on the relations between South Africa and the Transkei — but we shall have our own sports teams as a nation.

On transport:

Rail services in the Transkei will be run for us by the South African Railways on an agency basis. Road transport we are taking over completely.

On the amalgamation between the Transkei and Ciskei:

That is a matter which we feel depends on the Ciskei. As far as we are concerned we have long ago invited them to join us . . . we will leave it to them to decide.

On the future of the Umtata branch of Fort Hare University:

The possibility of a medical school and an engineering faculty is a long-term one. A university does not just crop up at any time. It is usually planned and all the faculties are planned in order of priority. A medical school and engineering faculty are not foreseen in the immediate future.

On the independence celebrations:

The South African State President (Dr Diederichs) will represent South Africa and will hand over independence to the Transkeian State President on October 26. I have no idea of the cost involved in the celebrations at this stage.

103

Amnesty drive to continue

3/4/76 MM

Mercury Correspondent

UMTATA—The Transkei Government is to continue to call for the release of all political prisoners on Robben Island, but after independence, the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said yesterday.

Commenting on Friday's statement by the Minister of Prisons, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, that after careful consideration it was decided not to grant amnesty to prisoners of Transkeian origin who are in prison in the Republic, the Chief Minister said: "The Press has been labouring under the misapprehension that the Transkei Government made representation to the South African Government for the release of one particular prisoner."

"The Transkei Government will let the matter lie until after independence, and in any event our Government will consider granting amnesty to all Transkei prisoners under our jurisdiction," the Chief Minister said.

"With regard to Nelson Mandela, who is my uncle, we would have liked to have seen Nelson back with us," he said.

Commenting on the attitude of Mrs. Winnie Mandela, Paramount Chief Matanzima said: "I do not know about her."

Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima said the Republic's Government was an honourable government, and the Transkei Government did not want to be critical of its decisions, or make its decisions for it.

"The Transkei Government must be diplomatic in a delicate issue such as this.

"Only a fool would make reactionary statements in a delicate issue such as this, and I say this because the Transkeian Government still intends approaching the Republic's Government for the granting of

amnesty to political prisoners after independence," said the Chief Minister.

"Why must you Press men single out Nelson Mandela? There are two more men, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, and others."

103

Farm history of Transkei

13/6/76
planned STAR.

Mr William Beinart, first holder of the Argus Fellowship for postgraduate research in public affairs, is to work on a history of the changes in the system of agriculture in the Transkei.

This study, which should be of great value to the Transkei, which is to gain its independence in October, will be the first result of the fellowship set up by the Argus Group in 1974.

"I am trying to contradict ideas that the African economies have been static," Mr Beinart, son of a former professor of law at Rhodes University, said.

"I am having a close look at the agricultural system and how it has changed and why agriculture collapsed and migrant labour started."

Mr Beinart will work under the Rhodes University Institute of Social and Economic Research.

Transkei plea on land

Own Correspondent

UMTATA—The South African Government has been asked to stop the annexation of East Griqualand to Natal because the Transkei wants this White strip ceded to it before independence.

This appeal was made during the debate on the motion to have the Umzimkulu proclaimed the boundary between the Transkei and Natal before independence in October this year.

The land claimed in this motion includes the southernmost South Coast strip between Port Edward and Port Shepstone and the inland districts of Kokstad and Matatiele known as East Griqualand still under the administration of the Cape.

The Transkei claim comes at a time when attempts are being made to annex East Griqualand to Natal because it will be effectively cut off from

the Cape after Transkei's independence. The motion was passed with only one member dissenting.

The proposer, Mr L S Baleni, concluded the debate by appealing to the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha, to "stop these White farmers who want to hijack East Griqualand and join Natal."

He said the matter must be handled peacefully, but if the annexation of East Griqualand to Natal went ahead there would be unrest between the Transkei and the White farmers.

103

ARGUS
14/4/76 27

Buthelezi critical of Transkei self-rule

The Argus Bureau

LONDON. — The KwaZulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who is here on a private visit as a guest of British church groups, said he did not think Transkei independence was in the interest of Black liberation.

He added: 'But having said that I don't think it is my duty to say whether you (Britain) should recognise them or not recognise them.'

He said it was evident that Blacks as a whole were opposed to independence as laid down by the homeland policy.

'The policy was not determined by Africans. It is a decision unilaterally taken by the Whites,' he continued.

MAJORITY RULE

Chief Buthelezi said his recent Soweto speech — where he called for majority rule — indicated his pessimism, but he still believed there was time left in South Africa.

'I think the ball is in the court of White South Africans who are in power and the initiatives must be taken by them,' Chief Buthelezi told a Press conference.

Asked whether KwaZulu was experiencing any form of refugee problem from neighbouring Black countries, Chief Buthelezi said: 'Not yet,' but he added to a further question, 'There are people going out of (South Africa).

suppose you should ask the security branch that. He would not be drawn further.

The homeland leader's fund-raising visit to Britain this week includes a visit to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to meet the newly appointed Foreign Secretary, Mr Anthony Crosland.

103

Conference will boost Transkei

14/4/76

EAST LONDON — The pressure is on to have an independent Transkei recognised abroad as a sovereign state.

The Foreign Affairs Association, under the chairmanship of Mr Louis Luyt, has organised a conference in Umtata, starting next Tuesday, which will discuss the Transkei as an international entity and 28 people from abroad will attend.

The director of the Foreign Affairs Association, Mr Cas de Villiers, said the venture was to introduce the Transkei to try to overcome the ignorance which existed in international circles about the Transkei and similar developments in South Africa.

Attention at the conference will be focussed on the Transkei's position as a member of the international community, international recognition and other topics touching on development of the Transkei.

The three-day conference will be opened by the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, who will talk on the Transkei's road to sovereignty.

Six of the 12 papers will be delivered by prominent people from abroad, including Prof J. Spence of the University of Leicester, England; Dr A. Cottrell, of Georgetown University, US; Mr P. Giniewski, a French journalist and Prof B. Knall of Heidelberg University, Germany.

Two Transkeians, Mr P. M. Mbokodi, a director of agriculture, and Mr D. N. Ntusi, formerly of the department of education, will also deliver papers.

Eighty people are expected to attend the conference, including journalists and people from academic, business and political circles.

Mr De Villiers said it was unrealistic to expect recognition for the Transkei and other homelands in the short term.

“But I am confident that the Transkei and other homelands will be recognised by some key countries in the end, proving the viability of separate development can be dramatically illustrated in terms of homeland development, consolidation and a speeding up in the process of moving away from racial discrimination.”

Mr De Villiers said South Africa and the homelands could be part of an economic block of states, including neighbouring countries, that could constitute a formidable stumbling block in the way of communism. — DDR.

UNTATA — The Transkei would have a Permanent Force and Citizen Force after independence, in terms of a Defence Bill now being drafted, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima said in Untata yesterday, replying to a question by the Leader of the Opposition.

The Chief Minister told the Legislative Assembly: "All male citizens between the ages of 18 and 60 years will be liable to undergo military training."

The period of training and the number of trainees to be called up would be determined by the Minister of Defence, he said.

Informed sources said the Defence Bill would be introduced in the Transkei Parliament during its first session after independence.

The Defence portfolio would probably be handled by Chief Matanzima, himself in addition to those of Chief Minister and Finance.

Chief Matanzima said the Public Service Commission was working out the salary scales and service conditions to be applied to army members after independence.

TRANSKEI UNFOLDS ITS MILITARY PROGRAMME

Members of the existing 1st Transkei Battalion were attested to the SADF and would be transferred to the Transkei Defence Force after October 26.

The Transkei Defence Force is proposed to consist of a Defence Force headquarters and one infantry battalion consisting of a headquarters company, a ceremonial company and band (the equivalent of the State President's Guard) and a rifle company with one mounted platoon.

Provision is made for 18 officers, 266 other ranks and 27 civilian labourers. At the moment, the 1st Transkei Battalion is made

up of 152 privates, two lance-corporals and one corporal. There are 29 white officers and NCOs on loan from the SADF to train them.

Next month, the battalion is to occupy a large base near Untata built on 141ha and financed by the South African Government.

The base has headquarters and administration blocks, houses for key personnel, bungalows, stables for 45 horses and a recreational centre with shop and bar, lounges, billiard's room and library. The ultra-modern kitchen is designed to cater for 600 people at a time.—(Sapa.)

Mandela is Transkei no leader, farms —Chief outcry

Own Correspondent

UMTATA—The cream of the White farms bought at considerable expense by South Africa and ceded to the Transkei will become the personal properties of Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima and four fellow paramount chiefs.

Similar grants of personal farms will be made to other prospective farmers who have given faithful service to the Transkei.

This is the crux of a resolution of the Transkei Assembly passed yesterday.

An outraged opposition immediately slammed the resolution as an opportunity for the ruling party to award its loyal and subservient supporters to spoils of independence at the people's expense.

Transkei people do not recognise the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, as their leader in spite of what is claimed about him, according to Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

Chief Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, was commenting on his unsuccessful bid to negotiate for the release of Robben Island prisoners of Transkei origin.

He also denied that he had ever made any offer to step down as leader of the Transkei in favour of Mandela.

"Who is Nelson Mandela to take over from me?" he said. "He has never been a leader in the Transkei and people here do not recognise him as their leader."

"He was only leader of the African National Congress supported by probably a thousand people in Johannesburg."

Chief Matanzima said the Press had distorted his actual plea to the Government on Robben Island prisoners.

"I never made specific mention of Mandela or any other prisoner," he said. "The plea was for an amnesty for all Transkei prisoners."

103

Transkei to conscript citizen army

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — The Transkei is to introduce conscription for its own citizen force army, the Chief Minister, Paramount Chief K. D. Matanzima, announced yesterday.

Answering a question in the Assembly by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr K. M. N. Guzana, Chief Matanzima said a Defence

Bill being drafted would make provision for both a permanent force and for national service.

"All male citizens between the ages of 18 and 60 will be liable to undergo military training," he said.

The number to be called up each year and the length of their training would be determined by the Minister of Defence,

RAM

Chief Matanzima said, indicating with his finger that he expected to be looking after that portfolio himself next year.

It is expected the new Bill will be placed before the House next year.

Chief Matanzima said at present 162 men were being trained for the permanent force, of whom two had already been promoted to lance corporal and

one to corporal. There was provision for 18 officers, 266 other ranks and 27 civilian labourers.

The men now in training, he said, had all been attested in the South African Army and had the same privileges and service conditions as SA soldiers.

A corporal was paid between R1 530 and R3 000 a year and a private between R780 and R2 100.

'Transkei independence to attract Lesotho ties'

15/4/76 STAR

The Star Bureau
LONDON — Transkei's independence in October this year could provide the springboard for a new relationship with its neighbour, Lesotho.

This is the basis of a lengthy speculative article in "Africa," a widely read international magazine.

The writer argues that closer co-operation between the two indepen-

dent states could be of enormous benefit to landlocked Lesotho.

"In theory, as a result of the Transkei's independence Lesotho could develop a new route through the Transkei to the sea at Port St John, separate from routes through the Republic.

"She could use the Transkei's international airport when it is completed, at least until such time as she makes Maseru (airport) international.

"And it would suit the precarious politics of both Lesotho's Premier Leabua Jonothan and Chief Matanzima to have one another as allies to strengthen each other's resistance to pressure from Pretoria."

The courtship between the two countries would depend largely on the limitations South Africa would impose on an "independent" Transkei, the writer asserts.

"The Republic would be

able to exercise two major restraints upon the Transkei, both economic: first, the territory must import maize from South Africa to feed its people.

"Second, should an 'independent' Transkei step out of line, the Republic can threaten to, or actually, endorse out those Xhosa working in the Republic back into the Transkei. This threat alone will act as a major control factor."

However, both Chief Jonathan and Chief Matanzima are "wily politicians," the article continues, and are likely to "exploit to the full" the possibilities of closer co-operation.

Transkei Whites 'furious' as land cash goes

103

RDM
16/4/76

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — White property owners in the Transkei, already up in arms that only R3 500 000 was set aside for buying them out this year, were "furious" to learn yesterday that the money had all been spent long before it was even allocated.

The Transkei Adjustment Committee, which is responsible for buying all properties, except farms, in Black zoned areas, was allocated R4-million in last year's budget. But this had been spent by last December and property owners were told there was no chance of being bought out before April.

This year, after more land was added to the Transkei, the allocation was reduced to R3 500 000.

But an official of the Adjustment Committee told the Transkei White Citizens' Association yesterday the R3 500 000 had already been spent. It was used to pay outstanding pledges left over from the last financial year.

This meant that unless more money was earmarked, the Government would be unable to buy more

properties in the Transkei until next April.

"This is absolutely shocking," said Mr Tug Wood, president of the White Citizens' Association, a body set up last year to negotiate between White property owners and the Government.

"They had the nerve to cut the allocation after a lot of additional land had been added to the Transkei and nearly all the towns zoned Black. Now we learn they have already spent all the money."

The association had appointed a deputation to see the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, to try and persuade him to set more money aside.

The position was becoming critical, Mr Wood said. A spate of applications for compensation had followed the addition of two districts to the Transkei, and the Black zoning of Port St Johns and the last five White towns in the Transkei.

Mr Wood estimated the Government would need about R75-million to buy all White-owned properties in the Transkei.

HUGE TRANSKEI

S TRIB 18/4/76.

LAND GRABS

Govt pledge on farms broken

Tribune Reporter

FARMERS in the Queens-town district where the Matanzima brothers have moved in are in uproar at the breach of two solemn promises made them last year by the former Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. Bram Raubenheimer.

The Secretary of the Eastern Agricultural Union, Mr. K. P. Odendaal, told the Sunday Tribune that a union delegation met Mr. Raubenheimer in Pretoria on January 8 last year.

Mr. Odendaal said: "We were given definite assurances that the farms to be sold would be valued in September 1975 and bought up soon afterwards. We are still waiting."

On the strength of the Deputy Minister's word, at least one farmer bought elsewhere in the belief that his Queenstown property would soon be sold.

He is now saddled with two farms and is suffering financially.

Mr. Odendaal said the delegation was also promised that farms bought for Black occupation would not be handed over until all Whites had been bought out.

This, too, had now been dishonoured. Mr. Odendaal says there is a "likelihood" a union delegation will meet Mr. Raubenheimer's successor, Dr. F. Hartzenberg.

By BILL KRIGE

THE TRANSKEI'S Matanzima brothers have acquired farms near Queenstown which were bought by the Bantu Trust in January from Mr Alan Wiggill for more than R400 000.

And it seems certain that the 907-hectare farm Webbworth onto which the Bantustan's leader Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima began moving livestock and furniture some weeks ago, will be a free gift from the Transkei nation.

Nor is it thought likely that his brother, the Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, will have to pay a cent for the 1 079-hectare property of Hafton which he has acquired nearby.

He, too, has already moved furniture into the homestead.

A resolution adopted by overwhelming margin in the Transkei Assembly calls on Chief Kaiser's Government to consider giving free farms to all five Paramount Chiefs and those who have rendered faithful service to the homeland.

Chief Kaiser and his brother began moving on to the farms weeks before the motion was approved.

Yesterday, Opposition leader Mr. Knowledge Guzana said ordinary Transkeians saw the possible gift of farms to faithful political supporters as a "betrayal of their cry for more land."

The man who sponsored the resolution, the general secretary of the ruling party, Mr. Pascoe Lutididi, insisted that it was his own idea. But he conceded that the motion had been first approved by the parliamentary caucus.

He told the Sunday Tribune he had heard only recently that Chief George had acquired a farm.

'We'll wink'

"It's a little bit awkward. I don't know how he got it. People are saying that he had it before the motion. We'll just have to wink at it," he said.

Mr. Alan Wiggill, who owned Webbworth and Hafton before the Trust bought him out, said that if properly managed each farm can earn the brothers a gross income of between R15 000 and R20 000 in an average year.

The Trust paid up at R205 a hectare — R408 000 for both properties.

Mr. Wiggill also said that "about six weeks ago he was visited at Hafton homestead by Chief George Matanzima who told him he had "a letter authorising his occupation of the farm."

Last week, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, was reported as saying he had no knowledge of what the Transkei Government wanted to do with the land the Bantu Trust had bought for it.

When asked whether his controversial motion might not be abused by people in influential positions forwarding the names of friends as "faithful servants", Mr. Lutididi began by saying: "I am very sure this will happen. You will find a lot of it."

But he thought a semi-autonomous agricultural board would be appointed to consider application for free land.

Rand Daily Mail 19/4/76

Anger over 'gift' farms for chiefs

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — Two farms near Queenstown which were to have formed the basis of a big cattle ranching project, have instead gone to the Transkei's Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima and his brother.

The farms, in the middle of one of South Africa's richest sweet veld farming areas in the Glen Grey district, were bought for more than R400 000 in January from Mr Alan Wiggill.

It has been learnt that the Transkei Development Corporation had gone so far as to appoint a manager for a cattle ranch there of almost 2 000 ha.

When he arrived at the homestead at Hafton Farm, he found that Chief George Matanzima — brother of Chief Kaiser — had already started moving in.

The Chief Minister has also been moving livestock and furniture from his farm at Bolotwa into the nearby farm Webbworth.

The TDC is managing a large dairy herd of more than 200 cows at Occupation Post in the same district. It is now pinning its hopes for cattle ranching on getting land at the old Mkambati leper institute in Pondoland.

It is not yet clear whether either of the Matanzima brothers paid for their farms. They were acquired some weeks before a motion in the Legislative Assembly called on the Transkei Government to make personal grants to paramount chiefs of farms which are transferred to the Transkei.

People who had "rendered faithful service in the development of their country, the Transkei," were also to be given farms, according to the motion,



CHIEF MATANZIMA
... a "gift" farm.



MR MATANZIMA
... a "gift" farm.

which was piloted by the Secretary-General of Chief Matanzima's party, Mr M. P. Ludidi.

The farms, Mr Ludidi said, should be settled in such a way that their economic value would not deteriorate.

"But the question whether the paramount chiefs would farm productively is beside the point. I'm concerned that the government should recognise the role

the paramount chiefs have played in our long and non-violent progress to independence."

Mr Knowledge Guzana, who with his small opposition force fought the motion bitterly, said he would demand to know in the Assembly this week whether the two Ministers had been given their farms, or whether they had hired or bought them.

"There is little more I can say about them until more information is available."

But he said public reaction to the government's plan to give farms to paramount chiefs and faithful political supporters had been overwhelmingly hostile.

"People are shocked and resentful. They see these gifts as political rewards and feel they have been betrayed in their cry for more land."

The Government had been nothing short of brazen and callous to go to the Assembly for approval of so audacious a plan.

Meanwhile, White farmers in the Queenstown district are angry because they say the government has broken its promise not to hand over farms bought for Black occupation until all Whites had been bought out.

The secretary of the Eastern Agricultural Union, Mr K. P. Odendaal, said farmers had been promised that their farms would be valued in September last year and bought up soon afterward.

Most were still waiting, he said. The union would probably send a delegation to meet the new Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr F. Hartzberg.

Kobo warned to stop attacking Chief Kaiser

EAST LONDON — A call to Democratic Party member, Mr J. Kobo to stop attacking the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, has been made by a former representative of the chief in East London, Mr J. J. Matotie.

Mr Matotie was commenting on a statement made by Mr Kobo last week attacking the Chief Minister for saying he would continue to ask for the release of Nelson Mandela and others from Robben Island.

Mr Kobo also attacked the Transkei Chief Minister for opting for independence before securing the release of these men.

Mr Matotie said he had read of Mr Kobo's attack on the Transkei Chief Minister on several occasions.

"I would like to remind Mr Kobo that the first call for independence of the Transkei was first made by him and Mr J. Kobo when he proposed a motion of immediate independence for the Transkei at a branch meeting of the TNIP in the Maluti region on April 18, 1966," Mr Matotie said. He added a report on this meeting was carried in the Daily Dispatch on April 19, 1966.

Mr Kobo had called for independence of the

Transkei by May 5, 1967, Mr Matotie added. After a discussion of possible changes to the Transkei Constitution Act which affected the composition of the Transkei Legislative Assembly, Mr Kobo and Mr S. Sinaba had broken away from the TNIP and formed the Transkei People's Freedom Party which called for immediate independence of the Transkei, Mr Matotie added.

He asked where Mr Kobo's Freedom Party had ended and advised Mr Kobo to try and revive his party and leave Chief Matanzima to negotiate for the release of the men on Robben Island. — DDR



MR MATOTIE... "Leave it to Kaiser."

Monday
April 19, 1976

DAILY

Farms for Matanzimas

DD 19/4/76 103

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The farms, Mr. Ludidi said, should be settled in such a way that their economic value would not deteriorate.

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Government should recognise the role the paramount chiefs have played in our long and non-violent progress to independence."

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The Government had been nothing short of brazen and callous to go to the Assembly for approval of so audacious a plan, he said.

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The secretary of the Eastern Agricultural Union, Mr. K. P. Odendaal, said farmers had been promised their farms would be valued in September last year and bought up soon afterward.

Most were still waiting, he said. The union would probably send a delegation to meet the new Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr. F. Hartzberg. — DDR

Blacks will want White status—Kaizer

STAR 21/4/76.

Own Correspondent
UMTATA — Apart from migratory workers, Blacks are unlikely to return soon to the homelands in significant numbers, says Chief Kaiser Matanzima.
Opening an international conference on foreign affairs here yesterday, the Chief Minister of the Transkei said the millions of Transkeians left in the Republic after independence this year "expect to be treated by White

South Africans on the same basis as White foreigners."
He went on: "Our ties of blood and citizenship will not be broken, but their interest in the domestic politics of an independent Transkei may be expected gradually to wane."
Chief Matanzima expected Transkeian independence to result in the "amelioration of the lot" of Black people living and working in South Africa.
"Reroute citizenship has serious disadvantages, in the opinion of my Govern-

ment," he added.
"Armed struggle, rivers of blood, genocide and resulting famine seem all too often to constitute entry qualifications for today's community of nations."
But if freedom were gained peacefully, was it less meritorious? If UN and OAU membership were denied the Transkei it would be a grave injustice to a new nation "more populous, larger in area, more advanced and more stable than many states who are already members."
His Government's acceptance of separate development was only a temporary means of achieving

independence. After that all forms of racism would be dropped in favour of a non-racial state.
(See Page 23)

Transkei 'blazing a trail' for recognition

STAR 21/4/76.

103

UMTATA — Transkeians have given Blacks new dignity by blazing the trail for recognition, and have persuaded Whites to think along more open lines in matters of race, says Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

The Chief Minister opened yesterday a three-day symposium organised by the Foreign Affairs Association, attended by speakers and guests from America, England, France, West Germany, Israel, Taiwan and South Africa.

The legal position of an independent Transkei as a member of the international community will be one of the subjects discussed.

'PIE IN SKY'

Chief Matanzima said that the things which had divided Black and White were so fundamental and emotive that they could not be glossed over in an instant by one-man-one-vote and majority rule. This would do no more than paper over the cracks.

The progressive Reformists, liberals and their sympathisers outside were on the wrong track, he said, though he did not doubt their very real concern.

As their success depended on millions of Whites accepting, in short time, a

next alternative, are a concept relatively easy to sell to those who have nothing to lose. But the Transkei is not in the position of having nothing to lose. Peaceful evolution has always been the Transkei Government's platform and so it will remain.

Therefore it had opted for the third alternative, of evolution within the framework of separate development.

"You will notice that I have gone out of my way to stress that this policy of separate development is a White man's policy. Its primary goal is unashamedly the preservation of a White identity and control by Whites over their own destiny.

"My Government respects that policy for this very honesty, because we have all along believed that South Africa has no 'Native,' or 'Black' or 'Indian' or 'Coloured' problem — it has a White problem."

AGONISINGLY

It was the White group which had to come to terms, sometimes agonisingly, with a world that was overwhelmingly Black, Brown or Yellow. It was the Transkei's duty to help the White man make the necessary adjustments.

"If separate development is the only way in which the Whites can be persuaded to allow their Black countrymen a bet-

bodies. He called on those who already enjoyed their freedom "particularly our brothers in Africa," not to visit the sins of the father upon the son.

The Transkei would enter into monetary agreements with the Republic on the same basis as the ex-protectorates. He added, "We expect the Republic will continue to assist us, as it has done in the past."

The Transkei expected that its example would result in the amelioration of the lot of the Black people working and living in the Republic.

But remote citizenship had serious disadvantages, in the opinion of his government, and it was his view that, apart from migratory workers, the millions of Blacks in White South Africa were unlikely soon to return to the homelands in significant numbers.

"We expect that the Republican Government will not regard independence for the Transkei and, later, other homelands, as the last word on Blacks in general, and Transkeians in particular, in white South Africa," Chief Matanzima added.

On the contrary, he expected White South Africans to make their lives at least as acceptable as those of foreigners of European extraction living and working in the Republic. — Sapa.

21/4/76

103

set of values totally different from all they and their forefathers had known; it was all pure "pie in the sky".

REJECTED

The Transkei Government had faced squarely the alternatives before it. South Africa was immutable and the alternatives were the attainment of freedom through violent revolution, or achieving the same end without violence and bloodshed by working within the system.

"Acceptance of the status quo as permanent, were rejected out of hand — along with all other thinking South Africans," said Chief Matanzima.

"Revolutions along classical marxist lines, the

ter way of life; then my Government will do everything in its power to assist the Republican Government — and in particular Mr John Vorster, who is handling with aplomb an extremely volatile situation — to make the situation work in so far as the homelands are concerned.

"We must not precipitate a White backlash by immoderate demands and extremist posturing."

Looking into the future, Chief Matanzima, said the Transkei expected recognition of its independence by the world, and would apply for membership of all relevant international

Newsman lauds SA policy

UMTATA — Had the United Nations embodied the conscience of the world's nations, it would have applauded South Africa's policy of separate development, Mr Paul Gieniewski, a French journalist said last night.

He was speaking at the conference on the Transkei as an international entity, which has been organised by the Foreign Affairs Association.

He spoke out strongly in favour of the South African Government's policies and said that the Transkei was viable for independence.

It had more land and a greater population than many other countries who were members of the United Nations.

Yet the Transkei was unlikely to gain recognition from the UN.

Matthews denies he is after ^{ROM} 2/4/76. top Transkei job

By PATRICK LAURENCE
and STEVE KGAME

MR JOE MATTHEWS, former leading member of the banned African National Congress, yesterday denied he was a candidate — or even possible candidate — as first Attorney-General of an independent Transkei.

He described as "nonsense" reports that he was in line for the post. "I am a lawyer and not in need of a job."

Mr Matthews, Attorney-General of Botswana until the beginning of the year, went on to talk of his call at the weekend to the ANC to abandon its commitment to violence and to seek, instead, to talk to Afrikaner nationalists.

He confirmed that he regarded release of Robben Island prisoners and lifting of the ban on the ANC as pre-conditions to meaningful talks between African and Afrikaner nationalists.

Another condition was the elimination of race discrimination in South Africa.

But, it was put to Mr Matthews, race discrimination was the lynchpin of apartheid and its eradication would mean an end to the policy of denying the vote to Blacks living permanently in "White-ruled South Africa simply because they are Black."

Mr Matthews replied: "I have said in the past race discrimination is so fundamental that it can only be removed by revolution. But now the South African Government has pledged to remove race discrimination."

Mr Matthews called for recognition of the Transkei when it became independent in October.

He added that many former colonies in Africa had attained independence without a "nicely organised British election" and had still been recognised.

In an article published at the weekend, Mr Matthews referred belittlingly to the Buthelezi-Schwarz "Declaration of Faith" as an incidence of meaningless dialogue, since it did not involve Afrikaner nationalists.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, who signed the agreement with Mr Harry Schwarz, reacted angrily yesterday, challenging Mr Matthews to stop "prevaricating" and to state clearly whether he had repudiated the ANC.

But though Mr Matthews has had no connection with the ANC since 1970, when he left the executive in London to go to Botswana, his connections with the movement are as thick as blood, for it was his father, Professor Z. K. Matthews, who founded it, writes the Rand Daily Mail correspondent in London.

Kaiser wants equality for Xhosas in SA

21/4/76

UMTATA — An independent Transkei would expect South Africa to grant the same deal to Xhosas living there as was offered to European immigrants, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima said yesterday.

Opening the Foreign Affairs Association conference on the Transkei, Chief Kaiser spoke of the millions of blacks living in South Africa and of his hopes for them.

"Our ties of blood and citizenship with these people will not be broken, but their interest in the domestic politics of an independent Transkei may be expected gradually to wane and increasingly become comparable with that of, say, South African Jews in the affairs of Israel."

He defined the attitude of South African Jews toward Israel as one of "benevolent concern and, in times of danger, even voluntary patriotism," but largely divorced from their immediate economic and political aspirations.

"We expect that the Republican Government will not regard independence for the Transkei as the last word on blacks in general and Transkeians in particular in South Africa.

"On the contrary, we expect white South Africans to make their lives at least as acceptable as those of foreigners of European extraction living and working in the Republic."

On recognition for an independent Transkei, Chief Kaiser said the Transkei met three of the "classic criteria" for statehood — defined boundaries, a settled population, a stable government and exercise of effective control.

"On October 26 it will meet the fourth criterion,

torates — all of whom were accorded recognition.

In an assessment of the Transkei's chances of recognition, South African-born Prof Jack Spence, of the University of Leicester, gave the Transkei little chance of immediate success.

However, individual Western states might see some advantage in unilateral recognition.

One argument for recognition was that it would accelerate change in South Africa, with economic investment in the Bantustans eroding the apartheid foundation. -- DDC.



CHIEF KAISER . . . treat them like whites.

In spite of that, the Transkei had been told in advance by the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity that it would be denied recognition.

He described that attitude as "gross discrimination" since the Transkei had reached independence via the same path of peaceful negotiation as the former protec-

Guardian backing for aid to Transkei

LONDON — The Transkei would not immediately conform to Western concepts of democracy, but it would continue to need foreign help, trade and goodwill, the Guardian newspaper said yesterday.

The reason for foreign suspicions was that the Transkei was one of the "homelands" deemed in the system of apartheid to be the actual home of blacks "temporarily" resident in the white South African cities, the editorial said.

"However much of this

scepticism may be justified by the fear of lending support to apartheid, it does less than justice to the people of the Transkei who are about to escape from that system.

"The Transkei is not a recent invention brought into being as a national homeland for the Xhosa-speaking people: it was their homeland before the British annexed it to the Cape Colony 90 years ago and it has been so ever since."

The Transkei had "the qualities which characterise nationhood and have been agreed to do so elsewhere in Africa." It "will be forced into greater reliance on South Africa to the extent that other countries refuse their good offices."

The Guardian concluded: "It will be unjust if, because of its history, the Transkei is to be found guilty by association." — SAPA.

103

Transkei needs industry, says RAU professor

By PATRICK LAURENCE
UMTATA. — An independent Transkei would be largely dependent on industrial growth to provide work for its growing population, Professor Simon Brand, of Rand Afrikaans University said yesterday.

But the establishment of industries in the Transkei had so far produced disappointing results, he told the foreign affairs conference on the Transkei.

The annual inflow of men and women on to the labour market was currently running at about 26 000 and many had to become migrant labourers — 25 per cent of economically active men were absent from the Transkei, one of the highest absentee ratios in the homelands.

Prof Brand quoted figures which underlined the relatively few Transkeians who had found work in industry.

● From its foundation in 1965 to March 1975, the Xhosa Development Foundation (XDC) had provided work for about 2 100 Black Transkeians.

● Since the opening of the Transkei to White industrialists acting as agents of the XDC, a fur-

ther 3 530 Blacks had found industrial work.

Thus in the decade 1965 to 1975 industrial development had generated some 5 630 jobs — against an annual need of 26 000 jobs all told.

But in spite of the "measure of disillusionment with industrialisation, the Transkei has little choice but to rely rather heavily on industrial development to provide work for its peoples."

One reason was that improvement in agriculture — and there was much debate on how that should be brought about — was likely to provide less work, not more.

As Prof Brand put it: "Most studies of Transkei agriculture tend to indicate that a successful re-structure of the country's agriculture would release rather than absorb labour."

(As long ago as 1954, the Tomlinson Commission commended that half the population should be moved off the land in the interests of agricultural growth.)

One of the causes for the failure of industry to provide more people with work was that industrialists tended to use the same capital-intensive production methods as those used in the Witwatersrand and its sister industrial areas, Prof Brand said.

'Time to raise farming output'

UMTATA. — The Transkei had vast agricultural potential, and now was the time to solve the problems impeding farming development, the Director of Agriculture in the Transkei, Mr P. M. Mbokodi, said in Umtata yesterday.

Mr Mbokodi was addressing a Foreign Affairs Association symposium, which is being attended by delegates from America, Britain, Germany, France, Israel, Taiwan and South Africa.

Mr Mbokodi — one of the first agriculture graduates from the University of Fort Hare — told delegates that, although its agricul-

tural potential was the Transkei's most important asset and contributed about 35 per cent of its gross domestic product, it was still developed to only three to five per cent of its potential.

Main problems were lack of capital and lack of co-operation from tribal leaders. Mr Mbokodi suggested that some form of credit should be made available to farmers, with proper guidance on how the money should be spent.

Rural areas had to be made more financially attractive to halt the drift of young men to the cities. — Sapa.

103

15 die as epidemic follows the floods

Own Correspondent

DD
22/4/76
UMTATA. — Fifteen people have died after an epidemic of measles and whooping cough in the Ngancule district of the Transkei, which has been cut off by floods for the last two weeks.

The Transkei's Minister of Health, Chief J. D. Moshesh, said yesterday the floods had hampered the work of medical teams.

The people of Ngancule are reported to be still marooned after a bridge

over the Tsomo River was swept away.

A cable-way has been built across the river to send in food.

A health official was flown in by a South African Army helicopter and a landing strip was marked out.

A short take-off and landing aircraft then flew in a medical team which immunised all children. Two people were flown to hospital in Butterworth.

Transkei needs land ^{STAR} reform _{22/4/76}

103

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — An American economist and a Transkeian agriculturalist have appealed for urgent reform of the land tenure system which they claimed was keeping the territory from realising its huge agricultural potential.

Both experts made their pleas in papers delivered at the Foreign Affairs Association conference in Umtata yesterday.

Professor Gilbert Rutman of Southern Illinois University said that while most economists advocated the initiation of subsistence farming as the first step to development he felt this traditional form of agriculture could be made productive with a few changes.

Said Professor Rutman: "The lack of growth is not due to the conservative attitude of the African towards innovation or an unusual emphasis on the non-materialistic aspects of life."

The Transkei's Director of Agriculture, Mr P Mbokodi, said that because of the land tenure system, land in the territory had never been regarded as a negotiable or commercial asset.

"This system allows every married male to have a piece of land.

"The farming units had thus become too small to support a rising standard of living," Mr Mbokodi said.

● The Transkei will have to rely heavily on industries to provide the 26 000 new jobs a year needed to prevent a net migration of workers, said Dr S. S. Brand, deputy economic adviser to the Prime Minister, at a conference organised by the Foreign Affairs Association last night.

WORRYING GAP FOR TRANSKEI LAND USAGE

Mercury Reporter NM 22/4/76

UMTATA — The gap between population growth and food production in the Transkei was widening every day and it was "extremely urgent" that it be closed, the Director of Agriculture, Mr. P. M. Mbokodi, said here yesterday.

Presenting a paper to the Foreign Affairs Conference, Mr. Mbokodi said the Transkei's problem was a human one involving the change from subsistence to market farming.

He criticised the traditional system of land tenure which had "serious defects" for market farming.

"The farming unit becomes too small. There is a lack of formal title, causing insecurity and an inability to raise capital.

"Communal grazing makes the implementation of livestock improvement programmes very difficult.

"But a complete somersault to a freehold system is not advocated.

"Some kind of compromise might be considered," he said.

"People could be required to pay rent for their land yet be guaranteed security under a leasehold authority.

"Any new land acquired from the White areas should not be carved up into small sub-economic units but be run as a large estate on an economic basis," Mr. Mbokodi said.

Only about 20 percent of the Transkei was being cultivated and although food production was urgent, the people did not see it that way.

Mr. Mbokodi stressed that the problem of agriculture was linked to the social problem.

"The Transkei has the technical knowledge and the human resources, but they are not being applied to the land," he said.

In another paper, Professor Gilbert Rutman, professor of economics at the Southern Illinois University in America, suggested that two sets of ownership rights should be granted — one to arable land and the other to a share of the commonage.

The two sets of rights could be held separately and could be sold or leased.

The right to the use of arable land should be regulated by the Government on the basis of types of crops and methods of farming. A person who made permanent improvement to the land should be compensated.

On the commonage, the Government should specify the number of cattle each range could carry, Professor Rutman said.

This would in turn lead to a greater level of agricultural productivity.

Arabs enslaving blacks — writer

22/4/76 DD.

UMTATA — The Arab states are buying the black man into slavery, a French writer, Mr Paul Giniewski, has warned the Transkei.

Mr Giniewski delivered a paper on the Transkei in the international community at the Foreign Affairs Association's conference in Umtata.

The Transkei should be well aware of the purpose of the United Nations resolution of 1975 calling on members not to recognise the Transkei, he said. It was aimed at Pretoria.

"The purpose is clearly to prevent the peaceful de-colonialisation of South Africa and to hinder the establishment of normal relations between Pretoria and the African continent.

"Southern Africa should be protected from order and remain in turmoil. This is a necessary condition for big power intervention, paving the way for domination."

This did not mean the whole international community was against the Transkei, Mr Giniewski said. It meant that the whole international community had been outvoted by oil.

Historically the Transkei had a right to in-

dependence. The position of the Transkei was in no way different from the position of the many colonies liberated from colonial powers.

"What is different is the nature of the colonial power. In this respect, white South Africa is unique. It is a motherland with her colonies inside her territory.

"Therefore South Africa had to learn how to de-colonialise in an unprecedented way."

Mr Giniewski asked whether the policy of separate development would procure the best quality of liberty for the South African homelands.

"We have no right to want the younger African states to be cleaner, better ruled and more pacific than our old democracies. We, the European nations, have no right to criticise certain rulers when we ourselves have had out our Adolf Hitlers.

"How could we ask from the younger states in Africa that they should at once possess the wisdom we attained after cen-

turies of evolution and progress? The wisdom we sometimes did not attain at all?" — DDR.

Matthews under attack from BPC

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

The Black People's Convention has called on all blacks and leaders of black states to condemn what they call Mr Joe Matthews' "bootlicking statement" meant to buy his return to South Africa.

The BPC publicity secretary here, Mr Ray Currie, said Mr Matthews' utterances left no doubt he was trying to justify his apparently imminent return to this country to work in the Transkei.

He accused Mr Matthews of buying his ticket at the expense of blacks who were daily subjected to agonising experiences because of the Bantustans system.

We commend the statement made by Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana hitting out at Mr Matthews," Mr Currie said.

"There is a dire need for all African leaders and all blacks to come out against such sellouts who promote a system whose only manifestation in so far as

black people are concerned has been hunger, squalor and denial of basic human rights.

"The Transkei independence is only a hard reality to men like Matthews who are prepared to cringe on their bellies and men whose only view of 'working for a peaceful solution' is that of collecting crumbs from under the white man's table," Mr Currie said. — DDR.

103

23/4/76

Kissinger is rebuked by

US visitor

23/4/76.
STAR

Multinational development can, and is working, and the American Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, is prejudging the issue by not coming to the Transkei to see for himself.

This view was expressed in Johannesburg yesterday

Fears on German attitude

Staff Reporter

UMTATA — The quality of West Germany's relations with many countries in Africa was threatened by its relations with Pretoria — and many people feared a further deterioration if it gave diplomatic recognition to the homelands.

This was said last night by Dr Klaus von der Ropp, a prominent West German political scientist, when he spoke at a conference organised by the Foreign Affairs Association.

"It is to be doubted whether Pretoria, propagating the policy of separate development and expecting us to go along with it, realises that to support this policy could easily harm our interests," he said.

day by Professor Valentine Belfiglio, of the Texas Women's University, who is visiting South Africa as a guest of the South African Foreign Affairs Association.

A lecturer in international politics, Professor Belfiglio has been attending the three-day Umtata conference called to discuss the position of the Transkei as an international entity.

He said the Transkei was a territory which possessed "the classic criteria necessary for any emerging state," and there was no doubt of its economic and political potential.

WISE CHOICE

Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, he said, had given Blacks a new dignity and had made a "very wise choice in leading the Transkei to independence."

Birth control 'anathema'

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — Birth control programmes were anathema to Blacks, who saw them as attempts by Whites to narrow the population gap, the University of Natal's Professor L Schlemmer said here.

He was discussing the role of human resources in Africa's economic development at the Foreign Affairs Association conference yesterday.

For the Transkei to become economically viable, however, foreign assistance was vital, and this would have to be coupled with overcoming traditional habits as well as the collectivisation of agricultural methods.

MISTAKE

The professor said it was a pity that Dr Kissinger, or Senator Edward Kennedy's two fact-finding aides, Mr Robert Hunter and Mr Bob Bates, did not intend visiting the Transkei.

"I think they are making a mistake by not coming to take a first-hand look themselves," he said.

Recognition by the international community would probably not follow immediately after independence, but the professor said he felt the Transkei would eventually gain the acceptance "it richly deserves."

Suspicion of White motives was one of the reasons why they resisted certain attempts to help develop Black areas, particularly the homelands, said Professor Schlemmer. He went on:

"Consider the problems of mounting a family planning programme in kwaZulu or the Transkei."

Another problem in developing these territories

Transkei blueprint

Try World Court, says Rhodie

UMTATA — The possibility of the Transkei taking the United Nations recognition refusal to the World Court was mentioned last night by Professor Nic Rhodie, head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Pretoria.

Speaking at a conference organised by the Foreign Affairs Association, Professor Rhodie claimed the United Nations was imposing double standards on the Transkei. The solution to the Transkei's admission to the United Nations might lie in taking the matter to the World Court at The Hague.

Interviewed after he



MR RHODIE

spoke, Professor Rhodie said he did not know if such an attempt would be successful.

"I am not a lawyer, but I feel that we should explore every avenue to help the Transkei gain world recognition. I think our legal men should investigate this possibility."

was that of wage inequality. How could homeland governments justify setting wage standards by what they could afford, when the standards were set in South Africa's highly developed industrial core?

"No administration can seal off the norms and standards emanating from South Africa when huge proportions of its population work there anyway."

Professor Schlemmer said. With the evidence from the Third World, there was no excuse for a government not recognising that indications of growth did not necessarily mean development.

Unless such growth was rapid enough to draw a larger proportion of people off the land, and out of the schools and employment, few observers were likely to be impressed.

103

Row over acquisitions

Matanzimas move on to White farms

Own Correspondent
UMTATA — A public explanation has been demanded from the Transkei Government about the Matanzima brothers' acquisition of White farms bought for R400 000 by the South African Government.

The demand comes in the form of several blunt questions tabled in the Transkei Assembly yesterday by the leader of the opposition Mr Knowledge Guzana.

Mr Guzana's questions arise from newspaper disclosures last week that Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima and his brother, Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, had moved on to the two farms bought by the Bantu Trust for a Transkei Development Corporation beef and dairy project.

The acquisitions by the Matanzimas have caused a furore among the White



CHIEF KAISER MATANZIMA



MR GEORGE MATANZIMA

farmers in the district who were told by the Government that their properties were needed for the project, which would be run by White overseers of the TDC.

The Daily News in Durban has since learned that two more chiefs have claimed farms in this rich Sweetveld region. Alarmed by the growing number of acquisitions, the farmers have appointed a delegate to take their complaints directly to the South African Government.

Meanwhile in Umtata the Matanzimas have been silent about the Press dis-

closures. The Chief Minister has been unavailable and Chief George yesterday claimed he was too busy to answer the allegations. No denials were made.

In a brief interview Chief George said, "this is an interesting matter and I would have liked to have had a long discussion with you, but I'm afraid that there is no time for this."

Now the Minister of the Interior, Miss Stella Sigcau, has been saddled with the problem. She will have to answer Mr Guzana's questions in the Assembly on Tuesday.

Transkei realities spelt out

5 TIMES
25/4/76

By J. H. P. SERFONTEIN

THE legal and political problems the Transkei faces in its fight for recognition as an independent state seem almost insurmountable.

This was made clear this week in Umtata by Professor Jack Spence, Professor of International Relations at the University of Leices-ter, a former South Afri-

can, and by Dr Klaus von der Ropp, senior researcher in the foundation affiliated to the office of the West German Chancellor, known for his moderate views on South Africa. They delivered two pa-

pers on the international

tacit approval of the homelands policy.

Professor Spence said that, apart from anti-South Africa sentiments, there were sound reasons against Transkeian independence based on certain universal-ly accepted norms which were not aimed specifically at South Africa.

He said that if self-determination was a legal right, then there were cer-tain grounds on which it could be legally denied.

In the past 30 years the principle of self-determina-tion had come to be asso-ciated with the eradication of colonial rule. According to UN theory and prac-tice, self-determination was only relevant if it did not damage human rights in the territory concerned

and was consistent with a UN commitment to elimi-nate racial discrimination.

Professor Spence also warned that because in the past self-determination elsewhere had been achiev-ed "in a colonial context" the claims of South Africa that independence in the Transkei was a process of "decolonialisation" would be rejected.

This was so because the policy of separate develop-ment "has been regarded by the Republic's critics as, at best, a rationalisa-tion of a policy of racial discrimination and, at worst, a deliberate at-tempt to deceive the out-side world about the con-sequences of apartheid.

He could not see the UN accepting a Transkei in-

dependence so long as the great majority of the states at the UN subscrib-ed to an interpretation of international law which in-sists on making a clear connection between the principle of human rights, especially with regard to the practice of racial dis-crimination.

Dr Von der Ropp said that West Germany and other Western countries would for political reasons, and because of their self-interest, never consider the recognition of the Transkei unless it was approved by the OAU. West Germany's close relationship with South Africa was already affecting its ties with African countries and the Third World.

① 103
② Health Dis - V.D.

More VD: a case of easy sex

DAIC-1 Disp (Indaba) 2/14/76

By Sydney Moses

Veneral disease is on the increase in the rural areas of the Transkei.

Grey-heads attribute this to the laxity in the stringent application of the Xhosa moral code. This has led to sexual freedom among the youth.

Young people are said to be ignoring the "metsha" custom of external play and are indulging in the real thing.

The custom of "ukuhlola" — regular inspection of young girls to see if they are still virgins by old women — is dying out. Modern people regard this practice as un-

christian and barbaric.

Red-blanketed people still insist on "ukuhlola." This custom has deterred young girls from love meetings.

The Umtata municipal health officer, Dr J. H. Hofmeyr, confirmed that VD disease had been rare in the country areas. "It all ties up with modern city life and easy sex," he said.

It was a social disease and an attempt at assessing the incidence of VD in the Transkei had been made.

About seven percent of all Transkeians have veneral disease and of the women known to have

psyllhills in the Umtata area 42 percent are under 18.

These statistics were revealed in a paper read by Dr Hofmeyr at the Transkei and Ciskei Research Society's congress in East London.

He said the information was gathered with the help of other doctors and hospital superintendents in the Transkei.

"The incidence of V.D. in the Transkei is high," Dr Hofmeyr said. "It almost certainly going to go up."

Health education had helped to dispel Xhosa beliefs about the disease

but there had been no change in their sex habits, nor was any effort being made to bring in the "pool" of infected women for treatment. More males report for treatment.

Clinics to deal specifically with veneral disease have been established in each district in the Transkei and patients can be treated in all hospitals in the territory.

An official of the Transkeian Department of Health said there was no epidemic of the disease in the Transkei. Veneral disease was being treated like all other diseases that were common.

Missions

STAR
lose 2/4/76

farms

Own Correspondent

Umtata — White-dominated Christianity was dealt a bitter torrent of abuse in the Transkei Assembly after which it was unanimously resolved to take over all mission farms in the territory, specifically those at Umzimkulu on the Natal border.

The motion was introduced by Mr E V Ndame, who recently deserted the opposition Democratic Party to join the governing party of Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima.

He demanded the Transkei Government take over the mission farms including Clydesdale, Etembeni and Lourdes at Umzimkulu "so as to alleviate the financial suffering of all the people domiciled on such farms."

NOT A CENT

"They never paid a cent for these farms — they were handed to them by our chiefs — yet they have now created slaves of our people."

"We are keeping a very covetous eye on the whole of South Africa which belongs to the Blacks. The three mission stations belonged to the Catholic, Methodist and Anglican churches."

(103)
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① ~~312 - General~~

② (103)

Nelson Mandela may

SUN. TRIBUNE 4/4/76

go free

By DICK USHER

CHIEF Gataha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, last night welcomed reports that the Government is considering the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners from Robben Island.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, was quoted in the Sunday Express as saying the Department of Prisons had been asked to submit reports on the matter after receiving a request from the Transkei Government for the release of Xhosa political prisoners.

"We are definitely considering it," he was quoted as saying. He added that the Transkei is seeking the amnesty as part of its independence celebrations.

Chief Buthelezi said he hoped the Government would do it.

"As you know, I have been petitioning the Government about this for years. If it is true there will be great jubilation whatever the terms of release.

"I hope the Minister will do this — it would do the Government a lot of good . . . It could even do it for selfish reasons."

Chief Buthelezi said it was well known there is mutual esteem between himself and the political prisoners on Robben Island.

He declined to comment on whether he would be prepared to take one or more of the men — if freed — into his Government.

Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, yesterday referred to Mr Mandela as "my uncle" and said he would naturally step down if his people wanted Mr Mandela as their leader.

"This is a very delicate affair and I cannot comment in any detail. But you can be assured we want these men to go free in the Transkei."

Dilemma

In Johannesburg, Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the prisoner, said before leaving for Durban that a decision to release her husband would place him in a terrible dilemma.

"He is considered a national leader, not a tribal leader, but of course I cannot speak for him. He can only make up his mind for himself."

She said that if he were freed but allowed only in the Transkei, she did not know how he would react.

"That would be his decision — perhaps he would just return to his cell."

News by Dick Usher, 2001st Street, Durban.

① 103

② 312 - Grant

Mandela call no link with independence

CAPR TIMES
5/4/76

The Argus Political Staff

THE Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, said today the Transkei Government's request for the release of the former African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, is not connected with Transkei independence negotiations.

The Minister of Justice, Mr J. J. Kruger, confirmed in an interview that the Transkei's request was the first official approach for the release of Mandela, and said he would make a full public statement after he had replied to the Transkei Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

Approached today on whether the call for Mandela's release was part of the Transkei independence negotiations, Mr Botha said: 'It has nothing to do with it. It is in no way linked with the coming independence. It is not part and parcel of that.'

Mr Kruger, who is considering the Transkei's request, which was passed on to him by the Department of Bantu Administration, said he had called for the files of Mandela so he could give a full answer to Chief Matanzima.

When he had given that reply, he would make a full statement.

Weekend reports that Mandela might be released were 'purely speculative,' he said.

Mr Kruger would not comment further on the matter.

In political circles Chief Matanzima's request for Mandela's release is seen as posing problems.

Although Mandela, who is now 57 years old, is widely recognised as a 'political prisoner,' he does not fall into the same category as Rhodesia's ANC leaders who were released.

CRIMINAL OFFENCE

Mandela was found guilty of a criminal offence and sentenced to life imprisonment by the courts.

The Government would also have to consider whether it would be doing the Transkei Government a favour by releasing a man they regard as a hard-line communist to a territory on the verge of independence.

Mandela is regarded as the mastermind behind the Rivonia case terrorist Campaign in South Africa in the mid-1960s.

DEATH SENTENCE

And as near to you
hair as you can get
M'Lord take particular pride
Hairpieces, because each
personally supervised by th
qualified owners, themselves
have a full of Diplomas
their ability and who have
such a fine reputation
stitched meticulously, creat
ducts that they can't afford
dissatisfied customer
Try a M'Lord yourself the
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(18103)
② 312 General

Mandela must stay, Kruger decides

RDM
10/4/76

By PATRICK LAURENCE
and ZWELAKHE SISULU
A TRANSKEIAN request for the release of Xhosa prisoners from Robben Island to the Transkei has been turned down by the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger.

Mr Kruger said yesterday: "Due to continual Press inquiries and Press speculation with regard to the request of the Chief Minister of the Transkei, I have decided to announce that after careful consideration, it was decided not to grant amnesty to prisoners of Transkeian origin.

"This naturally includes those on Robben Island."

The request for amnesty for the prisoners to mark the birth of an independent

Transkei in October aroused a great deal of interest because the three "top" Robben Island prisoners are Xhosas.

They are Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, all leading members of the banned African National Congress.

Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei was not available for comment last night, and his brother Chief George, the Transkeian Minister of Justice, declined to comment, saying: "We have not been informed officially."

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, said she was not surprised by the decision.

"It was a futile exercise which would not have been acceptable to Nel-

son. He was elected by the people as a national leader, not a tribal one."

"He did not participate in the discussions on his fate and had he been released under conditions restricting him to the Transkei, I am sure he would have gone back to jail of his own accord."

Miss Lindiwe Sisulu, daughter of Sisulu, said: "I am confident my father would not have accepted conditions restricting him to the Transkei. He regarded himself as a South African."

The Transkeian Leader of the Opposition, Mr Knowledge Guzana, said: "I have my reservations about whether Mandela would have fallen into line."

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu said: "The amnesty would have given Transkeian independence some respectability."

Mrs Helen Suzman of the Progressive Reform Party said: "amnesty would have been an imaginative and compassionate step" and a "plus factor in the Transkei's bid for recognition."

Carry on talking, Matanzima told

Staff Reporter

HOMELAND leaders have urged continued negotiations for the release of Xhosa prisoners from Robben Island to the Transkei.

Some said if necessary, they would personally appeal to the authorities.

The KwaZulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said: "I have raised the question of Robben Island prisoners several times before, and I intend doing so again at the first opportunity. I don't consider the matter closed and I appeal to the authorities to reconsider their decision."

Without the release of the prisoners the independence of the Transkei would have little credibility, he said.

Lebowa's Chief Minister, Dr Cedric Phatudi, said he was disappointed the prisoners were not to be freed.

Talks should be resumed in the best interests of the Transkei and the country, he said.

"I thought this was the most opportune time for a review of the prisoners on Robben Island, and I hope this chance will not be lost.

"They are being kept in jail for saying what we, the homeland leaders, are saying now. A review on the position is long overdue."

He hoped the decision by the Minister of Justice would not close the door to further negotiations.

Professor Hudson Ntsawisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, said it was a pity the request for the release of the prisoners had been turned down as it would have boosted Transkeian independence.

Chief Matanzima should continue to strive for the release of the Robben Island prisoners, he said.

But he should also put the detainees' thinking

1 103
2 312 - General



Mourners at the Paramount Chief's funeral. His widow is on the right.

20/4/76

DD

Thousands mourn Chief Sandile

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Thousands of people from various parts of South Africa attended the funeral of the Paramount Chief of the Rarabes, Paramount Chief Mxolisi Sandile, in perfect weather at Mngqesha, near here yesterday.

And as the body was laid to rest at Heroes Hill, next to his father's grave, part of old tradition was recalled when four men from the Ngwevu clan entered the grave first to receive the R600 casket specially ordered from Cape Town.

The burial place is at the top of a hill, five kilometres by road from the chief's home near a ravine below.

It was explained later that Xhosa tradition about

the burial of chiefs was that a member of the Ngwevu clan was actually buried with the chief. In this case, the men were only in the grave to receive the casket and settle it at the side of the grave.

The funeral service was conducted by the Rev. E. M. Hopa, of the Order of Ethiopia, from Port Elizabeth.

Speakers included both the Transkei and Ciskei Chief Ministers, a representative of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr J. Serfontein, the King of the Xhosas, Paramount Chief Xolilizwe Sigcau, from Kentani, the Leader of the Opposition in the Ciskei

Legislative Assembly, Chief Justice Mabandla, the late Paramount Chief's representative in the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, Mr I. L. Sangotsha and Chief D. D. P. Ndamase of Western Pondoland.

**Row at funeral
More pictures page 11**

Also read at the funeral was a message from former Commissioner-General of the Xhosa National Unit, Mr Hans Abraham.

Paramount Chief Xolilizwe announced it had been decided the late paramount chief's wife, Mrs Nolizwe Sandile, would act as regent and

that Chief Ford Mpangele who was regent for the late chief's son, Maxhobayakhawuleza, at Emgwali, would continue until another decision was taken.

Former Ciskei Minister of Education, Chief S. Burns Ncamashe, said the death of the "eighth king in the Rarabe and Phalo right hand house, had shown in the last few days there was bloodshed coming."

He hoped the dead chief would convey the message to his forefathers.

The Ciskei Chief Minister stated the casket and the general funeral parlour expenses would be paid by the Ciskei Government. — DDR.

① 103
② 105

29/4/76

The Star Wednesday A

Anthony Hose
The Star Bureau

PARIS—A mission from the Transkei, headed by the Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, is due to arrive in Paris at the end of this month to sound out French intentions for investment in the new state when it becomes independent next October.

This was revealed here by the Transkeian diplomatic representative in Paris, 54-year-old Mr King N Mdleleni.

"That will be my big moment," he said, beaming in the warm spring sunshine. And it will be through no fault of Mr Mdleleni if the visit is not a success.

It is hoped that a large congress of French businessmen and industrialists will be invited

Transkei to woo French

to meet Chief Matanzima and in fact it will be the Transkei's first big "independent" gesture to France.

For the meeting is to be held entirely independently of the South African Embassy where Mr Mdleleni has been preparing for Independence Day.

But he was the first to admit that there were still some big "ifs" to the whole question of recognition. If France does in fact acknowledge the Transkei as a sovereign and independent state then it is likely that Mr Mdleleni, who was once a milk delivery roundsman in Cape Town, will be

his country's first envoy to France.

"I'm not sure what my Government has in mind but we regard France as very important and naturally we would see strong representation here," he said.

At present four other "embryo" ambassadors of the Transkei are working in South African embassies abroad, two in Washington, one in London and another in Bonn.

Asked whether the Transkei would apply for membership of the OAU and the United Nations, Mr Mdleleni replied "without doubt." But he said he was the first to realise that the going

was not expected to be easy. "I have made many contacts here while I have been in Paris since last September.

"I have spoken with American diplomats, foreign office people and representatives of African and European states. I have already had to put up with being called a 'traitor' by some people, but I reply I am a civil servant and that politics is no concern of mine. Our one, big goal is independence for the Transkei."

When asked if by joining the OAU, the Transkei would have to involve itself in the support of liberation movements in Africa, Mr Mdleleni agreed, but was quick to point out that "we are just panting to show the world we are going to take our own line and formulate our own policies."

1 103
2 69

Botswana rejects Matthews's views

Africa Bureau

GABORONE. — The office of the President of Botswana has issued a statement following an interview by a former top Government official, Mr Joe Matthews, with a South African Sunday newspaper.

According to the statement, the views expressed by Mr Matthews do not in any way reflect the Botswana Government's policy.

"It will be recalled that

Mr Matthews was until recently a senior officer in the Botswana public service," said the statement.

"Needless to say, Mr Matthews's views regarding the situation in South Africa bear no relation whatsoever to the Government's policy on the matter.

"Unlike Mr Matthews, the Botswana Government completely rejects the Bantustan policy of the

Government of South Africa.

"As the President, Sir Seretse Khama, said in his address to the ruling Botswana Democratic Party Congress last Saturday, the Botswana Government does not believe that the future of South Africa lies in balkanization or institutionalized apartheid in the form of so-called independent Bantustans.

"The Bantustan policy is impracticable, unfair and inhuman. For this reason, the Botswana Government and indeed the people of Botswana (with the exception of Mr Matthews) will not have anything to do with it."

The statement further said: "Mr Matthews believes that following the exit of the Portuguese from Africa it is necessary to use armed struggle as the only means of producing meaningful changes in South Africa."

UNDERSTANDS

It concluded by saying that "The Government of Botswana has on a number of occasions stated that it deplores violence as a means of resolving the problems of Southern Africa. But the Government understands the decision of the liberation movements to resort to violence, and it cannot believe that the Portuguese presence in Africa was responsible for the 50 fruitless years which the ANC spent trying to bring about change in South Africa by peaceful means.

"Moreover, if the Rhodesian experience is anything to go by, the Portuguese exit from Africa does not seem to have as much significance for the White minority Government of Southern Africa as Mr Matthews believes it has."

① 101
② 103
③ 12

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② 103

Xhosas in SA to be citizens of Transkei

The Argus Correspondent

UMTATA. — More than a million Blacks living in White South Africa will become citizens of the Transkei whether they want to or not.

This is spelt out in the long-awaited Transkei Constitution Bill published in the Government Gazette today.

Furthermore, South Africa's Immorality, Mixed Marriages, Terrorism, Suppression of Communism acts and the controversial Emergency Proclamation R. 400 have been retained in the draft constitution for the first African homeland to be granted independence.

Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima has clearly bowed to Pretoria on the issue of citizenship of Xhosas and Sothos living in White South Africa.

But the 27-man 'Recess Committee' appointed to study the provisions of the constitution is understood to have stood firm to the last on giving Blacks outside of its border the right to choose citizenship.

ALL RACES

Citizenship is to be opened to all races. The only qualification is that they must have been domiciled residents of the Transkei for five years.

The constitution further makes provision for the Transkei to become 'a sovereign independent republic wherein all its citizens and all others who dwell lawfully within its borders are assured of social, political and economic justice, freedom of speech, assembly and worship and unimpeded access to and equality before the law.'

In spite of these assurances a Bill of Rights is specifically not included in the constitution.

The Bill provides for the repeal of many regulations which foster racial discrimination. Among the laws especially repealed by it are the Group Areas Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

4-217
2-703
3-239

'Stateless' Xhosas in the cities?

ROM

24/4/76

By PATRICK LAURENCE

UMTATA. — Publication of the draft Transkei Independence Constitution yesterday focuses attention on a crucial issue of South African politics — the position of urban Africans.

The constitution seems to explicitly confer Transkei citizenship on all urban Africans of Transkeian origin — except for those of mixed tribal origin, whom the Transkei may be able to reject as not eligible for Transkei citizenship.

Contrary to the wording of the constitution, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima insisted yesterday that Africans of Transkeian origin living permanently in South African cities would be given a choice of whether to become Transkei citizens or not.

Either way the dilemma posed by urban Africans is highlighted. If — as would seem to be the case — they are deemed to be Transkei citizens, they will be denied political rights in South Africa as "foreign citizens".

If — as seems less likely — they are given the choice, those who decide against Transkeian citizenship will be left in a limbo. These people, Chief Matanzima said, would be the "indaba" of South Africa.

But both the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and his "ambassador" in Umtata, Mr Dante Potgieter, have made it clear they will not be given South African

citizenship — which means they will be stateless.

Mr Vorster has said that as far as the South African Government is concerned, all Africans in South Africa are citizens of one or other homeland.

But will urban Transkeians, like their fellow Blacks in urban areas, be content to be either involuntary citizens of a homeland, or stateless people?

As homeland citizens, they are expected to exercise political rights in a homeland far away from their place of work and recreation.

As stateless people, they are presumably expected to exercise their political aspirations.

Having decided against homeland citizenship, they are presumed to have accepted the consequences and forego their political rights.

But they will not fall into line as meekly as that. They do have political aspirations.

Dr Erich Leistner, deputy director of the semi-official Africa Institute, recognised this when he warned on the eve of publication of the Transkei Constitution that the Witwatersrand would become a contested area between Whites and Blacks and that the homeland policy would not end the race problem in South Africa.

Publication of the constitution is a watershed in the policy on which so many hopes have been invested as the "solution" to the race problem.

Conflict over Kei citizenship

CAPR TIMES 26/4/76
Political Correspondent

SHARP DIFFERENCES of interpretation on a key aspect of the Transkei's independence constitution — citizenship of Xhosa people within White South Africa — has emerged between the Governments of the Transkei and South Africa.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M C Botha, yesterday reaffirmed the South African Government's viewpoint that people of Xhosa origin would be stateless if they did not take up Transkeian citizenship after the new state's independence in October.

It is declared Government policy and a cornerstone of the separate

development ideology that all Blacks should be citizens of one or other homeland.

Mr Botha made it clear that the Government regarded the citizenship clause in the agreed Transkeian draft constitution as meaning that all Transkeians outside the homelands would be citizens of the new state.

Asked what the position would be if a Xhosa

decided not to take up Transkeian citizenship, he replied: "Then he will have no citizenship."

The Governments' interpretation of the citizenship clause is in obvious conflict with the meaning given it by the Transkei. Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima said last week that Transkeian citizenship would not be forced on the 1.3-million Xhosas living outside his territory.

The Transkei Government was merely obliged to register all Transkeians but for those living within the Republic, citizenship was optional.

It is possible that many thousands may decide not to take up Transkeian citizenship. If this happens the Government will have to find these people a way out of their political limbo within the narrow confines of the separate development policy.

REFLECTION

Meanwhile, the pro-Government newspaper, *Rapport*, yesterday called for deep reflection on both sides on the citizenship question.

Emphasizing the importance of citizenship to the individual, the newspaper said the attitude that Xhosas who did not accept Transkeian citizenship were the "indaba" of the South African Government, could be seen as a repudiation of responsibilities.

On the other hand, it was easy to say that all Xhosas outside the Transkei were the responsibility of Chief Matanzima. But, the newspaper asked: "What about those who were born here, possibly generations ago? What status does the future hold for them?"

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'Discrimination' in Transkei Bill

CAPE TIMES
28/4/76

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — To deprive Africans of Transkei origin of South African citizenship was straightforward race discrimination, Dr Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town said this week.

Dr Wilson was commenting on the Transkei Constitution Bill, which automatically confers Transkei citizenship on African's of Transkei origin living in South Africa.

Noting that some Africans of Transkei origin had lived in Cape Town since at least 1840, Dr Wilson said: "To deprive these people of South African citizenship on grounds of race is discrimination, particularly since immigrants from Europe can acquire citizenship through naturalization."

Where immigrants to European countries could acquire citizenship of

those countries by birth or naturalization, South Africa was reversing the process.

It was futile to pretend that it was differentiation, since Transkeian Africans were being denied South African citizenship because of their skin colour. That was race discrimination, Dr Wilson said.

He then reiterated a point made recently by Dr Erich Leistner of the Africa Institute — that declaring Transkei Africans Transkei citizens would not solve the race problem.

"They will not simply disappear and we will still have to learn to live to-

gether in the economic centres of South Africa."

Mr Lennox Mlonzi, a of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council, said: "I am in a difficult position. I live in Soweto and work in Johannesburg, but I have bought property in the Transkei and my father and children live there. I have to accept that I am a Transkei citizen."

CHOICE

But it was "regrettable" that Africans of Transkei origin had not been given the choice of opting for Transkei citizenship as a matter of definite preference.

He feared Transkei citizenship might make him a foreigner in South Africa and lose him his rights to permanency in Soweto.

"I am in a position to be told by the South African authorities to pack my bags and go back to the Transkei."

"If we are to be foreigners we are made vulnerable to being declared migrant labourers who have to renew their work contracts every 12 months."

REFERENDUM

Chief Gatsha Buthezi of KwaZulu said of the citizenship clauses in the bill: "It supports my view that there should be a referendum before any homelands opted for independence. It is too fundamental an issue for anything less."

Homeland independence jeopardized its citizens' right to share in the wealth of South Africa and cancelled their birth-right as South Africans.

For that reason it should not be taken without a referendum — preferably one organized by neutral observers.

One doctor serves 24 locations at Bizana

DD. 26/3/76.

There is a shortage of medical practitioners in the Transkei. This was confirmed by the Secretary for Health, Dr D. D. Arbuckle.

He was commenting on complaints by people in the Bizana district.

One black doctor serves the district which has more than 24 locations.

Dr Arbuckle said there was no resident medical practitioner at St Patrick Hospital but there was medical coverage for the vast population.

In the rural clinics patients were examined by sisters who had to decide whether to treat a patient or send it to a doctor.

In more serious cases patients were sent to Greenville Hospital in the same district.

Mr W. T. Damoyi said there were more than 60 nurses at the hospital but there was the problem of the shortage of doctors.

He appealed to the Transkei Government for help because of the number of cases in the district.

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27, 1976

Gloomy outlook for builders

27/3/76
DD

EAST LONDON — The pre-independence economic surge in the Transkei is the only thing keeping the Border building industry busy.

but what is causing concern is that there is nothing out to tender at all.

"The homemaker at the moment does not seem able to raise the deposits for homes, or they just can't afford the instalments on their bonds.

"There is nothing from province or PWD and it is on these contracts that East London survives."

"The future doesn't look rosy either. Land prices are out of all proportion to the total cost of homes and the contracts are just not coming out," Mr Faye said. — DDR.

Mr Snell said the future looked decidedly gloomy unless the government released work which was critical for East London.

"At present there is too little work and too many contractors chasing what there is so that quotations have been cut to almost unprofitable levels," Mr Snell said.

The chairman of the Border branch of the Institute of Architects, Mr Brian Watson, said the situation in East London was more bouyant than most other areas in South Africa because of the Transkei build-up.

"Architects at this stage, all seem to have work to do. Maybe they are not working at the same pressures as last year, but generally they have enough work," Mr Watson said.

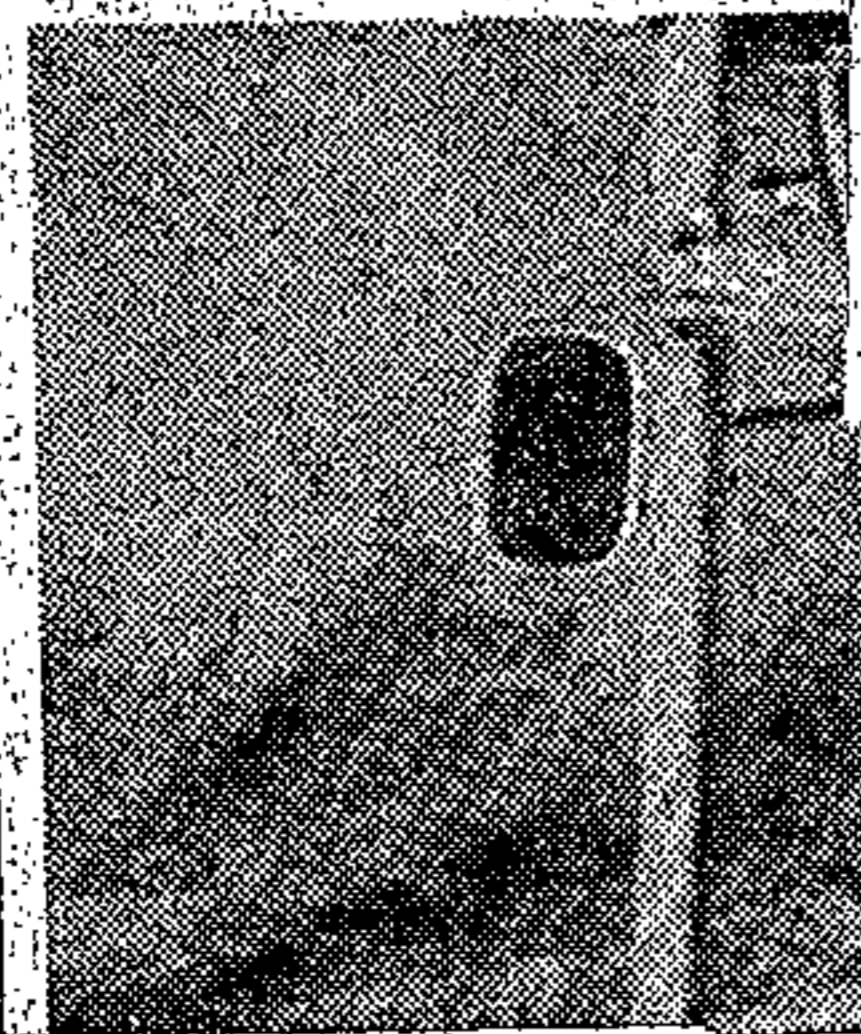
One small builder, Mr K. R. Faye, said the small builders were having a tough time.

discretion to admit the public to hearings after Mr A. Botaine (P.R.A.) had wanted all hearings to be public.

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South Africa, who has just



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Robben Isle Xhosas may go free

26/8/76.

NM.

Mercury Correspondent
UMTATA — The Commissioner-General to the Xhosa, Mr. Danie Potgieter, yesterday hinted that a deal was in the pipeline for the release of Xhosa prisoners on Robben island to the Transkei.

His hint was in response to a pledge by Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei to his ruling political party to negotiate the release of Xhosa political prisoners.

"You can quote me as Danie Potgieter but not as the Commissioner-General," Mr. Potgieter commented.

"But they are Xhosas. I see no reason why we should not give them to the Transkei. I see no reason why we should sit with the problem."

"We shall see to it that they do no mischief to us in South Africa and I think it will be a very nice independence gesture to the Transkei!"

Transfer of towns delayed

PP 10/3/76

CAPE TOWN — Two black resettlement towns on the border of the Transkei have not been transferred to the territory because the Government does not consider such a move "expedient."

The two towns, Ilinge and Ezebelini, were part of the Glen Grey district, which was recently added to the Transkei, after being excised from the Ciskei.

But in the House of Assembly yesterday, the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M. C. Botha, said their inclusion in the Transkei was "as yet not considered expedient."

The Minister was replying to a question tabled by Mr. H. E. van Rensburg (PRP, Bryanston).

Mr. Botha also told the leader of the PRP, Mr. C. W. Eglu, that "in the near future, time will tell" what the Government's intentions were with the two towns.

The amendments to the Transkei Constitution to bring parity between nominated chiefs and elected members in the territory's legislative assembly are now official.

The State President, Dr. N. Diederichs, has assented to the Transkei Constitution Amendment Bill which was approved earlier this year by both houses with the support of the two opposition parties.

Now that the amendments are law, preparations for the pre-independence elections in the Transkei can be made.

— PC

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CAPR TIMES 12/3/76

Psychiatric hospital

UMTATA. — The first psychiatric hospital in the Transkei would be opened in the Umzimkulu district on May 1, the Transkei Minister of Health, Chief

J. D. Moshesh, said in a statement here yesterday.

Chief Moshesh said the hospital would fill a great need as mental patients in the homeland had been treated previously at psychiatric hospitals in the Republic. — Sapa

Sunday Tribune.

21/3/76.

Printer presses for homelands merger

103
2/105

By BILL KRIGE

THE GOVERNMENT is urging the Transkei and Ciskei homelands to merge before independence — but the Government of Mr Lennox Sebe is refusing to play ball.

This was reliably learned from Ciskei sources who pointed out that amalgamation would probably allow the South African Government to kill two birds with one stone:

Coup

It would be a significant coup for the policy of separate development, riding Pretoria of direct responsibility for a third Bantustan — the Transkei — and to a lesser degree Bophuthatswana — being already set fair for independence.

Amalgamation might resolve the contentious issue of Transkei citizenship, something which is understood to be behind the protracted delay in officially releasing details of the Bantustans' uhuru constitution.

The Transkei has so far steadfastly refused to grant automatic citizenship to all Blacks of Xhosa or Sotho origin who were born outside the homeland and are not yet citizens of another Bantustan.

There are an estimated 500 000 Blacks in White areas who are eligible for citizenship. Should the bulk of them refuse citizenship it will present the central Government with a grave dilemma:

It would mean some formula would have to be devised to accommodate them politically where they are, in White South Africa.

The Ciskei has no limitation on citizenship and amalgamation would probably mean that all Blacks of Xhosa or Sotho origin who are already citizens of another homeland would be citizens of the Transkei republic, irrespective of whether they were born there or no.

At the congress of the ruling party, the Paramount Chief of Matanzima held a "olive branch" to the leadership with which he has been at loggerheads for the past two years. These "two sister states" he said, would "embrace" not only South Africa but also the Transkei.

Last week the Ciskei leader, Mr Lennox Sebe, flew to Cape Town to talk with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. Botha, ostensibly to discuss "budgetary difficulties". It is thought likely Botha discussed the possibility of a homeland merger.

Fed up

However, Mr Sebe and his Cabinet are adamantly opposed to a union with the Government. They are fed up with Mr Botha's way of handling the Government of the Glen Grey and Herschel districts in the Transkei.

None of the land which was promised in the 1960s has been handed over. Mr Sebe has also never forgiven Chief Matanzima for some of the remarks he has made about them.

Let my people

Mercury
Correspondent

UMTATA — Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima drew loud cheers from his National Independence Party congress yesterday when he said free pardons for Robben Island prisoners would be negotiated before independence.

"Transkeian citizens who went into exile because of fear of apprehension under Republican laws," said the Transkei's Chief Minister, "may now apply for passports and visas from our Government."

"The Republican Government will not have jurisdiction over them after October 26. I advise Transkeians who have fled the country to contact my Government if they wish to return home."

And before independence negotiations would be entered into for an amnesty or free pardon for "all of our citizens on Robben Island as a result of criminal convictions imposed by Republican courts of law," he said.

But he warned loyalty to the Government of the Transkei would be expected from all its citizens and any acts of disloyalty would be firmly controlled.

South Africa was threatened by the possibility of bloody confrontation with terrorists based in Angola and Mozambique.

"The Transkei must be

NM go

17/3/76 says

Kaiser

involved as South Africa is our diplomatic and trading partner. However, we must remain calm and watch the situation."

The Transkei people, he said, had themselves asked for independence and therefore had a right to dictate the method by which they would get it.

"To us violence, bloodshed and terrorism are not qualifications for attaining independence."

"Had we, since 1963, taken arms to fight the dominating power, the whole world would be acclaiming us. But because our process is peaceful and non-blood, we are regarded as people who are not supposed to be free."

There was not a single country in Africa, Chief Matanzima said, which got its independence as a result of military confrontation with the colonial power.

"We shall negotiate with the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity for membership. I have no reason to anticipate a reactionary attitude. It will be a shame if our own brothers, who formerly applauded the sake of oppression, snub us."

(1) 312 General
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DAILY DISPATCH 24/4/76

Kaiser to continue with land claims

UMTATA — The Transkei's draft constitution has left open the possibility of more land being added after independence.

The country is to consist of the 28 districts as well as such other land as may be added thereto.

The Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said yesterday he would continue with his land claims after independence.

He did not recognise East Griqualand, for instance, Elliot was part of Tembuland and Maclear belonged to the Pondomise. He has also claimed Kokstad and Matatiele.

But, he said, a separate provision would have to be made for amalema-

tion with the Ciskei when the time came.

Asked whether he was thinking of annexing the Ciskei, he replied: "There may well be no Ciskei after independence. You wait and see."

The constitution makes no mention of race anywhere, nor does it say whether foreigners will be allowed to buy property in the Transkei.

Khosa will be the official language, although Sesotho, English and Afrikaans may also be used.

The Transkei's constitution is unique for Africa in that it is to be passed by the Transkei Government itself after independence.

The Legislative Assembly will discuss it

next month, but will only pass it formally on October 26, the first day of independence.

The House will then adjourn and sit again straight away as the National Assembly, to elect a Speaker and a President.

The Assembly, after the general election to be held in September, will consist of 75 elected members and five paramount chiefs.

Meanwhile, Chief Kaiser's call for the transfer to the Transkei of white-owned farms in the East Griqualand and the white towns of Kokstad and Matatiele, was rejected by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr W. A. Gruywagen, in

the House of Assembly

yesterday.

The deputy minister answered Mr C. A. van Collier (CP South Coast) with a firm "No" when he was asked whether the coastal strip between Port Edward and Port Shepstone and the towns of Kokstad and Matatiele would be considered for incorporation into the Transkei or any other homeland.

Mr Gruywagen said the South African Government had not received any representations from the Transkei Government concerning the incorporation of this land into the homeland.

Ten districts will have their names changed into Xhosa. The towns in these areas will, however, not

change their names.

The new official names are: Maxesibeni (Mount Avliff), Siphahqeni (Flagstaff), Kwabhaca (Mount Frere), Gcuwa (Butterworth), Centane (Kentani), Gatyana (Willowvale), Xhora (Elliotdale), Xhora (Elliotdale), Umzimvubu (Port St Johns), Cofimvaba (St Marks) and Cacadu (Glen Grey).

Only two districts, which are in the predominantly Sotho speaking region of Maluti, retain their official English names. They are Herschel and Mount Fletcher.

The rest out of the 28 districts of the Transkei retain their vernacular names. — DDR-PCSSAPA.

From Arthur Rose

Daily Dispatch man in Umtata

Daily Dispatch
24/4/76

UMTATA — There is confusion over the question of Transkei citizenship

According to the draft Transkei constitution released here yesterday the thorny issue has not yet been sorted out and it seems it has been shelved until after independence.

The South African Government has been trying to persuade the Transkei to accept all the 1.3 million Xhosas living in the "white" areas who have some distant connection with the Transkei.

But the Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, told reporters yesterday nobody will be forced to become Transkei citizens against his will.

"Citizenship will not be automatic," he said. "A person living in Johannesburg will be able to choose whether he wants to register as a Transkei citizen. Nobody has ever been compelled to register.

"There are many people

who are Transkeians, but who are not registered now. What South Africa does with them is its own indaba."

He admitted that, as things were at present, they would probably be stateless.

Any child born in the Transkei after independence (whether black, white or Coloured) will be a citizen according to the constitution unless he is registered in another country. There is also provision for South African citizens to become Transkeians after five years in the country.

Otherwise, anyone who is at present a citizen of the Transkei or whose father was a citizen will automatically become a citizen after independence.

There is nothing in the constitution against dual

citizenship.

The South African Government, by the Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970, hoped to have every black person in the white areas classified under one or other homeland. But there are a large number who have not taken out citizenship.

The clause which has caused confusion states: "Any person who has been found in the manner to be prescribed by or under an Act of Parliament to be predominantly Xhosa-speaking or Sotho-speaking and to be a member of, or descended from, or ethnically, culturally or otherwise associated with, any tribe resident in a district of the Transkei shall be registered as and become a citizen of Transkei."

It seems that this is where Chief Matanzima still has a hold over Pretoria.

The Transkei Government's law adviser, Mr V. Zietsman, said this clause had been put in for borderline cases. Citizenship would be determined by consulta-

tion between the two governments.

A board was envisaged, consisting half of Transkei representatives and half of South Africans.

Another controversial issue is the apartheid laws to be repealed in the constitution.

A long list of laws to be scrapped, dating back to the first annexation Acts of the Cape Parliament in 1877, includes the Bantu Authorities Act and most apartheid legislation since 1948.

But the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act will still be on the statutes after independence. Security laws to be kept include the Suppression of Communism Act, the Terrorism Act and Proclamation R400, the emergency regulations for the Transkei introduced in 1960 which allow for indefinite detention without trial.

"These laws will be considered by Parliament," Chief Matanzima said. "We can't repeal them in the constitution and leave a vacuum."

The Bantu without a stan

By BILL KRIGE

THE TRANSKEI will not grant automatic citizenship to some Blacks who live in white areas.

Speaking at a news conference after the publication last week of the Transkei Constitution Bill, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima emphasised that for many Blacks of Xhosa and Sotho origin, citizenship was optional. For others it is not.

All those now citizens of the homeland will remain so and so will their children, whether they were born before or after the Transkei's independence on October 26 and irrespective of whether they live in or outside the Bantustan.

But how many of the estimated 1.3 million Xhosa, and Sotho-speaking Blacks now living in white urban and rural areas will choose not to exercise their option to register as citizens?

What South Africa did with these people was not the Transkei's business, Chief Matanzima said. If Pretoria forced them to become citizens then "we will force them right back," he said.

Of the 1.3 million Blacks outside the Transkei a great many have already registered as citizens, thereby committing their children to becoming Transkeians as well.

The matter is further complicated by the certainty that large numbers are registered as citizens of the neighbouring Ciskei homeland.

Transkei and South Africa will legislate independently this year for joint machinery to deal with citizenship "border line" cases — people whom the South African Government feels by origin belong to the Transkei or others claiming to be Transkeians whom the bantustan government feels should be the responsibility of Pretoria.

It was suggested to the SUNDAY TRIBUNE by several Black politicians here that the number could run to "scores of thousands". If this proves correct it will put South Africa in a dilemma.

There will be people who simply don't fit into the separate development scheme of things — it being a cornerstone of the policy that all Blacks, wherever they live, should be citizens of a homeland.

Unless Pretoria is prepared to leave them in a permanent political limbo, the rigid policy of separate development will have to be adapted to give them at least some say in the determination of their own affairs.

A possible indication of the size of the problem is that no Blacks living in white urban areas have taken advantage of the government's concession last year allowing them a 30-year leasehold on their properties.

The string attached by the government was that leasehold would be granted provided the applicant took out homeland citizenship.

THE OUTSIDERS

Transkeians facing life in a diplomatic limbo

ONLY a handful of countries will give the Transkei diplomatic recognition when it becomes independent in October.

And apartheid's first child being still born will bring a re-examination of separate development and racial injustice.

This was the theme of many speakers at the Foreign Affairs Association symposium in Umtata this week.

Speakers were quick to point out that all the accusations and arguments levelled at South Africa's race policies at the United

Nations will have new relevancy, immediacy and impact.

For 30 years this ideological crusade has had little influence on South Africa's policies. But now South Africa finds itself relying on the outside world to recognise

the legitimacy of its policies.

Leicester University Professor Jack Spence explained that recognition would not just be the formal acceptance of the birth of a new state. It would imply moral approval of the Transkei as a

product of apartheid, he said.

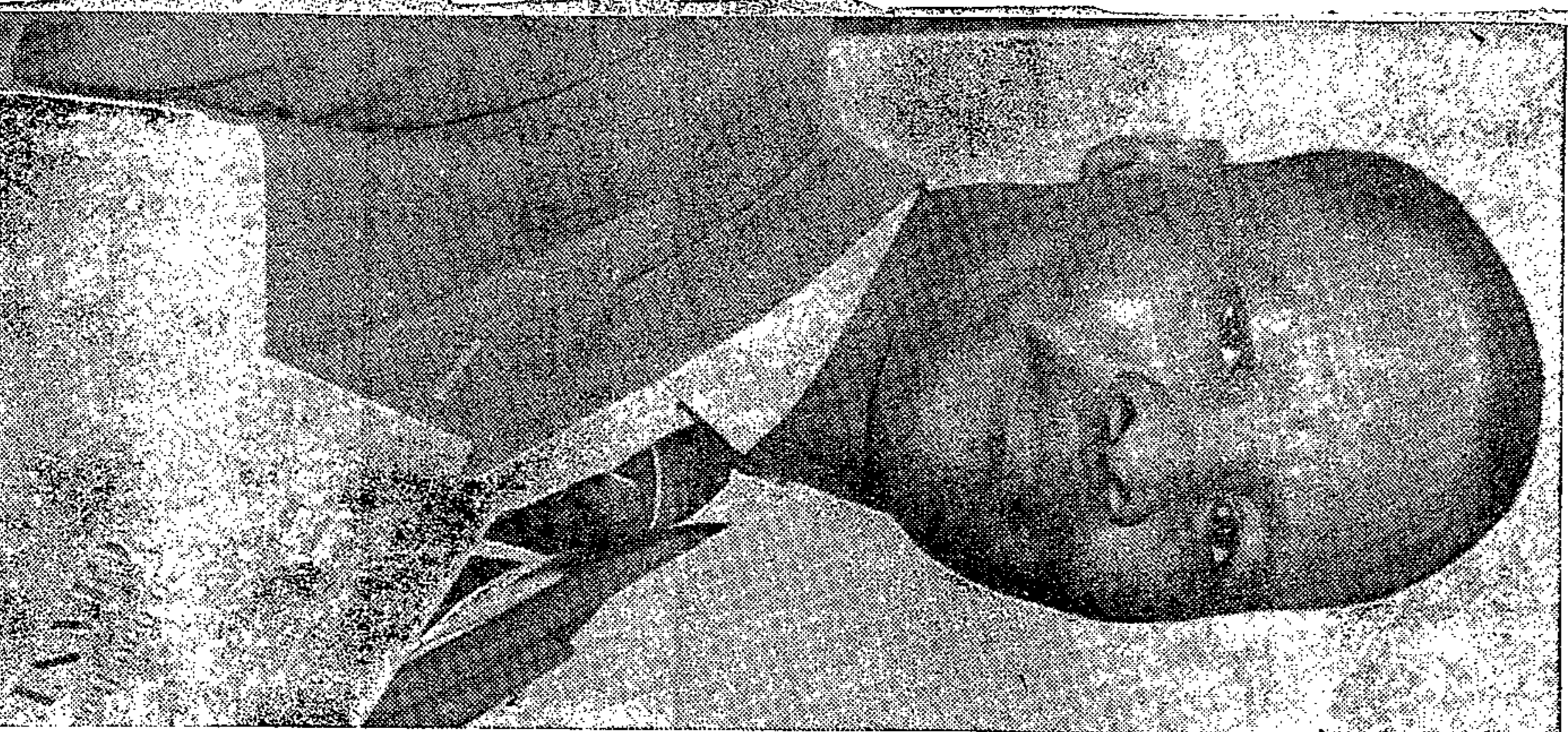
"This is just not on. The Organisation of African Unity has set its face against the Transkei. Without that backing the homeland has no hope of admittance to the UN."

All this will tend to drive it closer to Pretoria.

"But he added, "one thing is certain. In the years to come, the Transkei cannot win international recognition if it plays the role of Pretoria's ally."

affairs of neighbouring states.

"But," says Professor Spence, "the issue is complicated because the Republic will have its claim to an absolute right to determine



Chief Kaiser Matanzima . . . no recognition

25/4/76

103

Without the sanction of either body, few states will be prepared to risk their ties with the mass of nations opposed to South Africa's race policies, by recognising the Transkei."

The Transkei's dilemma is hardly of its own making. As its leader, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, told the symposium, the homeland will satisfy the four classic criteria for the recognition of statehood.

It will be ruled by a stable government in effective control, have a permanent population and it would, when the first president is installed in office, be sovereign over its own affairs.

The Transkei is larger, richer and has a higher per-capita income, than many nations who will sit in judgement at the OAU and the UN and, historically, the territory was dragged into Union in 1910 without its people or leaders being consulted.

The Transkei opted for independence as an escape from a racially oppressive system and will be non-racial.

Sin in the eyes of the world

But in spite of all arguments in its favour, its sin in the eyes of most states will be that it is the product of apartheid.

Its dilemma, in the words of Dr Klaus van der Ropp, was that to prove its independence it will have to distance itself from Pretoria. "And that", he said, "is something they dare not do unless they want to lose their only political partner."

He pointed out that for some time the new state would be forced to maintain close political, economic, monetary and possibly military links with South Africa.

Western nations would be hesitant about extending development loans.

Moreover, as the product of apartheid, it cannot be expected to denounce separate development the way Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana are able to do."

dialogue?

Dr van der Ropp was also sceptical about even moderate Black African states such as Kenya, Malawi, Senegal and the Ivory Coast exchanging Ambassadors with Umtata.

None approved of South Africa's domestic policies and his own talks with officials in Zambia and the Ivory Coast convinced him that the much vaunted exercise which South Africa calls detente is not seen in this light by their governments.

Detente was the word South Africans used. The furthest so-called detente partners would go was to speak of "dialogue."

The claims by Dr Connie Mulder and others that South Africa would within a decade become a member of the OAU, Dr van der Ropp dismissed as "another instance of South Africa's ideological delusion."

"There is nothing to indicate that there were ever any reasons for such considerations," he said.

The legal arguments expected against the Transkei's application for membership of the UN are formidable, according to Professor Jack Spence, himself an exile South African.

To begin with, he said, many critics regard separate development as, at best, a rationalisation of a policy of race discrimination and, at worst, "a deliberate attempt to deceive the world about the true meaning and consequences of apartheid."

Apartheid its own affair

"South Africa claims it is a plural society whose many peoples are each entitled to national self determination. It argues too that apartheid is its own affair and not the business of other countries. If it wants to Balkanise South Africa it is free to do so.

"It refers to the UN's 1966 resolution on non-interference in the domestic

the Bantustan policy is simply a more sophisticated version of apartheid.

"The crunch is that South Africa's policy will then be condemned because it is violating a still higher principle than that of non-intervention namely, that all states shall contribute to the complete elimination of racial discrimination and colonialism in all its forms and manifestations."

This wording is written into the 1966 resolution on non-intervention.

"In other words," said Professor Spence, "the Transkei is likely to find the arguments stacked against it."

Another, related, problem confronting the Transkei in its bid for membership of both the UN and the OAU is a widely accepted definition of self determination.

This refers to the "right of a majority, within a generally accepted political unit to the exercise of power."

Artificial creation

In the first instance, says Professor Spence, "it will be argued that the Transkei is not a generally accepted political unit but rather the artificial creation of the South African Government.

"Secondly, the OAU might be expected to claim that the unit in question is South Africa and not the Transkei and that the majority in question is the Black population as a whole.

"Finally, it will be argued, that nothing should be done to dismember South Africa, as the Black majority could be expected to achieve self determination in due course."

Even the traditional criteria for recognition which Chief Matanzima told the conference he would meet by October 26 will be open to debate with states pointing to Umtata's land claims and its dependence on Pretoria as negating the criteria of having a clearly defined territory and that of exercising full sovereign independence.

No loopholes in classification of Transkei citizens

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THERE are virtually no loopholes for Africans of Transkei origin to escape definition as Transkei citizens, an authoritative official source said yesterday.

Commenting on the definition of citizenship in the draft Independence Bill, he said: "It is pretty watertight."

The constitution was drawn up within the framework of official race policy, which as the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, has put it, regards all Africans as citizens of one or another of the homelands.

Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei claimed immediately after publication of the Bill that it gave Africans of Transkei origin living in South Africa an option of accepting or rejecting Transkei citizenship.

The official said yesterday: "That is just political talk."

Chief Matanzima had previously promised that urban Transkeians would be given a choice and the Transkei Legislative Assembly recess committee is known to have insisted that they be given an option.

But the Bill states

unequivocally that all people who are already citizens of the Transkei shall remain Transkeian citizens. Under the 1963 Transkei Self-Government Act, Africans of Transkei origin living in South Africa are defined as Transkei citizens.

The definition includes as Transkei citizens any person born out of the Transkei who is "adopted or otherwise becomes a citizen of the Transkei."

The same section applies equally to children or unions in South Africa between Transkei women and Africans from neighbouring territories.

The only "grey" area concerns third or fourth generation Africans in South Africa whose Transkei origin or partial origin has become blurred.

The Bill states that persons who are predominantly Xhosa-speaking or Sotho-speaking and who are descended from or associated with any of the tribes living in the Transkei, shall be registered as and become Transkei citizens.

The Bill, however, gives the Transkei the right to prescribe how these people will be identified.

The old and...

(103)

As the Transkei prepares for independence two things are agitating its embryo government and its South African mid-wife. These are the questions of international recognition and of the future citizenship of Xhosas living outside the territory. TOM DUFF, who attended last week's conference in Umtata of the Foreign Affairs Association, examines the complexities.



Growth and development are the key words in the Transkei, but the charm of the almost entirely rural territory still persists, as typified by this Pondo woman.

Fate of 1,3m in balance

The fate of about 1.3-million Blacks living in White South Africa has come under the spotlight because of sharply differing interpretations of the citizenship clauses in the draft Transkei independence constitution.

It is the 1.3-million Blacks living outside the Transkei, but who are eligible to become citizens of the territory, whose fate hangs in the balance.

Many of these people want to become citizens of the Transkei, but there are many who do not.

The latter group fear that if they were to accept Transkei citizenship they could lose the chance to settle permanently

in White South Africa — where jobs are available and the pay better than in their homeland.

Many people in this group have cut all ties with the Transkei. They regard themselves as Black South Africans who would lose their political

rights in South Africa if they become homeland citizens.

To many observers, the draft constitution appears to confer Transkei citizenship on all Africans of Transkeian origin, except for those of mixed tribal origin whose status will be decided on by a body on which the South African and Transkei Governments will be represented.

MATANZIMA

However, Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, insists that the draft constitution does not confer automatic citizenship on all Blacks eligible for Transkei citizenship.

He insists that they have a choice, adding that his Government would strongly oppose any efforts by the South African

Government to force these people to become citizens of the Transkei.

What would then happen to those Blacks — and according to some African politicians there are thousands of them — who do not want to accept homeland citizenship?

"STATELESS"

They would be the "stateless" of the South African Government, says Chief Matanzima.

But it is a cornerstone of South African Government policy that Blacks — wherever they live — should be citizens of a homeland.

What would the South African Government do with these "stateless" people?

And what of those Africans of mixed tribal origin who are regarded by the Transkei Government

as unacceptable for citizenship? Assuming that they want to become citizens of a homeland, do they have a guarantee that any of the homelands will accept them as citizens?

Those Blacks who do not want to become Transkei citizens face a dilemma: They will soon have an opportunity to vote in a general election in the Transkei. Admittedly they have only a small chance of defeating Chief Matanzima and his party, but if they did, the territory's independence could be delayed indefinitely.

THE CATCH

But here is the catch: If they want to vote they obviously have to register as Transkei citizens, something they were trying to avoid in the first place.

Some observers expect that there could be increasing pressure on Blacks in White South Africa to accept homeland citizenship.

Already, one of the conditions which Blacks face if they want to get 50-year leasehold on their properties in urban areas is that they must take out homeland citizenship. So far many Blacks have shown that they are reluctant to do this.

...the new



African businessmen of today in their suits and overcoats strike a marked contrast to the traditional tribesman.

Ahead — an uphill path to world acceptance

Amid all the preparations for the Transkei's independence, one thing is certain: The territory — "apartheid's first child" — is going to struggle to gain international acceptance.

Already the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity have given notice that they will not recognise an independent Transkei.

Their stand highlights how vehement international opposition towards South Africa has become. It has reached a point where few countries are willing to condone anything, albeit good, which results from South Africa's policy of separate development.

This was the theme of several speakers at the Foreign Affairs Association in Umtata last week.

Among the 80 delegates were some of the top minds in South Africa as well as several internationally recognised academics from abroad.

NEW GAME

For three days they discussed the Transkei as an international entity, and after hours of talking (and a cost of more than R30 000 to the organisers), one thing became clear: The Transkei is going to be shunned on the international scene for many years to come.

Once, gaining international recognition was a fairly simple matter. All a country had to do was satisfy four basic criteria:

It had to be ruled by a stable government in effective control, it had to have a permanent popula-

tion, it had to have its own territory and it had to have sovereign authority over its own affairs.

As Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, pointed out at the conference, the territory will satisfy all these criteria after it becomes independent in October this year.

He and other speakers also pointed out that the Transkei is larger than several other internationally recognised states, has a greater population, will probably have a more stable government and its people will have a better standard of living than those in many other countries.

He also pointed out that the Transkei was dragged into the Union of South Africa in 1910 with-

out its people being consulted.

What was the difference, he asked, if the Transkei gained its independence from South Africa instead of from Britain, as was the case with Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana?

He and other speakers agreed that the territory would be dependent on South African aid during the years ahead, but pointed out that there were many other former colonies which relied on aid from their former colonial masters.

So why the reluctance of the world to recognise the Transkei? For a start, the old criteria for international recognition no longer apply. Secondly, and perhaps most important the

Transkei is being condemned because it is a product of apartheid.

As Professor Jack Spence, a political scientist from the University of Leicester put it: "The Transkei is likely to find the arguments stacked against it."

He says: "It will be argued that the Transkei is not a generally accepted political unit, but rather the artificial creation of the South African Government.

"The OAU might be expected to claim that the unit in question is South Africa and not the Transkei and that the majority in question is the Black population as a whole.

"Finally, it will be argued, that nothing should be done to dismember South Africa, as the Black majority could be expected to achieve self-determination in due course."

Transkei move 'sheer racism'

27/4/76 RDM

By PATRICK LAURENCE
TO deprive Africans of Transkei origin of South African citizenship was straightforward race discrimination, Dr Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town said yesterday.

He was commenting on the Transkei Constitution Bill, which automatically confers Transkei citizenship on Africans of Transkei origin living in South Africa.

Noting that some Africans of Transkei origin had lived in Cap Town since at least 1840, Dr Wilson said: "To deprive these people of South African citizenship on grounds of race is discrimination, particularly since immigrants from Europe can acquire citizenship through naturalisation."

While immigrants to overseas countries could acquire citizenship of those countries by birth or naturalisation South Africa was reversing the process.

It was futile to pretend that it was differentiation, since Transkeian Africans were being denied South African citizenship because of their colour. That was race discrimination.

Dr Wilson then reiterated a point made recently by Dr Erich Leistner of the Africa Institute — that declaring Transkei Africans Transkei citizens would not solve the race problem.

"They will not simply disappear. We shall still have to learn to live together in the economic centres of South Africa."

Mr Lennox Mlonzi, a Xhosa-speaking member of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council, said: "I live in Soweto and work in Johannesburg, but I have bought property in the Transkei and my father and children live there. I have to accept that I am a Transkei citizen."

It was "regrettable" that Africans of Transkei origin had not been given the choice of opting for Transkeian citizenship as a matter of preference.

He feared Transkei citizenship might make him a foreigner in South Africa and jeopardise his rights to permanency in Soweto.

"If we are to be foreigners, we could be declared migrant labourers who have to renew their work contracts every 12 months."

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu said of the citizenship clauses in the Bill: "It supports my view that there should be a referendum before any homeland opted for independence. It is too fundamental an issue for anything less."

Homeland independence jeopardised citizens' rights to share in the wealth of South Africa and cancelled their birthright as South Africans.

IN PARLIAMENT

Transkei dilemma faces the Govt?

28/4/76 STAR

Parliamentary Staff
THE ASSEMBLY—The Government faces an insoluble dilemma because it cannot compel Xhosa in urban areas to take out citizenship in an independent Transkei, Mr R M Cadman (UP, Umhlatuzana) said.

He forecast that the citizenship issue is "the beginning of the downfall of the policy of separate development. At this moment they (Potential Transkei citizens) are South Africans. He was speaking on the

vote of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (Mr M C Botha).

The Act, he pointed out, did not make it compulsory for urban Blacks to take out Transkeian citizenship.

IDENTIFY

He said it was one thing to tell them that by law they were now foreign citizens, and quite another to identify them and compel them to take out foreign passports and thereby cause them to lose their citizenship by birth in the Republic.

In the last Transkei elec-

tions, a very small percentage of urban Blacks had exercised their vote and it therefore seemed clear that they were not interested in citizenship.

He asked whether Mr Botha intended introducing legislation to "outlaw" Blacks who did not take out Transkei citizenship. Any such action would be grossly irresponsible.

He also wanted to know how Transkei "foreigners" would be handled in the future — by the various departments who processed visitors from other parts of the world such as Australia or Zam-

bia, or by the minister's department. After the festivities, the Government would be faced with a moment of truth and not a moment of triumph.

STATELESS

"You will have a material part of the 1.3-million Xhosas living in South Africa. You will not be able to force them to take foreign citizenship and they will not voluntarily apply for it," he said.

The result would be a floating population of stateless people with no rights in South Africa

and no vote in the Transkei.

Other homeland leaders were closely watching the citizenship issue and he predicted that the problem would be intensified when potential citizens of other emerging homelands also refused to take citizenship.

It was imperative, in view of the communist threat, that the Government grant urban Blacks freedom rights to demonstrate that the free enterprise system had more to offer.

"A policy of rejection and denial is the road to suicide."

Matanzima 'faces dilemma'

By PATRICK LAURENCE

PUBLICATION of the Transkei Constitution Bill has confronted Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima with a dilemma, Mr Hector Ncokazi, leader of the opposition Transkei Democratic Party, said yesterday.

Where the Transkei Chief Minister wanted to give Transkeians in South Africa the right to choose between Transkeian and South African citizenship, the draft constitution reflected the determination of Pretoria to deny them a choice.

Matanzima has to accept what he can get be-

cause he is tied to independence and cannot jeopardise his independence policy."

Mr Knowledge Guzana, leader of the Transkei New Democratic Party, predicted that the constitution would create an "ethnic state" — rather than the nonracial state which Chief Matanzima has pledged to create.

Meanwhile the disclosure by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, that he secretly visited the Central African Republic last year has heightened speculation that it might recognise the Transkei's independence.

When the Transkei Minister of the Interior, Miss Stella Sigcau, was in London recently, she confidently predicted that the Transkei would be recognised by "friendly" Black African states. RDM

28/4/76 She declined to name the friendly states, but the Transkei Chief Minister subsequently told an overseas visitor that the Central African Republic and the Ivory Coast might defy the Organisation of African Unity and recognise the Transkei.

The authoritative publication "Africa South of the Sahara" describes President Jean Bokassa of the Central African Republic as "unpredictable and erratic".

It adds: "One of the major aims of Marshal Bokassa's foreign policy is the search for friendship and cooperation among all peoples, (but) he is eager that his country should receive concrete benefits from its friendships and he has made that plain."

South Africa has invested R7 800 000 in the Central African Republic.

'Transkei no Nat triumph'

ROM 28/4/76

THE ASSEMBLY. — The independence of the Transkei would be a moment of truth for the Nationalist Government and not a moment of triumph as it expected, Mr Radclyffe Cadman (Umlhatazana) said yesterday.

Mr Cadman said the independence would be to the Government "a test of reality" which it would fail.

Homeland Africans had never been a problem in South Africa. The problem had been urban Africans. Independence for the Transkei would not solve that problem.

The only solution to the problem of Africans living in urban areas was

the granting of freehold rights.

The question of Transkeian citizenship, or for that matter citizenship of any other homeland, was the key to the whole question.

Transkeians living outside the independent country could not be compelled to adopt citizenship of that country nor could they be deprived of their South African citizenship.

After independence, the National Party would be faced with the same problem as it faced in 1948.

"In other words it will be back to square one. That is the measure of the triumph."

Mr P. T. C. du Plessis (NP Lydenburg) said the UP should say whether it favoured independence for the Transkei or not.

Mr Du Plessis said that since Mr Cadman and the UP leader, Sir De Villiers Graaff, had refused to answer him on this he could only assume that they were opposed to it.

Sir De Villiers: "You have been asleep for too long."

Mr Du Plessis said the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Chief Kaiser Matanzima had, reportedly said that separate development, although not perfect, was the only thing that could work. — Sapa.

103

Anti-apartheid blast expected

RDM. 28/4/76

Political Correspondent

THE ASSEMBLY. — Professional agitators abroad could be expected to start a vigorous campaign against separate development with the coming of the Transkei's independence.

This prediction was made yesterday by the Department of Information in its annual report for 1975, which was tabled in Parliament.

The department expects that the agitation could be expected in Britain, Germany, the United States, Canada, the Netherlands and France. The focus would be on the Black man outside the homelands and his position in the White areas.

The department further predicted that the Soviet propaganda machine would double its efforts in Africa and that increased activity could be expected to isolate and discredit South Africa at the UN, particularly over South West Africa.

Anti-South African church organisations over-

seas would try to co-ordinate their offensive against foreign trade and investment in South Africa during 1976.

"The traditional line of attack on South Africa by the Leftwing will be argued by a newer revolutionary strategy increasingly popular in radical leftwing circles," the report said.

"This strategy accepts that orthodox revolutionary violence in the Republic itself would be ineffectual and seeks to initiate revolution here by undermining and eventually overthrowing the institutions and organs of the state."

The report said the trend towards greater objectivity balance and realism in coverage of South African affairs continued during 1975, with the foreign Press leading the way.

The exception was the United States, where there was less coverage of South African affairs compared with 1974 because more space was devoted to domestic problems.

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April 29, 1976.

Whites' future is queried

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government came under heavy fire yesterday from the United Party's Mr. Gray Hughes over the future of the Whites and Coloureds in the Transkei after its October independence celebrations.

The MP for Griqualand East also warned that there was a misunderstanding among some Transkeians that after independence the White-owned land would be theirs and "unpleasantness is feared."

There were signs of increasing crime and violence in the towns. Race friction was rising because of the uncertainty when White-owned properties would be taken over by Blacks.

Turning to the urgent question of citizenship, Mr. Hughes told the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, that this unresolved question could become

very serious.

According to the Minister more than one million foreign Transkeians will be living in South Africa after independence. What would the position be — and would they be treated differently from the Japanese?

This was important for the Whites remaining in the Transkei because any dispute or unpleasantness in the Republic could have repercussions in the Transkei.

Mr. Hughes also wanted to know whether dual citizenship would be allowed. It was high time that Parliament was told what the government envisaged.

It had first been thought that those wishing to leave the Transkei would be able to do so, but now they found that this was not so because they could not simply walk out of their homes and offices like refugees relying on charity and succour from others.

1.7m MAY BE STATELESS WARNS MP

29/4/76

Mercury Correspondent NM.

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Reform Party's chief spokesman on Black affairs, Mrs. Helen Suzman, warned yesterday that the possibility of more than 1.7-million Transkeians in "White" South Africa becoming stateless would undoubtedly affect the chances of international recognition of the new State.

But the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, stood firmly by the view that Transkeian citizenship would be automatic.

"The moment the Transkei becomes independent, all Transkeians will stop being South African citizens and will automatically become Transkeian citizens."

Speaking in the debate on his vote, Mr. Botha emphasised that the draft independence constitution had been agreed upon by both sides and that there had been no serious dispute on automatic citizenship.

"If the Transkei refuses to grant citizenship (to people outside the territory) they will become stateless by an act of the Transkeian Government and not by South Africa," he added.

Earlier, Mrs. Suzman referred to Chief Kaiser Matanzima's statement that Xhosa people would have the option of remaining citizens of the Republic or becoming citizens of the Transkei.

She wondered if the Minister had spent one minute reflecting on the international repercussions of depriving 1.7-million people of their South African citizenship.

103

When they wake up as aliens

29/4/76

RDM.

103

● The Government's homelands citizenship policy will turn millions of Africans into foreigners. But as a way of retaining White monopoly of power in the cities it won't work, says PATRICK LAURENCE.

WHEN the Transkei becomes independent on October 26, more than a million Africans in South Africa will wake up to find themselves deprived of their South African citizenship and classified as foreigners.

By defining Transkei citizenship in the broadest possible terms to include all Africans of Transkei origin in South Africa, the Transkei Constitution Bill might be viewed as a revolutionary step.

But it is rather the logical conclusion to a view long held by the National Party—one which should have come as no surprise to those who have watched the unfolding of apartheid or separate development.

More than 25 years ago the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr E. G. Jansen, was referring to urban Africans and their rural cousins on White-owned farms as foreigners.

Shortly afterwards his successor, Dr H. F. Verwoerd, was assuring his



... the battle of weapons is over".



... foreigners employed in another country.

followers: "The mere fact that foreigners are employed in a community or in another country does not constitute integration."

Since then a lot has happened — there was dialogue and detente and the relaxation of "petty" apartheid — but the view of Africans as foreigners remained as the granite cornerstone of apartheid.

Only last year the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, reiterated that as far as his party was concerned all Africans were the citizens of one homeland or another.

The policy of converting Africans into citizens of independent homelands promises to make South Africa truly unique. If it is carried to its logical conclusion, South Africa will be the only country in the world with a majority of foreigners living within its borders.

According to the 1970 census some eight-million Africans were living in White-ruled South Africa, against about seven-million in the reserves. The White population at the time was 3,7-million. By the year 2000 the ratio of foreign nationals to South African citizens is almost certain to have increased.

The motive behind the policy is transparent. It is to deny Africans equal rights, with the rationalisation that it is not because

they are Black but because they are foreigners.

To deny Africans the right to choose to remain South African citizens while granting citizenship rights to European immigrants will be seen for what it is: race discrimination.

Behind that is yet another motive: the desire to retain monopoly of power for Whites in South Africa's cities and towns, which hold the key to control of South Africa.

Afrikaner Nationalists know that their conquest of political power came through conquest of the towns and, having wrested control there from "Anglo-Jewish capitalists", they have no intention of surrendering to Africans.

"The battle of weapons is over," Dr D. F. Malan told his followers in 1938. "But one even more violent, more deadly... is being decided. The battlefield has shifted. Your Blood River is not here. Your Blood River lies in the town."

But the battle for the cities and towns will not be ended by simply declaring Africans to be foreigners.

They will still be there, in their millions, and their demand for a say in the

South Africa, would become a contested area.

In the less than 25 years until the turn of the century the urban African population will rise to nearly 26-million, — according to Dr Leistner — against an official estimate of about six-million for Whites.

The implications are sombre and they are inescapable. Unless there is genuine political accommodation — as distinct from political sophistry — the odds shorten against a new battle of Blood River unfolding in the towns and cities.

Apárt from the sheer physical presence of Africans in South Africa's towns and cities, there is another vital factor to be borne in mind.

Aspirations

Whatever their origin, these Africans are townspeople with different needs and different aspirations from their kinsmen in the homelands. They are the products of inter-ethnic mixing, including inter-ethnic marriage, and are African in the broadest sense of the word, not simply Xhosas, Zulus or Sothos and so on.

The former Rand Daily Mail columnist, Nat Nakasa, put it well shortly before leaving South Africa for New York in 1966.

"I am supposed to be a Pondo, but I don't even know the language of that tribe. I was brought up in a Zulu-speaking home, my mother being a Zulu. Yet I can no longer think in Zulu because that language cannot cope with the demands of our day. I am just not a tribesman, whether I like it or not.

"I am, inescapably, a part of the city slums, the factory machines and our beloved shebeens."

To those who wishfully think that African nationalism is dead and that the future is merely a question of accommodation with tribalism — albeit dressed in modern form — there are the words of Dr David Welsh of the University of Cape Town.

"The towns, where racial inequalities were most starkly manifest, became the main arena of the race conflict and the crucible of African nationalism."

They are still just that.

Botha spells out citizenship issue

RDM 29/4/76

By BERNARDI WESSELS
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — All Transkeian Africans will automatically become citizens of the Transkei as soon as the homeland becomes independent, the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, said yesterday.

"The moment the Transkei becomes independent, all Transkeians will stop being South African citizens and will automatically become Transkeian citizens."

He said this in response to Opposition demands for clarification of the citizenship issue.

The Progressive Reform Party's chief spokesman on Black affairs, Mrs Helen Suzman, warned that the possibility of more than 1 700 000 Transkeians in "White" South Africa becoming stateless would undoubtedly affect the chances of international recognition of the new state.

Speaking in the debate on his vote, Mr Botha emphasised that the draft independence constitution had been agreed upon by both sides and that there had been no serious dispute on the question of automatic citizenship.

"If the Transkei refuses to grant citizenship (to people outside the territory) they will become stateless by an act of the Transkeian Government and not by South Africa," he said.

Earlier, Mrs Suzman said there was "obvious confusion" and pointed to Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima's statement that Xhosa people would have the option of remaining citizens of the Republic or becoming citizens of the Transkei.

"I wonder if the minister has spent one minute reflecting on the international repercussions of depriving a possible 1.7-million people of their South African citizenship without their consent?"

She said that if these people became stateless "at the stroke of a pen" it would be an act which would not only be considered as gross discrimination, but would be declared null and void in international law.

103

Matanzima

rejects SA

Govt view

UMTATA.—The Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said yesterday that the Transkei would apply its own interpretation of the citizenship clause of the constitution, and not that of the South African Government.

He was commenting on the statement in Cape Town in Wednesday by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M C Botha, that people of Transkei origin would automatically become citizens of the homeland when it attained independence in October this year.

Chief Matanzima reaffirmed his original standpoint that the Transkei would reject outright any move by the South African Government to force the Transkei to accept Xhosas who did not want to become citizens of the new state.

He interpreted the citizenship clause in the draft constitution to mean that people of Transkei origin had a choice whether or not to become citizens of the Transkei.

He went further to say that those who did not want to become Transkei citizens therefore belonged in South Africa.

SA to spend R1220000

Political Staff
THE CHANCERY and residential accommodation for South African diplomatic representatives in the Transkei after the territory's independence later this year are expected to cost R800 000.

Two border control posts at the main southern and northern entrances to the Transkei have been budgeted to cost R620 000.

The estimated costs of South Africa's diplomatic headquarters in Umtata, the Transkeian capital, and the South African border control posts are contained in a memorandum by the Minister of Public Works, Mr A L Schlebusch, in which he gives details of his department's construction programme during the 1976/7 financial year.

'NO REASON'

"There is no reason why South Africa should not accommodate Blacks who are not citizens of the Transkei or of other homelands. Look how much land South Africa has."

His government would not force citizenship on anyone, Chief Matanzima said. "We will stand by our interpretation of the constitution. Any doubt will have to be solved in court."

Chief Matanzima agreed with Mr Botha that the citizenship question had not been a matter for serious dispute between the two governments.

He was not sure how many people of Transkei origin lived permanently in South Africa but he was sure that many had their homes in the Transkei as many were Transkei votes. — Sapa

We decide on citizenship — Matanzima

RDM
30/4/76

UMTATA. — The Transkei would apply its own interpretation of citizenship and not that of the South African Government, the Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said yesterday.

He was commenting on the statement by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, that people of Transkei origin would automatically become citizens of the homeland when it becomes independent in October.

Chief Matanzima reaffirmed his original standpoint that the Transkei would reject outright any South African move to force the Transkei to accept Xhosas who do not want to become citizens of the new state reports Sapa. He interpreted the citizenship clause in the draft constitution to mean that people of Transkei origin

could choose whether or not to become Transkei citizens.

Those who did not want Transkei citizenship belonged in South Africa and were the responsibility of the South African Government.

There was no reason why South Africa should not accommodate Blacks who are not citizens of the Transkei or other homelands. Look how much land South Africa had.

"Citizenship is a matter for the Transkei Government to decide. My Government is to pass the constitution, not the South African Government.

"We will stand by our interpretation of the constitution. Any doubt will have to be solved in court."

Chief Matanzima was not sure how many people of Transkei origin lived

permanently in South Africa.

In a speech at Durban North, where he is the Nationalist candidate in the coming parliamentary by-election Dr Denis Worrall said the Government would have to find some form of representation to satisfy the political aspirations of Blacks who lived outside the homelands.

The political aspirations of the Coloureds and Indians were already being accommodated through the system of inter-Cabinet councils.

"The Government is committed to a policy of internal dialogue", he said. "It is a result of this policy that elites have emerged.

"Guys like Buthelezi, Matanzima, Reddy and Leon.

"It is a healthy situation. These elites are extremely important in avoiding possible conflict.

"Race relations in SA have moved out of the period of White dictatorship into a period of dialogue and negotiations.

"Mr Vorster has seen more Black leaders than all the other prime ministers of South Africa put together."

A Staff Reporter writes that the deputy leader of the Soweto Progressive Party, Mr Leonard Misala said yesterday the South Africa's security depended largely on the acceptance of urban Blacks as citizens of South Africa and not of a particular homeland.

Most absent first year students numbered that of a total of 2138. However he also revealed soon as it was practicable. would be discontinued as a emergency measure and a Std 8 education was an emergency measure. Mr Smit said the training of teachers with only 498 held senior certificates.

The Star Friday A

SA foots Bill in budget to tune of R93-m

30/4/76 STAR.

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — For the few days that the Transkei Assembly considers its record new Budget it will be jolted into the grim reality of its almost total financial dependence on South Africa.

The estimated Budget for the new financial year is R135,7-million — an increase of R33-million over last year.

Of this, South Africa will foot the bill for R93-million. Some R22-million will come from the Transkei's own revenue sources while the rest, R20,7-million, is surplus from last year.

But the R135,7-million is only for the seven government departments now in operation — another big chunk will have to be appropriated later this year for the new

departments which the Transkei will take over before or at independence.

Among those expected to be taken over are Post and Telecommunications, Foreign Affairs, Information, and Defence and Transport.

The Transkei Constitution Bill allows for up to 15 departments.

These new departments, although taken over by the Transkei, will have to be financed initially by South Africa.

GENERAL TAXES

Another sour note is the R20,7-million surplus from last year. Unfortunately this large amount is not a sign of thrift. It is an indication of the incompetence of the various departments which failed to complete their budgeted projects.

Of the relatively minute R22-million which comes from the Transkei's own coffers, R13,3-million is from general taxes.

The Government's biggest money spinner is forestry. But instead of showing a year-by-year increase in productivity its earnings this year fell even though the prices of paper and related products have soared.

This year forestry netted R1,9-million against R2,1-million last year.

The Department of Roads and Works, as usual, budgeted for the biggest amount. It will spend R37,5-million this year, mostly on buildings, roads and bridges.

This year it will spend R7,9-million on the giant administrative highrise complex in Umtata, bringing the total for this project to R13,7-million.

The five mansions being built for the Chief Minister and four Cabinet ministers will take R1,2-million, bringing the total spent on this prestige complex to R1,6-million.

ord budget pp r Transkei 30/4/76

103

JMTATA — The Transkei has tabled estimates of a record R135,8 million Budget to be spent during this financial year.

This represents an increase of more than R33 million over last year's R102,8 million Budget.

But the money will have to be stretched out this year to cover the expenses of running two new districts, Glen Grey and Herschel, transferred to the Transkei from the Ciskei late last year, and also independence celebrations in October.

And because of the recession in South Africa, the Budget had to be pruned severely, the Minister of Labour, Mr S. P. Botha, said when he opened the Assembly session last month.

The Budget shows the scars of the shears in lower grants to tribal authorities, cuts in medical poor relief, and in repatriating Transkei citizens. State aid to special schools has been slashed, as has the campaign against tuberculosis and spending on district clinics.

Of the R135,8 million to be spent this year, the Transkei has raised on R22 million from its "own sources."

The biggest single money spinner, apart from taxes, will be the Transkei's forests, although income this year is expected to be down to less than R2 million. This is because the government sawmills were taken over by private firms this year — but in the long run the deal is expected to greatly increase revenue from timber.

Income from the tea plantations in Pondoland is expected to increase by four times last year's figure of R800 000.

The South African Government is to give the Transkei R93 million to balance the Budget. Nearly R21 million, the surplus from last year's Budget, will make up the rest.

Provision has been made in the estimates for building border posts on only two of the 34 or so roads leading into the Transkei. They will be on the national road at Kei Bridge and at Umzimkulu.

— DDR.

Farmhouse for Kaiser approved

DD 20/4/76.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY—
The Government has approved that one of the houses on nine farms acquired in the Gwatyu-Bolotwa area near Queenstown be made available to the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

This was revealed when the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, replied to a series of questions about the alleged occupation of two farms in the district by Chief Kaiser and his brother, Chief George Matanzima.

The questions had been tabled by the United Party member for King William's Town, Mr S. A. van den Heever.

Mr Botha said nine properties covering 12 856 ha had been acquired by

the South African Bantu Trust in the Gwatyu-Bolotwa area since 1974.

He refused to give the purchase prices of the farms because "it is still the practice not to disclose the purchase prices."

Asked whether any of the farms had been occupied since their purchase, the minister said: "It has been approved by me that the acquired properties concerned be made available to the Xhosa Development Corporation after the date of acquisition."

Asked who had occupied the farms, Mr Botha said: "It has also recently been approved that only the dwelling on one of the acquired farms be made available to the Chief Minister of the Transkei." — PC.

Warning of explosion on Transkei citizenship

1/5/76 NM.
Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The Transkeian citizenship controversy was a highly explosive issue, the Very Rev. Desmond Tutu, Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, said in a statement yesterday.

He said that according to Press reports Xhosa-speaking citizens of the Republic of South Africa would automatically achieve Transkeian citizenship and thus be deprived of their South African citizenship.

Overnight they would become foreigners in what for many of them has been the land of their birth and will be forced to adopt the citizenship of a country that many do not know at all, and in whose creation they have played no part at all.

They had contributed in various ways to the prosperity of South Africa and now it seemed at the stroke of a pen they would forfeit a cherished birthright.

Even the most vilified of Black African States at their independence offered their inhabitants the right to choose whether they would retain the citizenship of the former colonial mother country or take out the citizenship of the newly independent country.

That procedure seemed to be in accordance with the canons and conventions of international law. But it appeared not to be going to be the case with regard to Transkeian citizenship.

"Many of us have believed that Mr. Vorster and his Government really desired peaceful change in South Africa. In this intention many of us have supported them.

"Times without number I and other Black leaders have declared our commitment to reconciliation and to work for a more just and open society in South Africa," he said.

"We have called for fundamental change which would in our view be more consistent with the tenets of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and we have consistently reiterated that this way held out hope for a non-violent evolution to a happier and more just South Africa which could

demonstrate to the world that it is possible for people of different races to live in harmony and peace together.

"Since coming back to South Africa last August, I have applied myself relentlessly to work for justice and reconciliation in a country I love dearly.

"I have retained my South African citizenship and carried a South African passport, although it was extremely difficult to travel in Black Africa on a South African passport as my former work as associate director of the Theological Education Fund required of me.

"Blacks are being provoked beyond human endurance. Do you really want peaceful change or does the fact that you have so much military power and so many sophisticated arms mean you don't care what the Black man's reaction will be?"

"Do you want to make us really desperate? I have warned before and I reiterate this warning with all seriousness that desperate people will be compelled to use desperate means. We are going to be free, genuinely free, all of us White and Black together in a genuinely free South Africa.

"Nothing, and I repeat nothing, will eventually stop us becoming free.

"Dear White South Africans, we want you to have a stake in South Africa and to remain here so that we can go forward together in a united South Africa, not one that is Balkanised into unviable bits of things that are the figment of somebody's imagination.

"We don't want violence, we don't want death and destruction. We want peace, justice and order. We are human beings and do believe this for your own sakes.

"We don't want a bloody confrontation. I mean this with all my heart. Please do not provoke us into despair and hopelessness. Please for God's sake."

Some will be dual citizens say lawyers ^{DD}

103

JOHANNESBURG — The Transkei Constitution Bill would automatically confer Transkei citizenship on nearly all blacks of Transkei origin, but would not in itself deprive them of South African citizenship, two top academic lawyers said yesterday.

A specific amendment to the South African Citizenship Act of 1949 would be necessary to deprive them of South African citizenship, Prof J. Dugard and Mr R. Goldblatt of the University of the Witwatersrand said.

Their interpretation came amid conflicting statements on the Transkei Constitution Bill by the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, and the Transkei Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

Where Mr Botha has insisted that the Bill will confer Transkei citizenship automatically on Transkeians living in white South Africa, Chief Kaiser has insisted with equal adamance that they will be given a choice between South African and Transkei citizenship.

Giving a concrete example, the two lawyers

said: ^{1/5/76}

"A black person born in Soweto of a father born in the Transkei would become a Transkei citizen under Transkeian law, but he would remain a South African citizen at the same time under the South African Citizenship Act, in terms of which every person born in South Africa shall be a South African citizen.

"In other words he becomes a dual citizen and in international law may exercise the right of nationality of either the Transkei or South Africa.

"If South Africa wished to deprive him of his South African citizenship that would have to be done either by an Act of Parliament or, possibly, by the minister acting in terms of the Citizenship Act."

The Act states that a South African citizen shall only lose his citizenship if he becomes the citizen of another country by a "voluntary and formal act" — which the two lawyers thought did not apply in the present situation.

The Act empowers the minister to deprive even a South African born citizen of his citizenship if he deems it in the public interest. — DDC.

Matanzima's men win elections

1/5/26

103

UMTATA — Five supporters of Chief Kaiser Matanzima's Transkei National Independence Party have made a clean sweep of the elections in the newly-acquired districts of Glen Grey and Herschel.

The new members of the Transkei Legislative Assembly, who will be sworn in here on Monday, are: Herschel — Mr S. P. Bhuruli and Mr S. P. Kakudi; Glen Grey — Mr Z. E. Booi, Mr M. J. Mbalo and Mr D. Tezapi.

Mr Booi, former Ciskeian Minister of Agriculture, has been tipped as successor to the Transkei Minister of Agriculture, Mr Z. M. Mabandla, in the cabinet reshuffle after independence.

There were seven candidates in Glen Grey contesting the three seats and four candidates for the two seats in the Herschel district.

Mr Booi topped the polls followed by Mr Tezapi and Mr J. Mbalo, who teamed up for the three seats.

Full results were:

Glen Grey district: Mr Booi 16 801; Mr Tezapi, 15 891; Mr Mbalo, 14 776; Mr W. Jaxa, 8 123; Mr J. Saliwa, 6 007; Mr M. Mfazwe, 3 616; and Mr S. Sizani 3 021.

Herschel: Mr Bhuruli, 13 046; Mr S. Kakudi, 12 904; Mr A. Dlangamandla, 1 576; and Mr J. Gojo, 1 242.

Commenting on the 45 per cent poll in Glen Grey and the 48 per cent poll in Herschel, the electoral officer, Mr D. Lottering, said there had been little time to arrange the elections.

He appealed to residents in both districts to register before May 5 to avoid disappointment during the pre-independence general elections. — DDR.

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2 The Cape Times, Tuesday, May 4, 1976

R14m foreign loan for Transkei

UMTATA.—The Transkei has secured foreign loans exceeding R14 million, the Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said in the Legislative Assembly here yesterday.

Presenting a budget of R135 799 000 for the 1976/77 financial year, Paramount Chief Matanzima said the fight against inflation had necessitated a cut of about R13m in the homeland's original estimates.

South Africa had not been able to grant the Transkei an expected R120m, and had been able to provide only R93 033 000, he said.

The Transkei had contributed R28m. The bulk, R22m, came from Transkei revenue sources and the remaining R6m had been saved by the seven Government departments the previous year.

The R121 042 000 available was R14 757 000 short of the homeland's requirements.

"The Government had to find means to bridge the gap, and I am happy to advise the House that such a means has been found.

"There is an adequate 'soft' loan available abroad, for the purposes of financing infrastructural capital works," Paramount Chief Matanzima said.

NOT DISCLOSED

He did not disclose the overseas source, nor the terms of repayment.

He said the 32 percent increase on the previous budget was largely attributable to the increased size of the Transkei due to the inclusion of Glen Grey and Herschel districts, preparation for independence, increased social benefits already in effect and increased police and prison functions.

Independence celebrations alone were estimated to cost R580 000.

Future financial relations with South Africa would probably form the subject of a formal agreement between the two governments to be signed before independence, he added. — Sapa

ACCORD IS CLOSE ON TRANSKEI CITIZENS

Parliamentary Correspondent

4/5/76

CAPE TOWN — There were indications yesterday that the South African and Transkeian Governments are approaching full accord on the controversial citizenship issue.

This means, in effect, that the vast majority of Blacks of Transkeian origin outside the territory including those in urban areas, will automatically become Transkeian citizens after independence on October 26.

However, the apparent end to the dispute between the two Governments does not remove one of the Opposition's most important objections to independence — that Blacks outside the Transkei will have no choice of citizenship.

According to the authoritative Nationalist sources, an additional clause to the Transkei Constitution Bill will be introduced in ~~Parliament~~ in August which brings into line with the Republics Status of the Transkei Bill now before Parliament.

While this could not be confirmed in Umtata, it is believed that the clause will make provision for a joint review board to consider borderline citizenship cases who, in terms of an amendment to the Transkei Constitution adopted on May 18, will not become automatic Transkeian citizens.

The citizenship of the few doubtful cases will be determined by this board. They will thus either become South African or Transkeian citizens and, according to Nationalist sources, the possibility of "stateless" people will be eliminated.

The reported settlement of the citizenship dispute was criticised in London yesterday by the Transkei's Minister of Justice, Mr. George Matanzima.

He said the settlement could not be reconciled with provisions in South Africa's draft legislation which would deprive Xhosas of South African citizenship.

Wednesday,
May 5, 1976

DAILY

103

Transkei rejects apartheid

UMTATA — The Transkei would never accept apartheid, the Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said here yesterday.

Chief Matanzima, who was delivering a preliminary address in the Transkei Legislative Assembly before the debate on the Transkei draft constitution, said: "People say that to ask for independence is an acceptance of apartheid. We will never accept apartheid; it was imposed upon us in this country."

Chief Matanzima said the Transkei after independence would continue its claims to land in Natal, East Griqualand and the Eastern Cape.

He said the original Transkeian territories had included the Natal districts of Port Edward and Harding, the East Griqualand towns of Matatiele and Kokstad (Mount Currie) and the Barkly East towns of Maclear and Elliot.

The recess committee was not satisfied that the terms of the 1974 motion calling for independence had been met with regard to its claims for land.

"Perhaps the next generation can sort the matter out amicably with South Africa," he said.

The Ciskei had been approached with a view to

possible amalgamation of the two homelands, but all approaches had met with a negative response. The matter had been shelved but the door for negotiations remained open.

Chief Matanzima said the world should know that the Transkei had been unilaterally "annexed" at the point of a "gun" by the British colonial government on the advice of Sir George Grey, British Governor of the Cape.

"The people of these territories then became victims of discriminatory laws passed by the all-white Parliament without their knowledge and consent."

Chief Matanzima criticised the press for naming the Transkei a "homeland" and "tribal area". The Transkei was

not a homeland, he said, and was inhabited by the Xhosa nation, made up of 12 tribes.

Chief Matanzima tabled the results of a referendum, called for by the opposition, and taken in all regional and tribal authorities and public associations in the Transkei and at mines and townships in South Africa, to ascertain the feelings of Transkei voters on independence.

Of the 139 360 voters consulted, 125 424 (86 per cent) were in favour of independence, and 13 945 against.

The first section of the draft constitution, which deals with the establishment of the Republic of Transkei, was agreed upon by the House.

The discussions continue today. — DDR-SAPA.

R1m for publicity

5/5/76 Mercury Correspondent NM

CAPE TOWN — A million rands is to be spent on publicising the Transkei, said the Minister of Information, Dr. Connie Mulder, yesterday.

The Minister, who was speaking in the information vote debate, said that nothing would be spared to convince the world that Transkeian independence was the "first fruit" of separate development.

R500 000 would be spent this year and a further R500 000 next year.

Giving details of some of the arrangements and foreigners expected to attend the celebrations, Dr. Mulder said it was essential that the positive aspects of South Africa's policy should be made known to the world.

City ^{RPM} Xhosas ^{5/5/76} say no to Transkei

By DIRK REZELMAN

FOUR out of six Transkei Africans interviewed by a Johannesburg Afrikaans newspaper reject the concept of Transkeian citizenship.

In a snap survey published yesterday, the newspaper reveals that most of the Africans spoken to want nothing to do with Transkeian citizenship if it means giving up their South African status.

Mr Aubrey Ndekazi, a personnel officer said that although he was a Transkeian by descent "I do not know of what use that homeland's citizenship will be to me. Unfortunately the South African Government wants to force this citizenship on us by making it a prerequisite for homeownership."

Miss Irene Rorwana, a primary school teacher, said she would do everything in her power to avoid Transkeian citizenship. She said one must "know the living conditions in the Transkei" before having to choose between Transkeian and South African citizenship.

"I would hate to lose my South African citizenship."

Mr J. D. Mabaso, a labourer said he was "ready" for Transkei citizenship. "There is nothing wrong in identifying myself with my own homeland. The fact is I am a Xhosa and am loyal to Chief Matanzima. I can see no reason why other people in the city do not want to identify with the Transkei."

The Rev D. N. Meugo, of Natalspruit, said he would never apply for Transkeian citizenship. "I know the value of citizenship and I will not gamble with it," he said.

A 'hands off' warning to Transkei

6/5/76.

STAR

Mercury Reporter

MATATIELE — The Transkei was warned to keep its "hands off" any more East Griqualand farm land yesterday, by Mr. S. A. Ponder, president of the East Griqualand Farmers' Union.

And he said there could be no talk of further land deals until the Transkei had developed its towns and lands to the standard of those in East Griqualand.

Mr. Ponder was presenting his yearly report to the annual congress of the farmers' union here.

He said many people wondered whether there would be many changes when the Transkei became independent in October.

"I cannot see any changes, but to those who in the past have made demands on our towns and ground and wished to make demands in the future, I say we will never allow any more of our land to be taken."

Referring to Ongeluksnek — a White corridor in the Transkei earmarked for the Transkei, he said he knew there was not enough money to finalise buying farms there for consolidation.

"But I believe the money was made available to concerns which had no priority whatsoever."

"With the independence of the Transkei very near, I believe that the Ongeluksnek area is top priority as it is a White spot surrounded by different types and tribes who know that the area will one day be theirs."

"Perhaps if the State had thought more about the people who produce the food and less of the TV viewers, more money could have been made available for the purchasing of land."

"Let us hope that our farmers receive their due before the TV network for the Bantu is proceeded with, and that the farmers of the Ongeluksnek area are removed before we have any

unpleasant incidents."

Mr. Ponder's statement was backed by several delegates who claimed the Government was not aware of the position of the 33 farmers in the Ongeluksnek area.

One delegate, Mr. C. A. Pedlar said: "We are in a unique position."

"After Transkeian independence each farm there will have an international boundary on it. There will be 160km of international boundaries circumnavigating Ongeluksnek."

This was going to cause many problems when stock strayed off farms.

After further discussion the congress decided to send a delegation to Pretoria to speak to the Minister of Bantu Affairs and ask if the take-over of Ongeluksnek could not be speeded up.

103

Farmers fear race row over property

STAR 6/5/76.

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The independence of the Transkei in October will bring with it serious racial conflict in the consolidated Ongeluksnek area of East Griqualand, farmers warned yesterday.

Ongeluksnek, a White area bordered on three sides by the Transkei and on the fourth side by Lesotho, was consolidated into the Transkei last year in spite of promises that it would remain White.

A number of incidents have occurred which have upset farmers who have been told that their farms will not be bought out by the Government for at least three years after independence.

It was decided at the congress of the East Griqualand Farmers' Union at Matatiele yesterday to arrange a top-level delegation to go to Pretoria to urge the Government to treat Ongeluksnek as a priority for expropriation in view of the deteriorating position.

The chairman of the Ongeluksnek Farmers' Association, and vice president of the E G Farmers' Union, Mr C O Kirk, said: "People are getting nervous, especially the women folk."

ROADBLOCKS

The Government were spending millions on publicising the independence of the Transkei, but they would not buy out the farms which formed a part of the "window dressing," he said.

An Ongeluksnek delegate to the congress, Mr J S de Bruin, said that Africans were telling farmers in the area that, as soon as independence came the farms would become theirs.

"They say they heard Chief Matanzima say so on the radio," he said.

Black policemen were holding roadblocks on the national roads and searching cars owned by Whites, and Africans were already selecting which farmhouses they wanted, he said.

Another Ongeluksnek farmer, Mr G A F Pedlar, said it would be impossible to continue farming in the area after independence. "We are already physically suffering," he said.

The president of the union, Mr S A Ponder, also warned of "unpleasant incidents" if the farmers were not removed immediately.

103

Umtata on the spree

STAR 8/5/76

Tom Duff

The R1-million being spent on publicising the independence of the Transkei is only a fraction of the money being poured into the territory as it prepares for independence.

About 120 foreign newsmen from 18 countries, including 60 MPs from 12 different states, have been invited.

Among the projects being tackled in Umtata are:

- A R13,6-million building in downtown Umtata to accommodate Transkei Government departments.

- A R2-million international airport.

- A military base for the Transkeian army.

- A R1,5-million palace for the Transkei State President and R150,000 houses for Ministers and a R300,000 house for the Prime Minister.

- A university campus and large additions to the technical college.

- A water purification plant and sewage works, each costing about R1-million.

- Road building and repairing on a massive scale.

Thousands of rands are being spent on the independence festivities themselves, including an international sports stadium which was to have been the focal point of the celebrations but will not be completed on time. Instead, temporary stands to seat about 30,000 people are being put up (at a large cost) around a stadium in the town.

A huge tent town to house about 12,000 Transkeians attending the festivities is being established.

103

Vote move for Whites^{STAR} 13/5/76 in Transkei

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Legislation to allow South African citizens living in independent homelands to vote in elections in the Republic was published here today.

The Electoral Laws Amendment Bill, introduced as independence of the Transkei approaches, will give the vote to South African citizens in states formerly part of the Republic.

Eligible South Africans living in an independent homeland will be entitled to cast special votes in the constituency nearest to where they live.

Voters living in a homeland will remain registered in their present constituencies until the next delimitation when they will be registered in the constituency "closest to their homes" along the shortest practicable route by road.

DISQUALIFICATION

In the Transkei, this means that voters in areas such as Lusikisiki, Flagstaff and Umzimkulu, who are at present registered in the Griqualand East constituency, would vote in the Natal South Coast constituency.

Voters convicted in an independent homeland of offences similar to ones which in South Africa would result in disqualification face the same penalty.

This applies to treason, murder, offences under the Suppression of Communism Act or the Terrorism Act and offences against laws passed by a homeland designed to combat terrorism or communism.

TRANSKEI'S BLUEPRINT IS READY ^{NM} 19/5/76.

UMTATA — The Transkeian Legislative Assembly has passed the draft independence constitution, with seven amendments, after three days of debate.

The major amendments were to clauses dealing with citizenship and language of the independent State, and to membership of the Cabinet.

The constitution will be presented to a special session of the Assembly in the form of a Bill.

The Assembly that meets to consider the constitution will be increased in size to 150 members and it is that Assembly that will become the first Parliament of the Republic of the Transkei.

Citizenship of the new State will, as the constitution reads now, be automatic for people born, or whose father was born, in the present Transkei homeland. For the purpose of this section the mother of an illegitimate child is termed the father.

These are the only people whose Transkeian citizenship is automatic, unless they have renounced Transkeian citizenship or taken the citizenship of another country, including South Africa.

Parliament may extend these rights to Blacks with only distant links with the Transkei, Whites and Coloured South Africans or other nationalities — in fact, to anyone who does not

automatically qualify for citizenship — but they will not be forced to take Transkeian citizenship.

The Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said the Transkei would not force any Blacks of Transkeian origin or connection living outside the homeland to become Transkeian citizens.

He was not in a position, he said, to say whether or not South Africa would force those people to take Transkeian citizenship.

"I am merely protecting the interests of the Transkei, in that no people shall be compelled to become citizens of the Transkei. People can become citizens by right and application."

A word of warning was sounded by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Knowledge Guzana, who said that the future Transkeian Government might not accept people who had been forced to apply for citizenship.

The language clauses were amended after pressure was put on the drafters of the constitution by Basotho members of the Assembly.

Xhosa remains the official language. Sesotho, English and Afrikaans may also be spoken, although approval for their use in Government must be given by the President.

As the constitution was, it could have been interpreted that the speaking of Sesotho, English and Afrikaans was subject to presidential approval.

Sesotho has replaced Afrikaans as the third language for parliamentary Bills and Acts. The other languages are Xhosa and English.

The Assembly is to prorogue today. — (Sapa.)

Taal: Transkeians 'not to blame'

20/5/76 STAR.

Own Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — Leading Afrikaans intellectuals and writers have expressed regret — but also understanding — at the decision by the Transkei this week to drop Afrikaans as an official language.

They felt that the rejection was a blow to Afrikaans. But, in a series of interviews yesterday, it was clear that the blame was not being laid at the feet of the Transkeians.

Professor Bun Booyens, head of the department of Afrikaans Studies at the University of Stellenbosch, said the decision emphasised a failure in

the past to encourage the Black man to identify with Afrikaans.

Professor Gerald Beukes, head of the department of Afrikaans and Nederlands at the University of the Orange Free State and a former chairman of the Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns, said Xhosa had no emotional attachment to Afrikaans.

The Transkei Assembly decided to drop Afrikaans as one of the three languages bills would be printed in. It was replaced by Sesotho. Members argued that few Transkeians used or understood Afrikaans.

"I find the decision a pity," said Professor Booyens, "although one can understand the back-

ground and the practical factors.

"This is not the first time in its history that a door has closed for Afrikaans. But it is the first time it has happened since Afrikaans became an official language in South Africa.

"It strongly emphasises our neglect in the past to allow a feeling of possession in regard to Afrikaans taking root in the Black man.

"Afrikaans - speaking people chose to speak English to the Xhosa and thereby lost a golden chance to make a breakthrough for Afrikaans.

"Every time a door closes for a language it is a pity and it retards communication and the détente campaign arising therefrom."

INVEST IN TRANSKEI, WHITES URGED ^{N.M.}

Mercury Reporter

27/5/76
THE TRANSKEI Minister of Education, Mr. A. P. Jonas, has assured White industrialists that they will be looked after, "no matter who is in power."

Addressing the Sparletta 25th anniversary conference at Cabana Beach, Umhlanga Rocks, yesterday, he said the encouragement of industrial development would remain the cornerstone of Transkei Government policy after independence.

Mr. Jonas urged White industrialists to invest in the Transkei.

"I want to stress that your help, as people who have the know-how and capital investment, is greatly needed. It is the Transkei's intention to create a new non-racial society in the truest sense and to convince the outside world that we are truly independent," he said.

He said the outside world was not aware of the changing attitude in South Africa.

"We know that the Whites are changing, but we cannot expect them to do so overnight.

"We want Whites to come to the Transkei, to invest their money with us. The Transkei has a large labour supply and the enterprising businessman will never have any problems."

Transkei Assembly sings in a new era

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — The Transkei Legislative Assembly ended its last session last week with a particularly moving rendition of "Nkosi Sikelele Afrika."

This prompted the Opposition leader, Mr. Knowledge Guzana, who ironically had led the singing, to comment afterwards that the Assembly had sung its own requiem.

It was singing farewell to the old era and "looking forward eagerly to the new era of political independence and freedom from racial oppression."

It was on this note that the 13-year-old Assembly closed down forever. When next it meets in the stately old Bunga in Umtata it will be as a fledgling Parliament for the Republic of Transkei. But this euphoric atmosphere of anticipation did not hide a disturbing feature which marked

the last session, a growing manifestation of intolerance by the prospective leaders of the new era to freedom of expression and to political opposition.

It left many journalists here with the uneasy feeling that they would remain in the Transkei after independence at the touchy whim of its leaders. Strangely it was the liberal East London Daily Dispatch which bore the brunt of Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima's wrath.

After he had delivered a particularly scathing attack on the Dispatch in the Assembly, he accused the paper of wanting to see a revolution and upheaval in the Transkei. The newspaper's editor,

Mr. Donald Woods, shrugged it off with a lighthearted dig at the Chief Minister's digestive tract.

"Oh, it's nothing. Kaiser probably had a bit of indigestion yesterday. He knows we are very well disposed towards the people," said Mr Woods.

INDEPENDENT

A more likely cause of Chief Matanzima's indisposition was, however, that for the first time in 13 years a strongly independent element within his own party had shown its colours openly in the Assembly during discussion of the Transkei's draft independent constitution. Before this, Chief Matanzima

had been unusually affable and relaxed. His power and influence were at an all time high the first Opposition party was in tatters and four of the influential five paramount chiefs were now on his side. It seemed as if the rest of the way to independence would be plain sailing.

The beginning of the final session was dominated by the death throes of the traditional Opposition. The once-powerful DP, whose founder the late Paramount Chief Victor Poto of Western Pondoland, had come within a hair's breath of beating Chief Matanzima in the leadership stakes back in 1963, was in pitiful dis-

ma had been unusually affable and relaxed. His power and influence were at an all time high the first Opposition party was in tatters and four of the influential five paramount chiefs were now on his side. It seemed as if the rest of the way to independence would be plain sailing.

A few months before, the DP's leader, Mr. Knowledge Guzana, had been ousted, some say illegally, by the left-leaning young accountant, Mr. Hector Ncokezi. Then opened the session Paramount Chief Victor Ndamase, defeated to join Chief Matanzima's party amid much fanfare.

The rest of the Western Pondoland delegation tagged along dutifully with their titular leader leaving 12 members of the Assembly in the official Opposition.

Mr. Guzana then denounced Mr. Ncokezi and formed the New Democratic Party (NDP) with six of his loyal supporters. With a majority of one on the Opposition benches, Mr. Guzana regained recognition by the House as leader of the Opposition. Two more members then left the old DP and sat as independents.

HARMLESS

This uneasy state of the opposition lasted for the rest of the session. As if this was not enough the Matanzima brothers intensified their campaign to smear Mr. Ncokezi and his followers as communist agitators who sought to overthrow the existing regime by violence.

The Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, went as far as threatening an official crackdown on the Ncokezi element. There was talk that the government would use the Transkei's notorious Proclamation R400 to stifle Mr. Ncokezi and his lieutenants. Mr. Ncokezi claimed he had been visited by the security police.

However, no further action was taken against them during the session and most observers in Umtata felt that the Ncokezi group had been rendered completely harmless any-

way and could not understand the Matanzima obsession with them.

The affair is made even more mysterious by the fact that Chief George Matanzima is Mr. Ncokezi's brother-in-law.

Apart from this, the first half of the session was wasted on debating motions because the Budget, which is traditionally introduced near the beginning, was delayed by drastic cuts to South Africa's massive contribution. (Despite inflation the Budget turned out to be a whopping R155-million, an increase of R33-million over last year).

TOO FAST

The motions were highlighted by demands that South Africa assure the Transkei that more land will be added after independence, specifically the rich farming area of East Griqualand and the Natal South Coast strip from Port Shepstone to Port Edward.

Significantly no demands were made this year for faster Africanisation of the civil service. Later in the session Chief Matanzima said that in many instances Africanisation had gone too fast and had led to chaotic conditions, particularly in the Roads Division.

He said white superintendents had been phased out too fast and had resulted in the deplorable conditions of the Transkei's roads.

HIGHLIGHT

After the Budget was introduced the policy speeches followed in unusually rapid succession. Chief Matanzima's widely-reported attack against Chief Gatscha Buthezi of KwaZulu was the highlight of these speeches.

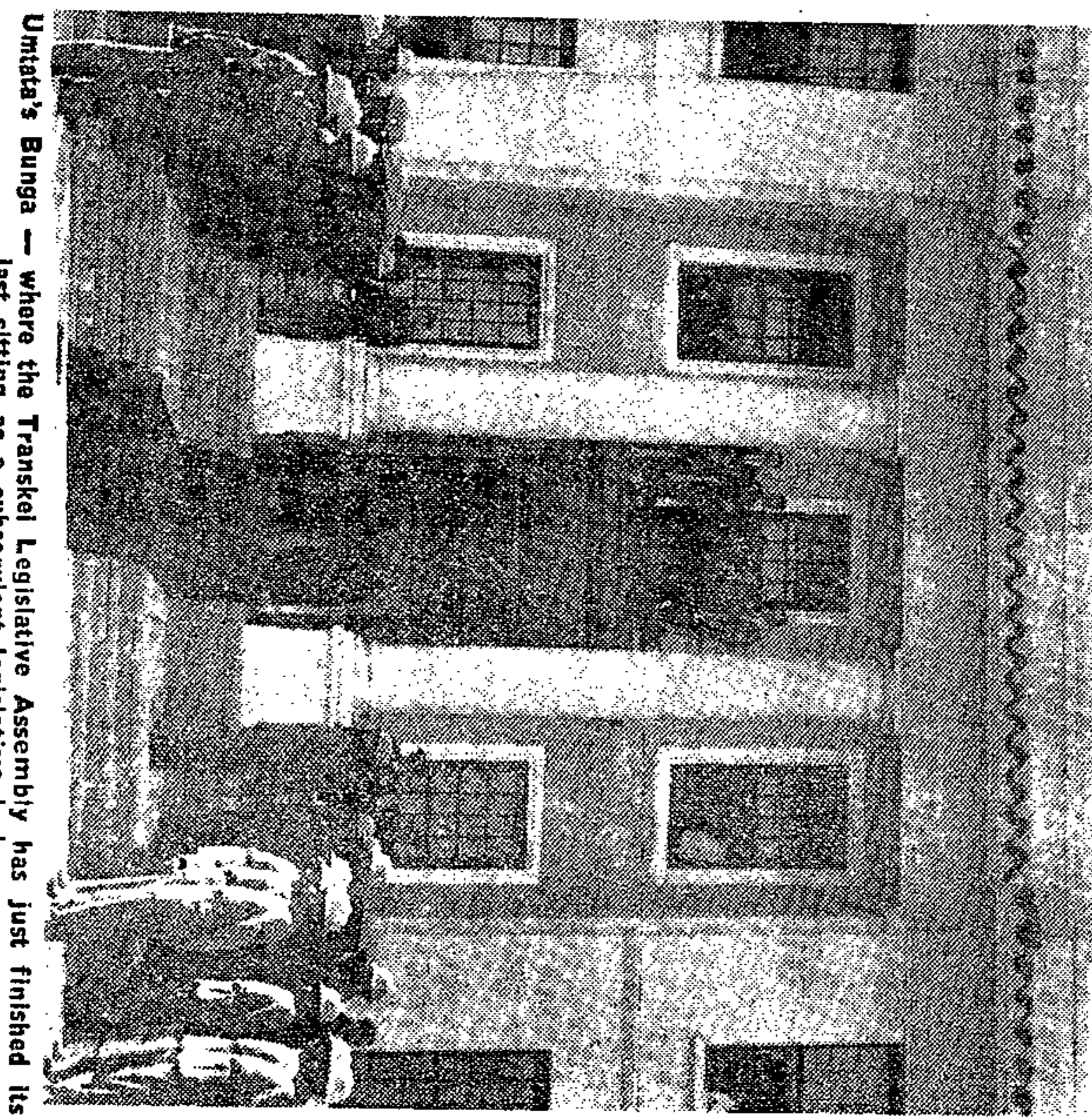
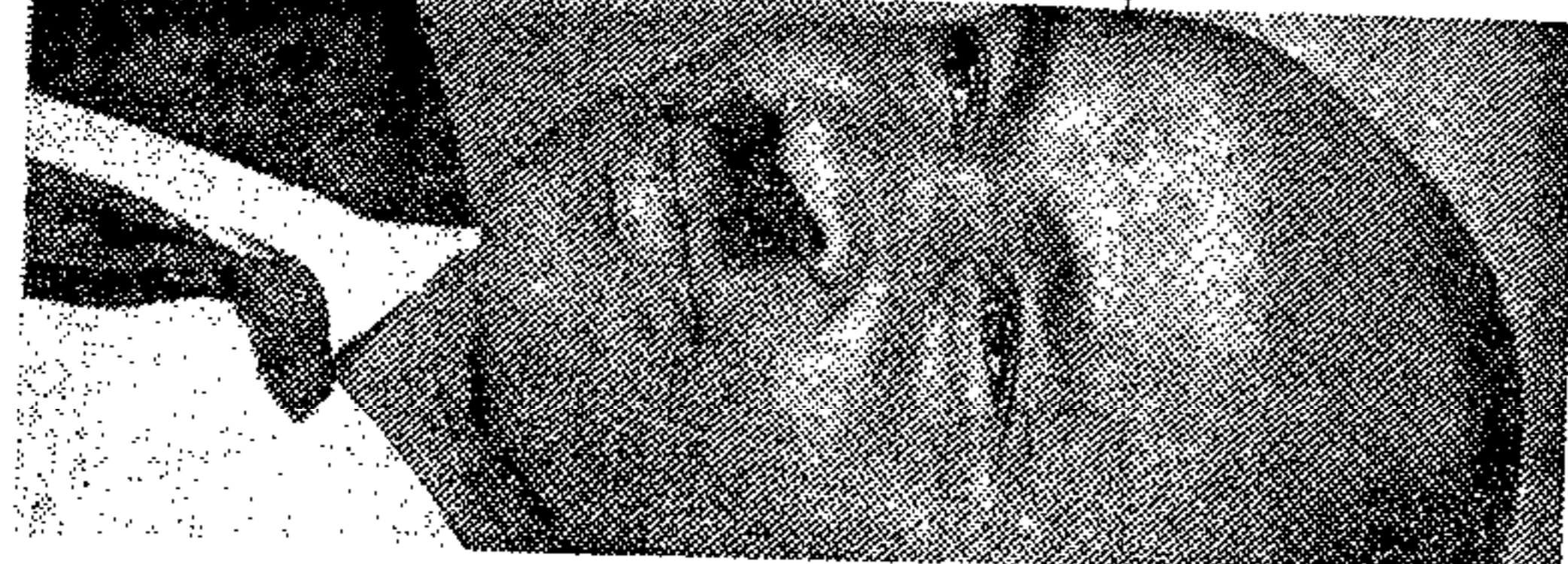
This lengthy diatribe was mysterious because although Chief Matanzima has been at odds with the KwaZulu leader over independence he has repeatedly told reporters that it was against his policy to comment publicly on the actions of fellow homeland leaders.



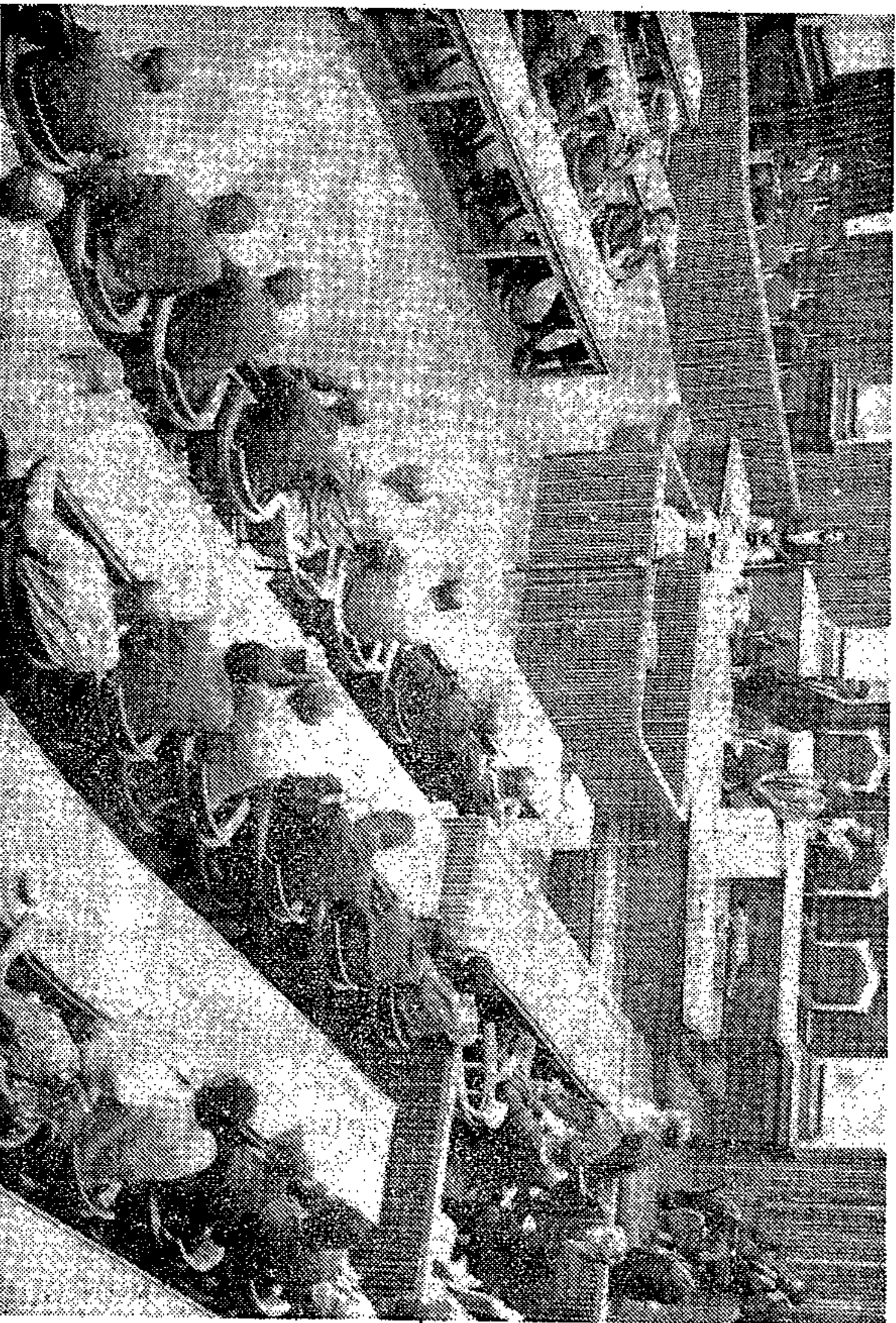
The Transkei's Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, presenting land claims. Even after independence he will want more.

Leader of country's Opposition

Mr. Knowledge Guzana — leader of the Opposition in the Transkei.



Umtata's Bunga — where the Transkei Legislative Assembly has just finished its last sitting as a subservient legislative body.



The Transkei Legislative Assembly at work. Soon it will be a Parliament.

Stormy passage for the Kei Bill

27/5/76.

RDM

STAFF REPORTER

THE Government Bill to grant the Transkei independence on October 26 met heavy resistance yesterday.

In Washington, the Transkeian Minister of Justice rejected the idea that all Xhosa and Sotho speaking people automatically become Transkeian citizens on independence day.

And in other dramatic developments:

- Both the United and Progressive Reform parties rejected legislation giving the Transkei independence and depriving hundreds of thousands of people of their South African citizenship;

- The Government published a schedule to the Status of the Transkei Bill, making it clear that Transkeian citizenship and loss of South African citizenship WOULD be automatic — and in doing so heightened the prospects of a South Africa-Transkei confrontation;

- The United Party's chief whip, Mr Gray Hughes, said he would petition Parliament to allow Transkeian Whites to present their grievances before the Bar of the House of Assembly;

Guy Bernard reports from Washington that Chief George Matanzima said of urbanised Xhosas and Sothos who long ago lost their ties with the Transkei: "They're their (South Africa's) babies, not ours".

Transkeians living and working in the Republic should have the right to opt for Transkeian nationality at independence, he insisted. It should not be automatic.

South African officials in Washington yesterday suggested that the citizenship issue was a matter of disagreement still subject to negotiation.

The Status of the Transkei Bill — which grants Transkeian independence — will be opposed at second reading and was heavily criticised by both Opposition parties because of the Government's take it or leave it approach on the citizenship issue.

Sir De Villiers Graaff, the leader of the Opposition, said that the Bill could lead to such "damaging inroads into the rights of large numbers of South African citizens without offering a practical solution to our problems that we cannot support it."

Mr Colin Egin, leader of the Progressive Reform Party, said the Bill reinforced his party's call for a referendum and said that it was an attempt to push through the citizenship issue "in defiance of the requests of the Transkei Legislative Assembly."

Mrs Helen Suzman, the party's chief spokesman on homelands, said: "Our worst fears have been realised. The Bill would have national and international repercussions and reduced the chances of the Transkei being recognised by the United Nations and the Organisation for African Unity."

Mr. Gray Hughes is to petition Parliament to allow Transkeian Whites to present their grievances before the Bar of the House of Assembly.

Mr. Hughes, whose constituency includes White voters in the Transkei, has taken this unusual Parliamentary step because Whites in the homeland are highly dissatisfied with the way they have been treated during the progress to independence.

Sir De Villiers said his party would oppose the Bill because apart from the citizenship issue, it afforded no protection to the property and rights of South African citizens not recognised as Transkeians but presently living in the Transkei.

In the House of Assembly, The United Party objected to the discussion of any legislation relating to the independence of the Transkei until the Bill providing for its independence had been passed.

This was said by Dr Gideon Jacobs (UP Hillbrow) when the House of Assembly was about to go into committee on the Second Unemployment Insurance Amendment Bill, which provides for unemployment benefits to continue for people living the Transkei.

"If we discuss this Bill now we will be naming the off-spring before the marriage has been consummated," said Dr Jacobs.

● See Page 5

27/5/76

SAP will aid Transkei during celebrations

27/5/76

UMTATA — Police from South Africa — including railway police — will have powers of arrest to maintain law and order in the homeland until the Transkei independence celebrations are over.

The Deputy Commissioner of the Transkei Police, Maj E. Cwele, said the Transkei's 802-man force would be unable to control the throngs expected for the celebrations.

Officials organising the celebrations suggested the Transkei Police request aid through the Department of Bantu Affairs and it was agreed the Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, should invite the South African Police.

Arrangements were made for the South African Police and SAP, police officials, as well as the Commissioner of the Transkei Police, Col S.

Mattheys, to meet the Chief Minister on the presence of the South African Police in the Transkei after October 26.

But Chief Kaiser is on holiday and is expected back at his office on June 7.

Security is being looked after by Col V. Mattheys.

It is understood the South African Police gymnastic and dog-handling teams would not be available for the celebrations, but the police band would be available from October 22 until October 28.

A tent-town will be set up to accommodate people attending the celebrations.

The military ceremonial sub-committee has offered 1 200 tents on condition there will be no health hazards through pit latrines after the celebrations.

The tent-town site has been surveyed by engineers of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. Provision for parking, a police station, sick bay and ambulance bay has been made.

It has been reported the Holiday Inn will only be able to offer 40 rooms by October. There was a possibility SAR coaches would be provided to accommodate people.

An appeal will be made to Umtata residents to help by accommodating visitors.

The Independence stadium being prepared with three stands is expected to seat 30 000 with standing room for 20 000.

— DDR.

Thursday,
May 27, 1976

103

Independence Bill attacked

CAPE TOWN — The Government was attacked yesterday for its "sloppy and careless" drafting of the Status of the Transkei Bill — the Bill which will legally grant independence to the Transkei on October 26.

The regulations for Transkei citizenship have been so widely drawn that they may include people, white or black, with only remote connections with the territory, it was said here yesterday.

An advocate, Mr H. Pitman (PRP, Durban North) pointed out last night that none of the definitions of citizenship were clear — in fact they had been left ill-defined.

For instance a phrase like "a territory within the Republic" was almost

meaningless because the word "territory" was not specifically defined by the Bill.

One of the central issues of the Bill was that it unilaterally deprived certain people of their citizenship of the Republic of South Africa.

But to isolate the people concerned the Bill used broad and ambiguous phrases like "speaks a language" — making no distinction between people who spoke two or more languages.

What about a person who spoke Zulu and Xhosa — did that make him eligible for Transkei citizenship? The Bill did not even mention the person's home or first language, and did not even exclude whites.

The scope became even wider when the Bill referred to people who were related to any member of the population or who had identified themselves with any part of such population.

"These phrases and definitions appear to be incapable of proper construction by a judicial officer," Mr Pitman said. "I certainly would not know what to submit on this sort of sloppy drafting."

The Bill is considered likely to lead to a clash between South Africa and the Transkei Government, which has already stated it will regard Transkei citizenship as being a matter of choice.

Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the Transkei Chief Minister, has said those who did not apply for Transkei citizenship would, as far as the Transkei was concerned, remain South African citizens.

The difference between the South African and Transkei Governments has led to claims that the measure will create stateless people in South Africa.

The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, who introduced the Bill, has said in the Assembly that, if this happens, it will be the Transkei that has created stateless people, not South Africa.

A lengthy and heated debate is expected when the Bill comes up for debate in the Assembly, probably early next week. The Progressive Reform Party has already stated it is against the principle of fragmenting South Africa, while the United Party will decide on its attitude once it has studied the measure.

Strong criticism of the

Bill defines citizenship

CAPE TOWN — The widest possible non-racial definitions of Transkeian citizenship are contained in the Bill published yesterday that will lead the territory to its independence on October 26.

The lengthy definition, contained in the Status of the Transkei Bill, appears to be in conflict with the element of choice drafted into the constitution approved by the Transkei Legislative Assembly.

The schedule defining citizenship has seven subsections, which declare that categories of people ceasing to be South African citizens will be:

Every person who was a Transkei citizen in terms of any law when the Bill became law;

Every person born in the Transkei of parents either of whom were citizens of the Transkei at the time of his birth;

Every person born outside the Transkei whose father was a Transkei citizen at the time of his birth;

Every person born out of wedlock, according to custom or otherwise, outside the Transkei whose

mother was a Transkei citizen at the time of his birth;

Every person who had been lawfully domiciled in the Transkei for five years and had been granted citizenship of the country by a competent authority in the Transkei;

Every "South African citizen" who was not a citizen of "a territory within the Republic," is not a citizen under the previous conditions, and "speaks a language used by the Xhosa or Sotho-speaking section of the population of the Transkei, including any dialect of any such language;" and

Every South African citizen "who is not a citizen of a territory within the Republic of South Africa, and is not a citizen of the Transkei" in terms of the previous conditions, but "who is related to any member of the population contemplated" in the previous paragraph "or has identified himself with any part of such population or is culturally or otherwise associated with any member or part of such population." — PC.

More on the Bill, page 5.

Bill also came from the MP whose constituency includes all whites in the Transkei, Mr T. G. Hughes.

Mr Hughes, the United Party Chief Whip, said white Transkeians were being thrust into a foreign country, were being neglected, and as a result were highly dissatisfied.

"They want their rights to compensation protected in legislation. It is not sufficient to rely merely on statements of policy by ministers," he said. — PC-SAPA.

Transkei seeks links with African states

28/5/76 STAR

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — A Transkeian Government mission is to visit at least half the independent states of Africa to persuade them to agree to Transkeian membership of the Organisation of African Unity.

Announcing this at a Press conference today, the territory's Minister of Justice, Mr George Matanzima, who has been having talks with Western and Asian ambassadors at the United Nations, said the tour would last for most of July.

Before then, Mr Matanzima's party will be meeting government ministers in Britain, France, West Germany, Spain, Greece, Holland and other European countries in an effort to gain recognition for the Transkei after its independence on October 26.

"Our visit to Africa will be our most difficult undertaking. Arrangements for the visit are being made at this moment.

"We will be speaking to the governments of at least half the independent states on the continent. We are doing this on our own initiative — South Africa has nothing to do with it.

PERSUADE

"Our task is to persuade a majority of the OAU membership of the organ- Transkeian application for membership of the organi-

sation. We have no illusions about the difficulties involved.

"We are convinced that the African governments we talk to will regard us with much more sympathy and understanding if they give us a chance of putting our case to them.

"The least they can do is to give us a hearing and I am happy to say that most of them are prepared to do so," Mr Matanzima said.

He said there was "enormous misinformation" about the Transkei's claim to independence.

Most Americans and many Africans simply regarded the territory as a product of the South African Government's separate development policy and were therefore sceptical about its future.

EXISTED

"As we all know back home, the Transkei existed as a separate national and constitutional entity before the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910. It was a territory ruled by Britain after a series of annexations between 1872 and 1894.

"Independence has not come about now because of the policies of the Nationalist Party in South Africa, which we reject. We Transkeians asked for independence through the Bunga in 1948 and we have been working for it ever since," he said.

This was the basis on which the Transkeian mission would approach "our brothers in Africa." It would also be the basis on which the Transkei would apply for membership of both the OAU and the United Nations.

TRANSKEI WILL NOT ^{NM} ACCEPT S.A. DECISION ^{31/5/76}

LONDON — The Transkei's Minister of Justice, Mr. George Matanzima, was reported here yesterday to have refused unconditionally to accept the South African Government decision to force all Xhosas to become citizens of the almost-independent homeland.

Mr. Matanzima, brother of Transkei Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima, was quoted as saying the Government's decision "is not a decision we are willing to accept under any circumstances."

Mr. Matanzima, who was interviewed by Colin Legum of the Observer, was reported to have said: "We were not consulted beforehand and it clearly conflicts with our own independence constitution which specifically says that anybody entitled to Transkei citizenship may apply."

NO INTENTION

"The new Transkei State is not an offshoot of the policy of separate development and we have no intention of allowing ourselves to be used to promote it or any other form of racialism."

Mr. Matanzima has been on an American tour to promote support and recognition for his homeland.

Transkeian Government officials attached to the South African embassy here were not available for comment yesterday. — (Sapa.)

Complaint at the Bar suggested

2/6/76 NM

Parliamentary Correspondent.

CAPE TOWN — An Eastern Cape Nationalist MP, Dr. George Morrison, yesterday gave qualified approval to Transkeian Whites presenting their grievances at the Bar of the House of Assembly.

"I feel the public does have a right to being heard at the Bar of the House, but I also feel that direct representations to the Minister concerned will be far more successful," Dr. Morrison said in an interview.

He stressed that his views were his own and that they had no official backing.

He was also convinced that Transkeian Whites who were concerned about their position in the territory after independence had had ample opportunity to make their views known to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha.

"Nothing much will be achieved at the Bar of the House, but it will be a dramatic form of protest, the effect of which is doubtful," Dr. Morrison said.

"I am sure the Minister's door is always open and it would be a far better form of negotiation to make direct representations to him," he said.

However, he felt that the public did have a right to present their grievances at the Bar of the House.

Dr. Morrison also said that Whites living in the Transkei would have to make up their mind whether they wanted to be South African or Transkeian citizens.

"I don't think they will be deprived of their citizenship but at some stage they must decide if they want to stay there.

"They can't decide to live in the Transkei all their lives and still retain South African citizenship," he said.

The independence of the Transkei had been planned for some time and the Whites there had had considerable time to assess their position. If there were genuine grievances they could have made these known to the Minister.

The citizenship row Transkei agreed — Botha

R.D.M. 1/6/76

By HELEN ZILLE

THE Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, said last night that there had been full agreement between the South African Government and the Transkei Government on the terms of independence for the Transkei.

for voluntary citizenship," he said.

He added: "Once the Transkei is independent, the South African Government cannot dictate who its citizens will be. If South Africa deprives Xhosas within its borders of South African citizenship — it is the South African Government who is creating stateless people."

In London, Chief Matanzima told Sapa that not all Xhosa people came from the Transkei. In fact, the majority were from the Ciskei. Others had come from Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu and Lesotho.

Any of these people were welcome to apply for Transkeian citizenship. They would be considered like any other person wishing to become a citizen of the planned nonracial state.

"There can be no conflict in a matter concerning our inherent right to grant citizenship," he said.

Mr Botha was replying to the weekend warning by Chief George Matanzima that the Transkei would not accept the citizenship provisions in the Status of the Transkei Bill.

Chief Matanzima restated this standpoint in London yesterday.

Asked last night whether the South African and Transkei Governments had reached agreement on the terms of the Bill before it was tabled in Parliament, the Minister said:

"Of course there was an agreement on the Bill before it was tabled. At a meeting on April 6 — at which George Matanzima himself was present — everything, including the citizenship issue was discussed and agreed on."

But on May 18, the Transkei Legislative Assembly passed an amendment to the Draft Independence Constitution saying that people who had an ethnical or cultural association with the Transkei would have the right to apply for citizenship but would not be forced to do so.

Last night, Mr Knowledge Guzana, leader of the opposition New Democratic Party in the Transkei, said the amendment was "a spanner in the works of the South African Government's plans.

"The South African Government did not expect the Transkei to opt

Transkei citizen dispute solved, says Nat paper

ARGUS 3/6/76

The Argus Political Correspondent

THE DISPUTE between the South African Government and the Transkeian Government on the question of Transkeian citizenship after independence has been solved, according to a report today in the Nationalist newspaper Die Transvaler.

In terms of the Status of the Transkei Bill all Xhosas and Sothos outside the territory when it becomes independent will automatically become Transkeian citizens.

In terms of the Transkei's draft constitution which has been passed by the territory's Legislative Assembly, however, it has so far appeared as if such citizenship will not be automatic.

A clause in the constitution which said that Xhosas shall become citizens was amended to say that they may apply for citizenship.

This started a controversy which led to the United Party and the Progressive Reform Party announcing that they would oppose the Status of the Transkei Bill when it comes up in the Assembly next week.

ADDED CLAUSE

Die Transvaler said today the matter had been settled.

An additional clause in the Transkei draft constitution which would probably be introduced at a special session of the Legislative Assembly in August would bring the constitution in line with the Assembly's status legislation.

This step, the newspaper said, would greatly benefit Transkeian citizens in the Republic as regarded greater freedom of movement, home ownership, work preference and possibly also education.

**Transkei
Whites
to speak
in House?**

The Argus Political Correspondent

A MOTION asking that the Transkeian White Citizens Association be granted the right to oppose the Transkei Status Bill from the Bar of the Assembly was to be debated in the House this afternoon.

The motion is being introduced by Mr. T. G. Hughes, the United Party MP for Griqualand East.

If granted, it will be the first time in many years that any group has been allowed to address Parliament from the Bar of the House.

In the whole the association's president, Mr. R. H. C. Wood asks the House to allow counsel opposing the Bill to speak at the Bar.

The motion also calls for a select committee to be appointed to inquire into the position of South African Whites who own property in the Transkei.

Matanzima lashes SA Over Transkei citizenship

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — The Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima has accused the South African Government of arousing bitterness, indignation and racial antagonism among Blacks in Southern Africa.

The Chief Minister addressed more than 800 people at Lady Frere, Western Tembuland, at the weekend, lashed out angrily at the Government for trying to force Xhosa- and Sesotho-speaking people to become Transkei citizens without allowing them the right of choice.

"If the powers-that-be enforced the Transkei citizenship clause, in the face of Transkeian opposition, and in conflict with the provisions of the Transkeian Constitution Bill, the Republic will aggravate racial strife, resentment and hatred in this country," he said.

Chief Matanzima said that the Transkei draft constitution had been drawn up by law advisers from the Transkei as well as the Republic of South Africa but that it "would only become law when passed by the Transkei Legislative Assembly.

"The citizenship clause as pertaining to the Transkei constitution will be used and applied in determining those people's application for citizenship of the independent Transkei, and not the South African status act," he said.

The Chief Minister angrily retorted, "The South African status bill will be ruthlessly used to effect all Xhosa- and Sesotho-speaking people from the Republic although they will have no place in which to reside."

87 percent

The SA Government and the White population at length should have a conscience when dealing with the controversial citizenship clause which affected 1,5 million state-

White and he reiterated that the Transkei Government would never be happy until all rightful land belonging to the Transkei was transferred to them.

"Peaceful co-existence will only be materialized when the justice of our people is accorded to us by the South African Government," he said.

He warned the South African Government that the Transkei would never be intimidated by "threats" of refusals to grant visas to his people to enter the Republic, neither would they accept the ejection of Black people from urban townships to the Transkei.

"These are our inalienable rights enjoyed by all Blacks who have contributed to the economic development of South Africa, and who actually defied South Africa in the past when they fought side by side with South African forces," he said.

"We are not prepared to simply go to the Republic begging on our knees."

Commenting on the Transkei's relationship with the Republic after independence, Chief Matanzima stressed "We will negotiate with them as independent and sovereign states."

He accused the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr B J Vorster, of now associating himself with extremists and verkrampde elements of the Nationalist Party.

"The Prime Minister of South Africa who, until now, has been regarded, and associates himself with the reputation of being a great statesman, should not allow himself to be dragged into the mud by such people," he said.

Commenting on the South African Government's stand on the citizenship clause, Chief Matanzima felt that "as it

now stands", the Transkei Status Bill, was nothing but "provocative."

"We are fully behind him in his stand," he said commenting on the Transkei Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima's statements made on his tour of Europe that the Transkei Government would never accept the Blacks rejected from the Republic.

"The Transkei Cabinet stands solidly behind Chief George Matanzima."

He attacked the South African Government for forcibly trying to channel all Xhosa- and Sesotho-speaking Blacks into the Transkei.

'A jam'

"These people are scattered all over the Republic, Botswana and other homelands such as Lesotho and Swaziland. Does the South African Government think they can force us to accept such people who have no ties with us and who do not know the Transkei, or even want to reside here?"

"I hope the Republic will change in its attitude — if not, rest assured there will be a jam," he said.

He declined, however, to elaborate on what he meant in referring to the Transkei Government and SA Government's direct collision on the citizenship clause.



Chief Matanzima

Whites warned not to provoke Transkeians

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, sounded a grave warning to all Whites in the Transkei to stop provoking his people through their "White haasskap" attitude in the Transkei.

people to refrain from provoking Transkeian Blacks," he reminded the Western Tembuland people at Lady Frere.

"Up to now Transkei Blacks have shown a spirit of friendliness and goodwill toward the White community."

These Whites, he said

Do they seriously think the Black man can be omnipotent with a situation in which the Whites of South Africa alone occupied 87 per cent of the land?

"They have left only 13 per cent to us Black people who constitute 80 per cent of South Africa's population," he said.

Chief Matanzima decried South Africa's attitude and told the crowd, "this, I repeat, will never be tolerated by the Black man and if the South African Government considers the gagging of Blacks into small areas (the homelands) as a solution to the South African situation, then they should think again."

Chief Matanzima said much of the Transkeian and still remained "forcibly" under the control of

"surprised" that the White message of Lady Frere had not been present to welcome him on his official visit to the area.

"I came here as Head of State and this White magistrate is not here to welcome me," he said.

"I want to make it understood to him that such action has been noted by me," he said.

He reminded "the White officers in the Transkei" that they should remember that they now served under a Black Government.

Chief Matanzima also intimated that he was aware of the absence of the White Mayor of Lady Frere, who also failed to welcome him to the town on his official visit.

He said he had been informed that the municipality of Lady Frere had purposely locked all the doors of the toilets at the hall and had also turned off the water supply.

"I am aware that such people were not in favour of us utilizing this hall. The Mayor of Lady Frere has locked all the toilets in the building yet the hall was given to us to use for my address," he said.

"I am angry. You people do not understand the seriousness of this attitude of the Republic, but rest assured you will still all go to work in the Republic and by that I mean 'freely'," he added.

"For five years I will be Prime Minister of Republic of Transkei and your interests are my chief concern — let us uplift the status of the Black man together with his standard of living for peaceful co-existence," he said.

"Such peaceful co-existence with the Republic of South Africa and the Republic of Transkei will only be attained when Whites in this country finally realise that we are human individuals and are equals of the White man," said the Chief Minister of the Transkei.

Addressing more than 800 people of Western Transkei at Lady Frere at the weekend, the Chief Minister expressed his anger and disapproval of the attitude of Whites living in the Transkei.

"The reaction of these Transkeian Whites as depicted through their petition which was submitted to Cape Town by the 'so-called' Transkei White Citizens' Association is a clear indication of these peoples' 'baaskap' attitude towards the Blacks," he said.

Chief Matanzima accused the Whites in the Transkei of being unable to accept the fact that now was a change of Government in the Transkei.

"The Government change from White to Black has taken place and I would advise these

must respect and obey the policy of their Government who were the instruments of a policy of separate development and who had decided to separate the races in South Africa.

"The Transkei Government does not want these Whites to hint at their grievances without consulting us — they simply run off to another Parliament with their so-called 'troubles,'" he said.

"It appears that Transkeian Whites cannot take the change from a White to a Black Government."

Chief Matanzima assured Whites that the Government was compensating all Whites who wanted to leave the Transkei.

"This is being done through the Transkei Adjustment Committee, but what has transpired? For 13 years these Whites have stuck together and not offered their properties for sale.

"Now they make fools of themselves by running to Parliament in Cape Town to call for a petition to support Whites in the Transkei.

"These Whites must understand clearly that they cannot have it both ways.

"We Transkei Blacks are by nature a friendly people and I warn these Whites in the Transkei that we do not want to be provoked. That they must clearly understand."

7/6/76

Church reaction to Transkei bill

THE DIOCESAN Council of the Diocese of Cape Town of the Church of the Province of South Africa last night issued the following statement:

"The Diocesan Council views with great concern the clauses in the Statute of the Transkei Bill now before Parliament which impose compulsory Transkeian citizenship on all

African persons descended from persons born in the Transkei and all persons ethnically, culturally or otherwise associated with the Transkei, whether or not they wish to accept such citizenship and whether or not they have or retain any real link with the Transkei.

"The Diocesan Council further deprecates the proposal to refuse trading and leasehold rights and the right of professional persons to practise in the Republic to persons regarded as Transkeian citizens by the South African Government but who decline to take out Transkeian citizenship papers.

Africa background

CAPE TIMES 15/6/76

103

Recognition for Transkei?

LOUIS BAUM interviews an authoritative interpreter of events in Southern Africa on the Transkei's fight for recognition.

LONDON. — George Matanzima seems an amiable enough sort of person. The Transkei's Minister of Justice sits at the head of the long table in the Voorkamer of South Africa House in London, cracking jokes with journalists, beaming broadly.

But half-way through his press conference a furrow crosses his brow. And even if you have not been listening all that closely, you can be pretty certain someone has at last popped that inevitable question.

Will the international community recognize the Transkei?

Matanzima leans forward ominously and his eyes flash. He is not, he explains with strained patience, on a trip to win recognition for his country. The press, he charges, is trying to turn recognition into a precondition for independence. Recognition, he asserts flatly, is not a precondition for independence.

Sour grapes

And indeed (if the "rebel colony" of Rhodesia is anything to go by) it is probably not. But the belly-ache that is troubling the Minister of Justice still seems an awful lot like a case of sour grapes. If no one wants to recognize you, then recognition (you might be expected to argue) is simply not the important thing it's trumped up to be.

But there are some who think it is. And they warn that the success or failure of the Transkei to win international acceptance could have important consequences for all of Southern Africa.

Among the exponents of this view is a South African-born academic who in recent years has become, to the British



Mr George Matanzima

only the Transkei's problem. South Africa is up against this one too. The whole thrust of its policy for 20 years has been to win acceptability from the outside world. If the outside world denies recognition of the Transkei, the end product, the prize, will be denied.

Other homelands leaders will be following what happens in the Transkei with considerable interest as well. Recognition or not will decisively govern their own willingness to ask for independence.

In the past, Spence adds, UN policy towards South Africa has not had crucially damaging internal effects. South Africa has been able to survive UN resolutions, the most obvious example being the arms embargo.

Important effect

But a UN refusal to recognize the Transkei could well be the first of its resolutions ever to have a really important effect on South Africa domestically — "and the UN — or its radical members — are well aware of this".

Africa. Rather the entire Republic is seen as an area which requires self-determination. The Black population as a whole is seen as the obvious candidate for self-determination."

So Spence considers it highly unlikely that Transkeian independence will be recognized abroad in the near future — even by States which might feel sympathetic. Western governments will feel vulnerable to accusations from African States that they were endorsing separate development. Most of these States, he believes, will prefer to wait and see if Transkeian independence loosens up the political situation in South Africa.

And this is what Spence and other academics abroad are also watching for.

"Among academics the homelands are no longer simply dismissed as useless appendages of the South African State. The Transkei has the potential of introducing another variable into the South African situation which the South African Government will then have to cope with. To that extent it is to be welcomed.

"My general view on South Africa is that the citadel is not going to collapse. It is powerful; it won't collapse as Rhodesia might. But the change since 1974 is that for the first time the Republic now has to react to events in and outside its borders over which it no longer has the control it once had. In the 1960s Pretoria was in total control. Now the situation is fluid. It is throwing up events, crises, it is forcing reaction on South Africa in a way that was not possible 10 years ago."

Besides, says Spence, South Africa is a very curious society. "It does not fit into the orthodox models of totalitarianism.

"There is still a free circulation of ideas, and this applies as much to the White as the Black press,

15/6/76

public, one of the most familiar and frequently quoted interpreters of events in Southern Africa. Professor Jack Spence, born in Krugersdorp, educated at Wits and now head of the Department of Politics at the University of Leicester, argues that international recognition, or the absence of it, will have effects far beyond the Transkei's borders — as well as effects inside them.

"If a State is going to have any hope of taking part in international society, it must be recognized as such by the international community. Otherwise it will be in a sort of limbo. It cannot take its place in world assemblies — and not simply political assemblies like the OAU and the UN. A poor State needs to be represented at functional organizations like the World Health Organization and the International Labour Organization. Without recognition is cannot draw on the formal institutions of international society for aid and technical assistance in the way that other poor States can.

"Of course this is not

Spence expects these radical states to base their rejection of the Transkei on a legal argument over self-determination — an argument which he warns could become a powerful political weapon in the hands of the radicals.

"The objection to the Transkei turns on the legal definition of self-determination as a condition for granting a new State independence. In the 1919 period, at the time of the Treaty of Versailles, when new States were coming into being in Europe, the criteria were regarded as language and culture. But these criteria have changed since 1946. The new definition acquires its legal status from resolutions of the UN on the right of colonial peoples to enjoy self-determination. It has been argued by international lawyers that this right of self-determination is now part of what is called customary international law.

"Now the UN takes the view that self-determination can only really occur in a colonial context. From their point of view the Transkei is not seen as a colony of South

which is alive and critical. It applies as much to the Afrikaans press as the English. This is why South Africa is not East Germany or the Soviet Union."

In such a situation the Transkei could play a highly important creative role — particularly if it can join other Black States in Southern Africa, at first perhaps in a customs union but later in the creation of a united front to improve conditions for Blacks in South Africa.

Africans in SA

But to play this role the Transkei will have to avoid the danger of lapsing into "low politics" of a sort that would make its politicians sound like councillors on a large local authority. Grand diplomacy is not for the Transkei, but if homelands leaders are to play this role (and if they want to gain any visibility abroad) they will have to put themselves in an adversary position vis-a-vis Pretoria, continually arguing — and seen to be arguing — the case for Africans in South Africa.

F.W. 12/3/76

TRANSKEI Another Lesotho

No matter how loud the trumpets blow in Umtata in October, constitutional independence will not be able to hide the fact that the Transkei is destined to become another Lesotho. This is the unavoidable conclusion to the drawn from information in a report on the territory published last week by the Bureau for Economic Research "re" Bantu Development (Benbo). Consider:

- The independent State-to-be can provide jobs for fewer than 25% (395 000) of its population of 1 645 000;
- An estimated 350 000 work elsewhere as migrants and make by far the largest contribution (70%) to the territory's income;
- Although gross national income (GNI) increased by a healthy 343% between 1960 and 1973, GDP is steadily declining as a proportion thereof. Thus in 1960 GDP accounted for 44% of GNI, but in 1973 it accounted for only 26%. The implication is that the Transkei is becoming more and more dependent on the earnings of migrant workers;
- Each year 26 300 people come on to the labour market in the territory. So this

many jobs must be created annually, says Benbo, "in order to prevent a net migration from the territory". But despite the fact that "the Transkeian government" gives top priority to this programme, and despite an increase in expenditure on it from R8,7m in 1972-1973 to R36,1m in the current financial year, only 3 559 Black jobs had been created up to March 31, 1975 by White entrepreneurs acting as agents for the Xhosa Development Corporation (XDC).

Benbo expects this total to rise shortly to more than 8 000. Even if this happens, job creation will still be way behind target: a total to date of 8 000 is less than a third of the annual target of 26 300.

- The report comments that "internal savings are minimal as a consequence of the high dependency burden" and that "the generation of capital from domestic sources takes place with great difficulty". So virtually all the capital needed will

have to come from outside;

- Plant production does not meet the internal demand for food in the Transkei and staple food still has to be supplemented regularly from the rest of SA," according to the report;
- In 1965-1966 62% of the Transkei's total revenue came directly from the SA Treasury. By 1974-1975 the share had risen to 77%.

In a Press statement released with the report, Benbo admits that "innumerable problems and bottlenecks still exist" in the Transkei. But in view of the statistical information which Benbo has itself published, it is on its own evidence talking sheer nonsense when it claims that the territory is "well on the way to economic self-dependence".

All the indications are that the Transkei, like the other Bantustans on which Benbo has reported, will be little better than an economic satellite.

Transkei 1/6/76 'won't be N.M. dumping ground'

LONDON — The question of Transkei citizenship and the extent to which that country would become truly independent of South Africa were the most common questions he had faced in Britain and in North America, the Transkeian Minister of Justice, Mr. George Matanzima, told Sapa in London.

Mr. Matanzima arrived in London from North America last Saturday and will leave for Western Europe next Saturday. He is expected to call at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and will address a discussion meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Society.

The Minister repeated his Government's opposition to the South Africa decision that all Xhosas should become Transkei citizens after that homeland's independence.

"There is no question at all of that happening," he said. "We are not going to be a dumping ground for all the Xhosas in South Africa."

He pointed out that not all Xhosa people in the Republic came from the Transkei. In fact, the majority were from the Ciskei. Others had come from Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu and Lesotho.

These people were welcome to apply for citizenship of the Transkei and they would be considered, as would any other person wishing to become a citizen of the planned non-racial State, he said.

He repeated that persons banned or exiled by the South African Government would also be able to apply for Transkei citizenship, and that South African imposed banning, imprisonment or exile on political grounds would not

depart them.

Asked whether the citizenship issue would become a point of conflict between the Government of Umata and Pretoria, he replied: "There can be no conflict to those whom we wish to."

in a matter concerning our inherent right to grant citizenship to those whom we wish.

Mr. M-a-t-a-n-z-i-m-a stressed that his extensive foreign tour, which would end in July after visits to unnamed African countries, was simply a goodwill visit.

He would be taking the opportunity "to acquaint the people with matters concerning the Transkei."

He was adamant that he was not soliciting support for a Transkei membership application for the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

Membership of these organisations was the Transkei's right, he said.

"We have no fear of being rejected. Even if we are not accepted, we will go on and exist as an independent State."

1/6/76

Transkei: rather

a special case

ARBUS 8/6/76

By TOS WENTZEL
(The Argus Political
Correspondent)

THE coming independence of the Transkei which is being taken a step further this week with the Assembly's debate on the Status of the Transkei Bill, is the culmination of a long historical process.

It is deeply woven into the fabric of South Africa's policies and ideologies.

The independent Transkei comes into being at the request of its present Government but there are reasons to doubt whether many Xhosas, specially those permanently established outside the territory are very enthusiastic about the idea.

It is also one of the final instalments and the ultimate embodiment of the National Party's 'separate development' policy.

The new state will start under a cloud of controversy, due to the fact that it is the product of a government policy which has been the cause of great international opposition and due to the unresolved citizenship issue.

There is also grave uncertainty as to whether the Transkei will be accepted as a fully independent state by the rest of the world and particularly by the r...

The White presence in the Transkei was mostly confined to settlements in and around the mission stations and government offices . . . The Blacks were less affected by the land problems than any of the other Black communities in South Africa. . . .

For this reason alone independence in the case of these other homelands will present an entirely different set of problems largely absent in the case of the Transkei.

The White presence in the Transkei was mostly confined to White settlement in and around the mission stations and magistrates, resulting in the growth of a number of small villages with Umata as the administrative and political capital.

The Blacks in the Transkei were, therefore, less affected by the land problem than any of the other Black communities in South Africa. The development of the Transkei to the point where it is near to independence can be sign-posted by legislative

measures through the years.

The Natives Land Act of 1913 declared all land set aside before 1910 for African occupation to be so-called 'scheduled areas,' including the Transkei and it also introduced the principle of legal separation of South Africa into African or Bantu and non-Bantu land.

The Bantu Trust Act of 1936 provided for the addition of 7 250 000 morgen, in the form of the so-called released areas, to the then existing reserves.

This was passed along with the Native Representation Act of 1936 which provided for the removal from the common voters' roll of the Africans in the Cape Province and giving them three MPs, two

MPCs and a way of indirectly electing four senators.

These were abolished in 1959 when Dr H. F. Verwoerd came with his Bantustan concept.

Today, 40 years after Bantu Land and Trust Act, the Government is still busy buying land provided for them and it will probably take at least another five to ten years before the programme is completed. More than one million hectares still have to be bought.

Even then, after the so-called consolidation has been completed, most of the other homelands will still consist of a number of fragmented areas.

The Transkei is an exception inasmuch as it consists of a single, geo-

graphically consolidated territorial area, which obviously makes it so much easier for the exercise of independence and political sovereignty.

The Transkei was given a limited form of local self-government as early as 1894. This took the form of a degree of recognition of the traditional chieftainship system and a more Westernised type of local government in the form of 'district council's' presided over by a local magistrate.

In 1932 a general council was formed for the territory.

In 1951, the Bantu Authorities Act was passed creating local, regional and territorial Bantu authorities and these were eventually converted into the legislative assemblies of the various homelands.

In 1956 a commission on the development of the Bantu areas under the chairmanship of Professor F. R. Tomlinson brought out its report. Many of the important recommendations of the commission were not accepted by the Government.

It was in 1959 that Dr Verwoerd came with his Bantustan concept. (Tomorrow: The 'grand apartheid' vision which has developed painfully slowly).

The present developments in the Transkei must be evaluated against the past developments on the road to sovereign statehood in the geographical, political and economic areas.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century the various tribal areas situated in the area between the Kei River and the Umzimkulu, the Natal border, were annexed by the Cape Colony and the process was completed in 1894 when Pondoland was annexed.

The process of White military and political extension took place in various parts of the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and the Free State.

In the annexed Transkeian territory in the Cape Colony, however, a policy very different to that in the Ciskei was applied.

Large-scale White settlement was not allowed and the former tribal areas were, with few exceptions, retained for the exclusive use and occupation of the Blacks.

In this way the Transkei retained its character as a single geographical entity and it is this fact more than perhaps any other, that paved the way for eventual independence.

Elsewhere in South Africa the Bantu homelands were fragmented and spread disjointedly all over the country.

8/6/76

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Chief defends investments in Transkei

7/5/76.

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — Attempts to keep away investment from South Africa and the Transkei in particular were like "taking the bread out of the people's mouths."

Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, told his legislative assembly yesterday such attempts should be "dismissed with the contempt they deserved."

He was replying to a joint statement issued in Johannesburg two months ago by the Chief Councilor of kwaZulu, Chief Gathsha Buthelezi, and the Director of the Christian Institute, Dr Beyers Naude.

Paramount Chief Matanzima said the statement could be construed as condemning foreign investment in the homelands and as a personal attack on him as he was a well-known protagonist of such investment.

"DIATRIBE"

He said for two "well-fed, well-dressed and well-paid individuals such as they to preach virtues of mass unemployment would be hilarious if the potential consequences were not so serious."

He said to "harangue the crowds on how Angola and Mozambique inspire Blacks in South Africa to throw off the yoke of oppression" was bad enough.

But to attempt to evade being regarded as an inciter by saying they

say these things merely as a friendly warning against eventualities they devoutly hope will not occur, is the height of cynicism."

The two men, said Paramount Chief Matanzima, "had overlooked the fact conveniently that Angola and Mozambique had simply exchanged the Portuguese yoke for Russian and Cuban yokes."

Pictures of the Angolan bloodbath and the food queues in Mozambique "proved that liberation on those terms was literally a case of from the frying pan into the fire."

If his critics saw the oppression of Blacks as an improvement of the Blacks' lot, then their values were strange.

"I agree with the erudite speakers that Blacks in South Africa have for many years been oppressed. I only disagree with them on how we can escape this oppression."

Matanzima
denounces
RPM
'well-fed
7/5/76
inciters

① 85
② 103
③ 107

UMTATA. — The Transkei's Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima has accused Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu and the director of the Christian Institute, the Reverend C. F. Beyers Naude, of making "an immoderate Left-wing manifesto verging on incitement to revolution and sedition."

The Chief Minister was delivering his last policy speech as Transkei Minister of Finance before independence.

He said he was bound to reply to the statement by "a certain homeland leader and a politically active cleric," condemning foreign investment in South Africa's central economy because it was an attack on his government's policy.

Chief Buthelezi and Dr Beyers Naude made the joint statement in Cape Town on March 10. They said the homelands existed only to make labour available to maintain the living standards of an elite.

Any attempts by such people to keep investment away from South Africa and the Transkei were tantamount to taking the bread out of the mouths of his people and should be dismissed with the contempt they deserved, Chief Matanzima said.

As entry to the White parliament had been denied, the Black people were faced with either accepting the status quo, overthrowing the Government by bloody revolution, or opting out peacefully.

"For two well-fed, well-dressed and well-paid individuals such as they to preach the virtues of mass unemployment would be hilarious, if the potential consequences were not so tragic," he said. — Sapa.

① 103
② Energy

Power from the 1/5/76 NM Transkei

THE PROPOSED R50 million hydro electric power scheme which South Africa will build for the Transkei is under active discussion by the two governments.

Although test drillings have already been started in the Transkei by the Cementation group, the final shape of the project is by no means settled.

In broad outline however the plan is to build a complex series of dams, some of which will be connected by tunnels cut under mountain ranges, much as was done in Australia's Snowy River project.

The ultimate installed capacity power output is estimated at 3,000 megawatts, or about twice the capacity of Kariba.

The project is expected to revolutionise the economy of the Transkei, bringing in an annual income of around R50 million, with minimal maintenance costs.

All the power output from the project will be fed into the South African grid and the Transkei's needs will be met by feeding back from the grid.

By far the greater part of the power however will be consumed by South Africa. Bringing in and shutting off turbines will be a push-button affair, remote controlled in South Africa, because power from the Transkei will only be used to meet peak load demands and will not form part of the base load supply.

It will take about 15 years to complete the complex interlinked system which will involve in its final form at least six major dams.

CAPE TIMES 3/5/76

Dean Tutu calls for change in S Africa

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THE following is the full text of a statement made last week by the Very Rev Desmond Tutu, Anglican Dean of Johannesburg who is Bishop-Elect of Lesotho.

I believe I am a responsible law-abiding Black church leader and I want to speak with a deep compassion and with extreme caution. This statement is the result of what I hope is a earnest Christian prayer and it is an appeal to my White fellow Christians and fellow citizens of the Republic of South Africa, which I and all other Blacks love with an unshakeable patriotism.

It is a statement in response to what the newspapers have reported regarding the issue of citizenship in the Transkei soon to become an independent homeland created as such by the duly elected Parliament of the Republic of South Africa in which Blacks have no say whatsoever.

According to press reports Xhosa-speaking citizens of the Republic of South Africa will automatically achieve Transkeian citizenship and thus be deprived of the South African citizenship. Overnight they will become foreigners in what for many of them has been the land of their birth and be forced to adopt the citizenship of a country that many do not know at all and in whose creation they have played no part at all. They have contributed in various ways to the prosperity of this beloved South Africa and now it seems at the stroke of a pen they will forfeit a cherished birthright.

Even the most vilified of Black African states at their independence offered their inhabitants the right to choose whether they would retain the citizenship of the former colonial mother country or take out the citizenship of the newly independent country. This procedure seems to be in accordance with the canons and conventions of International Law. But this appears not to be going to be the case with regard to Transkeian citizenship.

Many of us have believed that Mr Vorster and his Government really desired peaceful change in South Africa. In this intention many of us have supported them. Times without number I and other Black leaders have declared our commitment

to reconciliation and to work for a more just and open society in South Africa. We have called for fundamental changes which would in our view be more consistent with the tenets of the gospel of Jesus Christ and we have consistently reiterated that this way held out hope for a non-violent evolution to a happier and more just South Africa which could demonstrate to the world that it is possible for people of different races to live in harmony and peace together.

Since coming back to South Africa last August I have applied myself relentlessly to work for justice and reconciliation in a country I love dearly. I have retained my South African citizenship and carried a South African passport although it was extremely difficult to travel in Black Africa on a South African passport, as my former work as associate director of the Theological Education Fund required of me.

I was advised on several occasions to renounce my South African citizenship so that my work could be a lot easier. But I decided to cling tenaciously to my South African passport even when it meant frustrating delays in obtaining visas to go, for example to Nigeria, Tanzania and other countries in independent Africa who admit South African passport holders only with the greatest reluctance.

I have said before if White South Africa was sincere in its desire for peaceful but really fundamental change in what is at present an evil and oppressive system, then we Blacks would exercise patience to allow this change to happen in an orderly fashion provided we were given some meaningful tokens of the sincerity of White intentions.

The two main suggestions I have made before and repeat here, were that the Government should immediately recognize urban Blacks as permanent citizens of what is quite erroneously described as White South Africa and as a result of this recognition be given freehold property rights because those with a stake in the land are most unlikely to support violent uprising. This seems so patently obvious.

The second suggestion was that the pass laws must be repealed for they represent for us Blacks the most tangible form of

our status as 3rd class citizens in the land of our birth. This repeal could be gradual. We are harassed even in this day and age by the police who must enforce the pass laws. I must declare that I have been deeply shocked that even today it is possible to see a crocodile file of handcuffed Blacks being paraded in the streets of Johannesburg.

Can you imagine the level of harassment to which we will now be exposed when police will demand to see our citizenship papers and Mr Botha has not minced his words in declaring that preferential treatment will be given to those who have opted for Transkeian citizenship.

My White fellow citizens of South Africa, we have believed you when you said you wanted peaceful change. Perhaps we have been naive and gullible. Through the Government that you have elected you have demonstrated that you did not really mean what you said and continue to declare day in and day out.

I speak with words I hope I have chosen carefully — the issue of Transkeian citizenship is highly explosive. Blacks are being provoked beyond human endurance. Do you really want peaceful change or does the fact that you have so much military power and so many sophisticated arms mean you don't care what the Black man's reaction will be?

Do you want to make us really desperate? I have warned before and I reiterate this warning with all seriousness that desperate people will be compelled to use desperate means. We are going to be free, genuinely free, all of us White and Black together in a genuinely free South Africa. Nothing, and I repeat nothing, will eventually stop us becoming free.

Dear White South Africans we want you to have a stake in South Africa and to remain here so that we can go forward together in a united South Africa, not one that is balkanized into unviable bits of things that are the figment of somebody's imagination.

We don't want violence, we don't want death and destruction. We want peace, justice and order. We are human beings and do believe this for your own sakes. We don't want a bloody confrontation.



The new Transkel administrative offices with its lift cores at their full height in advance of the rest of the structure. The first ten floors of the building have to be ready for independence day in October.

3/5/76 Building ahead of schedule

EAST LONDON — A combined Murray and Stewart (Border) and Murray and Stewart (Cape Town) team have completed the fourth and last lift core for the new Umtata administration office block.

This has been one of the fastest projects undertaken by Murray and Stewart in recent years, as ten floors of the 12-storey office block are required in time for the October, 1976, independence celebrations.

To meet the programme requirements Murray and Stewart decided to take the lift cores up by specialist Murray and Roberts Group concrete sliding techniques.

Rig assembly for the first lift core began on the sixth October and sliding started 23 days later.

From the start Murray and Stewart worked a 14-hour day, and the slide took only one week-end

off every six weeks. The Cape Town men reported, initially, that they were having great difficulty assimilating the local labourers, but as the slides progressed a "highly competent" team was built up around the 17 specialist labourers and ten artisans "imported" by Murray and Stewart (Cape Town).

"After the first month," said a company spokesman, "the rate of production was in fact better than what we often achieve in the Western Cape. If you have the right men on a country project such as this, it would seem that you can achieve more productivity per man than elsewhere because there is virtually nothing to live for except the work, and because transport to and from the site is so fast."

The slide team has ended some 20 days ahead of scheduled and has achiev-

ed some satisfactory slide rates, most notably, firstly, that of sliding six full slides (i.e. of at least one storey each) in one week and, secondly, of going 13 days without missing a slide.

At the start of the project Murray and Stewart (Border) had to set up a steel yard and precast yard. Ready-Mixed Concrete had also to establish a batching plant.
— DDR.

(1) 103
(2) 31

Transkeian traffic — ^{BP} angry denial

S/S/76

DURBAN — Conditions on Transkei and lower Natal South Coast roads are likely to deteriorate further before they improve, Mr F. Martin, Natal MEC in charge of roads, warned yesterday.

Commenting on an appeal made in Parliament to the Minister of Transport to crack down on unroadworthy cars in these areas, he said the problem was a constitutional one which would be compounded when the Transkei gained its independence later this year. He said the Natal traffic

authorities were doing all that is humanly possible to stamp out dangerously unroadworthy vehicles and unlicensed and incompetent drivers.

But we are up against a constitutional problem which will get even worse when the Transkei becomes independent. He criticised differing standards applied to tests for licences, saying: "What is the use of very high standards in some areas when anyone who has difficulty in obtaining a licence through incompetence can simply go

somewhere else where the standards are lower?"

The control traffic officer for the Cape Provincial Administration, Mr J. C. Schoeman, said reports from towns near the Transkei border were "sometimes frightening." He said unroadworthy cars, false documents, overloading and driver incompetence were rife. Cases had been reported where "licensed" drivers could barely steer a car in straight line. But the Transkei's Chief Traffic Officer Mr H. M. Strydom angrily denied that conditions in the homeland were

significantly worse than anywhere else in the country.

"We can tell the same stories of cars in appalling condition entering the Transkei from Natal and from the Cape side. "What is usually overlooked is the fact that most of the false documents are stolen in the Transvaal and Natal — not the Transkei." He said 2 044 accidents in the Transkei in 1974 in no way indicated a crisis. The accident rate in the homeland was generally lower than in the rest of South Africa.

The Cape Provincial Administration no longer carried out law enforcement duties but 57 Transkei traffic police were already on duty, he said.

"This is not enough, but it is a good start. Training will soon begin to raise the number to about 100 men, which should be adequate for the Transkei." He said not a single road death was reported from the Transkei during the recent Easter holidays, and this is something we are rather proud of. It does not indicate a state of lawlessness on our roads." — DDC.

② 3/3
① 103

(1) 103
(2) 107

Chief hits back at Chief

8/5/76
W.M.

African Affairs Correspondent

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu yesterday rejected an allegation by the Chief Minister of the Transkei that he had made a statement "verging on incitement to revolution and sedition."

Paramount Chief Kaizer Matanzima earlier this week claimed the Chief's March 10 expression of disapproval of foreign investment in the central economy was an "immoderate left-wing" attack on the policy of the Transkei Government.

Yesterday the Chief said he could not see what his statement, made jointly with the Rev. C. F. Beyers Naude, had to do with the Transkei Government.

He charged that Chief Matanzima's statement was "inciting the Central Government to take action against me."

He felt the Chief Minister should be warned against trying to "sacrifice his brothers to achieve his own aims."

New life among the township shacks

RDM 25/5/76.

NOT so long ago Dimbaza was a squalid "dumping ground," visible testimony to the ugly realities of what official terminology describes as "resettlement" — mass removal of Blacks in the interests of homeland consolidation.

Neither the Ciskei Chief Minister, Mr Lennox Sebe — in whose territory Dimbaza falls — nor the township superintendent, Mr Nicholas Erasmus, deny Dimbaza was once a dumping ground for Black squatters from "inconveniently" situated "Black spots".

It was that grim reality which inspired the title of the anti-apartheid film "Last Grave at Dumbazza," which in turn invoked outraged refutation from men like Mr "Pik" Botha, South Africa's Ambassador to the United Nations.

Protests

The protests from South African representatives were accompanied by a positive programme to reform Dimbaza and make it a model township and symbol of the constructive side of resettlement and separate development.

I first visited Dimbaza in October 1974. Even then, as I recorded at the time, there was no disputing the improvements.

New houses were being built to replace the wooden huts which housed the first resettled people, streets were being laid out, factories, of a sort, were coming into operation and, most important, a clinic was providing care for the sick and the elderly.

My recent visit pointed to more of the same: new houses were still being erected, the last of the old huts were being demolished, sports facilities — an all-weather tennis court and an overgrown rugby-cum-soccer field — were emerging and, of course, schools were functioning.

Industry

The "factories" were there too and, according to Mr J. D. Naude, area manager of the Xhosa Development Corporation (XDC), two more were in the pipeline. Freshly dug foundations showed it was more than a pipedream.

The word "factories" is inappropriate. The industries in operation are more accurately described as homecraft industries. They are small enough and pay wages to justify comparison with Britain's pre-industrial revolution cottage industries.

Take the wrist watch factory. On Mr Naude's figures it employs a mere 28 Blacks, of whom 26 are women. Wages for women employees vary from R4 a week for trainees to R7 for those who are fully trained.

Whites there make two points. First, they state that a start has to be made somewhere. Second, they argue that work — even lowly paid work — is better than nothing.

Neither point can be refuted. Both point to the awesome task of turning a dumping ground into a viable township.

According to Mr Naude, the five factories employ only about 160 Blacks. Nearly all are women. Dimbaza is not an agricultural settlement and that is not nearly enough

that is a sizeable chunk from an unskilled worker's wages, the more so in the present inflationary state of the economy.

The feeling that life was still hard at Dimbaza, though appreciably better than it was a few years back, was confirmed by a visit to the well-attended clinic.

There the sister-in-charge, Sister Johanna Linda, named the most common ailments as scabies, gastro-enteritis, kwashiorkor, pellagra and malnutrition.

Mr Erasmus, who has worked hard to improve Dimbaza and who minutes before had been proudly showing off some of its new houses, was thrown on the defensive. "It's because they overcook their food," he interjected.

But Dr Mamphele Ramphele, of the Black-initiated and Black-run clinic of Zanempilo, disagreed strongly. The real causes of the illnesses were poverty and overcrowding.

Conceding that pellagra was sometimes caused by overcooking of green veg-

etables, she went on to argue that its root cause was poverty. "In an impoverished community the people need bulk. That is why they mix their vegetables with mealie meal and overcook them."

It would help if the people could be persuaded to cook their vegetables separately, but to get the message through in a deprived community would take time—and require money to buy extra pots.

Dr Ramphele continued:

"Kwashiorkor has nothing to do with overcooking. It is caused by protein deficiency. It affects children between the ages of six and 18 months. Protein deficiency is caused by poverty."

Gastro-enteritis was another illness which had its roots in poverty. "Young kids are left in charge of their brothers and sisters. Feeding bottles are left lying around. They are not hygienically cleaned. The kid gets gastro-enteritis."

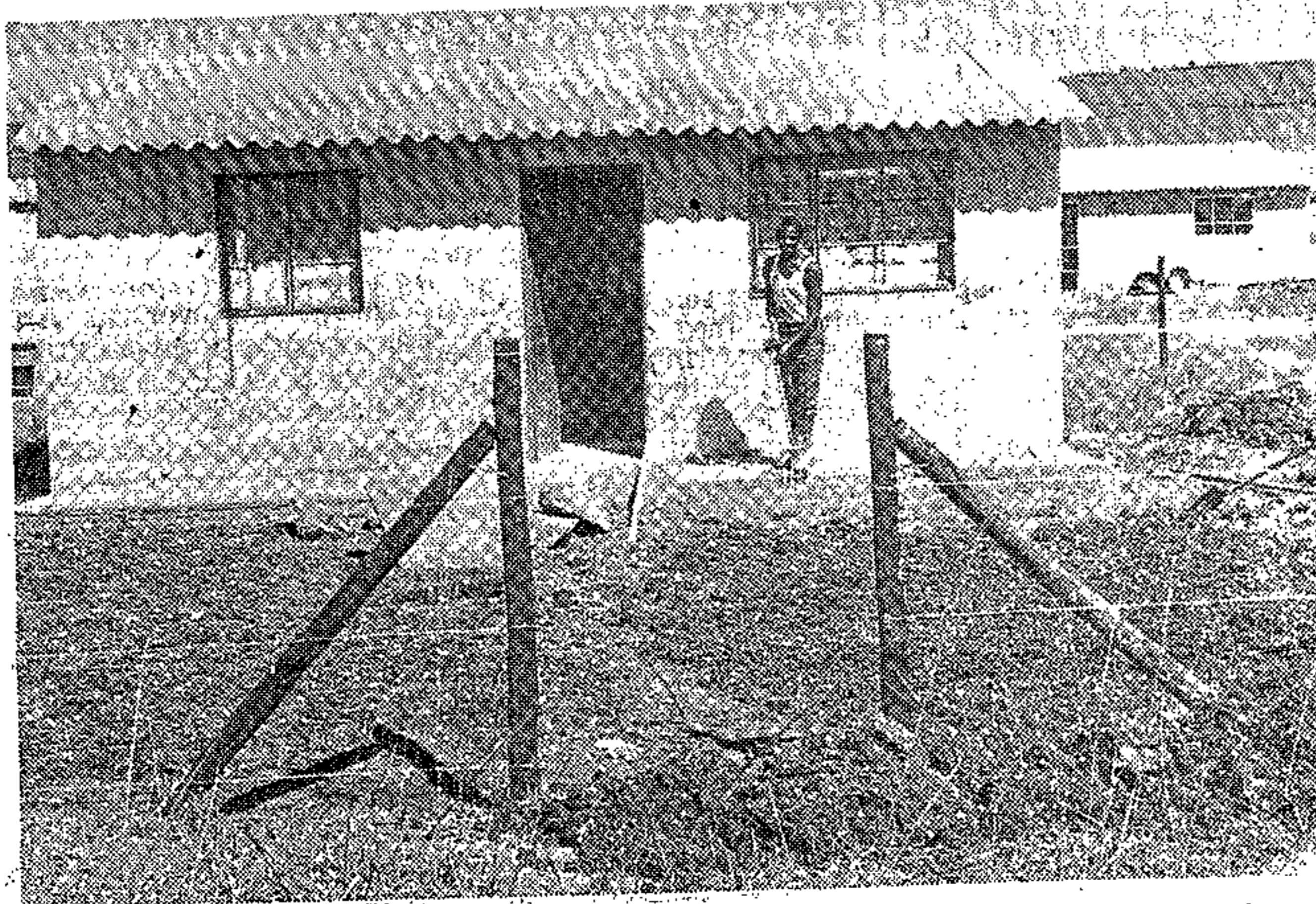
But what of the mothers? "They might be working as servants in King or looking for work," was the reply.

Scabies is the result of infectious parasitical sores. In overcrowded two-

roomed houses the "kids infect each other easily," and only the newest houses have baths or showers.

I left Dimbaza with the feeling that its recovery would be a longer process than most people realised — and the knowledge that it was better off than many of the new resettlement centres.

Dr Ramphele's words rang in my ears: "You should see Welcome Wood. People there are completely demoralised. They are living in the same kind of shacks that the people of Dimbaza were first moved into. There is no employment and there are no buses."



Dimbaza householder outside his new three-roomed house. His wife is a factory worker.

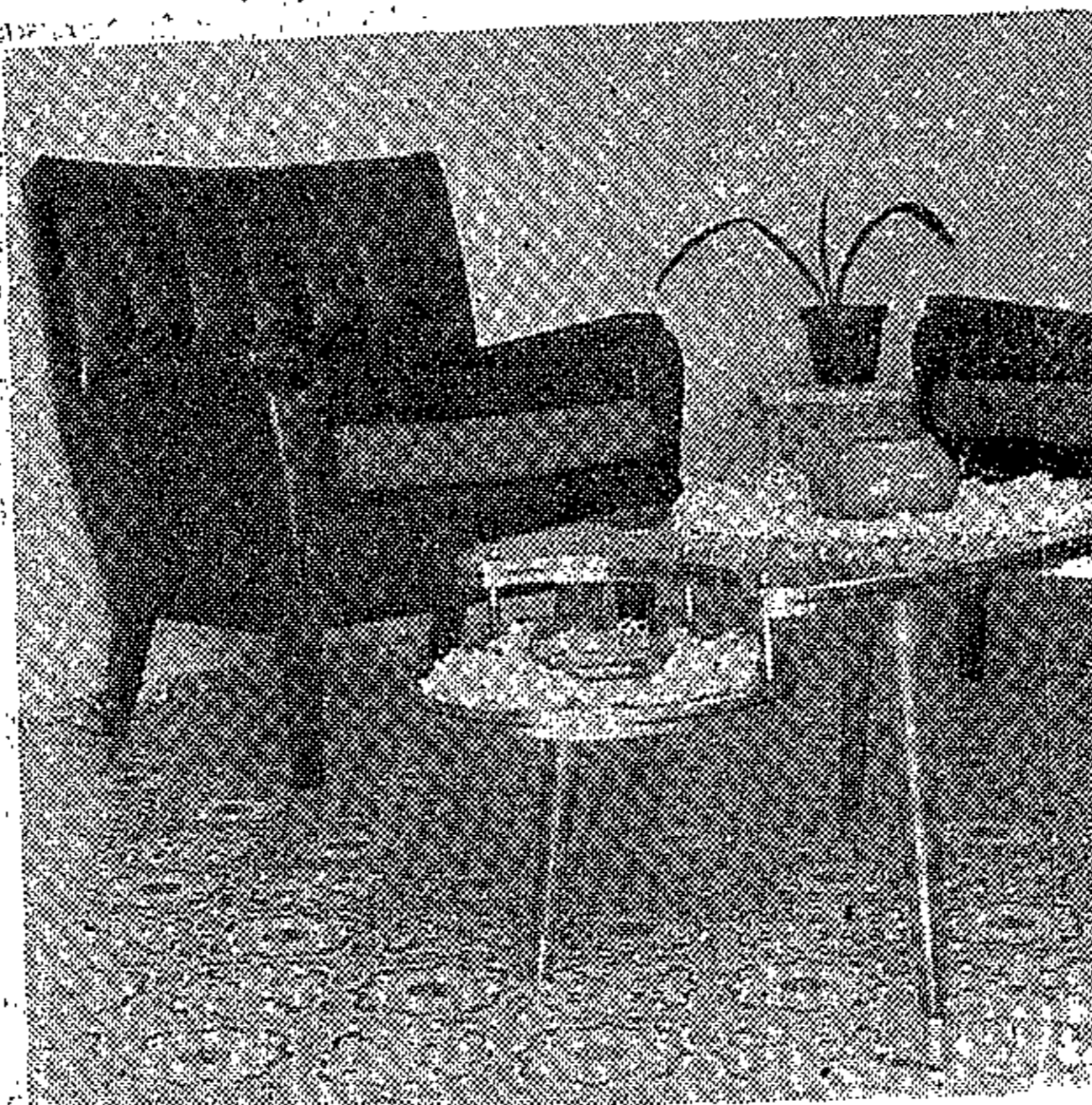
work for its population of 9 300.

King William's Town, 25 km away, offers a theoretical outlet for work-seekers. But there are enormous practical difficulties.

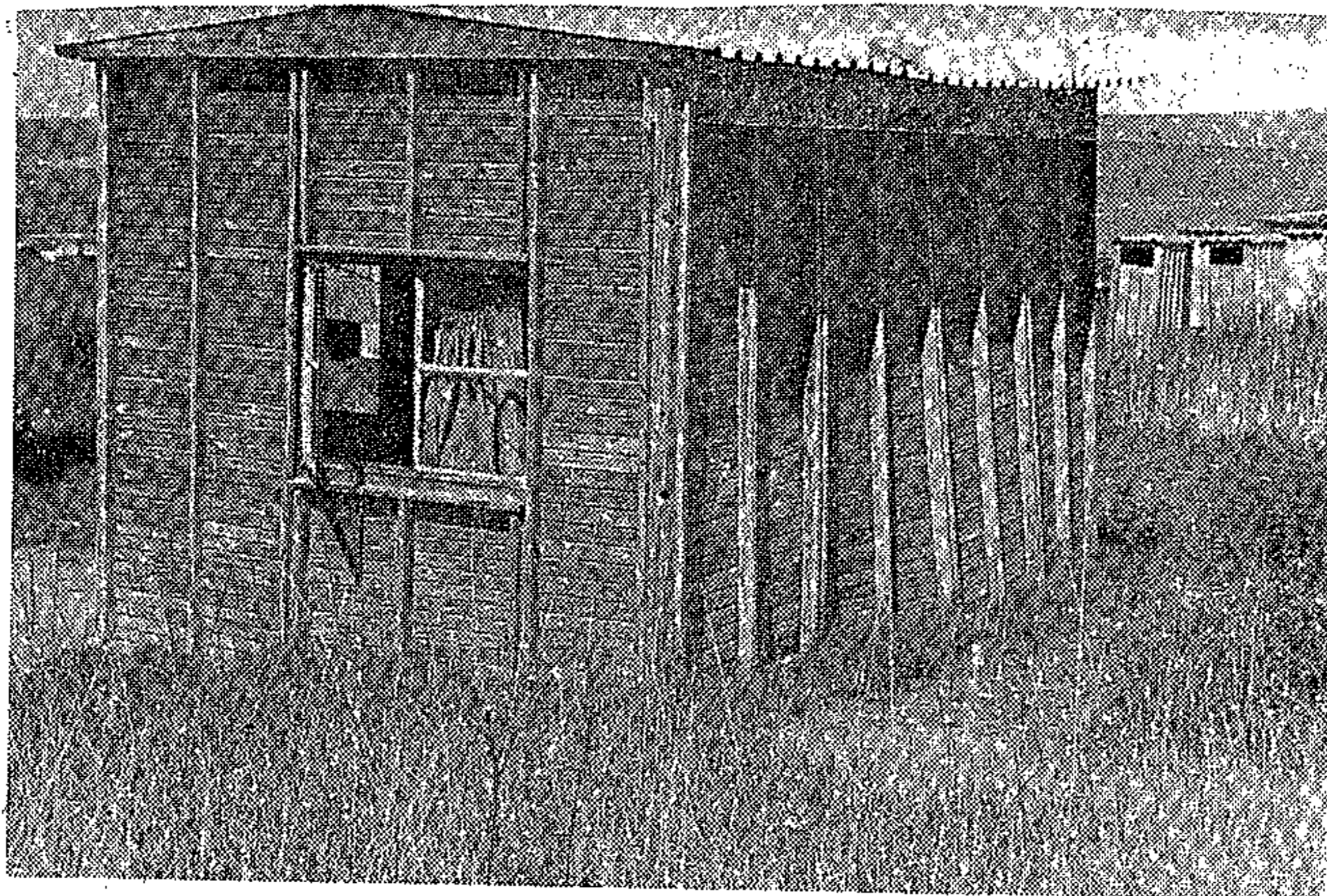
Most of the resettled people are illiterate and unskilled. For that reason they command little bargaining power in labour markets. But in addition they have to compete against Blacks from Zwelitsha, only four km from King William's Town.

If, in spite of their disadvantages, they succeed in getting work, there is yet another problem—transport. Mr Erasmus gave bus fares at 25c a single ticket and train fares at 15c. That works out at R2,50 a week for the bus or R1,50 a week for the train.

Even allowing for cheaper weekly or return tickets



Corner of a lounge in a new house.



Above: The original wooden shacks, like these, are being demolished.

05/5/76



Right: In the remaining shacks the squalor lingers on.

① 103
~~② 103~~

Boycott Kei, OAU told

STAR
Own Correspondent

NAIROBI — African church leaders are demanding that the forthcoming OAU summit meeting in Mauritius pass a resolution declaring that no OAU member state should recognise the independence of the Transkei, due to be proclaimed in October.

The demands have been set out by the general secretary of the All African Conference of Churches, Canon Burgess Carr, in a letter to the chairman of the current Liberation Committee meeting in Dar es Salaam, Mr Joaquin Chisano.

Canon Carr said here today he hoped not only that the OAU would make a clear and irreversible

decision on this issue but that a similar stand would be taken at the non-aligned conference in Colombo after the OAU summit meeting.

In his letter, Canon Carr also called on the OAU Liberation Committee to mobilise every sector of public opinion in Africa and "among progressive forces around the world" against France, for agreeing to build nuclear power reactors for South Africa.

He said the AACC rejected the view of some African heads of state that it does not matter to the liberation struggle whether South Africa develops nuclear capability for military purposes.

DAILY DISPATCH 8/6/76

Kaiser denies demanding Queenstown for capital

QUEENSTOWN — The Transkei Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, has strongly denied wanting to move his capital to Queenstown.

At the same time a number of people have confirmed he did in fact say this.

"Umtata is the capital of the Transkei and will remain so," Chief Kaiser said in a telephoned interview yesterday from his home at Qamata near here.

He had been asked to comment on a report from Lady Frere at the weekend in which he was quoted as saying:

"We shall get Queenstown and it will eventually become the capital of the Transkei."

In his statement yesterday Chief Kaiser said: "I did not say that and I emphatically deny that I have such ambitions."

"When I spoke at Lady Frere, I gave an historical account of Tembuland, and said the whole of the Queenstown district had at one time been under the jurisdiction of Chief Mapassa.

"I said Queenstown should have been the capital of Tembuland and not that it should be the capital of the Transkei."

The assistant magistrate at Lady Frere,

Mr Nkomo, who welcomed Chief Kaiser to the hall, said yesterday: "There is definitely no question of Kaiser Matanzima being misquoted and everybody was happy with the report."

Chief Kaiser had said "Queenstown would be the capital of the Transkei," Mr Nkomo confirmed.

The Transkei Legislative Assembly member for Glen Grey, Mr E. Z. Booie, who proposed a vote of thanks to Chief Kaiser at the end of his Lady Frere speech, also confirmed the report.

He said he thought Chief Kaiser was in earnest when he told people he wanted Queenstown as the Transkei's eventual capital. — DDR.

June 9, 1976

DD,

103

Guarantees for whites

CAPE TOWN — The South African Government has negotiated a number of guarantees for whites living in the Transkei after independence.

These include schools, hospitals, the "obligation" to buy land from whites and Coloureds, pension and medical aid benefits for employees of local authorities, and the payments of pensions to South African citizens.

And an agreement is under consideration to avoid

double taxation of South African's living in the Transkei.

Details of the agreements were released by the South African Government yesterday.

The most contentious agreement concerns the takeover of white-owned property in the homeland.

Last week, the Government rejected a petition from the Transkei White Citizens' Association which requested legal guarantees that they would receive compensation for their property.

The agreement with the Transkei Government says: "The Government of the Republic is obliged to compensate, for any real loss resulting directly from the change of the constitutional status of the Transkei, of white and Coloured property owners."

It adds: "It is the intention of the Government of the Republic of South Africa to honour such undertaking and obligation and to transfer all land involved to the Government of the Transkei."

In a schedule to the agreement, various farms in the Mount Currie, Elliot, Maclear, Indwe and Queenstown districts are listed for future incorporation into the Transkei.

This means many of the demands for more land by Chief Kaiser Matanzima have not been met in any of the agreements.

Schools for whites will continue to be administered by the Cape Province in Umtata, Butterworth and at other centres agreed with the Transkeian Government.

Although the ownership of provincial schools will pass to the Transkeian Government, which will then lease them back to the province at nominal rentals, the Cape will be responsible for salaries, equipment and costs.

The Cape authorities will have to supply full details of all staff employed by it in the homeland to the Transkeian Government, which has undertaken unimpeded access to provin-

cial employees in and out of the territory, not to double tax them and to allow them to take money out of the Transkei.

However, the Transkei will have the right to refuse entry to any person in the service of the department or the administration, or to demand the removal from the Transkei of any person performing any duties.

Another agreement is that the Republican Department of Health will continue to maintain as private institutions the existing white hospitals at Umtata and Butterworth.

In terms of a non-aggression pact, the two governments agreed "never, for any reason whatsoever, to resort to the use of armed force against the territorial sovereignty and political independence of each other."

In terms of article two, the two parties undertake not to allow their territories, sea or air space to be used as a base or thoroughfare by any state, government, organisation or person for military, subversion or other hostile actions or activities.

The parties also agree to accord to each other the right of peaceful overflight of their airspace by military aircraft, as well as the right of innocent passage in their territorial sea and emergency shelter in harbours for naval vessels.

The pact does not include a mutual defence agreement between the two countries in the event of any sort of aggression by a third country.

The agreement comes into effect on October 26 — the day of independence.

Clash looms over Kei citizenship

Road Daily Mail
7/6/76

Own Correspondent
LADY FRERE

A SERIOUS confrontation between the Transkei and the Central Government seems certain if the territory's draft constitution is not changed to fall in line with the Transkei Legislative Assembly's amendment of the citizenship clause.

Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the Transkei Chief Minister, made this clear at the weekend when he spoke at Lady Frere.

The South African Government wants all Xhosa and Sothos to become automatic citizens of the territory when it becomes independent — but the Transkei Government



CHIEF KAISER
... "no dumping"

wants Blacks living outside the territory to "choose" whether they want to become citizens.

The simmering issue may come into the open today when Parliament debates the Transkei Independence Bill.

Chief Kaiser's statement that no government has the right to impose citizenship on any person will strengthen the case of the United and Progressive Reform parties, who are committed to oppose the Bill.

Yesterday the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M.



MR M. C. BOTHA
... no comment

C. Botha, could not comment on the speech.

However, it seems unlikely the Government will agree to amendments demanded by Chief Kaiser.

Chief Matanzima's stand sharply contradicts Government claims that the citizenship issue has virtually been settled.

Nationalist sources claim the Transkei Government has agreed to add a clause to its draft constitution to make provision for a "joint review board" to determine the citizenship of doubtful cases.

In terms of the 1963

Transkei self-government legislation, all Xhosa and Sotho-speaking people of Transkeian origin are regarded as citizens of the territory irrespective of where they live.

Nationalists insist this clause was not amended by the Transkei, and that the controversial clause giving option of citizenship only applies to a small number of borderline cases to be determined by a review board.

The Chief Minister told the "Mail" correspondent at Lady Frere: "The Transkei Parliament had made its stand clear—we will never become the dumping ground for "stateless Blacks" living in South Africa."

Asked what would happen to these people if the Transkei closed its doors to them, he said: "That is not our problem. The Republican Government must be made responsible for them."

He added: "These urban Blacks have no direct ties with the Transkei. Many of them have lived for generations in South Africa and cannot even know what the Transkei looks like."

Nearly 1,500,000 people could be affected by the Bill, and Chief Kaiser said: "They will have to fight the battle for South African citizenship on their own."

Later he said his Government would call for Queenstown to be incorporated into the Transkei and eventually made its capital.

"We'll get Queenstown", he said, adding that MacLear, Elliot and Kokstad were part of Western Transkei and the Transkei would not be content until they were transferred back to the territory.

He also warned Whites in the Transkei to stop provoking his people with "White baasskap" attitudes.

Purchase of White land to continue

The Argus Political Staff

THE South African Bantu Trust will continue to buy properties of Whites in the Transkei after it becomes independent in terms of an agreement reached between the South African and Transkei Governments.

But the agreement, which also provides for the transfer of all outstanding released land to the Transkei, may be terminated by an exchange of diplomatic notes between the two Governments.

The treaty, which will come into effect on October 26, is the Government's answer to pleas by Transkei Whites for an Act of Parliament guaranteeing them compensation for any losses resulting from the granting of independence to the homeland.

PETITION

A petition calling for such legislation was rejected by the Government last week and an attempt by their representatives to address the Assembly on the issue was also refused.

The agreement states that the South African Government is 'obliged' to compensate non-Black landowners in the Transkei from any loss resulting directly from the change in its constitutional status.

It also intends to honour its undertaking to transfer any of this land as well as outstanding released land to the Transkei.

In terms of the agreement the Bantu Trust will continue to buy White properties in the Transkei and transfer these to the Transkei Government.

No treaty on mutual defence

ARGUS 8/6/76

The Argus Political Staff

THE SA-Transkei non-aggression pact does not include mutual defence in case of attack by a third party.

The preamble to the agreement, which will come into effect on October 26, says that the two Governments wish to co-operate in military matters 'concerning the security common in their respective states' and are convinced that the preservation of the sovereignty and the security of the two countries would be best served by such a pact.

The two parties have agreed 'never, for any reason whatsoever' to resort to the use of armed force against the territorial sovereignty or political independence of each other, but to strive at all times for the solution of disputes through negotiation or other peaceful means.

HOSTILE

Each party has undertaken not to allow its territory, territorial sea or air space to be used as a base, thoroughfare or in any other way by any state, government organisation or person for military, subversive or other hostile actions or activities against the other party.

They have also agreed to accord to one another the right of peaceful overflight of their airspace by military aircraft, as well as the right of innocent passage in their territorial sea and of emergency shelter in their harbours for their naval vessels.

BOARD TO PROBE CITIZEN CASES

The Argus Political Staff

DOUBTFUL cases of Transkei citizenship will be decided by a joint citizenship board to be set up by the Transkei and South African Governments.

Permits, passports will be needed

The Argus Political Staff SOUTH AFRICAN and Transkeian citizens entering each other's countries will have to produce identity documents, travel documents or passports after the Transkei becomes independent on October 26.

And citizens of either state wishing to remain in the other country for more than 14 days will have to get special per-

The agreement to set up the board, which will consider cases referred to it by either Government, is one of 28 treaties already concluded in preparation for the Transkei gaining its independence on October 26.

Another agreement provides for the South African Government to finance and complete five planned township developments and future settlement projects in the Transkei after independence.

Both Governments have undertaken to pass legislation necessary to set up the joint citizenship board, which will have three members from each country with the chairmanship alternating between representatives of South Africa and the Transkei each year.

mission from immigration authorities to do so. These provisions are contained in an agreement on movement between the two countries issued in Cape Town last night.

WORK

The agreement, which will be valid for an initial period of five years, also provides that no Transkeian engaged for work in South Africa shall enter the Republic unless, in addition to complying with immigration requirements, he also complies with a labour treaty to be agreed by the two Governments. Transkei citizens living in South Africa at the date of Transkei independence will have to obtain Transkei travel documents within two years.

MAJORITY VOTE

The board will decide citizenship cases by majority vote, and its findings will be final and binding on both Governments.

The agreement on settlement projects provides for South Africa to finance and complete the Msombomvu township at Butterworth, the eZebeleni township at Glen Grey, and Ngangelizwe, Norwood and Ncambediana townships at Umata as well as future settlement projects.

SETTLEMENT

The two Governments have agreed to set up a joint settlement board which will consider all future settlement projects to be undertaken by the South African Government for settlement of Transkeian citizens from the Republic in the new state.

8/6/76

Transkei race 2/6/76 warning to SA RDM

By LOUIS BAUM

LONDON — The Transkei's Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, yesterday accused South Africa of trying to exploit Transkeian independence in an attempt to solve its own race problems.

And he warned that South Africa, by making thousands of Xhosa residents in the Republic stateless, faced contravening international law.

Chief Matanzima, brother of the Transkeian Chief Minister, is on a six-week visit to Britain, North America and several countries in Europe.

In an interview shortly after a visit to the South African Embassy in London yesterday, he referred to the South African Government's decision that all Xhosas would lose their present South African citizenship and automatically become citizens of the Transkei, due to become independent in October.

Chief Matanzima said: "The purpose of the independence of the Transkei is not to solve South Africa's problems. Its purpose is to give the people of the Transkei freedom and independence.

"South Africa has lived with this problem over the years. Now it is trying to exploit the independence of the Transkei to try to solve its own problems.

"The question of citizenship of the Transkei is a matter for the Transkei Government and that is clearly enshrined in our draft constitution.

"Xhosa- and Sotho-speaking people and those who have settled in the Republic over the years and have made South Africa their home, and have no intention of either associating with or returning to the Transkei, cannot and should not be forced to leave South Africa."

Asked whether the Transkei would have discussions with Pretoria on this issue, Mr Matanzima said: "There is no need for us to take this matter any further."

SA aid seen in Transkei pacts

The Argus Political Correspondent

A NON-AGGRESSION PACT between South Africa and the Transkei after independence on October 26 is among 28 treaties so far negotiated between the two Governments.

From the treaties it becomes clear that South Africa will continue to run most of the sophisticated services in the Transkei after independence.

The text of the treaties has been disclosed in Cape Town and, according to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, 21 other agreements are still being negotiated.

The Heads of State of the two countries will sign them at an occasion still to be arranged.

BORDERLINE CASES

In terms of the non-aggression pact the two countries agree to co-operate on defence matters and not to resort to the use of armed force against the

territorial sovereignty or the political independence of each other.

One of the treaties provides for a joint citizenship board with representatives of the two countries to deal with borderline citizenship cases referred to it.

In this treaty it is shown that the Transkei Government has agreed to pass legislation not later than the second session of the Transkei legislature to give effect to this.

One of the treaties regulates the movement of citizens of the Transkei and South Africa across the common borders of the two countries and 61 official border posts and crossings are laid down.

The South African Government has agreed to second public servants to the Government service of the Transkei after independence.

South Africa will also give the Transkei extensive aid in educational matters including examination and administrative aid.

The agreement on the provision of personnel will apply also in the case of staff at the Umtata branch of the University of Fort Hare.

Other agreements deal with economic aid through the Xhosa Development Corporation, for the generation of electricity in the Transkei by Escom, survey and meteorological services, telecommunications services, the maintenance of roads, third-party insurance and health services.

South Africa will make available to the Transkei Health Department professional and technical advice, guidance and information in health matters.

FINANCIAL

One agreement provides for the education department of the Cape Province to run schools at Umtata and Butterworth. These will be schools to provide for the children of White South Africans remaining behind in the territory.

The hospitals at Umtata and Butterworth will become private hospitals staffed and financed by the South African Government and will be presumably for use by Whites.

Among the most important agreements still to be negotiated are a series of financial arrangements between the two countries and an agreement on the employment of Transkeian citizens in South Africa.

In all, 21 such treaties are still under consideration.

There will be one specific agreement on financial relations and others on financial institutions, a monetary and customs union, the avoidance of double taxation as well as a number on co-operation in matters such as air services, civil aviation matters, scientific research, railway and broadcasting matters and an agreement on prospecting and mining rights.

Citizenship issue

No conflict

CAPE TIMES 10/6/76

with SA,

says Chief

Matanzima

JOHANNESBURG. — The Chief Minister of the Transkei, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said here last night that there was no conflict with the South African Government on the citizenship issue, and he saw "no insurmountable difficulties" in the way of the citizenship of Transkeians.

Speaking to pressmen at a Jan Smuts Airport hotel after the signing of a R10-million loan agreement and just before his departure on a 10-day visit to Switzerland and Denmark, Chief Matanzima said there was "definitely no agreement" between his Government and the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M C Botha, on the citizenship issue.

Nobody would be forced

to become a Transkei citizen, but if there was conflict, the courts would probably have to resolve the issue.

"We will interpret our own statute and not that of the Republican Government. We never made the law — that is your own doing. After all, you voted the Government into power."

The R10m loan, for the funding of industrial housing and infrastructure in

the Transkei, was signed by the chairman of the Xhosa Development Corporation, Mr Paul Hoogen-dyk, and a director of Hill Samuel (SA), Mr Tony Botha.

Asked about the loan, Chief Matanzima said: "We may have overtopped our expenditure, but we are not in dire straits."

Meanwhile, in Paris the Transkeian Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, Chief Kaiser Matanzima's brother, said yesterday that he, too, could see no problem over the citizenship issue.

The Justice Minister said: "I think a proper reading of the constitution will show that citizenship of the Transkei is optional. And if there is any suggestion of compulsion on persons who do not want to be citizens, I would like to refer them to our constitution."

He added: "Citizens who are enshrined in the constitution are persons born in the Transkei and those who, immediately prior to the commencement of that Act, have been citizens of the Transkei. The other categories are persons who have been given the option to apply for citizenship."

He said White people born in the Transkei were entitled to become citizens of the new state. "If a White man is liked by the people of the Transkei, he can become Prime Minister or State President," he said.

Chief Matanzima saw the Interior Minister, Mr Michel Poniakowski, and called on the Justice Minister, Mr Jean Lecanuet, and the Minister of Co-operation with Developing Countries, Mr Jean de Lipkowski.

He also met the Ivory Coast ambassador, Mr Appagny Tance, and the Central African Republic ambassador, General Sylvester Bangui, at a luncheon given in his honour by the South African ambassador to France, Mr Louis Pienaar. — Sapa-Rtr

Saw ministers

Doubts on Transkei's key date

Argus 11/6/76

The Argus Political Staff

THERE was no longer certainty in Parliament today that the Transkei would become independent on October 26 this year.

A surprise Nationalist amendment to the Status of the Transkei Bill yesterday caused a wave of speculation that serious difficulties still barred the way.

In spite of the quick reaction of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, today reaffirming that the Transkei would become independent on October 26, Opposition spokesmen — and even the Nationalist Press — have raised doubts.

The amendment moved by the Nationalist MP for Schweizer-Reneke, Mr H. J. D. van der Walt, deleted October 26 as the day of independence and proposed that the date should be left to the State President to promulgate in case of administrative difficulties.

WITHDRAWN

Mr van der Walt offered to withdraw the amendment when the Minister said he would move it in the Senate, but the Opposition refused to accept the withdrawal of the amendment and supported it. The Minister then accepted it.

The Johannesburg mouthpiece of the Natio-

nal Party, Die Transvaler, gave further credence to the speculation of a possible delay in the independence date in a front-page news report and editorial today. The report said there was no longer certainty on the independence date and even speculated that the Transkei might declare a UDI.

INTERPRETED

The United Party's chief spokesman on race relations, Mr R. M. Cadman, MP, said he interpreted Mr van der Walt's amendment as meaning the Government was making provision for a possible delay in the independence date should difficulties arise.

The Progressive Reform Party's Bantu Administration spokesman, Mrs Helen Suzman, MP, commented: 'I see the amendment as meaning the Government is realising the citizenship issue is not as simple as it thought and could prove complicated to resolve.'

Mr Botha was approached for comment on the amendment and claimed it had been introduced only for practical reasons. It did not mean the date of independence would be changed, Mr Botha said.

Guarantees for Whites in Transkei

CAPE TIMES

Political Staff 9/6/76

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The South African Government has negotiated a number of guarantees for Whites living in the Transkei after independence.

These include schools, hospitals, the "obligation" to purchase land from Whites and Coloured people, pension and medical aid benefits for employees of local authorities and the payment of pensions to South African citizens.

An agreement is under consideration to avoid "double taxation" of South African citizens living in the Transkei.

Details of the agreements with the Transkei Government were released by the South African Government yesterday.

The most contentious agreement concerns the takeover of White-owned property in the homeland.

Last week, the Government rejected a petition from the Transkei White Citizens' Association requesting legal guarantees of compensation for their property.

The agreement with the Transkei Government says that "the Government of the Republic is obliged to compensate for any real loss resulting directly from the change of the constitutional status of the Transkei" of White and Coloured property owners.

WHITE PAPER

It says "it is the intention of the Government of the Republic of South Africa to honour such undertakings and obligations and to transfer all land involved in the Government of the Transkei".

The agreement also says that the South African Government will adhere to the provisions of the 1964 White Paper.

In a schedule to the agreement, various farms in the Mount Currie, Elliot, Maclear, Indwe and Queenstown districts are listed for future incorporation into the Transkei.

corporation of more White-owned land which they believe belongs to the homeland historically.

Schools for Whites will continue to be administered by the Cape Province.

Although the ownership of provincial schools will pass to the Transkeian Government, they will be leased back to the province at nominal rentals. The Cape will be responsible for salaries, equipment and costs.

The Cape authorities will have to supply details of all staff employed in the homeland to the Transkeian Government, which has undertaken unimpeded access to provincial employees in and out of the territory, not to double-tax them and to allow them to take money out of the Transkei.

This means that many of the demands for more land by Transkeian leaders have not been met in any of the agreements.

However, the Transkeian leaders have said they will press for the in-

Transkei boycott call

Date Dispatch 31/5/76
 UMTATA — The Democratic Party has called a boycott of the Transkei's independence celebrations.

The party has also decided to call for an immediate South African national convention to establish whether Transkeian independence would satisfy all the people of South Africa.

The decisions followed lengthy discussions at the weekend congress of the Democratic Party held here — the last national conference of the party before independence on October 26.

The party leader Mr H. B. Ncokazi, told delegates that the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, would "merely slaughter plenty of animals and brew great quantities of beer" to convince the people that independence was a step taken for their own good.

"It is our duty to tell all Democratic Party followers not to attend the celebrations — if Kaiser Matanzima can dictate to his people what to do, then we as Democratic Party members are entitled to voice our own opinions," he said.

Delegates voted unanimously in favour of the boycott.

Mr Ncokazi warned members that if they were subjected to any form of police intimidation, or if they were arrested for the stand they had taken, they were to come to him for guidance.

"However, if they start with me first, then I do not know where you can go," he said.

A delegate from East London, Mr B. Koba, said it was not enough simply to boycott the

celebrations, and hold a national convention.

He believed the party should take legal action through the Supreme Court and apply for an interdict against the Republican Government to stop the passing of the Transkei Status Bill.

Mr Koba said the Transkei Status Bill had blatantly revealed how helpless the homelands, "so-called parliaments were.

He strongly criticised the Republican Government for forcing all blacks associated with the Transkei to take out Transkeian citizenship.

Mr Ncokazi said the conference should consider sending a deputation to the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, to find out exactly what was to happen to "the 1.3 million blacks who would become stateless" after independence.

He said the Democratic Party would call on all welfare organisations, churches and political bodies to support it in its fight against Transkeian independence.

Meanwhile, in London, the Transkei Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, said the South African Government's announcement that Xhosas would lose their South African citizenship when the Transkei becomes independent would not be accepted.

He said the South African Government's announcement that Xhosas would lose their South African citizenship when the Transkei becomes independent would not be accepted.

"It is not a decision we are willing to accept under any circumstances," he said.

"We were not consulted beforehand and it clearly conflicts with our own independence con-

stitution," — DDR-DDC-SAPA.

More on Democratic Party congress, Page 7

Daily Disp. 31/5/76

Transkei gets R6m industry

EAST LONDON — A consortium, has been established by the Xhosa Development Corporation, the Hans Merensky Trust and Sappi for the development of wood-based industries in Umtata, in the Transkei, which will involve an ultimate investment of some R6 million.

Of this amount, R1 500 000 will be provided in the form of share capital, of which the XDC will hold 40 per cent, Hans Merensky and Sappi 30 per cent each.

The XDC's interest in this business will, in due course, be transferred to the newly-formed Transkei Development Corporation.

Timber for these industries will be drawn from the nearby Transkei Government plantations. A long term supply contract has been concluded with the Transkei Department of Agriculture and Forestry.

Initially, the consortium will take over the Transkei Government sawmills in the Umtata area. When economically feasible, a new large sawmill and downstream wood-processing plant will be established. The buildings and services will be provided by the XDC.

In addition to sawn logs, pulpwood and forest residues will be available to the consortium, which will be responsible for transporting the timber from the plantations to the mills.

It is also announced that Sappi will acquire from Hans Merensky a 30 per cent shareholding in Singisi Forest Products

(Pty) Ltd. The company was jointly owned by the XDC and Hans Merensky.

The company owns and operates a saw milling complex at Singisi in the

Umzimkulu district of the Transkei, and processes timber acquired from plantations in the area owned by the Transkei Government. — DDR.

ARGUS 8/6/76

Talks with Black envoys

The Argus Bureau
PARIS. — Chief George Matanzima, the Transkeian Minister of Justice and brother of the Chief Minister, is meeting two ambassadors from Black Africa during his visit to Paris this week.

He and his party, which includes the Secretary for Foreign Affairs - Designate, Mr Mtutulezi Lujabe, and the counsellor at the South African Embassy in Washington, Mr Tsepo Letlaka, arrived at the weekend.

Today being a bank hol-

iday, the group were due to begin their high level talks in the French capital tomorrow.

The Transkeian group will be meeting the ambassadors from the Central African Republic and the Ivory Coast during their stay in Paris as well as top-ranking French Government officials.

It is expected that they will have talks with at least three Cabinet ministers, Mr Michel Poniatowski (Interior), Mr Jean Lecanuet (Justice) and Mr Jean de Lipowski (Co-

Operation), a highly placed source said.

The meeting between the Transkei delegation and the ambassadors from two Black African states will provide the opportunity for the latter to express the latest opinion on OAU thinking about acceptance or not of the independence of the Transkei, due to be conferred in October.

The OAU has already indicated that it will not recognise the Umtata Government and the United Nations have also

said they are not prepared to accept the territory's independent status.

It is understood here, however, that the Transkei party will not go round cap in hand but will merely state the facts about the territory.

Certainly, there appears to be no categorical rejection in advance by France of the independent status of the Transkei. There is even an influential body of opinion here which supports a *modus vivendi* towards recognition.

Through the years, through the dead scenes I have tracked you;
What have you now found to say of our past--
Scanned across the dark space wherein I have lacked you?
Summer gave us sweets, but autumn wrought divisions?
Things were not lastly as firstly well
With us twain, you tell?
But all's closed now, despite time's deviation.

I see what you are doing: you are leading me on
To the spots we knew when we hunted here together,
The waterfall, above which the mist-dow shone
At the then fair hour in the then fair weather,
And the cave just under, with a voice still so hollow
That it seems to call out to me from forty years ago,
When you were all slow,
And not the thin ghost that I now faintly follow!

Ignorant of what there is flitting here to see,
The waked birds green and the sea's flop lastly,
Soon you will have, Dear, to vanish from me,
For the stars close their shutters and the dawn whitens lastly.
Trust me, I mind not, though life lours,
The bringing me here; nay, bring me here again!
I am just the same as when
Our days were a joy, and our paths through flowers.

Deadlock on the Transkei

F.M. 4/6/76

The Status of the Transkei Bill has now been published. Pretoria and Umtata are stalemated on its provisions

The policy of separate development is like a great arch. The bricks have been gradually laid one upon the other. The first layer consisted of dividing the country up into what Bantu Administration Minister M C Botha likes to call the "White" homeland and several "Bantu homelands". The second consisted of finding African chiefs to run the Bantustans. The third of granting them limited powers of self-government.

The fourth layer consisted of extending those powers. The fifth of passing the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act in 1970 making every African in the country a "citizen" of one or other of these Bantustans, but allowing them to remain South African citizens as well.

The sixth of persuading the Bantustan governments to ask for sovereign independence, as the Transkei government has done.

Independence having been granted, the keystone of the arch — which holds the edifice together — is to strip all Africans of SA citizenship so that they become citizens only of the now independent Bantustans and thus foreigners in the "White homeland".

Then — hey presto! — those Africans who are still living and working in the "White homeland" are there merely as "temporary sojourners" and have no claim to the vote or any other political rights.

But the keystone can only be put into place *jointly* by Pretoria and the governments of the independent states-to-be. And the Transkei has now refused to collaborate. Its draft constitution repeals the 1970 legislation insofar as the Transkei is concerned, and confers automatic Transkeian citizenship only on Xhosas actually living in the Transkei and those

born there or whose fathers were born there.

The result is that most of the estimated 1,3m Xhosas in the common area will not become citizens of the new State unless they choose to do so.

Without this keystone, the whole edifice is in danger of collapsing. There must be bitter irony for Pretoria in the fact that it is the Matanzima brothers, of all people, who are responsible.

Hitherto they have collaborated with Pretoria, largely on Pretoria's terms. But now, by digging in their heels on the citizenship question, they have posed grave problems for the separate development ideologues.

The essence of government's thinking on Africans in the common area is to be found in the report of the Stallard Commission in 1922. It stated: "If the native is to be regarded as a permanent element

Financial Mail June 4 1976

in municipal areas there can be no justification for basing his exclusion from the franchise on the grounds of colour. The native should be allowed to enter urban areas when he is willing to minister to the needs of the White man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister."

Since then, government's policy on Africans in the common area, and particularly city Africans, has been geared towards the systematic implementation of this doctrine.

Hence the tightening of the pass laws and the extension of the migrant labour system.

Even Ambassador P. Botha's promise 18 months ago to the UN that "we shall do everything in our power to move away from discrimination based on race or colour" ties in with Stallard (our italics).

Denying Africans in the cities the vote or subjecting them to the pass laws is of course as much racial discrimination as is "petty apartheid". But while dismantling some aspects of the latter — such as allowing Africans into a few public libraries or to sit on benches in some parks — the real stuff of discrimination can be maintained, but rationalised on a different basis.

By making Africans foreigners, government could claim that discrimination is no longer based on race and colour, but on the presumption that Africans in the common area are now foreigners, "temporary sojourners", working in those areas as *gastarbeiders* (guest workers).

This argument breaks down, of course, because White foreigners living in the

Republic can own land, buy guns, etc, and even apply for the franchise (via naturalisation) whereas Africans cannot. It also breaks down because *gastarbeiders* in Western Europe are usually in fact temporary sojourners in the countries where they work, whereas it has been estimated that some 3,2m Africans in the cities and towns in the common area are permanently settled.

As Transkei Justice Minister George Matanzima puts it: "Xhosa- and Sotho-speaking people and those who have settled in the Republic over the years and have made SA their home, and have no intention of either associating with or returning to the Transkei, cannot and should not be forced to leave SA."

Matanzima has also been quoted as saying: "The purpose of the independence of the Transkei is not to solve SA's problems. SA has lived with this problem over the years. Now it is trying to exploit the independence of the Transkei to try and solve its own problems."

Where does Pretoria go from here?

Minister Botha evidently intends to push on regardless. His new Status of the Transkei Bill will strip all common-area Xhosas of their SA citizenship anyway, thereby rendering stateless those who do not opt for Transkeian citizenship. And he has made it clear that he will leave no stone unturned to cajole them into opting for citizenship — for example, by making the grant of a trading permit in a location in the common area conditional upon taking out Bantustan citizenship.

These courses are fraught with danger. To say the very least, city Africans are not going to take kindly to being deprived of their birthright.

Minister Botha would be well-advised to ponder both the short and the longer term consequences of creating a whole new category of stateless people.

Government would dearly like to see all the Bantustans opt for independence. Bophuthatswana has already indicated that it is considering doing so. Will Chief Lucas Mangope now go ahead when he sees that Pretoria will then attempt to make all Tswanas foreigners?

And what of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and the other Bantustan leaders? If Botha goes ahead with his Status Bill in its present form, he risks sabotaging the whole Bantustan policy.

The citizenship issue is also likely to pose the gravest problems for the small but significant number of Nationalist intellectuals, particularly in the churches, who have long had problems reconciling racial discrimination with their consciences. When apartheid dressed as "self-determination", "multi-national development" and the like, their voices of disquiet were stilled.

But now that the reality has been exposed in that "self-determination" is going to be forced upon Xhosas in the common area whether they like it or not, there is likely to be growing disquiet among the Afrikaans intelligentsia.

So it seems that separate development has reached the end of the line. It just does not provide an answer for city Africans.

From government's point of view, the built-in risk of the whole Bantustan independence policy has always been that the moment independence is granted Pretoria loses its sway. It looks as if government is indeed being hoist with its own petard.

AS STATEHOOD APPROACHES

The furor over Transkeian citizenship has chiefly arisen over those urban Blacks of even tenuous Xhosa origin who stand to lose their rights in the common area. But what do Blacks in the Transkei itself feel about their imminent independence? A leading Black Johannesburg writer recently travelled extensively in the Transkei assessing opinion. He reports:

In those Ciskei territories that have been ceded to the Transkei, like Herschel, many people have dissociated themselves from the would-be independent State. Civil servants and teachers have gone so far as to forsake their homes and resign their posts to migrate to the Ciskei. The cause is an expressed fear of victimisation by the new authorities, and memories go back to the factional wars of the last century.

Within the Transkei there's a new phenomenon. Families are engaged in

tracing any evidence of royal ancestry, anticipating that this will prove a powerful recommendation for good jobs. Needless to say, this is causing tension between certain families and clans, and one can well foresee that the Transkei "defence force" will have its role to play in this regard. The independent Transkei, of course, will inherit a State of Emergency.

What of the economy? There is some question as to how long the brave new flag will flutter over a country unable to feed itself. The majority of Transkei citizens will perforce continue to offer their labour for sale to the industries of SA. Now it looks as if they will be doomed to carry three documents; their *dompas* (reference book), a passport and a Transkei citizenship card. Already Xhosa children in Soweto must be in possession of citizenship cards before they are admitted to schools. Are their

Section 10 rights secure?

Of course in the Transkei one is told: "Come and see us burn our reference books in October." There is some hope that independence will bring benefits.

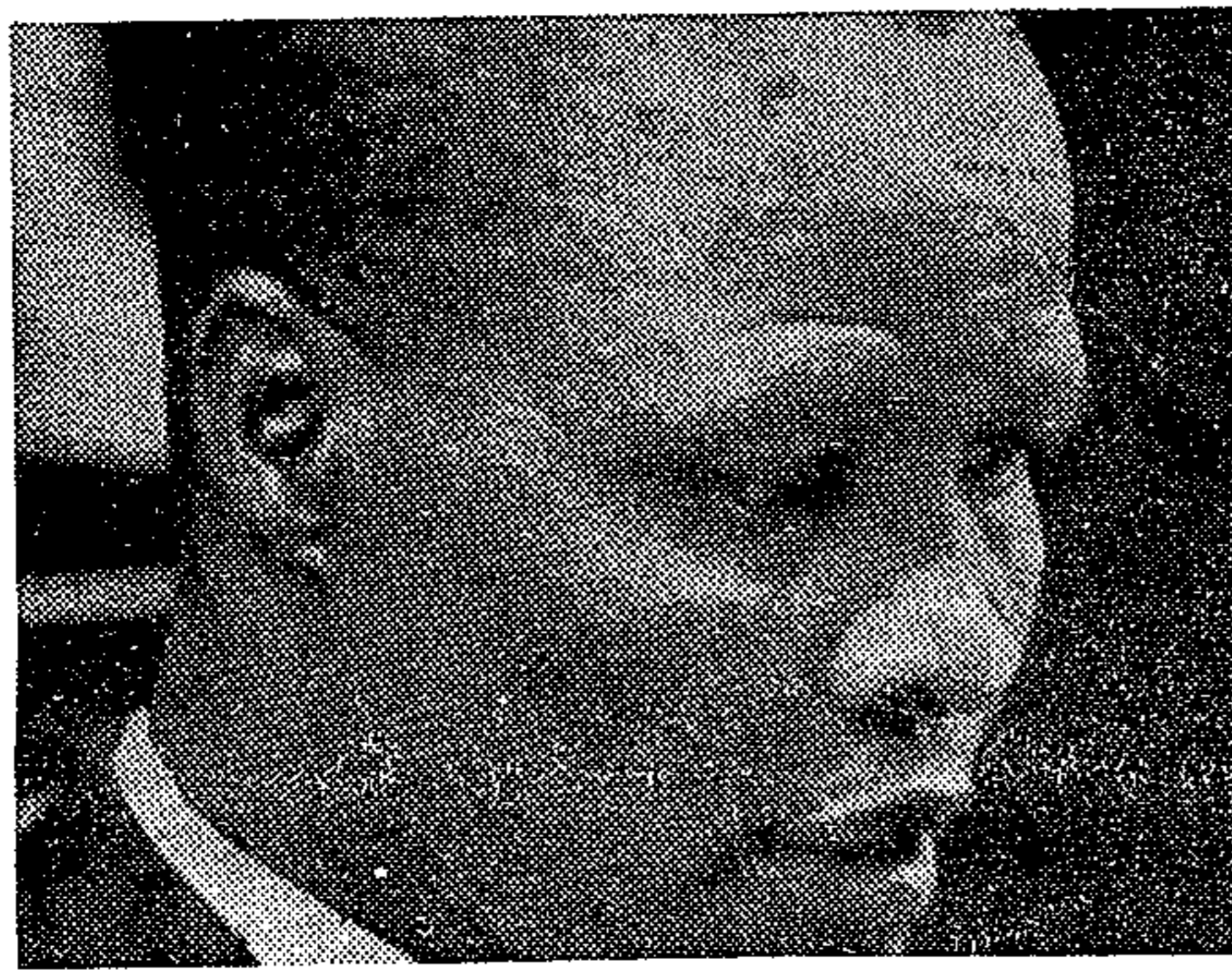
It will take longer than the five months to independence for the Transkei to cleanse itself of the evils of apartheid and the severely bureaucratic administration caused by White rule.

The fact is that many suffer from the high-handedness of authorities in key positions (including many Whites) who must be opposed and indeed ousted if "liberation" is to be meaningful. Within the territory the SA Police continues to haunt and silence political opponents, and so far it is obvious that the Transkei Police (TP) will continue where the SAP leaves off. In short the TPs will be working in the interests of TP (Pretoria). The future is not bright.

First foreign loan for 'Kei

By NIGEL BRUCE

Matanzima notches a hit with banks' recognition



Kaiser Matanzima

THE TRANSKEI, on the threshold of its independence, is to receive a R12-million foreign loan for infrastructure development.

The loan is in fact for the Xhosa Development Corporation, but the proceeds will be for immediate use in the Transkei. Moreover, XDC is expected to be back on the foreign loan markets again later this year.

The present loan, due to be signed on Wednesday, has important political implications for a nation struggling to achieve international recognition.

For it is being managed by two leading international banks, Britain's Hill Samuel and the Dow Bank of the United States.

This is an undoubted stamp of approval from leaders in the world banking community.

Clearly it is a triumph too for Transkei Premier Kaiser Matanzima, XDC chairman Paul Hoogendyk and South African Finance Minister Owen Horwood, whose Government is guaranteeing it — and is struggling to help the Transkei achieve international recognition.

The terms, too, are important in this respect, for they are equal to those paid recently by South Africa itself in certain European markets.

The loan, which is a bank-syndicated one for five years, is at a margin over a base rate — which will depend on the currency in which it is eventually drawn — of only 1.5 per cent.

The man who clinched the deal between those concerned is Hill Samuel SA's new director, Toni Botha.

Over the past three years he has been

responsible in large measure for the local subsidiary of Hill Samuel raising increasing amounts abroad for South Africa's official borrowers.

Over the year to March 31 his bank has raised R360-million for public sector borrowers.

This amount was largely in the form of ECGD credits of up to 10 years for purchases of British-made capital equipment, in various forms of Euro-currencies and from the West German capital markets.

While Mr Botha acknowledges that some official borrowers have been over-exposed in certain foreign markets, he emphasises that in relation to GDP this country is still far from overborrowing abroad.

"Some South African borrowers are still very unsophisticated abroad," he tells me. And he believes potential borrowers here still have considerable sources of foreign loan funds open to them, especially from the United States, where the insurance companies have recently been freed from the restriction of having to invest exclusively in their own country.

They can now invest a proportion, although not a large one, of their funds abroad.

There are other markets, too, such as the Asian dollar market in Hong Kong and Singapore that has been virtually untapped by South African borrowers.

These are apart from the continued availability of ECGD and other similar credits tied to imports from specific countries, and medium- and short-term facilities still available in traditional foreign capital markets, he says.



Toni Botha

CAPE TIMES 11/5/76
'No-race' bars

UMTATA. — Race discrimination in Transkei hotels and other licensed premises would be removed by independence at the latest, the Transkei Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, said here yesterday, introducing the second reading in the Legislative Assembly of an amending bill to the Transkei Liquor Act. The bill was approved unanimously at all stages.

TLA approves land bank

30/4/76
DD

UMTATA — A motion seeking the establishment of a land bank in the Transkei as part of a programme to improve land productivity, was carried unanimously in the Legislative Assembly here yesterday.

corporation which will form the bank.

Mr Nota said the onus was on the government to do away with the present system of land tenure which did not allow the people to own land. — SAPA.

Introducing the motion, Mr M. P. Ludidi, (TNIP, Matatiele), said it was expected that a system of freehold land tenure would apply throughout the Transkei and prospective farmers would be able to offer their land as security against loans from the bank.

"Industry in the Transkei depends largely on agriculture. Without improved land productivity this industry will grind to a halt," he said.

Supporting the motion, Mr K. G. Nota (TNIP, Mt Ayliff), said the money to foot such a bank would be appropriated by the TLA and given to a government

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Buthelezi RDM 14/5/76 replies to Matanzima

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said yesterday that the accusation by the Chief Minister of the Transkei that he (Chief Buthelezi) was inciting a revolution did little justice to Paramount Chief Matanzima's status.

Commenting on the attack on him, Chief Buthelezi said it was clear Chief Matanzima had misinterpreted his statement on foreign investment in South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said he had a long record of supporting investment in the homelands, but in March he warned that if investment benefited the central economy and the favoured few only, it had no morality.

Chief Matanzima had claimed this statement verged on incitement to revolution and sedition.

The director of the Christian Institute, Dr Beyers Naude, who supported Chief Buthelezi's statement, said Paramount Chief Matanzima's accusation was "devoid of all truth".

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Chief hits back at Chief

African Affairs Correspondent

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu yesterday rejected an allegation by the Chief Minister of the Transkei that he had made a statement "verging on incitement to revolution and sedition."

Paramount Chief Kalzer Matanzima earlier this week claimed the Chief's March 10 expression of disapproval of foreign investment in the central economy was an "immoderate left-wing" attack on the policy of the Transkei Government.

Yesterday the Chief said he could not see what his statement, made jointly with the Rev. C. F. Beyers Naude, had to do with the Transkei Government.

He charged that Chief Matanzima's statement was "inciting the Central Government to take action against me."

He felt the Chief Minister should be warned against trying to "sacrifice his brothers to achieve his own aims."

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Stop this traffic says MP

4/5/76 NM

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Transport, Mr. S. L. Miller, was asked yesterday to take action against dangerously overloaded cars on the Natal South Coast and Transkeian roads.

These cars, Parliament was told, were such a hazard to traffic that Natalians travelling to Port Elizabeth preferred to go via Bloemfontein.

Mr. C. A. van Coller (U.P. South Coast) complained in the Transport Vote that some "Black taxis" were crowded with as many as 20 people.

The result was that the car was often weighed down at the hitch at such an angle that the driver could hardly see the road.

Most of these cars, said Mr. van Coller, emitted clouds of smoke and there were frequent breakdowns. Sometimes there were major repairs involving the complete stripping of the engine while the passengers sat by the roadside "holding a picnic."

At night it was difficult to see these broken down cars with the driver's legs sticking out into the road, said Mr. van Coller.

Sometimes these drivers, he said, placed rocks in the middle of the road to prevent the car running down a hill, and a further danger was the number of animals that wandered on to the roads.

Mr. van Coller said that if members thought he was exaggerating they should read what Chief George Matanzima, Minister of Justice in the Transkei, had to say about the lack of road safety in the territory.

Of 9 000 km. of road in the Transkei only 500 km. were well constructed. In 1974 there were 2 044 road accidents there. The position there was "critical," Mr. van Coller said.

Our Empangeni office reports that due to the alarming number of accidents on the national road between Gingindlovu and Richards Bay, Mr. Willie Heine, MPC for Zululand is to urge the National Road Federation to give top priority to improvements in the area.

Addressing the executive national meeting of the Zululand Regional Development Association, Mr. Heine said the roads were also inadequate for the spiralling traffic load brought about by the rapidly developing area and a highway was urgently needed.

"For the biggest growth point in the country, Richards Bay has extremely poor communication links," he said.

TRANSKEI 2

The sudden appearance in Parliament of the Transkei Independence Bill has dramatically precipitated the moment of truth for the policy of separate development. The Nationalists and their policy are about to be put through a searing test. As a consequence South Africa may have to face greater jeopardy than ever before.

Everybody knew that when it came, the climax to the policy of separate development would disrupt the lives and compromise the rights of millions of ordinary Black South African citizens. The main purpose of the policy has, after all, always been the removal of Black political aspirations from the White political arena.

This calculated and cynical demolition of the citizenship rights of defenceless, unconsulted and unrepresented South African citizens is the most abhorrent aspect yet in the evolution of the policy of separate development which has to date produced a great deal of hurtful discrimination, suffering and resentment and little that is positive.

The proclaimed ideal of self-determination and independence for the homelands is being prostituted to entrench White privilege and White domination at the expense of opportunity and fundamental rights for Black South African citizens. And in the process no real contribution is being made to solving South Africa's

Apartheid — moment of truth

HORACE VAN RENSBURG, MP, explains why the Progressives oppose the Transkei legislation, and calls for a national convention of all races.

inter-racial, socio-economic and political problems.

Understanding the widespread and devastating implications of the Transkei Independence Bill, the Progressive Reform Party registered its implacable opposition by voting against the Bill at the first reading.

We believe that a secure and happy future for all South Africans can be achieved only as a result of a consensus reached at a national convention representative of all groups in South Africa.

We believe that such a consensus must provide for the creation of a just South African society, free of all forms of discrimination based on race, ensuring equality of opportunity for all South Africans and in which all South Africans will participate in the government of their common land. In this way, and only in this way, can a common commitment to the maintenance and defence of a common society be achieved.

At the national conven-

tion we would propose the adoption of a constitution providing for a geographic federation of self-governing states.

If the Nats are adamant in continuing with the implementation of the policy of separate development despite the ominous and clear warning signals that are starting to flash, it will be our duty to do everything in our power to persuade them to put their policy on a basis that will have a reasonable claim to legitimacy and morality.

This could be done if the government would be prepared to call a national convention of homeland leaders as well as Coloured and Indian leaders and charge such a convention with the task of re-examining in detail the policy of separate development in the light of changed circumstances and attitudes. Such a convention should have access to a team of experienced and competent constitutional lawyers, economists, sociologists

and political scientists to assist them in their deliberations and the formulation of decisions. The convention should after examining the basic philosophy, and if they agree to continue at that stage, give consideration to (among many other aspects) the following:

- The drawing of new homeland boundaries to provide for larger consolidated states that would be viable from a geographic, economic and political point of view. Installations such as harbours, railways, dams and power stations as well as towns, cities and industries should be included where necessary to meet the economic viability requirement.

- The practice of buying up White property included in homeland areas at tremendous cost for handing over to homeland governments should be discouraged. All available funds for homeland development should preferably be applied in building up educational, economic, sociological and administrative infrastructures and services.

- Every South African citizen should have the right to choose whether he wishes to enjoy citizenship of a homeland or of South Africa and he will then exercise his national political rights in the state of which has chosen citizenship. Equal socio-economic rights for citizens and non-citizens alike in the state in which they prefer to live and work should be entrenched.

- Every delegation at the National Convention would arrange for their government to put the recommendations of the convention to their respective electorates in a referendum for their approval or rejection.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

TRANSKEI *F.M. 18/6/76*

103

A Matanzima sellout?

Are the Matanzima brothers engaged in an elaborate game of bluff over the question of Transkei citizenship for the estimated 1,3m Xhosas living outside the independent State-to-be? It seems so, if Ronnie Goldblatt and John Dugard of the Wits law school are correct in their interpretation of the draft Transkei constitution.

The Matanzima brothers have repeatedly claimed that Xhosas in the common area will be able to choose whether or not to become citizens of the state which will become independent later this year.

But Goldblatt and Dugard told a meeting at Wits this week that clause 57(a) of the draft constitution provides that all persons who are citizens of the present Transkei will automatically become citizens of the independent Transkei. And in terms of the Transkei Constitution Act of 1963, all Xhosa-speaking Africans in the Republic are already citizens of the Transkei (unless they are citizens of one of the other Bantustans).

The amendment to the draft constitution passed by the Transkei Legislative

The "Status of the Transkei Bill" (B 121-76) has passed its first reading, but is not yet an Act of the Parliament of the Republic. If it is enacted by our Parliament and becomes law as presently worded, it will automatically result in two significant legal consequences for persons who are now South African citizens and who are estimated to exceed one million in number.

Firstly, they will become citizens of the Transkei. Secondly, to quote the exact words of section six of the Bill, they "shall cease to be a South African citizen."

These consequences take place without the free and voluntary consent of the citizen affected by the Bill. Under its terms, he is to be deprived of his South African citizenship which he acquired by birth within the territorial boundaries of the Republic of South Africa, purely on the grounds of his racial or ethnic origin as defined in Schedule B of the Bill, and without his agreeing to this.

The categories of persons who in terms of Section 6 shall cease to be South African citizens, include every South African citizen who is not a citizen of a territory within the Republic of South Africa and who speaks a language used by the Xhosa or Sotho-speaking section of the population of the Transkei (including any dialect of any such language), or who is related to any member of such population, or who is associated with any member or part of such population. Thus a Xhosa-speaking Black South African born in Soweto, where he lives, and who has never lived inside the Transkei, will automatically cease to be a South African citizen if Section 6 becomes part of our statute law. His consent to this drastic and radical step is not required by the Bill.

The compulsory and automatic taking away of a person's citizenship on racial or ethnic grounds raises fundamental questions of law and morality, and moreover has far-reaching implications in the field of international law. Indeed, Section 6 — if it becomes part of the

Nazi law STAR 4/6/76 on Jews recalled

Enforced deprivation of citizenship under the Transkei legislation would be contrary to fundamental principles of justice and morality and hence a possible critical weak link in the chain of apartheid, writes PROFESSOR LEONARD GERING. He is formerly professor of law at the University of Durban-Westville, and an advocate of the Supreme Court.

statute law of the Republic — may be the critical weak link in the chain of apartheid, and the rock on which the grand strategy of "separate freedoms" may founder if the present collision course with the fundamental principles of justice" remains unaltered.

The legal phrase "fundamental principles of justice" is the basis of a judgment of the German federal constitutional court in 1968. The court had to decide on the validity of a decree of Nazi Germany in 1941 which deprived German Jews of their German citizenship merely because of their Jewish origin and without their consent.

In an inspiring and eloquent judgment, the court held that the 1941 decree "violated fundamental principles. It is to so intolerable a degree irreconcilable with justice that it must be considered to have been null and void ex tunc." In other

words, the decree was to be regarded as never having been valid.

A noted legal author, Dr Martin Wolff, has written that deprivation of nationality, if made purely on racial grounds, is a violation of international law. He described such deprivation as "inconsistent with tenets of humanity and morality."

Lord Denning, in a judgment in 1972, stated that "when the German authorities passed the decree of 1941, the English courts would not recognise it as valid, by English law, to deprive a person of his German nationality." He described the 1941 decree as "an objectionable and atrocious law."

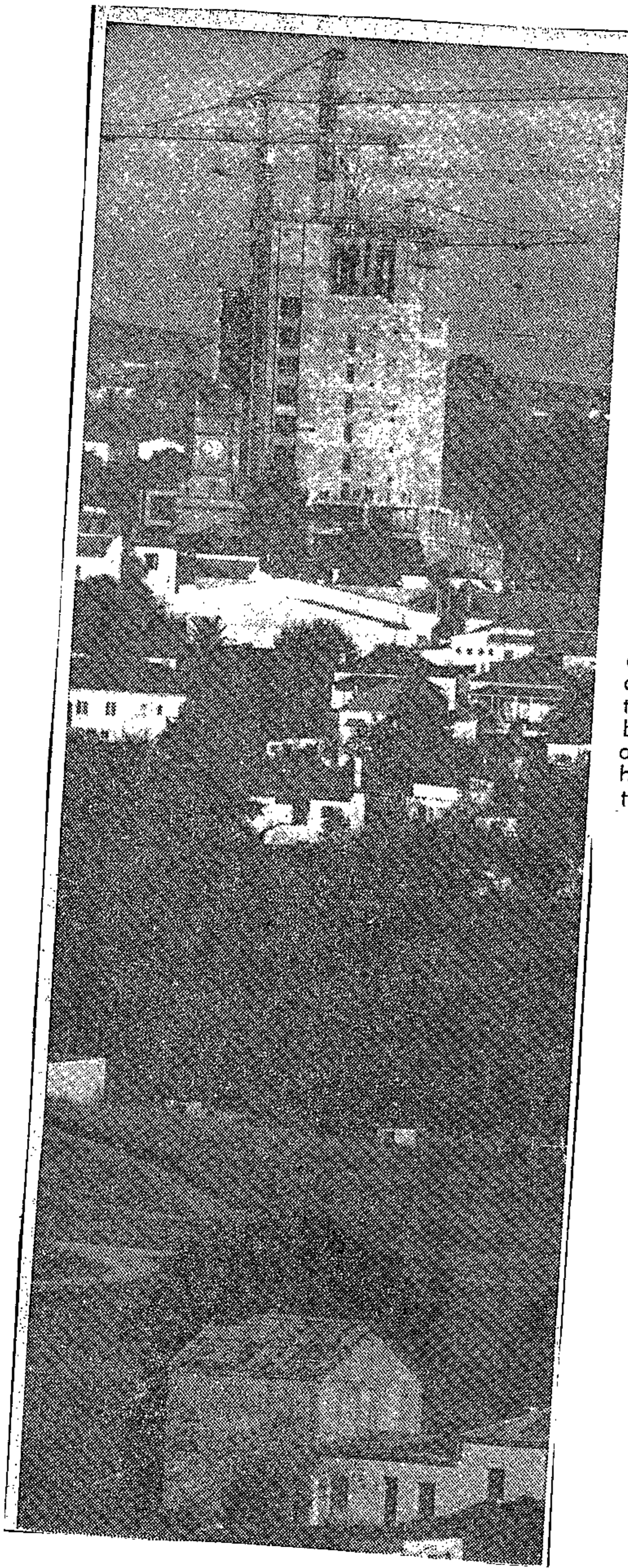
On the basis of these legal authorities, if Section 6 is enacted in its present form, then it would be regarded as null and void by the courts of other independent sovereign states, and by the World Court, even though Section 6 would be applied by the courts of the Republic.

Although Section 6 is being proclaimed in the name of "separate freedoms" and the "self-determination of peoples," its explicit terms negate this. It does not require the free will or the voluntary consent of the citizens affected by it. Free choice is completely excluded.

Unlike the amended wording of the legislation as formulated by the Transkei Legislative Assembly, Section 6 of the Bill is based on compulsion, and not on free choice.

Can the governments of the free world — to which we claim to belong — recognise a statute which takes away the citizenship of over a million persons on racial or ethnic grounds, and at the same time remain true to the fundamental principles of justice which they seek to uphold?

① 239
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③ 103



Kaiser's *S. Tribune* **Great Place** *20/6/76*

CHIEF Kaiser Matanzima's Transkei Government will start moving into its new R14,6 million 12 storey administrative block in Umtata (left) next month only nine months after the first concrete was thrown.

Murray and Stewart, which has been working flat out on this rush project, is due to hand over the first two and a half floors on July 6.

No expense has been spared to get this building up in time to house the Transkei Government's expanded independence civil service. It is to have some nine new departments by October 26; by then nine and a half floors are to be in use and the rest will be ready early next year.

Using the most up to date sliding shuttering, the central cores were finished 20 days ahead of schedule in spite of three months of almost continual rain this summer. The rest of the structure, which is being built in pre-cast beams made in a yard set up at Umtata, fell a few weeks behind with the rain but the teams have been working round the clock to make up time.

103

Why African Black nations have plotted to send the Transkei to Coventry

By BILL KRIGE

S Trib

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THE OAU COUNCIL of Foreign Ministers declared this week that none of its 47 member states should recognise the Transkei's independence.

No other decision could be expected from a body which thrives on unrelenting opposition to South Africa. But it serves to bring into clear focus the fact that, Pretoria excepted, none of the world's 144 capitals has indicated that it will grant the first Bantustan diplomatic recognition.

In domestic terms one consequence for the Transkei is

already becoming apparent. The "strife" for "inkululeko" as an escape route from apartheid is already beginning to cool.

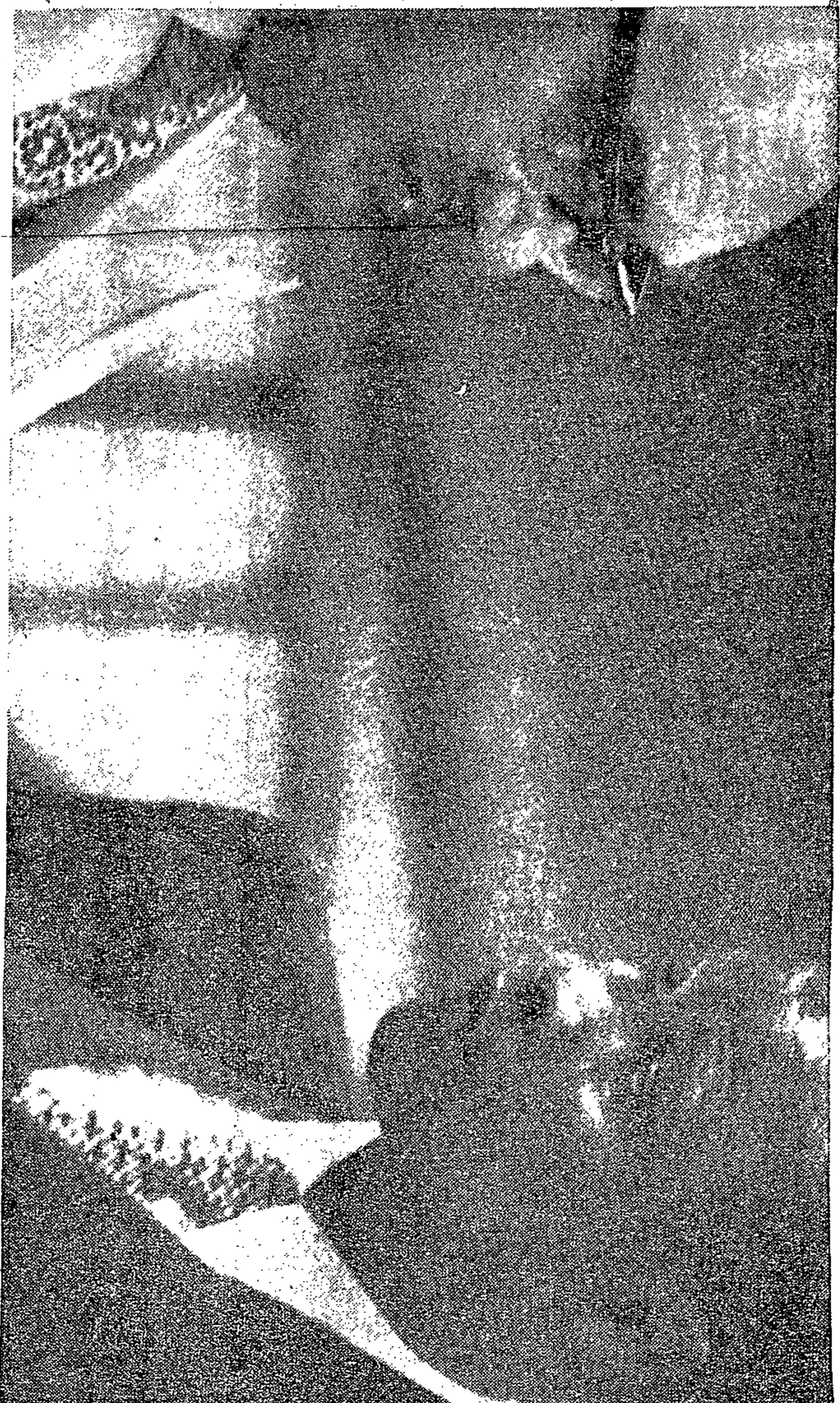
There is a certain querulousness among some top Black civil servants and politicians: a germinating awareness that on October 26 the Transkei will merely be changing its bed-sheets.

A sceptical official in the Chief Minister's department said the wrangle over citizenship had shown that independence would alter nothing. "Who will be better off?" he asked.

Similarly an up-and-coming politician in the ruling party thought independence would hasten the end of autocratic rule by the Matanzimas. Thereafter the party would crack the whip.

However improbable that theory, it is indicative of a growing belief that in reaching for the fruit Chief Kaiser has grasped a nettle.

In Umtata there is no euphoria or sense of occasion.



Transkei Commissioner General H. D. Potgieter and Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima ... discussing

Why?

Now people ask why Chief Matanzima opted for independence in the first place and what he hoped to gain. The decision, made three years ago, was his alone, and his party thereby clocked obediently to free.

The nearest he came to explaining his motive was in a set speech delivered twice in the past year. After cataloguing historical reasons why White and Black are apart and stating that the escape routes from subjugation are limited to revolt or co-operation, he said: "It is our duty to help (Whites) make the necessary adjustments."

"If separate development is the only way in which the vast majority of Whites can be persuaded to allow their Black countrymen a better way of life, then my government will do everything in its power . . . to make the policy work as far as the homelands are concerned," he said.

But fewer and fewer Blacks, it seems, are convinced that the "better way of life" urban Blacks in particular may enjoy after "inkululeko" are worth the price of

severing ties with Pretoria.

Better schooling, some concessions in urban housing and the trading of a dompas for a passport seem to be in the offing for urban Xhosas.

But the elaborate structure of segregation styled to suit White needs, the job ceilings, differential wage structures, group areas and the rest will remain essentially intact.

Reality

The OAU's decision to send the Transkei to Coventry underscores the homeland's basic dilemma in the big bad world of reality into which it is emerging.

It bears the stigma of being a child of apartheid and this formed the basis of the OAU's objection. This despite the fact that compared with the United Nations the Transkei is larger than 30, has a larger population than 33 and a greater per-capita income than about 20 of the 144 member states. Seemingly, these

criteria are irrelevant in the face of the overwhelming opposition to South Africa because of her race policies.

To win any sort of international recognition and establish a credible identity the infant Transkei must distance itself as far as possible from its parent.

Inevitably though, the Transkei must maintain close post-independence political, economic and monetary links with Pretoria. Without them, it cannot survive. Even its fledgling army is being trained and equipped by South Africa.

And the effect of the OAU's decision will be to force the homeland deeper into South Africa's debt.

Denied access to the OAU, it cannot, for example, apply for the trading benefits accorded most of Black Africa by the European Common Market under the Lome Convention.

Financial, educational and agricultural aid other than from South

Africa may be hard to obtain.

This year Chief Matanzima and his lieutenants have made strenuous efforts to pull away from apartheid's shore. The homeland has embraced in broad principle a policy of non-racialism — though schools and hospitals will remain segregated indefinitely.

Squeezed

Chief Kaiser's government has forcibly renewed its land claims, squeezed mileage from the citizenship row, denounced the handling of the Rand riots and called somewhat half-heartedly for the release of the Robben Island prisoners.

This may have won sympathy, even respect, but little that is tangible.

There is little that South Africa can do to ease the Transkei's passage into the world community.

For 30 years, South Africa has been impervious to the various resolutions at the United

Nations which condemn its policies. But soon it will seek the acceptance of the Transkei by those member nations, and ask the outside world to give its policies legitimacy.

As Professor Jack Spence of Leicester University put it recently, acceptance of the Transkei by the UN would be more than "a symbolic act, the formal acceptance of a new State; it implies moral approval of the Transkei as a product of apartheid."

For Chief Matanzima's Banustan there is nevertheless an element of hope. While the doors of the OAU and the UN seem destined to remain shut no one is quite sure whether South Africa's diplomatic initiatives into Africa, Europe and the Middle East have drawn a sympathetic response on the issue of Transke recognition.

The likeliest countries to respond favourably seem to be the Ivory Coast, the Central African Republic and Taiwan.

Others may see in

recognition a means of encouraging internal forces working for change but it remains to be seen whether they will do so and risk the hostility of the rest of Africa.

Meanwhile the OAU's decision not to accept the independence of the Transkei, has been hailed by the leaders of the territory's two opposition parties.

Pleased

Mr. Knowledge Guzana, leader of the New Democratic Party, said if the OAU would accept the concept of Transkei independence, it would be telling the world that its criticism of the apartheid and separate development policies of the South African Government was hypocritical.

Mr. Hector Ncokazi, leader of the Democratic Party, said he was very pleased with the OAU stand and that it was a step forward in the liberation struggle of Blacks.

47/76

CHIEF'S AIM — A 'UNION' OF S.A.

NM 9/7/76

Mercury Correspondent

UMTATA—An independent Transkei could try to negotiate for a federation of South Africa, Transkei's Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said yesterday.

Explaining independence to the people of Mount Frere, Chief Kaiser said Black people living in South Africa would never be happy until they had equal rights with the Whites.

"Under our constitution, we shall have a non-racial society with equal rights for all, irrespective of colour and creed.

"We shall set an example and will set the Republic of South Africa in motion towards a similar process," the Chief Minister said.

"It is inevitable that the Republic should give equal rights to all if it is to be admitted to the community of nations.

"When we are free, we shall be in a position to have normal negotiations for probably a federation, or even a union, of South Africa.

"My goal is to attain freedom by peaceful means and by doing this with the only channel open — the channel of communications with South Africa," Chief Matanzima said.

He re-stated his claim for the Whittlesea area in the Queenstown district, Maclear, Elliot and some farms in Matatiele to

be incorporated in the Transkei.

Turning to the opposition in the Transkei, Chief Matanzima said that in 13 years he had destroyed his opposition "by being effective in politics."

"While we want an opposition, we do not want a negative one," he said.

Our political reporter writes that the Government is remaining tight-lipped about a claim by Chief George Matanzima that the controversial Transkei citizenship clause would be beyond the scope of authority after independence in October.

Although the Minister of Bantu Affairs and Administration, Mr. M. C. Botha, could not be reached yesterday, a Department spokesman said the Government's view had been "fully stated in Parliament."

Chief George Matanzima, the Foreign Minister-designate for the Transkei, claimed in Umtata on Wednesday that the citizenship clause would have no legal force or effect in the Transkei.

"Any attempt by the South African Government to legislate for the Transkei will be ultra vires," Chief Matanzima said.

9/7/76

Black citizen sellout claim

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN
— The Matanzima brothers have come under attack for allegedly "selling the citizenship of millions of black South Africans through the back door."

The attack came from the Black People's Convention here in reaction to a statement by Chief George Matanzima that they were not responsible for stateless citizens.

The vice-president of BPC, Mr. Mxolisi Mvovo, said: "The contentious citizenship clause of the Status of Citizenship Act is based on the provision of the Citizenship Clause of 1963 Act which provides that Transkei citizens will be all those Xhosa-speaking Africans in this country who are not registered as citizens of any other bantustan."

He said Chief George's claim of non-responsibility for stateless citizens was a bid to placate the feelings of masses of Xhosa-speaking people in South Africa who would "inevitably be forced through all the South African arsenal of legislation to accept citizenship."

Mr. Mvovo alleged Chief Kaiser repealed Acts like the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 because these had served their purpose in creating bantustans and not because they had been to the detriment of blacks as he claimed.

"The Matanzima brothers are prepared to sell out millions of blacks in South Africa instead of taking the only correct step — moving out of the whole bantustan system and participating in a truly national struggle for the liberation of blacks," he said. — DDR.

Sunday EXPRESS

A DISAPPOINTING SILENCE

ALTHOUGH there have been a few rumblings of concern in the Afrikaans Press during this past week, by and large verligte Nationalists have been disappointingly silent over the Transkei citizenship issue.

The matter goes beyond the dispute which has arisen between the governments in Cape Town and Umtata, and the danger of continuing friction with this new Black state we are creating in our midst. It even goes beyond the distress and uncertainty that has been caused among the thousands of Black people involved, serious though this is.

What troubles us particularly is the attempt inherent in this whole manoeuvre to spirit away the entire urban Black problem without actually dealing with it. To dispose of it by statutory abolition, as it were; to pass a law abolishing the problem itself. To declare all these millions of people statutory foreigners and imagine that the problem has thereby been solved.

It is on this point that the Nationalist verligtes should be raising their voices and using their influence, because they know as well as anyone that the urban Blacks constitute the very nub of our race problem which it will be fatal for us to ignore.

The homelands can be useful in reducing the number of Black people in so-called "White" South Africa, but we cannot get away from the fact that there will still be a good many here among us for all time. Therefore these people have got to be given a choice of citizenship.

We cannot believe that verligte Nationalists don't realise this. Therefore we urge them to have the courage to speak out and save this country from landing in an even bigger racial mess than before any attempt was made to implement the homelands idea.

103

Turning the tide in the Transkei

ARTHUR ROSE in UMTATA

THIS week's 12 million dollar loan agreement is vital to tide the Transkei's industrial programme over difficult times, says the managing director of the Transkei Development Corporation, Franko Maritz.

The budget of the Xhosa Development Corporation — before its split into Transkei and Ciskei branches — had to be cut by about 40 percent this year, Mr Maritz said, which meant it would not be able to go ahead with industrial plans. Some 10 big industries waiting to move in would have to be put off — and possibly lost forever — because of a shortage of housing.

Particularly important was the big consortium formed of the Merensky and Sappi groups with the TDC to develop and exploit the forests west of Umtata.

The consortium is to employ between 2 000 and 3 000 workers in the first stages and it would have been disastrous to put it off a year. Building costs for one thing would have gone up by as much as 20 percent, which might have killed the project altogether.

Other industries which would have had to be asked to wait included Dorman Long, C. J. Fuchs and two Italian textile firms, Bertrand and Zegna.

When it became evident the Transkei's development programme would be seriously affected, Mr Maritz said, he made contact with the British Hill Samuel Group in Johannesburg to test the foreign capital market for a medium-term loan. He also visited bankers and financiers in London, Germany and France.

In November he learned Hill Samuel, together with the United States' Dow Bank, might be able to raise the money between them. The loan will make up about a third of the TDC's budget this year but with careful budgeting, Mr Maritz says, the money can be paid back over five years. Already the Corporation generates a positive cash flow of nine or ten million rand.

"So it is within our means to repay the loan," he said.

The money will be used to build 250 houses for industrialists and their staff at Umtata and 100 at Butterworth. It will also go to developing infrastructure at both centres.

The total share capital of the TDC after the split would be about R70 million, Mr Maritz said. This was all held by the South African Bantu Trust but after independence it will be transferred to the Transkei Government.

Up to now, income has come in the form of new share capital from South Africa.

But independence will change everything, and after October the corporation will draw on four sources: low inter-

est loans from South Africa; loans from outside sources, both local and overseas capital markets; new share capital from the Transkei Government which will be the sole shareholders and the corporation's own cash flow, which could reach R11 million in this financial year.

DD. 10/6/76

Blacks had own trade system meeting told

EAST LONDON — An extremely active trade linked the Transkei Xhosa and Botswana even before the advent of the white man in the Transkei.

This was said by Mr G. Peires, of Rhodes University, in a lunch-hour forum organised by the Border Regional branch of the South African Institute of Race Relations, here yesterday.

Mr Peires was speaking on *The Transkei Before the White Man Came*.

He said the Xhosa used to trade with the Tswana through the Khoi-khoi (Bushmen). The Xhosa would sell tobacco and dagga to the Khoi-khoi. The latter would get cattle in return. They would then sell the cattle to the Tswana, round about Namaqualand and Sishen. From the Tswana the Khoi-khoi would get iron ore and copper which they would pass on to the Xhosa.

"Way up in Natal, you had the Hlubi and Zizi and there was a lot more iron

in their area. The copper would be exchanged by Xhosa for iron. So the copper would come from the Tswana through the Khoi-khoi, round about De Aar and Cradock, through here and then to the Transkei and Natal.

"If that is not economic decision-making as we know it today, then what is it?" Mr Peires asked.

He said commodities got their value from their scarcity and that is why Xhosas refused beads when Europeans flooded the market with the same type of beads.

Mr Peires said Pondos had three types of economy — hunting, cultivation and cattle-herding. When the Zulu took their cattle they turned towards hunting and cultivation — hunting ivory and blue buck.

"Things got to a stage that in the time of the Anglo-Boer War, when Boer farmers, round about Jamestown, were in rebellion, there was a

shortage of food and it was the Pondos who provided it for the British forces," he said.

On the development of tribes, he said at one time there were no Thembus, Pondos etc as we have them today. There were clans under their chiefs who were heads of family groups.

"In the course of time certain clans became more powerful and spread out to form nations. Those that came together under Nyawuza became Pondo, under Tshawe, Xhosa, under Jola Pandomise and under Hala, Thembu — and these four are the people who inhabited the Transkei as it is known today," he said.

He said the Nguni — which included Zulu and Xhosa — broke up with the rise of the Zulu nation under Shaka. Xhosa and Zulu, the languages known today, were actually dialects of Nguni.

"What actually happened was that a group of missionaries wrote down a dialect spoken around Alice and called it Xhosa and others wrote down a dialect spoken around Durban and called it Zulu. Pondos and Bhacas who spoke another dialect have been told 'this is wrong' and they have had to learn Xhosa as it is taught in schools."

Chiefs worked on a democratic system and if a group of people were dissatisfied with his actions and he would not retract, they simply moved off to settle in another area.

There were many stories of chiefs who had been deposed because they would not carry out the will of their people, he said. — DDR

Sunday Tribune 13/12/76

Hick town' capital gets a new look for independence

By BILL KRIGE

TRIBESMEN still ride into Umtata on horseback but the sight is not as common as it used to be.

The contrasts between embryonic affluence and poverty, the old and the new are everywhere to be seen. Black businessmen and civil servants, the new elite, strut the pavements alongside red-blanketed youths, their faces daubed with ochre. Kraals dot the hillslopes near the new airport and Escom's powerlines.

Umtata is being rapidly transformed from a hicktown to a bustling commercial and governmental hub. On the eve of independence it is increasingly slick, brash and brassy.

For all that the Transkei retains its overwhelmingly rural character. Barely 50 000 of the 1.7 million living within its borders are urbanised. Most remain oppressively poor. Disease is endemic, illiteracy chronic and the territory boasts one of the highest birthrates in Africa.

How well equipped is the government of Paramount Chief Kaiser Mantanzima to cope with the demands, pressures and challenges of "inkululeko"? Will it ever be able to shrug off its most complete economic dependence on South Africa?

Perhaps above all, how meaningful is independence when a state is as dependent as the Transkei on outside aid?

Only R20 million of this year's homeland budget of R135 million was raised in the Transkei. The rest came from South African grants and a small foreign loan. Moreover, national roads, the rail and telecommunication networks, the financing of the Transkei Development Corporation and a host of other hidden costs are born by the Republic.

There is a desperate need for a firm economic base in order to right this lopsided state of affairs.

A customs and excise agreement now being negotiated will greatly increase the Transkei's share of its own budget but there are no known mineral deposits whose exploitation could heave it from the economic morass.

Inevitably therefore the Transkei will have to rely on its own agricultural and industrial production to right the balance.

On the farming front the outlook is gloomy. Over the years millions of rands have been poured into land rehabilitation and stock improvement schemes but the truth is — in spite of the land generally having a high potential — that the Transkei doesn't produce enough to feed itself, let alone export.

Heroic efforts have been made to introduce more efficient methods of peasant farming. Scores of thousands of families have been resettled, fences have been built and boreholes drilled to help eliminate the scourge of soil erosion. Persuasion, not force, has been the watchword.

In spite of all this, the failures are more evident than the successes. Huge irrigation projects at Lubisi and Ncora, which together cost about R30 million to build, have proved monumental flops. Instead of planting cash crops the farmers there prefer to grow mealies.

The heart of the problem is the tribal land tenure system. Allotments are often too small to be viable, are distributed free as of right to all, including those with little farming ability, while vast areas of productive land are wasted on commonage.

To reform the system by introducing some form

Sjambok in hand a mounted policeman patrols Umtata's sprawling township slum, Ngangeizwe



More failures than successes so far

of freehold land right would tear at the social and political fabric of the Transkei.

Land distribution rights belong to the chiefs. To touch these rights in a nation whose political core is chieftainship would be to court disaster.

Agricultural improvement has been retarded by another factor — the migrant labour system. In 1963, 116 000 people worked on contract on the mines, farms and in the industries of White South Africa. By last year this number had swelled to a massive 303 000 — about one-quarter of all males in the homeland.

Wages

Many become part-time farmers, leaving their allotments to their womenfolk and elderly relatives. The wages they earn are usually higher than their agricultural income.

Compared to the startling increase in the number of migrant labourers the increase in those employed in the Transkei itself falls into insignificance.

The total last year was 82 000 — 50 000 up on the figure for 1964. Fewer

than 4 000 of the 41 000 men and women who enter the labour market each year find work in the Transkei.

Migrant labour is of inestimable benefit to the Transkei in the sense that work is provided for many who would otherwise be unemployed. They earned an estimated R135 million last year much of which found its way back to the homeland.

Compulsory deferred pay agreements now being negotiated should markedly increase this amount.

The Transkei Development Corporation's efforts to attract industry is now in full swing.

Its success hinges at least partially on the Transkei's low wage structure — trade unions are not allowed to function — but primarily on tax and other inducements offered under the central government's programme to encourage industrial decentralisation.

It is highly unlikely that Pretoria would ever seriously consider amending or undermining these inducements even if the Transkei adopted a consistently hostile political attitude.

Nevertheless it remains a potential weapon and must weigh against the Transkei Government expressing itself freely on some issues.

Administering the Transkei is an army of 10 000 bureaucrats — the vast majority of whom are Black.

Whites

Six of the seven top posts of Departmental Secretary are held by Whites. Professional officers are in short supply. There are, as far as could be established, no Black quantity surveyors, veterinary surgeons, forest officers, only one engineer and about 10 doctors. The police commissioner, prisons commissioner, both chief magistrates and 11 out of 13 principal magistrates are also White.

It is nevertheless felt by some White officials that the vigorous Africanisation programme has proceeded far too fast and that the bureaucracy's efficiency is seriously being eroded as a consequence.

Earlier this year the Transkei Department of Education's statistics went

haywire. No one quite knew how many teachers were on the books nor pupils at school.

By contrast the Secretary of the Department of Health, Dr Derick Arbuckle, told the Sunday Tribune that Africanisation in his ministry had gone exceptionally well. "Our entire administration is done by Blacks," he said.

The number of university graduates and students is increasing — this in spite of the fact that senior certificate passes last year totalled only 650. The total school enrolment was 588 000 — a huge 475 000 in primary schools.

Chief Matanzima's Government is a stable one. Whether it and the administration he has assembled will be strong enough and determined enough to force changes to the Transkei's social and economic structure, so vital if it is to loosen Pretoria's grip, is the great unknown.

If he succeeds no one will be able to shrug off Transkei independence simply as a bad joke cracked and laughed at everywhere except in Pretoria.

Plans to help Transkei gain recognition

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A six-point plan to help the Transkei to gain international recognition was spelled out yesterday by Professor John Dugard, dean of the law faculty at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Speaking at a seminar organised by the university's Law Students Council, Professor Dugard listed the various obstacles facing the Transkei as it tried to gain international recognition.

He said it was imperative that it get widespread recognition as soon as possible, and to get this it would first have to be recognised by the Organisation of African Unity.

PROPOSALS

He suggested the following action to be taken by the Transkei immediately after independence.

- Abolition of all racial laws inherited from South Africa;
- Abolition of all the repressive security laws

inherited from South Africa and the introduction of security laws which more closely comply with accepted standards of justice;

- The introduction of a bill of rights to indicate the Transkei's commitment to the protection of human rights;

- The abolition of the South African Appeal Court as the highest court of appeal and the creation of a special Transkeian court of appeals;

- Refusal to act as a dumping ground for unwanted Africans from the Republic; and

- Refusal to accept as Transkeian nationals, people who have no genuine link with the Trans-

kei, that is those thousands of Xhosa-speaking urban Africans who have never lived in the Transkei and who have never visited the Transkei.

ADVISORY OPINION

On the last point, the Transkeian Government might petition member states of the OAU, acting through the United Nations, to request an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the legality of Section Six of the Status of the Transkei Act under international law.

This would be along the lines recently suggested by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Councillor of Kwa-Zulu.

'Recognition for the Transkei is not an impossible dream,' said Professor Dugard, 'but it will require a clear assertion of independence and an indication that the Transkei is in no way an agent of Pretoria's grand design (of separate development).'

CITIZENSHIP

Speaking at the same seminar, Mr R. E. Goldblatt, a senior lecturer in constitutional law, said there were no fundamental differences between the South African and Transkeian Governments over the question of homeland citizenship.

The real area of dispute centred around people who were ethnically or culturally related to the Transkei and these were a comparatively small number compared to the millions of other Africans of Xhosa descent.

~~312~~ Detention
(2) 103

Blacks train for terror

S. Tribune
12/6/76

By **BILL KRIGE**

BLACKS from the Transkei are reported to be in Tanzania training as terrorists.

Their disappearance and flight from Umtata has been linked by the security police with the detention of about 20 Transkei Blacks on Friday.

Pietermaritzburg's security police chief, Colonel J. Dreyer — the man behind the swoop — told the **SUNDAY TRIBUNE** that the detentions were "partly in connection with" the mysterious disappearance of a number of Blacks earlier this year.

He refused to confirm the number detained but an Umtata resident who entered the local security police headquarters on Friday reported the "rooms and corridors were swarming with people — a great many of them policemen."

Insurance

It is understood that three insurance salesmen left Umtata for a holiday in Cape Town early this year. They never returned.

The police were told and it was subsequently learned they had crossed the border legally into Botswana.

Last week a spokesman for the insurance company told the **SUNDAY TRIBUNE** in Cape Town he understood the men were among a number of Transkeians who had been recruited for terror training in Tanzania. He understood the men were already there.

He said he had heard that other firms with operations in the Transkei had lost employees under the same circumstances.

"I gather these men are among a number of others who have been recruited for terror training outside the country," he said.

The head of the security police, General Mike Geldenhuys, could not be contacted for comment and the Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said he

men left Umtata for a holiday in Cape Town early this year. They never returned.

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He said he had heard that other firms with operations in the Transkei had lost employees under the same circumstances.

"I gather these men are among a number of others who have been recruited for terror training outside the country," he said.

The head of the security police, General Mike Geldenhuys, could not be contacted for comment and the Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said he knew no more of Friday's detentions than had been reported.

The men held in Umtata are being detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. They include a Black trainee diplomat, Mr Ezra Mtshontsi, and the editor of a hard-hitting Xhosa weekly newspaper, Mr Vuyani Mrwetyana.

Pistol

Mr Mtshontsi had just returned from Pretoria where he and other members of the Transkei Civil Service underwent training for posts in the Bantustan's fledgling Foreign Affairs Service.

Mr Mrwetyana was in the news recently after an incident in an Umtata office in which a Transkei Government MP allegedly pulled a pistol and threatened to shoot him because he objected to a report about himself. Mr Mrwetyana jumped out of a window to escape.

Others known to be detained include Mr S. Mpondolo, an employee of the Transkei Meat Industry, and a Mr Khumalo who is thought to be an insurance clerk.

Buthelezi's plea for OAU

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, KwaZulu's leader, has petitioned the Organisation of African Unity to intercede on behalf of 1 500 000 Xhosas who will become "citizens of nowhere" when the Transkei achieves independence in October.

"I hope the OAU will look into the possibility of taking the case of these people — who will become stateless in South Africa — to the World Court to test the legality of the position," Chief Buthelezi told the Sunday Tribune.

At Ondini in Zululand yesterday he said: "I appeal to other leaders in the other so-called homelands to adopt the same attitude."

103

He will rule on Transkei cash aid

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Foreign Affairs is being given the final say on what financial aid is paid to the independent Transkei after next March.

Under a new Bill setting out financial arrangements with the Transkei after independence on October 26, payment of grants by South Africa will be obligatory only until the end of the financial year.

After this they will be made at the discretion of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in consultation with the Minister of Finance.

They will probably be covered by a treaty still to be ratified by the two governments.

LIMITING

The Bill will limit the aid the Ministers may give in later years to what will be paid in 1977/78, unless Parliament decides to vote more.

In this year's budget the Transkei received R93-million in statutory grants from the South African Government against only R22-million

in revenue from its own sources.

The Bill provides for the Transkei to take over state, provincial, post office and railways property in the Transkei from the date of independence.

And it provides for the Minister of Finance to cancel loan debts owed by these on the property.

STAR

16/6/76

We have to be firm, says Transkei chief

STAR 9/6/76

Anthony Hose
The Star Bureau

PARIS — "I have," said Chief George Matanzima, "been itching to comment on this."

Mr. Matanzima, the Transkei's Minister of Justice, was referring to a weekend remark by his brother, Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima, that the Transkei would never become a dumping ground for stateless Blacks.

Then Mr. Matanzima, now on a goodwill tour of Europe, took a mighty swing at reports that the Transkei would lose out on the controversy over the Citizenship Bill before the South African Parliament.

In an exclusive interview in Paris he said he did not consider there was any confrontation with the South African Government over its proposal to insist that all Transkeians outside the territory must become citizens of the state which would become independent in October.

He spoke of a London

report suggesting that the Transkeian leaders could never win the citizenship battle.

"Anyone who believes that by asking for independence the Transkei is projecting the policy of separate development is misdirecting himself," he said.

"To ask for independence is the culmination of a long struggle of the people of the Transkei for freedom and independence.

Opting

"The Transkei has opted for a non-racial state, contrary to the policy of the South African Government.

"Further, the people of the Transkei, by opting for independence are not trying to solve the problems of the Republican Government.

"Hence, they are not going to solve the 30-year-old problem of that government by trying to force its Black citizens out of the Republic of South Africa."

Mr. Matanzima went on: "With regard to the objectionable section and its allied sub-sections in the schedule of the Transkei Status Bill dealing with citizenship, the Transkei will be firm in its stated objection.

"The Republican Government will admittedly, as they've done before, push the Bill through Parliament in Cape Town.

"But this, when that becomes an Act, will become an empty legislation in that it cannot legally be operative in the independent Transkei.

103

Dumping

"The Republican Government cannot legally divest itself of all power to legislate in the Transkei and still legislate in the Transkei."

Mr. Matanzima said: "I consider the Bill is unnecessary.

"As has been said before, the Transkei will not become a dumping ground for people rendered stateless by the Republican Government."

We have friends— Matanzima

10/6/76 STAR

Tony Hose

PARIS — Chief George Matanzima, the Transkei's Minister of Justice, told a Press conference yesterday on the last day of his visit to Paris, that the Transkei had "many friends" in Africa. But he refused to name them.

Astutely fielding questions at a conference held under tight security, he said he "had not been briefed" on whether the Transkei would seek membership of either the United Nations or the OAU.

Asked whether an independent Transkei would give support to liberation movements in their struggle against South African apartheid policies, Chief George said there had been no decision on this.

"But we would certainly not sup-



Chief George Matanzima

port guerrillas — they are very different."

He admitted that the South Africans were training the nucleus of a defence force for the territory made up of officers and instructors who would themselves eventually train and build ground forces for the Transkei.

If it was found necessary to have an Air Force or Navy, the Transkei might ask other nations for such help.

Fewer than a dozen newsmen were at the conference which was held in the South African Embassy here.

... were asked to fill out

names and addresses on forms provided in the vestibule and then had to await an escort to be taken to a windowless central room on the sixth floor.

It had been announced as a Press briefing in which Chief George would give facts and figures about the Transkei.

QUESTIONS

But within a minute or two he cheerfully and confidently opened the session to questions. And they came thick and fast during the 45 minutes it lasted.

He brushed aside queries about the controversial citizenship quarrel with the South African Government saying it was the South African's problem — not the Transkei's.

"The Republican Government," he went on, "is seeking to force this on people who have never been to the Transkei and who have no intention of becoming citizens. But the Transkei Government is resisting it."

After independence, the Transkei would open embassies in countries friendly to it and would welcome their embassies in the territory.

Asked if that would include the Soviet Union he replied: "If they want to open an embassy without strings, that would be in order."

On October 28, the "umbilical cord" would be cut with South Africa, but he agreed that Pretoria would retain special relations with the Transkei similar to those enjoyed within the monetary and customs union shared by some of her neighbours.

The minister was asked if any countries in North America and Europe had so far indicated their intention, or otherwise, of recognising the independence of the Transkei.

He replied: "There has been some such talk and hullabaloo about recognition. Our independence comes first and we do not worry about recognition. Nor are we asking countries to recognise us."

DEMANDS

He agreed that, like Lesotho, the Transkei was continuing to make demands for more territory from Pretoria.

While he could not state exactly what the areas comprised, he said that the places still in dispute included the Mount Currie district, Harding, Maclear, Ugie, Elliott and parts of Barkly East.

The Minister said that he might make a return trip to Europe later this year but would not specify further.

International Court 'answer for Transkei'

RDM
16/6/76

By PATRICK LAURENCE
 A DECISION by the International Court of Justice could stop Africans of Transkei origin being stripped of their South African citizenship, Professor John Dugard, of the University of the Witwatersrand, said yesterday.

His prediction came at the end of a paper delivered at a meeting on the Transkei organised by the Law Students' Council at the university.

The actual terms of independence had been determined by Pretoria, which had insisted on the right to decide who would become Transkei citizens and which South African laws would be retained, Professor Dugard said.

The terms were a victory for "separate development

in the verkramppte sense" and part of the grand design of persuading homelands to accept independence in return for conferring their citizenship on Africans in South Africa.

But it was not a victory for self-determination for the Transkei, as the terms would make it impossible for the world to recognise the new state.

It was "a tragic state of affairs," — since without recognition the Transkei would not be able to break away and it would have to conduct most of its international relations through South Africa".

"Thus it will become a vassal state dependent on South Africa".

"For the Transkei, it is imperative to get wide-spread recognition as soon

as possible . . . in order to get such recognition it will have to be recognised by the OAU, as the Western powers will not make a move until the OAU takes the lead."

To secure recognition from the OAU, the Transkei would have to take a number of steps. Among them:

- Abolition of all racial laws inherited from South Africa—including the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Act—and all "repressive security laws"—including the Terror Act.
- Refusal to accept as its citizens the thousands of Africans in the "White" areas who had never lived in the Transkei or never visited it.

On the last point the Transkei "might petition member states of the OAU, acting through the United Nations, to request an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice."

Given the present need of South Africa to secure backing from the Western powers to buy time for its proposed internal change, and adverse finding from the International Court would make it "impossible" for South Africa to proceed with the relevant section of the Status of the Transkei Bill — Section 6.

In another paper, Mr Ronnie Goldblatt, senior lecturer in law at the university, said: "The dispute between the Transkeian and South African governments over citizenship is not nearly as significant as has been suggested."

Security of the Republic of Transkei Constitution Bill, released by the Transkei Government, showed that the Transkei agreed that practically all people of Transkei origin should be citizens of an independent Transkei.

The differences between the Transkeian and South African governments related to marginal cases only. Both parties accepted that the bulk of the three million people of Transkei origin living in "White" areas should be Transkei citizens.

Transkei diplomat returns

DD 23/6/76
 UMTATA — Prof Mlahleni Njisane, who trained at the South African Embassy in Washington as a future Transkeian diplomat, is back and living with his wife at one of the leading white hotels here.

In September last year he was snubbed at the same hotel when he went to meet a friend, Mr J. Barret, chairman of the South African Institute of International Affairs. Then he was told he could not sit with him in the lounge until after independence.

Prof Njisane, a former lecturer in sociology at Natal University and in the US, has been earmarked for the Pretoria Embassy to be established by the Transkeian Government after independence.

Prof Njisane said he had had fruitful meetings with Americans and African diplomats in the US. He also addressed various institutions in America.

"All we can say is that there is no substitute for sovereignty," he said.

A former exiled Pan African Congress member, Mr Tsepo Letlaka, who was trained at the South African Embassy to the United Nations in New York, has joined the Transkei Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, tipped to be future Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr M. Lujabe, who will be the secretary for the department, on their tour of Europe.

They are expected back here early next month. Mrs Letlaka arrived here on Sunday from America.

— DDC

① 103
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Riots fault of Botha, says Chief

UMTATA — The Chief Minister of the Transkei, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, yesterday advised South Africa to grant unqualified equality to all races.

NM
24/6/76

In a statement released after he had met members of his Cabinet following his return from abroad, Chief Matanzima also said the riots on the Reef last week demonstrated victimisation of Blacks and vindicated the Transkei's decision to become independent.

of the Black people in the racial discriminatory application of the laws of this country and is vindication of the step we have taken to get out of the suppression we have long endured" — (Sapa.)

He also said the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, had done much to aggravate the deteriorating racial situation in South Africa.

He said posterity would place the blame squarely on Mr. Botha's shoulders if violence became the order of the day.

"We advise the Government of South Africa to repeal all discriminatory laws and grant unqualified equality to all races of this country on the lines we propose to do when the Transkei becomes independent," Chief Matanzima said.

Referring to the recent riots on the Reef, he said his Government strongly condemned the use of guns by the police on young students who had acted no differently from White students in Rhodes and the Witwatersrand universities.

"We regret what is happening in our sister States as a result of a system of education applied forcibly against their protestations.

"This, to us demonstrates in no uncertain terms the victimisation

Chief raps West and 3rd World

Mercury Correspondent

QUMBU (Transkei) — The big countries of the Western world have become the puppets of the Third World, the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said yesterday.

The Chief Minister, who was addressing the people of Qumbu on the meaning of the Transkei's impending independence, said certain people had resolved to censure the Transkei for opting for independence.

"Some of these are active in the policy of separate development and actually enjoy the fruits thereof. Others belong to sovereign States and enjoy freedom," Chief Kaiser said.

"However critical the countries of the Third World are towards our peaceful methods of achieving freedom, we will not allow any country to prescribe the method of our political development.

"If the big countries of the West should be dictated to by those of the Third World, some of whom fall short of the political, social, educational and economic standards of the Transkei, we can only come to the conclusion they do not constitute the free.

"The big countries are now the puppets of under-developed countries who regard violence and military confrontation as the qualification for independence."

1 315
2 102

Work for 4m in homelands essential need — Reynders

EAST LONDON — The provision of job opportunities in the homelands was essential, Border businessmen were told here by Dr H. J. J. Reynders, director of the Federated Chamber of Industries, at a lecture on the homelands organised by the Border Chamber of Industries.

"Such opportunities will have to be created for about three to four million people resident in the homelands, plus the migrant workers" he said, "and it is obvious the major development will have to take place in the secondary sector — construction and manufacturing."

Dr Reynders dealt in detail with population statistics, GNP and GDP figures, both past and present as well as projected

into the future, with the year 2 000 as the furthest date. He supported his statements with graphs and diagrams, to show that the homelands still have considerable room for agricultural development.

He emphasised the importance, especially in the initial stages, of creating job opportunities rather than high wages, and quoted the comment of King Sobhuza of Swaziland in reply to the question: Why do you have so many agricultural labourers who receive about only ten cents a day plus their food?

"The King replied he would rather have his people occupied and earning only a little, than have them doing nothing and starving".

Dr Reynders did not suggest labourers be paid only ten cents a day, but reiterated his point that job opportunities were the main requirement, and that high wages would or could follow later as a natural course. This led to a member of the audience expressing the concern of Border industrialists who,

he said, paid on average between R20 and R30 a week to black labour, while in Butterworth the average was little more than R9 a week.

Dr Reynders admitted he had not realised the gap was so wide, but added that in time everything would equal out.

Another point emphasised by Dr Reynders was that exploiting development of the homelands would involve not only a change in attitudes by the black people, but equally important, a change in attitudes of many whites.

Answering a question on the possibility of import and export controls being applied after the Transkei's independence, Dr Reynders said he was sure there would be a customs union similar to those in effect between South Africa, Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho and Rhodesia.

"Even so, problems have arisen from time to time, but these are always overcome."

Dr Reynders, replying to another question, said the Transkei, for a long time to come, would be supported financially by South Africa. "We cannot get away from that" he said, "but to a declining extent as the area develops."

When asked if he thought foreign capital would be attracted to the

Transkei, he said there were two groups of countries which would be foreign to the Transkei — "one will be South Africa, and the other the remaining overseas countries as, of course, after independence South Africa itself will be a foreign country".

Some developments over the past few years had shown South Africans were prepared to invest in the homelands, and also some overseas countries. "But to what extent this will continue, I would not venture a guess."

Dr Reynders was welcomed by Mr R. A. Recsei, president of the Border Chamber of Industries, and afterwards thanked by Mr M. L. Phillips, vice-president.

— BUSINESS EDITOR

1 103
2 117

Basotho plea to Kaiser

DP
22/7/76

WITZIESHOEK — More than 36 000 Basotho living in the Transkei wished to remain Qwa Qwa citizens without having to leave the Transkei, the Chief Minister of Qwa Qwa, Mr. T. K. Mopeli, said in a statement issued here yesterday.

Mr. Mopeli said the Central South-Sotho Committee of the Maluti-Herschel areas in the Transkei had petitioned the Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, to discuss the matter before July 31.

According to a letter which the committee had sent to Chief Kaiser, the committee represented more than 36 000 Basotho in the Maluti-Herschel areas who had already signed petition forms, Mr. Mopeli said.

The letter requested Chief Kaiser to consider the future of the Basotho in the Maluti-Herschel areas, as well as their "fervent wish to form one government with the Government of Qwa Qwa without having to leave the areas in which they live." — SAPA.

Transkei gives go-ahead for constitution

UMTATA. — The Transkeian Legislative Assembly yesterday accepted without amendment the draft constitution for the territory.

The constitution will now be presented to the new Transkeian Parliament on October 26 for approval. The Chief Minister of the Transkei, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said his Govern-

ment was unanimous in accepting it.

No amendments were moved, leaving some controversial aspects of the draft — including the citizenship provision — unchanged as previously amended by the Legislative Assembly.

Chief Matanzima said: "The world will now realize that we are right and that we cannot be dissuaded from our intentions by irresponsible people who are opposed to the Transkei."

The Transkei had been regarded as a little New England in some quarters, but this was now something of the past, he said.

Amendments only

The normal rules for debate in the Assembly were suspended yesterday.

Chief Matanzima told the House that he would consider amendments only and that members moving amendments were to support them with constructive suggestions and related information.

"I expect members to come forward with amendments to which they make observations," Chief Matanzima said. "Members must not be evasive and make long meaningless speeches, as I will pin them down to factual statements. We will have to suspend the debating rules of the House in order to achieve our objective."

Discussion

Chief Matanzima said he had called the Assembly to discuss the draft constitution because there had been sug-

gestions that the time allowed for discussion during the normal session of the Assembly in May had been insufficient.

The debate in May was limited to three days.

Chief Matanzima said he was prepared to allow a week for discussion of amendments — and longer sittings if necessary. But no amendments were moved and Chief Matanzima said that the Transkeian Government was entirely satisfied with the draft constitution in its present form.

All told only about 10 minutes of the Assembly's time was spent on the draft constitution.

It was approved as previously amended and Chief Matanzima said his office would now prepare it for formal adoption by the Transkeian Parliament after independence. — Sapa

The Transkei's first recognition test will come from its own citizens when they go to the polls for a general election on September 29.

The election will lack the needle of the possibility of any opposition party toppling Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima's Transkei National Independence Party from government.

One reason is that 75 of the Transkei Legislative Assembly's 150 seats will be occupied by nominated chiefs.

The TNIP, Mr Knowledge Guzana's New Democratic Party and Mr Hector Ncokazi's Democratic Party all see the election as a barometer of the voters' opinion on whether the Transkei should take independence from South Africa.

Mr Pascoe Liddi, secretary-general of the TNIP, sees the coming election as a slap in the face of those who have criticised the Government for not having a referendum on Transkeian independence. "Our aim is to prove to opponents of independence that we have the support of the people in our country's new venture," he said.

Mr Liddi recently dispelled rumours that the TNIP would disband and reconstitute after the election. "We are definitely contesting on a party basis," he said.

One of the opposition parties' problems is that they have to use the very political system they reject to oppose independence. Coupled with this is the fact that even if they win all the elected seats — which is most improbable — they cannot stop the Transkei gaining independence on October 26 by constitutional means.

Both Mr Guzana and Mr Ncokazi see independence as a reality they cannot avoid. Both stand for the need to accept urban blacks as citizens with equal rights in a South African incorporating the Transkei.

The opposition parties also have common ground in their rejection of the nomination of chiefs to the Legislative Assembly.

"If we come to power we will immediately amend the constitution to remove the chiefs from the TLA", Mr Ncokazi has said. Mr Guzana on the other hand stands for the gradual phasing out of chiefs from the TLA.

It is a contradiction in democracy that chiefs are legislators, administrators and

Voting for or against independence

23 | 7 | 76

Day

legal officers, according to Mr Guzana. While Mr Guzana sees the TNIP using the chiefs to consolidate their position in the TLA, he also sees their presence as a dividing force in the party after independence. "I can foresee a realignment in opposition forces after independence as a number of TNIP members are opposed to having chiefs as nominated members of the TLA," he said.

Mr Guzana, known as straight-talking but unaggressive, has modestly stated he hopes to capture more seats than the seven his party now holds. The NDP's strength has been whittled away by defections to the TNIP and a split from his former party this year. He sees their strongest following in the urban areas such as the Reef, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. Within the Transkei the party's strongest areas are Qumbu, Mount Fletcher, Willowvale and Mr Guzana's seat of Mganduli. But the NDP sadly lacks organisation and funds — the staple of any election campaign.

The fiery, radical leader of the DP, Mr Ncokazi, is more optimistic. He has stated his party's intention is to fight all 75 seats if they can raise the candidates. He has also said his party will avoid three-cornered fights if they come out strongly enough against independence, whereas Mr Guzana is committed to fighting all corners.

Like the NDP, the DP is certainly critically short of funds and has little party organisation although it professes a strong following in the urban areas.

Even the irrepressible Mr Ncokazi, however, sees his party's chances of winning the election as slim.

Like the National Party in South Africa the TNIP has government machinery at its disposal. It also has the backing of the SABC and the Republican Government. Many TNIP candidates are full-time politicians and the party machinery is well-oiled and well-off compared to the opposition.

Further, many people believe they have pulled the rug from under the opposition by backing a non-racial state. This is the



Transkeian leaders Chief Kaiser, Mr Knowledge Guzana and Mr Hector Ncokazi.

first election they have entered on such a ticket.

The DP also claims a policy of non-racialism but the TNIP's Mr Liddi asks: "How can anyone who says the days of the white man are over claim to be non-racial? The TNIP policy sees men as members of the human race and not as members of a race group. We have room for all racial groups as long as they regard themselves as Transkeians."

Mr Guzana's policy of multi-racialism differs from the other parties in that it recognises the existence of different racial groups, and while striving for equality says there should be a safeguard for minorities written into the constitution.

Those opposed to the Transkeian Government say the voting system, which does not use symbols on ballot forms, and the fact that electoral officials are told verbally by illiterate people for whom they want to vote, is against democratic principles.

Another spanner in the works for Government opponents is Proclamation R400 which makes it necessary to get permission from tribal authorities to hold

meetings. With all these factors against them, opposition chances of pulling off a few major surprises look doubtful.

One of the few trump cards they have is to exploit the citizenship clause of the draft Transkei Constitution. Many independence opponents think the Transkeian Government may do a deal with the South African Government forcing unwilling black South Africans to become Transkeian citizens.

On the other hand the Transkei Government may be able to trump their opponents if it sticks to its guns and opposes the forcing of citizenship on unwilling blacks. If it opposes it strongly enough it could be as potential force for change in South Africa.

The special session of the TLA next week to discuss the issue and the diminishing months before independence will reveal the cards to be played in the election game.

— Peter Kenny

We'll stay after uhuru say Coloureds

S TRIB.
18/7/76

Tribune Reporter

WITH Transkei independence just 100 days away, most of the homeland's 8 000 strong Coloured community has decided to stay. But some are upset by what they describe as a wave of Black assertiveness.

A forgotten group who have featured little in anyone's plans to dissect South Africa, they form a sizeable middle-class of artisans and traders who have lived in the homeland for generations.

One of them is Mr Eugen Montague (43), a bricklayer, who asks: "Leave the Transkei? Good Lord, why should I?"

He was brought up in a kraal near Port St Johns, herded cattle with African youths and was wholly accepted by them. He speaks Xhosa fluently and has always been on terms with the darker half of his ancestry.

"I'm staying on no matter what," he insists. "Good or bad I'll never shift. I like it here and I don't fear independence."

Others are less certain — in spite of assurances recently given to Coloured leader Mr Sonny Leon by the Matanzima brothers. Overwhelmingly English-speaking, the homeland's Coloureds are the descendants of liaisons or marriages between Black women and British army personnel, the early traders and settlers. Many are reluctant to swap their status as second-class South Africans for the full equality promised after "inkululeko" on October 26.

Uproot soon

The list of Transkei Coloured families waiting for municipal housing in East London has grown to about 50. Some, like Mr John Hastie (56), the son of a British army officer whose stern moustachioed portrait hangs prominently in his home, will uproot soon for Durban.

"We wanted to stay but the Africans have become so forward," said his wife, Winnie. "Today I was walking in the street with my daughter when two Africans stopped us, pointed to my daughter and said: 'Look at her, after independence she will be my bok (girlfriend)'." Her daughter is aged 14.

Most, however, have chosen to remain in the homeland and few of those interviewed had any qualms. They see independence as an opportunity for fulfillment and not as a betrayal. Many have long since abandoned hope of acceptance by South African Whites.

Mr Eric Leeson (63) is the manager of a clothing factory with a staff of 280 under him. His father came from Britain to fight in the South African War and afterwards settled in the Mount Frere district where Eric was born.

One of his daughters has married a White and settled in the United States.

"I'm two years from retirement but I'm not leaving now or then," he says. "Most people who have lived here for any length of time don't want to go. Some are scared but I don't see any reason for it myself."

One son now living in Cape Town has suggested he embark on a clothing manufacturing venture there but Mr Leeson is not interested.

Squeeze them out

In the homeland, Coloured development has been sacrificed to African progress. Many feel there was a deliberate policy to squeeze them out. Until recently, housing for Coloureds was just not available and overcrowding became a health hazard.

The school accepts pupils only up to Std. VI. Thereafter they must go elsewhere.

There is now a bleak new township on a hillside overlooking Umtata. The houses are uniform, without electricity, waterborne sewerage or ceilings. The walls are pre-cast concrete.

From his sickbed, painting sub-contractor Mr Bob Morrison (56) said: "If we can stay in peace then I will stay."

Unable to work continuously since he was hospitalised with TB 15 years ago, Mr Morrison wondered whether the promised equality after "inkululeko", would not work to the disadvantage of Coloureds.

"If they change the laws so we can all be together, that's fine. But won't it force our wages down to the level of Africans?" he asked.

Mr Morrison also wanted to know what would happen if "we don't feel at home. Will we be able to move out and get back our South African citizenship?"

Others like Labour Party leader Lieve Sharpley see independence as a means of breaking down the image of Coloured people as a group. "I am sick and tired of being called Coloured. After independence we will all be Transkeians, neither White, Coloured nor Black."

He doesn't believe in separate development but will not hesitate to surrender his South African citizenship. He plans to participate in the new Transkei "all the way. I will definitely enter the political arena," Mr Sharpley said. But he won't say on whose side.

18/7/78

DD 2/8/76

No oppression after October — Letlaka

EAST LONDON — Blacks would never submit to oppression after the granting of independence to the Transkei on October 26, a member of the Transkei Government Diplomatic Corps, Mr T. T. Letlaka, said here at the weekend.

He was speaking at a meeting of the Transkei National Independence Party in Duncan Village.

"There are upstarts who think the fight for freedom is new. Some men have turned against the struggle for freedom. The road to freedom is not easy. You have to work hard towards it," Mr Letlaka said.

"There will be complete education in the Transkei. Freedom wants complete education not the one for counting Boer sheep. Our slave education does not provide us with knowledge to be able to melt ore. This slave education comes to an end after independence," he said.

Mr Letlaka denied Press reports by Mr H. Ncokazi, leader of the Democratic Party, that the Transkei had no friends.

"As one who recently visited 12 countries with Chief George Matanzima I should know. Mr Ncokazi has not been abroad," Mr Letlaka said.

Transkeians had fought for freedom. The Pondos established a government on the mountains during their struggle for freedom.

"We will not drive out the whites in the Transkei. Freedom is never divisible. We want freedom for all," Mr Letlaka said.

He said Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo was being led astray by Mr

Ncokazi and Mr S. A. Xobololo and had wrongly said he had been offered the presidency of the Transkei.

"No offer was ever made to Paramount Chief Sabata. It is his wishful thinking. What hurts is to mislead the chief to say he is opposed to the granting of independence. He wanted it as early as 1961 and said there should be no referendum," Mr Letlaka said.

Mr Letlaka then read extracts from the minutes of the proceedings of the

then Transkei Territorial Authority in 1961 where Chief Sabata called for independence and said there should be no referendum.

Mr Letlaka refused to be drawn into the controversy on the detention of some Democratic Party members.

"Those people interested to know anything about the detainees should go to Umtata and ask the Chief Minister or the Transkei Commissioner of Police," Mr Letlaka said.

At the end of his speech, Mr Letlaka gave the Black Power sign of a clenched fist.

TLA man rejects birth control

EAST LONDON — There will be no birth control in an independent Transkei, Mr N. Sipuka, Idutywa member in the Transkei Legislative Assembly, said at a meeting of the Transkei National Independence Party in Duncan Village at the weekend.

"Let the will of God be done. We must not control birth. The English lost to the Afrikaners during the 1948 elections because of a large number of new 'Afrikaner voters,'" Mr Sipuka said.

He said the Chief Minister of the Transkei had a map on which towns like Kokstad, Maclear and Ugie were part of the Transkei and the Transkei Government was to press for them.

Speaking at the same meeting, Chief M. Makaula, of Umtata, said during the disturbances in the Transkei they lived in fear of their lives because they supported Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima. Now that the objective had been gained there was general rejoicing in the Transkei.

The urban representative of Western Tembuland chiefs, Mr J. J. Matotie, said were it not for the father of Paramount Chief Matanzima, Paramount Chief Sabata would never have been the head of the Tembus. The rightful heir was Chief Mxego Mtirara.

Chief Matanzima had done a lot for Chief Sabata who did not appreciate it. —DDR.

HOMELANDS

TRANSKEI

GENERAL.

11 Aug 76 — 15 Oct 76.

(1) 103
(2) 325 - Detention

Two more DP officials held in Transkei ^{DD} 11/8/76

UMTATA — Two more top officials of the opposition Democratic Party in the Transkei, and an insurance broker, have been detained by the Transkei Police under Proclamation R400.

The DP men are the deputy leader of the party, Mr O. Mpondo, and the national secretary, Mr W. D. Pupuma.

A consultant for Barclays Bank insurance brokers, Mr Z. Kukukeli was whisked away from his home at Norwood, Umtata, late on Monday night and is still being detained.

The entire national executive of the Democratic Party has now been detained under proclamation R400.

They are: the leader of the party, Mr H. Ncokazi, national chairman, Mr J. B. Nkosiyan, treasurer and a Transkei Legislative Assembly member, Mr S. A. Xobololo, national organiser, Mr P. S. Fadana, and two members of the committee, Mr L. L. Mgudlwa, a TLA member, and Miss F. Mangcotywa.

It is believed Mr Mpondo was detained after being nominated as a candidate for the Butterworth constituency in the general election on September 29.

The Transkei electoral

officer, Mr L. Ndesi, said there was no provision in the Transkei electoral laws to disqualify a nominee who is being detained.

The election at Butterworth will therefore not be suspended. The other candidates standing in Butterworth are Mr N. H. Mketane and Mr S. W. Mbanga of the Transkei National Independence Party.

Voters supporting Mr Mpondo will therefore be able to vote for him even if he is still in detention on election day.

At least 13 Transkeians have been detained recently under proclamation R400.

Another 11 people were detained during June and they are all believed still to be in detention.

They include clerks, insurance agents, teachers, civil servants and a trainee diplomat with the Transkei Department of Foreign Affairs and Information.

The Commissioner of Transkei Police, Brig S. Mattheys, said no trial date for the detainees had been set yet as investigations were still being carried out. He said he could not comment further on the detentions.

— DDR.

Odds 'high 17/8/76 STAR against Transkei'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Transkei, the least fragmented of South Africa's Black homelands, is the only one capable of achieving sufficient economic self reliance to improve its economic relationship with the Republic from one of complete subservience to self-respecting interdependence, it is suggested here.

But Richard Blausten, a British journalist who recently visited the Transkei, writing in the London Sunday Times, says that the odds are "stacked high against it."

The main problem, he says, is that at least 26 300 jobs have to be created this year in the Transkei to prevent more people going to the Republic to look for work.

"The task is well-nigh impossible," he adds. "One White aid official estimates that there are 110 000 people too many working on the land as it is."

FERTILE

"Agriculturally the Transkei could become the pantry of South Africa," it has some extremely fertile land and the growing of tea, coffee and the plant phormium tenax, used as a fibre for making grain bags are being developed.

"In addition, there is great potential for cattle farming and forestry. But the territory is bedevilled by an obsolete tribal system of land tenure based on the patronage of the chiefs rather than individual ownership rights."

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Forget the Bantustans, let's all work together



Q: Has Soweto made it more difficult to attract foreign investment?

A: Buthelezi: It is too early to say.

Q: Would you clarify your attitude towards foreign investment?

The joint statement with Dr Naude as a response to Mr M C Botha's statement that development in the Homelands could only be allowed insofar as it didn't interfere with the central economy. We concluded, if this was the case, then foreign investment was devoid of all morality. Black people are not part and parcel of the free enterprise system in this country. As long as Black people have no stake in it then its future is in very much doubt. We would like to have a Black consensus on foreign investment and suggested that we should hold a Black consultation on the issue.

Q: Have you any conditions for a prospective foreign investor in KwaZulu?

It is a matter of negotiation. I would like the entrepreneur to have 50%. The other 50% should belong to the people of KwaZulu. Since our people would not be able to purchase all of their 50% we ask the KwaZulu Corporation to hold some trust so that if individual KwaZulu citizens get the finance to purchase these shares they can do so. I don't look at investment only as something which can give my people jobs because, after all, we don't just be a nation of serfs. We must have some stake. Profits would be brought back through the corporation and the wealth should not only be for some people but for the benefit of all. We would not like to have the wealth controlled by an elite whether it's Black or White or both. I don't believe in that.

Q: Have any lessons been learned from Soweto?

I can only express the hope that they have learned some lessons but there is no evidence to show they have. At the height of it I consulted my colleagues and suggested we should have a meeting with the Prime Minister and the Minister of Internal Administration. I made sure that protocolwise I was on the right side by insuring that the texts of these telegrams were sent through the Commissioner General, who represents the government there. In spite of that, the Commissioner General is the only one who acknowledged receipt. Mr Vorster and Mr Botha completely ignored my telegrams. I heard the Prime Minister's statement about maintaining law and order at all

Earlier this year Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Christian Institute director Dr Beyers Naude issued a joint statement on the vexed question of foreign investment in SA. Last week, the FM asked Buthelezi to clarify what he meant. He also described his own attempts to get the Soweto language issue defused. They met with a stone wall of resistance.

costs. I know what he means by "at all costs". That to me is not evidence that they have learned any lessons.

Q: You wouldn't regard the concession on the language issue as a gain?

It's no gain at all. At what cost? Can you say the lives of my people who have been killed are worth just this thing? The very concession is a condemnation of them because when we had this meeting with Mr Vorster on January 22 last year we dealt with this matter in great depth. Even previously, on March 6 1974. We warned them then that this matter would cause trouble but Mr Botha was so insensitive that he completely ignored what we said. Mr Vorster did say Mr Botha should have another consultation with us by himself, but he even ignored the Prime Minister's suggestion and never held this. Then he went and imposed it.

Q: But it wasn't only the language issue was it?

The frustrations of the people don't revolve only around the language issue but on the whole issue of decision-making and having and sharing the wealth of the country. The feelings of the people were exacerbated by the whole question of citizenship, because of the war between the Transkeian government and the central government on this issue and the possibility of having more than two million people going to be stateless in the Transkei. It found people's feelings on the raw really, this issue of language, because they were disgusted at our White countrymen making us, the indigenous people of this country, foreigners in our own country. It is something that has never happened - no conqueror has ever done what the White government is doing to us, the conquered. It's something unique in the history of man.

Q: Will KwaZulu opt for independence?

I don't even see it looming on the horizon. The Zulu assembly we set up under their own laws has rejected it.

I don't see why I should be deprived of my South African citizenship. Why I should be fobbed off with KwaZulu when we could develop the rest of South Africa jointly with the White people in this country.

Q: Is there anything within the limits of practical politics which could be done to defuse the situation?

Long ago I proposed a national convention but the government responded through Mr Botha saying they didn't need a convention because they knew what to do. Secondly I approached Mr Vorster and said to him 'now you've set up a multi-racial council for South West, what about having one for South Africa' and Mr Vorster's response was that we didn't need it here. But a national convention is a matter of urgency.

As long as we are talking to each other the situation would be defused. I was the very first man to suggest the release of Mandela when people were still even afraid to mention his name. I have repeatedly done so. I believe that people like Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, others in jail, and some of our exiles like Oliver Tambo and those in the PAC, should also be allowed to send representatives with all of us together.

R30m TV firm for Transkei

18/8/76 PD

PORT ELIZABETH — A subsidiary of one of the biggest television manufacturers in America was planning to make a R30 million investment in the Transkei which would bring cheap portable TV sets to thousands of blacks in the area, Mr Frank Maritz, managing director of the Transkei Development Corporation, said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference here, Mr Maritz said only Government approval of the scheme, which would provide work for up to 3 000 blacks, was now awaited.

The initial investment of the factory, planned for Umtata, was between R4 and R6 million and at the start it would provide work for about 1 500 Transkei citizens.

Mr Maritz said he was confident the Government would allow the company to operate in competition with the TV manufacturers in the Republic because a similar concept was allowed in sets imported from Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland.

By allowing the company to establish in the Transkei, dry cell battery operated TV sets marketed at between R175 and R250 could be made available to blacks there, Mr Maritz said. "This will be a tremendous educational medium for blacks in rural areas."

The portable monochrome sets would have a 48 cm screen.

There was also a strong possibility of a R9 million agricultural equipment manufacturer es-

ablishing in Butterworth.

Mr Maritz revealed the initial investment would be in the region of R4 million and would start with the making of hoes, eventually leading to ploughs and tractors assembly.

Mr Maritz said in this case the initial employment would be about 200 building up to a work force of about 2 000. — DDC.



MR MARITZ

Maritz: whites' safety ensured

PORT ELIZABETH — The Transkei Government would ensure the safety of whites in the area after independence and he was confident that there would not be a large scale exodus of whites after October 26, Mr Frank Maritz, managing director of the Transkei Development Corporation, said yesterday.

Addressing a press conference here, Mr Maritz said the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, was obsessed with maintaining law and order even in the face of the riots taking place in South Africa.

He regretted the prominence given to an assault on a white woman in the Transkei by certain sectors of the media because it was only one of at least a dozen assault cases in the Republic this week which had comparatively been paid scant attention.

There had undoubtedly been attempts to stir up trouble in the Transkei and it had been proved that in the recent Transkei strike attempts, blacks from the Transvaal were the instigators.

"The white man need not fear for his safety

after independence on October 26 provided he recognised that he was living in another man's country and behaved accordingly," he said.

Discussing the enforcement of Transkei citizenship on Xhosas living in the Republic, Mr Maritz said he frankly agreed with Chief Matanzima that it was not a desirable legislation, "but that is a matter for the politicians to sort out."

He expected all African states to at least send an observer to the Independence Day celebrations.

Invitations have been sent to every state in the world and we know already that 18 overseas TV groups will be covering the event as well as 240 overseas journalists. Many foreign industrialists are also coming."

Mr Maritz said the tribal system of the Transkei with its emphasis on the power of the chief would provide an ideal counter measure to communism.

Umtata Airport would be able to accommodate Jumbo jets within the next 18 months. By early October this year, light jets would already be able to land, he said. — DDC.

Concern over ^{19/8/76} Transkei economy

PORT ELIZABETH — Rapid and sustained economical growth in the Transkei depended on the adoption of a free enterprise system, Dr L. McCrystal, a leading South African development economist said here yesterday.

Dr McCrystal, head of the Government's Anti-inflation Programme's Educational and publicity Committee, spoke in his personal capacity as a development economist at National Development and Management Foundation Conference on the economic prospects of the Eastern Cape and Border.

Dealing with the economic effects on these regions of an independent Transkei, Dr McCrystal said he was concerned about the possibility of the Transkei opting for a "communalism" form of economic system.

The concept was equitable re-distribution of wealth. If this system was adopted rather than wealth generating activities, he did not give much hope of the Transkei achieving rapid economic advancement.

"The Transkei is not a wealthy country and if at this early stage it decides on wealth sharing rather than wealth production, I believe its economic impact on the Border and Eastern Cape will be small for many years to come," he said.

He said a rapidly developing Transkei could soak up some of the labour force on which the Eastern Cape and Border relied, but this would be in the ultimate interest of the region because it would help combat unemployment.

Dr McCrystal said the Transkei would also have to consider developing its own harbour.

He predicted that a more direct railway line through the Ciskei to Port Elizabeth would become a real possibility in future, as well as a line north towards Natal to provide spinal communication through the length of the Transkei.

The managing director of the Transkei Development Corporation, Mr Franko Muritz, said the Transkei could become a food pantry if properly exploited.

He told the conference modern agricultural methods were not generally applied with the result the Transkei agricultural production amounted to only three to five per cent of its potential.

If only half of the potential utilisation of agricultural and forestry production could be achieved, the gross national income could be lifted from R129 per capita to R1 300, he said. — DDC.

Transkei 'must go for free enterprise'

19/8/76 nm

Mercury Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Rapid and sustained economic growth in the Transkei depended on the adoption of a free enterprise system Dr. L. P. McCrystal, a leading South African development economist, said here yesterday.

Dr. McCrystal, who is head of the Government's anti-inflation programme's educational and publicity committee, spoke in his personal capacity at an NDMF conference on the economic prospects of the Eastern Cape and Border.

Dealing with the economic effects on these regions of an independent Transkei, Dr. McCrystal said he was concerned about the possibility of the Transkei opting for a "communalism" form of economic system.

"Many Black leaders have stated that they favour a form of communalism based on the historic socio-economic system of the Blacks.

"The concept is equitable redistribution of wealth.

Obviously it is for the Transkei to decide what form of economic system it is going to adopt, but if it settles for this redistribution of wealth idea, rather than wealth-generating activities I do not give it much hope of achieving rapid advancement into sustained economic growth," he said.

He pointed out that the success of the free enterprise system compared with the progress of the communalistic or socialistic system could be clearly seen in the struggling economy of socialist countries such as Cuba, Ghana, Tanzania and Zambia compared with the relative prosperity of countries such as Kenya, Taiwan and South Korea.

"The Transkei is not a wealthy country and if at this early stage it decides on wealth-sharing rather than wealth-production, I believe its economic impact on the Border and Eastern Cape regions will be small for many years to come," he said.

The development of a free enterprise system

would be essential to attract private capital to the Transkei.

At present it appeared that the Transkei would have to look to private capital for assistance because most countries were reluctant to recognise its independence at this stage.

Dr. McCrystal said it was imperative that White businessmen, who now did business with the Transkei, should carry the torch of free enterprise.

"It is not so much the impact which the Transkei is going to have on your businesses which is important, but the impact which you as businessmen create on the attitudes of Transkei citizens towards the free enterprise system."

He said a rapidly-developing Transkei could soak up some of the labour force upon which the Eastern Cape and Border had come to rely, but this would be in the ultimate interest of the region because it would help combat unemployment.

Independence will cut off thirty farmers

KOKSTAD — About 30 white families living in the Ongeluksnek area in East Griqualand will literally have to produce travel documents to buy a packet of cigarettes after Transkei independence.

Tensions are mounting in the valley which forms a tiny white island crammed between Lesotho and the Transkei and cut off from Matatiele, the nearest town, by another area of the Transkei.

The farmers have hit at the Government's handling of their situation and believe no attempt is being made to help them.

Although the Government has decided the farms will be incorporated

into the Transkei — in spite of written assurances it would remain white — nothing has been done to buy the farmers out.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration Dr F. Hartzenberg, visited the area earlier this year and farmers say he was totally ignorant of their situation.

They have now been told they cannot be bought out as the Government is short of ready cash.

"We got together and decided that as far as possible, instead of cash, we would accept Government bonds," Mr Johnny Pedlar, secretary of the

Ongeluksnek Farmers' Association, said.

"Twenty six of us signed a letter to this effect which was sent to the Deputy Minister in April.

"We have not heard a word. I wrote a second letter, they have now acknowledged receipt of the letters.

"But they have done nothing about it. If they wait long enough they will be dealing with deceased estates and that is not a joke.

"Already there are five properties which are either deceased estates or have widows living on them.

"One family has walked out already. They have

left their farm and taken jobs in town. Because how can you farm when all you are doing is working for someone else?"

Mr Pedlar said they had been fighting the Government about the black area cutting them off from Matatiele since the 60s.

"This black area consists of two farms, Polygon and Simpson, which are black-owned.

"Squatters have moved in and formed a location.

"We offered two farms at a top end of the valley to the Bantu Trust. The condition was that they would replace the two black farms at Matatiele which would become white.

"They took our white farms in the 50s, but still have not removed the blacks from the other farms.

"Now those areas are part of the Transkei and fall under the control of black police."

Mr Pedlar complained about black police at a road block last week and said such an attitude could lead to ugly incidents.

"Farmers were also troubled by the illegal grazing of livestock on their property and by widespread stock theft. One farmer has lost 61 head of cattle in a year.

"The Government got us into this mess and they should get us out before independence," Mr Pedlar said. — DDC.

Force will be met by force, Kaiser warns protest pupils

UMTATA — Everybody who was opposed to Transkei independence should pack their bags and leave before October 26, the Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said here yesterday.

He was commenting on the arrest of 267 students at Freemantle High School in Lady Frere who allegedly burnt out two heavy duty lorries in the school grounds and cut telephone lines during an anti-independence protest on Thursday.

The pupils painted anti-independence slogans on walls and blackboards and 300 marched to the Mount Arthur Training College

for Girls 2 km away.

They appeared in Lady Frere Magistrate's Court yesterday under the Riotous Assemblies Act and were remanded in custody. They will appear in the Regional Court here on Monday.

In a strong condemnation of the protest, Chief Kaiser said he would apply all measures at his disposal to stamp out "hooliganism and vandalism."

"To the schoolchildren who come from areas outside the Transkei, it should be known that the schools here have been established out of voluntary contributions towards

Government subsidy from poor Transkeian citizens, widows and all ranks of the lower income group.

"Force will be met by force and criminal behaviour will be extinguished by all means," Chief Kaiser said. "Jails will be open to criminals and they will work on our roads.

"Corporal punishment will be applied in suitable cases in terms of the law.

"No schools will be set alight leaving the culprits unmolested. I have released my police to use African handcuffs, and in that way let loose their hands."

Chief Kaiser meant that his police had been given permission to bind and thrash the culprits.

He concluded with the saying: "The tiger is never provoked while resting on his tree."

The Transkei Secretary for Education, Mr M. Potelwa, said yesterday pupils who were not arrested had been sent home, but the Mount Arthur College remained open.

Eight of the girls walked out from the school yesterday, Mr Potelwa said. — DDR.

Matanzima warns: 'Get out now'

UMTATA — People who were opposed to the independence of the Transkei should pack their bags and leave before October 26, the Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, has warned.

The Chief Minister was commenting on disturbances this week in the western Transkei village of Lady Frere when more than 500 students went on the rampage at the Freemanfelle High School.

The students overturned and set fire to one car, and broke a window of another. They cut telephone lines and emptied milk containers on the school steps.

South African Police arrested and charged 266 students, mainly under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The students are expected to appear in court tomorrow morning.

The riot is reported to have started after about 300 students of the Freemanfelle High School refused to attend classes. It is believed that they were protesting against the Transkei becoming independent in October.

Marched

The students then marched to the nearby Mt Arthur School, where they were joined by about 200 girl students. The group then marched back to the Freemanfelle school, damaged the two cars and de-

manded to speak to the headmaster.

Police reinforcements from East London and Queenstown were rushed to the scene where they arrested 266 students.

The school has been closed indefinitely and police report that the situation is under control.

In a strong condemnation of the disturbances, Chief Matanzima said in a statement issued here that he would apply all measures at his disposal to stamp out "hooliganism and vandalism".

To the schoolchildren who come from areas outside the Transkei it should

be known that the schools here have been established out of voluntary contributions towards Government subsidy from poor Transkeian citizens, widows and all ranks of the low income group.

Leader

As leader of the Government and Prime Minister of the territory I will apply all measures now, to my people in terms of our law and customs, to stamp out hooliganism and vandalism.

"Force will be met by force and criminal behaviour will be extinguished by all means. Jails will

be open to criminals and they will work on our roads.

"Corporal punishment will be applied in suitable cases in terms of the law.

"No schools will be set alight leaving the culprits unmolested. I have released my police to use African handcuffs, and in that way let loose their hands."

Chief Matanzima meant that his police have been given permission to bind and thrash the culprits.

He concluded his statement with the Xhosa saying: "The tiger is never provoked while resting on his tree."—Sapa.

1 103
2 117
3 334

Qwa-Qwa to get Basothos from Natal

African Affairs Reporter 23/8/76

BASOTHOS who are Transkei citizens and resident in Durban should rather apply for Basotho Qwa-Qwa citizenship, it was decided at a meeting in Lamontville, Durban, at the weekend.

Chief Neo Sibi from Matatiele told more than 200 Basothos that four districts in the Transkei had been declared by the Republic Government as the Sotho area.

They are Matatiele, Qumbu, Mt. Fletcher and Herschel. These formed the district of Maluti, a Sotho area.

"We have no criticism of the Transkei Government but we want to be liberated with our neighbours. We are not defying the Republican Government when we join the Basotho Qwa Qwa Government."

Mr. N. V. Bereng, the Basotho Qwa Qwa Government representative, told the gathering that his Government was inviting the Basotho people to join it. He promised free and compulsory education for Basothos resident in urban areas.

Mr. Bereng said it was his Government's policy that Basothos should stay with their families in areas where they work.

Some Basothos pointed out that they had already been granted KwaZulu citizenship in order to qualify for some rights in Durban. It was also asked what will happen to their reference books. Mr. Bereng told them that their problems would be solved at Government level.

① 103
② 105

CAP TOWN 8/9/76

Refugees 'fleeing from Matanzima'

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Mr L Sebe, yesterday told the newly-appointed Commissioner-General of the Ciskei, Mr J Engelbrecht, that refugees in the Herschel and Glen Grey districts were fleeing from the wrath of Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

The two districts were formerly part of the Ciskei and are now incorporated in the Transkei. people there were existing under circumstances little better than those pertaining to wild animals".

Mr Engelbrecht, who was presenting his credentials as Commissioner-General to Mr Sebe at a function, was told the plight of the refugees was a critical problem which required urgent action by the Republican Government. "This is a serious and tragic situation which could so easily have been avoided, but which may yet grow to proportions as to bring international reproach on your Government," Mr Sebe told Mr Engelbrecht.

Mr Sebe said the situation in the Hewu district was "chaotic and appalling and

Meanwhile, Chief Matanzima yesterday rejected a demand by a group of Sotho residents of the Maluti and Herschel districts calling for their secession from the Transkei and their absorbing into the Qwa Qwa homeland.

"If they want to go to Qwa Qwa they should tell the Qwa Qwa leader, Chief Mopeli, they are coming with their luggage, without disturbing the peace in the Transkei," Chief Matanzima said.

He accused a 13-man delegation representing the breakaway group of being arrogant agitators for not going through the "proper channels" of chiefs and headmen.

The group claimed to have a petition with signatures from 40,000 Basotho in the Maluti and Herschel districts desiring to join the Qwa Qwa homeland. — Sapa, OC.

(1) 52
(2) 03

School hostel burnt down in Transkei 10/9/76

UMTATA — The girls' hostel at the Ndamase High School near here has been gutted by fire. The Deputy Commissioner of the Transkei Police, Maj E. Cwele, said the fire began in a storeroom on Wednesday night. The flames enveloped the building and boarders had to run for safety.

Arson is suspected. Classes have been suspended pending possi-

ble closure of the school. An attempt was also made to burn down the Ngangelizwe High School in Umtata.

The fire started in a classroom and caused about R800 damage before it was extinguished, police said. Arson was suspected.

Meanwhile, 33 Ndamase High School students again made a brief appearance in the Ngqeleni Magistrate's Court

yesterday on a charge of public violence.

They were not asked to plead and the hearing was postponed to September 22. The students, aged between 14 and 17, are in police custody.

The allegation against them is that on September 6 they stoned windows at the boys' and girls' hostels. The boarding master at the school, Mr H. Saxujwa, was hit on the head with an empty bottle while attempting to pacify the boys. — DDR-SAPA.

Ciskeians begin

'great trek'

25/9/76

STAR

Own Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — Thousands of Ciskei citizens are trekking more than 400 km to be out of the Transkei before its independence celebrations on October 26.

Believed to total about 10 000 people, the "great trek" is of their own accord.

"In the 1½ hours I was in Jamestown," said a university lecturer in Bloemfontein yesterday, "at least 17 truckloads of Blacks, together with their chickens, boxes and howling dogs passed through.

It was quite a scene."

The Ciskeians are being moved by the Ciskei Government from Herschel, previously Ciskei territory but now part of the Transkei, to Whittlesea in the Eastern Cape.

"These people were given the option, and they decided they wanted to move," explained a spokesman of the Transkei Government.

A garage proprietor in Jamestown said truckloads of people had been passing through daily for a fortnight. Cattle and sheep had been moved about a month ago, he said.

(1) 103
(2) 105

Kaiser slap in face for black study authors

UMTATA — The Chief Minister of the Transkei, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, delivered a verbal slap in the face to the authors of an economic study of black development in South Africa at a presentation ceremony here yesterday.

Chief Kaiser and his cabinet had just been presented with an economic research publication, "Black Development in South Africa," by Dr J. Weidemann, director of the Bureau for Economic Research re Bantu Development (Benbo).

Benbo is an economic research and advice body attached to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, the homeland governments and development corporations.

While Dr Weidemann was speaking at the presentation in the

cabinet room of the Transkei Legislative Assembly, Chief Kaiser flipped idly through the book. When he saw a map depicting the consolidation of the homelands as approved by the South African Parliament last year, he scowled and glared about the room.

Replying to Dr Wiedemann, Chief Kaiser did not even bother to stand up to thank Dr Weidemann and stated flatly: "I do not like this book."

"It is intended to be political and nothing economic. That is all I have to say."

The Benbo and Transkei Government officials sat in absolute silence. Then Chief Kaiser spoke again: "There never was any agreement between the white and the black (governments) on land. I just know of the cynical rape of the land of the

black man."

He said the book wrongly created the impression that agreement had been reached on land occupation between the South African and homeland governments.

"We are going to dissect this book at our (cabinet) meetings and criticise all its proposals and reject anything we don't like in so far as the land question is concerned," he said.

Chief Kaiser said the Transkei Government would consult with the South African Government on economic matters.

"This is an unhealthy note, a complete distortion in as far as our country is concerned."

Turning to his cabinet, Chief Kaiser said: "I think we can excuse our guests and continue with our meeting."

Dr Weidemann and other members of Benbo left the room.

Outside, Dr Weidemann said Chief Kaiser had been entitled to reject any aspect of the report he did not agree with. He was not unduly worried about the Chief Minister's remarks.

"It is the task of the scientist to be absolutely factual and scientific. I believe this is a factual representation and not political in any way. Nowhere is it stated in the report that land consolidation is final.

"I am sure he was simply establishing that the land question was not closed as far as his Government is concerned." — SAPA-DDR.

1 103
2 325 - Detention

Another DP man detained

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The personal representative of Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, a staunch opponent of Transkei independence, has been detained under Proclamation R400.

The detention of Mr. Anderson Joyi, Legislative Assembly representative of Chief Dalindyebo, at the weekend was confirmed yesterday by Captain G. Nklatshana of the Transkei CID.

Scheduled to stand as a candidate for the opposition Democratic Party (DP) in the independence election tomorrow, Mr. Joyi was detained with his elder brother, Chief Bangilizwe Joyi.

The detention of the Joyi brothers, both in their 50s, brings the known number of DP detainees to 13 and has left Chief Dalindyebo as the sole top DP man free to raise his voice against independence.

Democratic Party leaders in detention include the leader and deputy leader of the party, Mr. Hector Ncokazi, and Mr. O. O. Mpondo, and the national chairman, Mr. Jackson Nkosiyan.

Most were detained shortly before nomination day for the independence election, among them two members of the Legislative Assembly — Mr. L. L. Mgudlwa and Mr. S. A. Xobololo.

The impact of the detentions — and the disarray they have caused in Democratic Party ranks — will be evident in the independence election tomorrow.

Seventy-five elected seats are at stake, but the ruling Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP) is unopposed in 16. In a further 32 seats the contest will be between rival TNIP candidates only.

The sole remaining contender in the elections is the New Democratic Party (NDP), an offshoot of the Democratic Party which has been receiving the blessing of Chief Matanzima as the officially recognised opposition.

The New Democratic Party is contesting 21 seats, but many observers regard it as a "tamed" opposition party merely left in the field to give an air of democratic respectability to the election.

Assured of a minimum of 48 of the elected seats and at 70 of the nominated ex-officio seats for chiefs, Chief Matanzima has no fears of an anti-independence result in the election.

A million Transkeians go to the polls today

UMTATA — More than one million Transkeians go to the polls today to elect representatives to the Transkeian Parliament which will sit for the first time four weeks from today on independence day.

They will elect 73 Members of Parliament in 27 of the 28 constituencies.

By-elections for two members in the Ngamakwe constituency will take place on October 18.

Under the Transkei electoral system there is more than one MP from each constituency.

The Electoral Officer, Mr L. Ndesi, yesterday urged all employers to give employees time off to vote.

This request was echoed by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr Botha.

"It will indeed be a fine gesture on the part of employers if they could assist workers who are Transkeian voters to reach the polling stations," Mr Botha said.

There will be polling stations at all magistrates' offices, all tribal authority offices, and at most schools in the Transkei. Polling stations for urban voters will be at urban representatives' offices.

Where there is more than one polling station in an area, voting will start at 7 am. In areas where there is only one polling station, the polls will open at 8 am and close at 4.30 pm. Most polling stations will close at 6 pm.

But polling stations at Msobomvu in Butterworth, Ngangelizwe in Umtata, Ibonge and Ezibeleni in Glen Grey will

close at 9 pm.

Mr Ndesi said it would take about two weeks to count all the votes as many came from far outlying areas. The votes will be counted at the magistrates' offices in each district and then recounted at the electoral office in Umtata.

The results of the election would only be announced when all the votes from all the constituencies had been counted, Mr Ndesi said.

A total of 160 candidates are standing and few upsets are expected.

Of the 150 parliamentary seats, 75 will be taken up by nominated tribal chiefs, of whom all but three support the ruling Transkei National Independence Party. The TNIP already has 38 of the elected seats.

Mr Knowledge Guzana's New Democratic Party is fielding 14 candidates and Mr Hector Ncokazi's Democratic Party has 11 candidates. Four of these candidates are being detained under the Transkei's Proclamation R400 which the Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, has said would be abolished after independence.

Shortly before nomination day Mr Ncokazi and three others from his party who were intending to stand in the election were locked up under Proclamation R400.

Since the first election for the Transkei Legislative Assembly in 1963, the percentage poll has dropped at successive elections. In 1963 the poll was 68.8 per cent; in 1968 it was 53.6 per cent, and in 1973 it dropped to 42.4 per cent.

Spokesman for both opposition parties claim there will be an even lower turnout today as they say Transkeians are not interested in the type of independence they are getting.

But high-ranking TNIP officials predict they will get a strong mandate from the people in support of independence. — DDR-SAPA

KAISER BUYS

SUNDAY TIMES REPORTER

THE CHIEF MINISTER of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, and his brother, the Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, are shareholders in a number of companies which recently acquired a substantial slice of the homeland's multi-million-rand liquor trade.

The companies have been buying up hotels in the Transkei which their White owners were forced to sell to the South African Bantu Trust. Then, in some cases, the trust sold them to these companies for less than they had paid for them, according to a senior official.

A spokesman for the firm which acts as company secretary for the seven Transkei hotel-owning companies — they have different names, but all seven are registered at the same Umtata address and have the same eight directors — confirmed this week that the Chief Minister and his brother owned "a lot" of shares in at least two of the companies, Dalindyedo (Pty) Ltd, and the Qamata Bantu Trading Company (Pty) Ltd.

Dalindyedo recently bought the Cofimvaba Hotel at Cofimvaba and the Gordon Hotel at Elliotdale from the Bantu Trust.

Qamata Bantu Trading Company bought the Qamata Poort Hotel from the Bantu Trust. This hotel is near Queenstown and near the Chief Minister's farm.

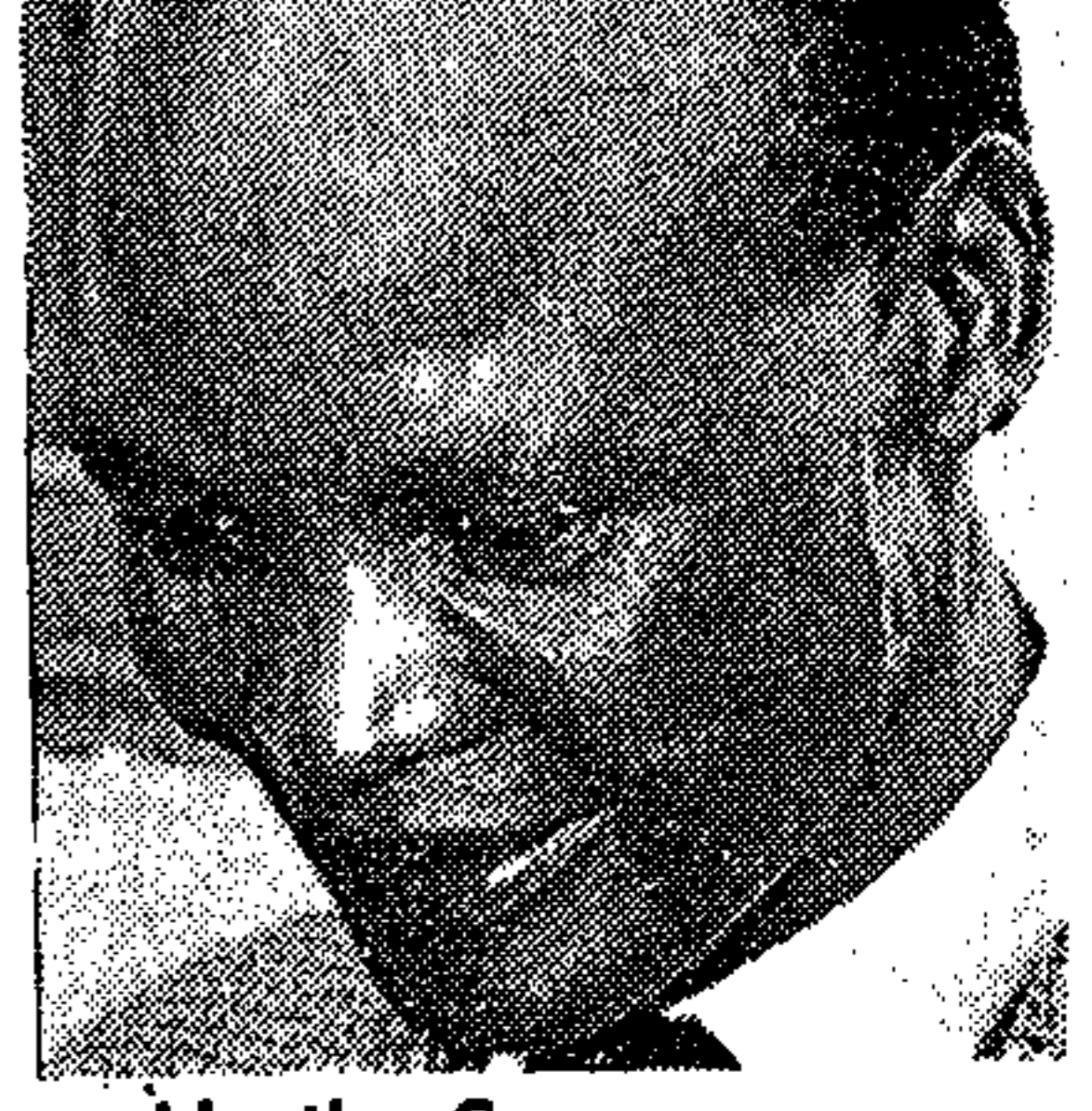
Rhoda Bantu bought the Masonic Hotel at Idutywa and the Coldstream Hotel at Ngqeleni from the Bantu Trust.

Chief George Matanzima refused to confirm or deny that he owned shares in these companies when I spoke to him this week. He said: "My wife owns shares in these companies."

Chief Kaiser Matanzima was not available.

It could not be conclusively established this week whether the Chief Minister and his brother personally owned shares in any of the other four companies which have been taking over hotels from the Bantu Trust. These companies, Quakemi Bantu (Pty) Ltd, Maludi Bantu (Pty) Ltd, Emboland Bantu (Pty) Ltd, and Fingolands Bantu (Pty) Ltd, have

INTO LIQUOR



Chief Kaiser Matanzima and brother George.

the same eight directors as the three companies in which the Matanzima brothers are shareholders.

The directors are: Dr W K Mbekeni (chairman), Mr W. Mbanga, Mr S. G. Nyamatazi, Mr I. S. Letlaka, Mr A. M. Mayaba, Mr E. M. Dyarvane, Mr S. P. Madasa and Mr A. B. D. Njokweni. The registered address of all seven companies is Volkskas Buildings, Umtata.

All seven companies own hotels which are spread throughout the Transkei and have lucrative incomes from liquor sales. In most cases they

own the only liquor stores in their district.

Mr S. W. Mbanga, a Butterworth business man and director of the companies involved in hotel buying, confirmed yesterday that the Chief Minister and his brother were shareholders in Dalindyedo (Pty) Ltd and in Qamata Bantu Trading Co (Pty) Ltd. He also confirmed that the Chief Minister was a shareholder in Rhoda Bantu (Pty) Ltd.

He declined to reveal the extent of their shareholdings or to discuss any of the other companies.

Kaiser accused of strongarm poll tactics

Sun Trib By BILL KRIGE 3/19/76

WITH its general election over the Transkei has cleared the last major hurdle before independence — amid allegations that strong-arm tactics were used to intimidate voters.

An overwhelming victory by Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima's ruling Transkei National Independence Party is as certain as Christmas.

Before the booths opened he had already secured 130 of the 150 seats in the parliament to be sworn in on October 26. Between them the two opposition parties could muster candidates to fight only 17 of the 75 elected seats at stake.

Of the remaining 75 filled by nominated chiefs, 72 owe their allegiance to the bantustan's leader.

The election was fought in the shadow of a police swoop which continued almost to polling day and which netted almost the entire leadership of the opposition Democratic Party, including two sitting MPs.

All but one are being held under the Transkei's emergency proclamation R400 which gives the police powers of indefinite detention.

In addition to the harassment of the DP, voters in both Umtata and Engcobo — an opposition stronghold — claimed this week they were warned before casting their ballots that if they voted for DP candidates they could expect to be detained.

The Sunday Tribune was told by an election official the percentage poll in Engcobo was expected to be very low.

"We have 68 polling stations in the district and some boxes recorded a vote of only 35 percent. The highest was about 50 percent," the official said. Elsewhere the poll is ex-

pected to be higher. But with the opposition contesting so few seats and the remainder being fought over simply by rival TNIP candidates, enthusiasm was generally low.

The issue of "inkululeko" was squarely before the voters for the first time and this may have pushed the total voter turnout above the 42.4 percent registered at the last general election in 1972.

This compares with a 68.8 percent poll in the first elections held in 1963 when the opposition won a clear majority of elected seats in the legislative assembly.

A high poll now must inevitably be in favour of independence. It would be a persuasive argument for the Transkei Government when dealing with its most immediate international problem, that of diplomatic recognition.

To date not a single — except South Africa, of course — nation has indicated it is prepared to recognise an independent Transkei.

This week British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Crossland, said the Transkei did not fulfill his government's "well established" criteria for recognition.

The eight other Common Market states and the United States made it plain they will not recognise the Transkei. Predictably the Organisation of African Unity turned its back on the continent's newest nation earlier this year.

With the possible exception of states like the Central African Republic and Taiwan it seems likely there will be no foreign dignitaries present in Umtata to celebrate the advent of "inkululeko" on October 26.

Transkei backed by only 15 percent

mm

Mercury Correspondent

6/10/76

JOHANNESBURG — Paramount Chief Matanzima of the Transkei has accepted independence for his homeland with the backing of less than 15 percent of his people, according to a Nusas publication on the Transkei.

The publication is in "high demand" from foreign embassies, Mr. Sear Moroney, one of the contributors, said yesterday.

"We have had to print an extra 200 copies."

Conceding that the ruling pro-independence Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP) controlled all but 12 of the 110 seats in the Transkei Legislative Assembly, the booklet nevertheless asserts that the decision to opt for independence did not have the backing of the majority of Transkeians.

The basis for the claim rests on declining percentage of the electorate which voted in the General Elections of 1963, 1968 and 1973.

Quoting Professor D. A. Kotze, of the University of South Africa, the booklet notes that the percentage poll declined from 68 percent in 1963 to 24 percent in 1973.

Wednesday,
July 28, 1976

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DP leader arrested

UMTATA — The leader of the Transkei Democratic Party, Mr Hector Ncokazi, was detained here yesterday.

The Transkei Commissioner of Police, Brig H. S. Mattheys, confirmed Mr Ncokazi had been arrested in terms of Proclamation R400.

Neighbours who witnessed the arrest said police had also removed other belongings from the house Mr Ncokazi had moved into after he was fired from his job with a bus company in Idutywa earlier this month.

Mr Ncokazi had attended the closing of a special session of the Transkei Legislative Assembly earlier in which the Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, warned Government opponents to use parliament to voice their ideas.

His arrest follows the three-day sloop on the Democratic Party in which six members were arrested — including two TLA members.

representation in the Assembly.

The others arrested were Mr J. B. Nkosiyane, national chairman of the party; the secretary of the Dalindyebo region of the party, Miss F. Mangcotywa and her assistant, Mr P. S. Fadaha; and a former Department of Justice clerk, Mr Loyiso Mpumwana.

Before his arrest, Mr Ncokazi accused the Matanzima Government of trying to get rid of all effective opposition by detaining DP members.

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Politicians in Transkei fear arrest

29/7/76 STAR

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — An atmosphere of fear and uncertainty hangs over opposition political circles here after the detention by the Transkeian police of the

hardcore leadership of the Democratic Party.

The few Democratic Party officers still free are at a loss without their leaders and are wondering when they, too, will be detained under the Transkei's Proclamation R400.

Six of the nine Transkeians detained under this proclamation earlier this week are top party officials.

Proclamation R400 gives any member of the police force the power to detain Transkeians indefinitely.

BROKE AWAY

It is understood that the detainees, most of whom would have been candidates in the Transkei's impending general election for the new Parliament, had not yet submitted their nominations. The deadline for this is noon on Monday.

Those detained include the party's young leader, Mr Hector Ncokazi, and the national chairman, Mr Jackson Nkosiyané.

Mr Ncokazi (32) was relatively unknown until he ousted the former leader of the Democratic Party, Mr Knowledge Guzama, at the party's congress in January this year.

Mr Guzama later broke away and formed the New Democratic Party (NDP), which became recognised as the official Opposition in the Assembly.

INSTANT ENEMY

Mr Ncokazi's uncompromising stand against independence made him an instant enemy of the Transkei's Matanzima brothers.

Mr Ncokazi was not a member of the Assembly, but had intended to run for election in the Engcobo constituency, which traditionally supports the Democratic Party.

Matanzima angry over Ciskei snub

UMTATA — The already strained relations between the Transkei and Ciskei have reached breaking point with the Ciskei's refusal to allow Transkeian Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima, to address a political meeting at Mdantsane.

Chief Matanzima warned in Umtata yesterday, that the Ciskei's decision to ban his meeting was the beginning of real trouble between the two Xhosa territories.

Chief Matanzima claimed that the majority of Mdantsane's population of over 100 000 Xhosas were Transkeians and he had the right to address them on independence.

He said the Ciskei Government had shown its true colours by allowing a Transkeian opposition member Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, to address a meeting last week and in almost the same breath had refused his application.

"This is the limit — I am afraid we will have to put our foot down."

He hinted that his government might retaliate by taking actions against Ciskeians working and living in and travelling through the Transkei.

10/8/76

103

Plan to strip 18m of SA citizenship

C Times

From Professor LEONARD GERING (3 Southfield Drive, Westville, Durban):

YOUR correspondent, Mr G M Wittenberg (Cape Times, July 19), attacks my view that the compulsory deprivation on racial grounds of the South African citizenship acquired by birth of Xhosa-speaking Black citizens living outside the Transkei, would be contrary to international law. He admits his inability, "in spite of diligent search", to discover any legal authorities for my view.

For Mr Wittenberg's enlightenment — as well as for the information of all your readers who share my deep concern at the implications (legal, moral and pragmatic) of the enforced taking away of the citizenship acquired by birth of over a million Black citizens living outside the Transkei — may I refer shortly to the opinions of judges and writers in support of my view?

Nazi decree

In 1968, the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany had to consider the validity of a decree enacted by the Nazi regime in November 1941, which deprived German Jews of their German citizenship. The decree provided that "a Jew loses German citizenship if his usual place of abode is abroad". In an inspiring and eloquent judgment, the court held that the 1941 decree "violated fundamental principles. It is so intolerable a degree irreconcilable with justice that it must be considered to have been null and void *ex tunc*". In other words, the decree was to be treated as invalid *ab initio* (from the date of its enactment in 1941), and was to be regarded as never having been a valid law. To use the description of one German writer (Von Hippel) it was a "perversion of law". In 1972, Lord Denning, in the course of a judgment of the English Court of Appeal, described the same 1941 decree as an "objectionable and atrocious law" (*Oppenheimer v. Cattermole*).

Letters

Dr Martin Wolff, a well-known and respected authority on international law, has written that the deprivation of nationality *if made purely on racial grounds*, is a violation of international law. He describes such deprivation of citizenship as "inconsistent with tenets of humanity and morality". The three authors quoted by Mr Wittenberg do not deal with the specific question of the enforced deprivation of citizenship on racial grounds.

Mr Wittenberg cites examples of expulsions and murders, but these do not establish the validity of enforced deprivation of citizenship on racial grounds under international law. The fact that international law lacks the effective sanctions of state (or domestic) law, and is therefore a comparatively weak and imperfect system, does not justify or legitimize any infringements of international law which may regrettably occur. Of course those who subscribe to the philosophy of "might makes right" may claim to treat international law as "non-existent", but this is not a viewpoint that the countries of the Free World — to which we claim to belong — would wish to proclaim. And a government which publicly states its belief in law and order could not consistently treat international law in this way.

Advisory opinions

Accordingly, although advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice (popularly known as the World Court) are not legally binding, they represent an authoritative view of international law. For this reason, the suggestion by Chief Buthelezi and Professor John Dugard that an advisory opinion should be sought is to be welcomed.

Mr Wittenberg concludes his letter by suggesting that I should confine myself to arguing "the wisdom or justice of depriving South

African resident Xhosas of South African citizenship". Section 6 of the Status of the Transkei Act, passed by Parliament in Cape Town, contains the eight simple words "shall cease to be a South African citizen". These eight words do not appear in the legislation passed by the Transkei Legislative Assembly in Umtata. These eight words are part of a political plan to strip — by the stroke of the political pen — the citizenship by birth of all 18 million Africans, constituting over 70 percent of the population of the Republic. The plan is eventually to transform them all into statutory foreigners in the land of their birth, and to create "homelands" in only 13 percent of the Republic's territory. This will be done by a Parliament in which not one Black citizen is allowed by law to be a member. Only citizens forming part of 17 percent of the total population are by law allowed to become MPs.

It is my sincere belief that the unwisdom and injustice of such measures will be manifest not merely to me, but to the vast majority of the Republic's total population of 25 million as well as the leaders of the Free World; and that my view is "consonant with the dignity, moral force and inherent vitality of public international law".

Transkei flight controllers trained

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Three Transkeians are being trained here as flight information controllers to take up duties when the newly-independent Transkei's airport opens at Umtata next month.

The trainees, who have been in Durban for six weeks are being sponsored for an indefinite period by the Transkeian Government.

They are being instructed at Durban's Louis B. Virginia airports under the supervision of Mr J.W. Lang.

"We are rotating the trainees through the department relative to air traffic control at both airports. This is to give them an idea of varying traffic densities," he said.

So far they have received instruction in weather observation, radio procedure and telex machine operation.

However, the men will not qualify as full air traffic controllers.

Mr Lang said: "They are being trained to supply flight information and will only be able to advise, rather than command, any pilot of an aircraft operating at the airport."

Umtata's airport is expected to be opened in time for Transkei's independence celebrations.

Politics could mar Transkei celebrations

17/9/76
c Times

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The Transkei is set for spectacular independence celebrations in six weeks' time. But a number of pressing political problems could mar the October 26 festival.

Thousands of people, including 300 journalists from all over the world, are expected to converge on the new republic's capital, Umtata, for independence.

A temporary independence stadium which will accommodate 30 000 people seated and 10 000 standing is nearing completion and a massive tent town for 12 000 people is being erected.

Several construction projects, including the new K D Matanzima Airport at Ncise near Umtata, and a large new hotel, should be completed just in time — the official opening of the airport is scheduled for October 23.

By the time the new Republic of Transkei is formally launched soon after midnight on October 26, 700 flagpoles with Transkeian flags will have been erected, thousands of pennants, flags and banners hung from buildings in Umtata and large independence signs constructed at all the main entrances to the capital.

Booked out

So many visitors are expected that they cannot all be accommodated in Umtata's hotels, which were booked out some time ago by the Transkeian Government. Many will have to stay in hotels at nearby Qumbu, Tsolo and Libode. Some are even commuting from East London.

But while the committee organizing the independence celebrations is frantically trying to complete all the arrangements under the chairmanship of the Secretary of Education, Mr M B Potelwa, there is widespread concern about the political situation.

Many Umtata businesses will be closed during the celebrations and a number of White residents are considering leaving town over independence.

There is concern that false aspirations about the actual meaning of independence and the overcrowding of Umtata could lead to disruptions during the celebrations.

Demonstrations

Sporadic demonstrations and destruction have already occurred at schools at Lady Frere, Buntingeville and Clarkebury, and a beerhall in Umtata caught fire last week.

The detention of 11 leading members of the opposition Democratic Party, including three candidates in

this month's general election, may also spark off dissatisfaction among the party's supporters, particularly if they have not been charged in court by then.

Also, dissident Sotho separatists in the Maluti and Herschel districts may use the independence celebrations to promote their cause.

On standby

These developments, as well as the close living of 12 000 people in the tent town, may lead to problems over independence although the Transkeian Army, police and security services will be on standby. There will also be a large force of South African Police present until October 26.

The uncertain international status of the new republic may also mar the celebrations. Although both the South African and Transkeian governments have been involved in extensive diplomatic moves this year to gain international support, no firm indications of formal recognition by other countries have yet been given.

Provision has been made for heads of state and official guests at the celebrations but only a few countries, including possibly Taiwan and the Central African Republic, will recognize the new state then.

Publicity

It is hoped that later others will follow.

Even if formal recognition is not forthcoming, it seems certain that the independence celebrations will be given extensive publicity overseas.

Most of the 300 media representatives will be from abroad. They include eight overseas television teams and 64 people representing all services of the SABC.

A press centre with 15 telephones, ten telex machines, two photogram machines, darkrooms, desks, typewriters and other services is to be set up on the ground floor of the new Government office block nearing completion in Umtata.

The journalists will be housed in the hostels of two local schools.

A strong delegation, nominated by the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, will represent South Africa.

The highlight of the celebrations will be the for-

mal lowering and raising of flags shortly after midnight on October 26. This will be preceded by a state banquet in the Umtata City Hall.

There will also be a 101-gun salute, a fireworks display and a speech to the nation by Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

Climax-building changes for Transkei

By BRUCE STEPHENSON

UMTATA. — In six weeks' time Africa's 50th independent state will be born in a storm of controversy that has already made its name known throughout the Western world.

Transkei will be its name, no longer "The Transkei", the first of South Africa's nine homelands/Bantustans to gain independence.

Chief Kaiser Matanzima's country is undergoing a number of climax-building changes that were not apparent a year ago.

Everybody who knows the Transkei knows the happy-go-lucky air of the place. Everybody knows that Transkei standard time is different to South African standard time. If a meeting is scheduled to start at 10am, then you can be certain midday is nearer the truth.

Like Afghanistan

It reminds one of Afghanistan, where the noonday gun in Kabul took its timecheck from the radio and the radio took its timecheck from the noonday gun. Things got a little out of hand.

However, the pace of life in the Transkei is changing in certain quarters.

A new hustle and bustle is evident in the corridors of Government buildings as officials and organizers of festivities sort out innumerable difficulties and tie up loose ends that would, left undone, trip up the newborn infant.

There is no longer a need to red-pencil October 26 on wall calendars. That date has been firmly fixed in everyone's mind for a year. October 26 is engraved indelibly in the mind of any person who has had anything to do with the Transkei's independence.

"Strictly private — for private secretaries only," reads the new sign pinned to the door of the outer office of Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima.

Busy man

This clearly means "press keep out", though it is not said in so many words. Chief Kaiser is understandably a very busy man and he can no longer afford the time he used to give to news-hungry reporters who flocked around his office.

SPEECH BY SENATOR THE HONOURABLE J.P. VAN DER SPUY,
MINISTER OF POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS, AT THE
OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE NEW POST OFFICE AND AUTOMATIC
TELEPHONE EXCHANGE BUILDING, UMTATA, ON 25 SEPTEMBER 1976

EMBARGO : 15H00 ON 25 SEPTEMBER 1976.

Mr Commissioner General, Mr Chief Minister, Mr Mayor,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today is a memorable day not only in the history of the Post Office but also and, more particularly, for the residents of Umtata and the citizens of Transkei. We are gathered here this afternoon for the official opening of this prestige building housing the Post Office and the automatic telephone exchange. I am indeed privileged to officiate on this occasion and I sincerely thank you for your invitation and kind words of welcome.

2 /

-2-

In as much as the history of postal and telecommunications services in this area reflects the development of Transkei this magnificent complex symbolises my Government's faith in the future of Transkei. It is indeed a monument to the fruitful cooperation of the past and a promise of continued mutual understanding and goodwill in the future.

Erected at a cost of approximately R590 000 it has been planned to meet expected development for many years to come. My Department is grateful that the building could be completed and the technical equipment installed before the date of independence, and the community of Umtata will, I am convinced, be justly proud of this valuable asset.

We have come a long way since the first Post Office facilities were provided at Umtata in 1878. The Postmaster at that time was a Mr W. Escott and the accommodation consisted of a hut which had been constructed of clay and mud. At that stage only the

most / 3

most elementary post office services, such as the sale of postage stamps and the handling of mail, were undertaken. Mail was conveyed between Umtata and Kei Road by horse-cart, the mail contractor being a Mr H.J. Wheeldon. For close on 40 years mails had of necessity to be conveyed by road as no public conveyance facilities were available.

Umtata was provided with rail facilities only during September 1916, when General Louis Botha officially opened the line linking Umtata and Bityi. The provision of this rail link was not only a notable event in the history of Umtata, but it has also made a substantial contribution towards the growth of this area as a whole during the past sixty years.

In / 4

In 1913 the post office was moved to a new building at the corner of York Road and Victoria Street and although it was enlarged and altered on various occasions, it became evident in the course of time that it had reached the end of its useful life. It was accordingly decided during 1966 to erect a new post office and automatic telephone exchange to meet the growth of Umtata and its surrounding areas. At the end of last year the old building with which you had to content yourselves for so many years was vacated.

A telephone exchange was established at Umtata on 1 September 1922 at a cost of £2 510 (R5 020). Initially 106 ordinary services and 5 call offices were connected to this exchange. Switching duties were only performed on weekdays between 8 in the morning and 7 at night.

The / 5

The telephone requirements of Umtata, however, grew rapidly and by 1940 the exchange served 218 ordinary subscribers, 12 call offices and 17 farm line subscribers. Ten years later there already were 326 direct exchange connections, 13 call offices and 30 farm line services.

After 1950 the demand for telephone service increased to such an extent that in the ensuing decade the total number of connections rose to 774. The years following 1960 showed an even greater rate of growth and today the number of connections exceeds 1 400.

The following statistics give some idea of Umtata's rapid growth, particularly during the past ten years: (i) The population increased from some 12 000 persons in 1962 to approximately 30 000 today.

(ii) / 6

(ii) The revenue figures of the Post Office for the 1975/76 financial year nearly topped the R200 000 mark, as compared with R76 500 for 1959. (iii) The clerical staff rose from 23 to 44, the telephone exchange staff from 28 to 53 and the uniformed staff from 10 to 26.

Coupled with the growth in population, the volume of postal traffic handled at Umtata also increased considerably. During 1975 the record number of 6½ million articles passed through the local post office. One can appreciate the magnitude of the task in dealing with such a volume of mail if one bears in mind that most of these articles must first of all be collected from a posting box. Next they must be datestamped and manually sorted before they can be placed in the outgoing mailbag for dispatch either direct to the office of destination or to a transit office for further handling. The ultimate destination of these articles could be anywhere on the face of the globe.

This / 7

This individual handling at every step of the process can also be regarded as one of the main reasons why the postal service is operating at a loss which at this stage is estimated at some R22 million for the current financial year. The main concern of the Post Office is, however, service and it therefore must, in certain circumstances, be prepared to render even uneconomic services - in the telecommunications as well as the postal fields.

The Post Office is at present rendering services under difficult economic conditions and is constantly fighting against rising costs. We cannot simply resort to increased tariffs in an endeavour to make our services more economical; we are compelled to explore other avenues to reduce costs. Two of these are to use the available manpower to the optimum and to

promote / 8

promote maximum productivity. It should therefore be the aim of every individual officer - whether manager, supervisor or worker - to ensure that his own energy and talents as well as those of people under his control, are applied correctly and to the full. I am sure there is still much room for improvement in this connection and that we can achieve much more if everyone gives his full co-operation.

The public can also make no mean contribution towards facilitating the task of the Post Office. By addressing our mail clearly and correctly we can avoid unnecessary delay, disappointment to the addressee and double handling of mail.

We face a serious shortage of trained personnel in the Post Office, especially in the telecommunications field. This constitutes the greatest single obstacle in our attempts at building up our telecommunications system and improving the quality of service.

Notwithstanding / 9

Notwithstanding this fact, the Post Office has made good progress towards improving the telecommunications system in Transkei. I should like to quote a few examples of what we already achieved in this regard:

- (i) This new automatic telephone exchange which is taken into service today provides for the connection of 2 220 ordinary services, 60 call offices and 45 farm line services.
- (ii) Direct subscribers' dialling facilities which are being introduced to the manual exchanges at Engcobo and Port St Johns in conjunction with the automation of the Umtata exchange.
- (iii) An additional 131 trunk circuits have been provided in order to meet the sustained demand for trunk calls and to improve the service generally. (iv) /10.

- (iv) The facility which enables subscribers in automatic telephone exchange areas in the Republic to dial directly to country manual exchanges has been extended to Idutywa.
- (v) The line capacity of 12 manual exchanges has been increased either by the installation of additional switchboards or by the provision of additional lines on existing switchboards. This has resulted in the provision of altogether 1 150 additional indicators.
- (vi) Continuous exchange attendance has been introduced at Port St Johns.
- (vii) As at 30 June 1976 the total number of telephones in Transkei had been increased to 8 965.

Future planning, done in close collaboration with Transkeian authorities, also makes provision for:

- (i) Additional equipment during the 1977/78 financial year in order to provide the Transkei Government with a Private Automatic Branch Exchange with direct in-dialling facilities.
- (ii) The extension of the Umtata automatic exchange by 496 allocatable lines during the 1979/80 financial year.
- (iii) The issuing of a specification for the automation of the Butterworth manual exchange towards the end of 1981. The automatic exchange will cater for approximately 1 600 subscribers.

(iv) / 12

- (iv) The provision of sufficient trunk lines to meet the anticipated increase in telephone trunk traffic.
- (v) The establishment of a new manual exchange at Maluti near Matatiele and 39 agency exchanges within the next two to three years.
- (vi) The increase of the number of switchboards in the Mount Frere exchange from four to five with a view to improving the quality of service.

To ensure that the system in Transkei will not fail after independence because of a shortage of technical staff, the training of Transkei citizens as telephone electricians and technicians for the homeland commenced during 1972 and 1974 respectively.

Twenty-three Xhosas are currently being trained as technicians for duty in Transkei at the Mmadikoti College near Pietersburg. The first group of pupils is expected to qualify for appointment as full-fledged technicians during the first half of 1977. Telephone electricians are trained locally. Twenty-one officers in this work sphere have already completed their training while 19 more are in various stages of training.

These technicians and electricians will eventually also be responsible for the maintenance and expansion of the equipment of the automatic telephone exchange provided for in this new building. The scope of their responsibility and the challenge posed to them can be judged against the background of the fact that this equipment was manufactured and installed at a total cost of R1 419 000, whilst a further R385 000 was spent on the conversion of subscribers' apparatus and on cable work.

The / 14

The facilities in the new exchange will enable you to dial directly to subscribers in other automatic exchange areas as well as to a great number of manually operated exchanges in the Republic of South Africa. You will also be able to dial directly to automatic exchanges in Lesotho and to Mbabane and Manzini in Swaziland. Call office users and farm line subscribers will enjoy the same facilities.

Subscriber dialling to overseas countries will be provided after independence when equipment to account for such calls in accordance with international practice becomes available. In the meantime you can dial the Cape Town international exchange directly to book overseas calls.

Umtata / 15

Umtata is also connected to the Republic's fully automatic inland telegraph network and can exchange telegrams directly by teleprinter with nearly 800 other post offices in South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, South West Africa, Swaziland and Transkei. Telex subscribers are at present served by the automatic telex exchange in East London. Subscriber-to-subscriber dialling is available to all telex subscribers in the Republic, South West Africa and Transkei as well as 63 other countries. In addition, manual service is available to 113 countries.

I am pleased to mention that simultaneously with the opening of the new automatic exchange, 161 persons who have been waiting for exchange line service and 13 who have been waiting for party line service will be provided with telephones. At the same time 14 party line services will be converted to exchange lines and 23 will be automated as party line services.

The / 16

The Post Office is proud of the fact that, in line with Government policy, it has timeously taken appropriate steps to train citizens of Transkei to manage their own postal services. All but 6 Post Offices (Umtata, Butterworth, Port St Johns, Engcobo, Lady Frere and Idutywa) out of a total of 46 are today controlled by Xhosa Postmasters.

Out of a total of 713 postal officials in Transkei, 626 (87,8 %) are Xhosas.

As far as we are concerned we would welcome the day when all posts are filled by Xhosas, and it will be entirely in the hands of the Transkeian Government to determine when this should be. Meanwhile, we are prepared to assist and advise them to whatever degree they desire.

We / 17

We are rapidly approaching the advent of independence for Transkei. I am pleased to say that all the arrangements in so far as the Post Office is concerned are progressing well and that the agreement concerning postal and telecommunications services has already been signed by the representatives of our two governments.

The principal aim of this agreement is to place the postal and telecommunications services between our countries on a sound foundation. The following aspects are, inter alia, covered:

- (i) The principles that will apply to the rates of postage payable on the different categories of mail, and matters relating to the posting, transmission and delivery of postal items.

(ii) / 18

- (ii) The conditions relating to philatelic services.
- (iii) The procedures that will govern money order and postal order services.
- (iv) Arrangements concerning savings bank services.
- (v) The exchange of telecommunication traffic where aspects such as the fixing of charges for telegrams and telephone and telex calls are dealt with.

The co-operation between the parties concerned has been most cordial and I should like you to know that following your independence you are most welcome to consult with the South African Post Office whenever the need for such consultation may arise. We shall always be only too happy to assist you in whatever way we can.

I / 19

I should also like to congratulate Transkei on its most attractive first definite series of postage stamps. The four special stamps that will be issued to commemorate the granting of independence are, to my mind, appropriate to the occasion and very attractive. The quality of these stamps which will be on sale as from 26 October 1976 is of a particularly high standard.

In conclusion I wish to express our indebtedness to the architects, engineers, quantity surveyors, consultants, contractors, artisans and labourers who worked on this project and the Public Works Department which co-ordinated the planning and documentation and supervised the building operations.

It is now my pleasure to declare this new building officially opened.

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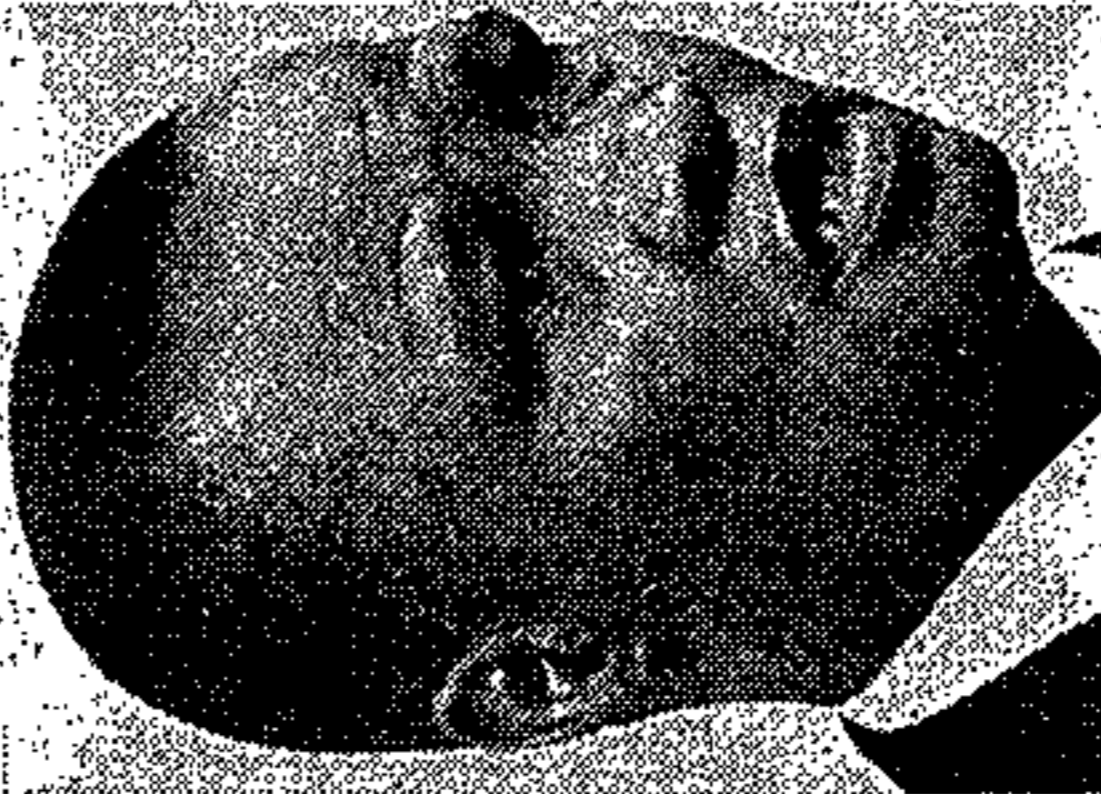
ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION ON BEHALF OF
THE DEPARTMENT OF POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS.

SEPTEMBER 1976

PRETORIA.

Matanzima refuses to pay lunch bill

CAPE TIMES 27/9/76 103



Chief Matanzima

EAST LONDON. — A row broke out at the Holiday Inn here at the weekend when a lunch bill for R80,58 was presented to the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, who refused to accept it.

The bill was intended to cover a lunch organized by the Transkei Government in East London. The Mayor of

East London, Mr J Yazbek, and his wife were invited officially to attend.

The row developed on Saturday morning, when the Chief Minister and the Mayor were having tea before the lunch.

The party was approached by the hotel management to establish how many people would attend the lunch — and also to find out who would

settle the bill. A member of the Transkeian party then said: "The Mayor will settle the bill. We are here as guests of the East London City Council."

Mr Yazbek, who appeared to be highly embarrassed by the incident, then said he had received two letters from the Transkei Government, which clearly stated that he and his wife were invited as guests.

After the lunch, the Chief Minister refused to pass the bill and the Mayor was left to discuss the matter with the hotel management. "I was absolutely astonished by this action. As far as I am concerned I was invited as a guest," he said.

"Nevertheless, I offered to pay and would gladly have done so, whether the bill was settled personally or by the Government."

East London council." A hotel spokesman, Mr Uri Rieben, said: "We finally decided that the hotel would pay the bill, but we will still forward the account to the Transkei Government this week."

"As far as we are concerned the Holiday Inn will not take any more bookings from the Transkei Government."

Transkei's post office ¹⁰³ opened ^{CAPE TIMES} 27/9/76

UMTATA. — Senator J.P. van der Spuy, the Minister of Post and Telecommunications, said at the weekend that the Department of Posts and Telecommunications would welcome the day when all jobs in the Transkeian postal and telecommunications services were filled by Xhosas and it would be entirely in the hands of the Transkeian Government to determine when this should be.

Opening the new R590 000 post office and automatic telephone exchange building on Saturday, the Minister said that with independence for Transkei approaching rapidly, he was pleased that all arrangements for the Post Office were progressing well and that the agreement concerning postal and telecommunications services had already been signed by the representatives of the two governments.

The Post Office was proud of the fact that, in line with Government policy, it had early taken steps to train citizens of the Transkei to manage their own postal services.

The Minister said the training of Transkei citizens as telephone electricians and technicians for the homeland had begun in 1972 and 1974 respectively. — Sapa

IN just over a fortnight about 1,6-million South Africans living and working in the Republic will officially become foreigners when the Transkei attains independence on October 26.

By David Albino

Thousands of these people have never set foot in the Transkei, others are connected to the Transkei only through descent and others — even though they may have been born in the Transkei — feel their homes are in South Africa where they have spent most of their lives.

But they have no choice. In terms of the South African Status of the Transkei Act all South Africans of Transkei origin living in South Africa will be deprived of their South African citizenship and will be considered citizens of the Transkei.

LITTLE EFFECT
From there on it is up to the individuals themselves. Under the Transkeian Constitution citizenship will be optional.

Depriving more than a million South Africans of their citizenship will probably have little effect

on their day-to-day lives. At present Blacks enjoy only a sort of semi-citizenship in South Africa and in the Western Cape, where many Xhosa-speaking people live, South African citizenship is even less meaningful.

Africans have no home ownership rights, they cannot move about freely and Coloured labour takes preference over African labour. The position is unlikely to change much after Transkei becomes independent.

DEEPER
But the problem of citizenship for millions of Africans inside and outside Transkei goes much deeper than this, with far-reaching implica-

GETTING CITIZENSHIP

tions for the future. These include:

● Those Africans who do not want Transkeian citizenship and refuse or neglect to take it out will be unable to obtain passports to travel.

● Those Africans who do take out Transkeian citizenship will lose the right of South African protection in foreign countries — a vital question in the light of the fact that many countries are refusing to recognise an independent Transkei.

● Because of the wide South African definition of Transkeian citizens there are likely to be many 'doubtful' cases —

a problem that will not be tackled until after independence.

● Only South African citizens may hold certain posts in the civil service and provincial administration. These include full-time doctors at provincial hospitals.

● South African citizens have special rights in regard to social welfare and pensions.

S.A.'S PROBLEM

The question of whether Transkeian citizenship should be optional or compulsory has been one of the major independence stumbling blocks.

Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the new state's Chief Minister, has put

the problems firmly into South Africa's hands.

'The problems will be those of South Africa. It is not for us to solve the problems of South Africa,' he said.

'Our constitution is clear on the issue. I think a proper reading of the constitution will show that citizenship of the Transkei is optional.'

Although South African Opposition spokesmen have stated that citizenship is a right which should not be taken away, the Government has remained firm on the issue.

Mr M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said Africans would gain a great deal by accepting Transkeian citizenship.

By surrendering an incomplete South African citizenship Transkei citizens would have special privileges.

But the wide South African definition of people who will become Transkei citizens could leave many thousands of Africans living outside the Transkei unsure of their status.

According to the Act Africans who will lose their South African citizenship and become Transkeian citizens include those who speak Xhosa or Sotho, those related to people who are citizens by birth, descent or domicile, and any person who has 'identified himself with any part of such population or is culturally or otherwise asso-

ciated with any member or part of such population.'

'VACUE'

According to Progressive Reform Party Senator Brian Bamford, SC, the definition was 'so wide that conceivably if I correspond with an African lawyer in the Transkei I could be considered a Transkeian citizen.'

'This is extremely vague and ambiguous. What criteria are to be used? Mr Botha's silence on the whole issue of this deprivation of citizenship is astonishing. The position is apparently not acceptable to Chief Matanzima, and the situation is confused. 'The Minister owes the country a full statement

as the rights of more than a million people are, literally in his hands.

The Act provides for a board to be set up to examine doubtful cases of citizenship. However, this board will only be set up after independence.

'RUDE SHOCK'

A Department of Bantu Administration and Development spokesman said this week the board would have to have the approval of the Transkei Parliament which will only sit to

discuss the matter after independence. It is a joint effort.

Senator Bamford said the Government would be in for a 'rude shock' on this aspect of the citizenship issue.

ABROAD

'There must be thousands of people who either don't want or don't consider they need Transkeian citizenship.'

'This is a problem which should have been dealt with long before independence.'

Senator Bamford said that when discussing citizenship people tended to think in terms of grant-

ing a passport. 'But it goes a bit further than this. Once a person no longer has South African citizenship he will not be able to appeal to a South African representative abroad if he is in difficulty — either through illness, an accident or by falling foul of the law.'

'These people are extremely useful and can arrange such facilities as doctors and lawyers. As the Transkei is unlikely to be recognised in most countries, anybody travelling on a Transkei passport will have to rely, at best, on South African goodwill to help them if in trouble.'

Mixed feelings in townships

By SYFRED DLOVA
(A Langa journalist)

RESIDENTS of Cape Town's African townships this week expressed mixed feelings about the coming independence of the Transkei.

Their views ranged from outright condemnation to praise for the bloodless and peaceful transition to independence.

Mr Molotov Ngo, a bricklayer, said: 'I've lived in Cape Town all my life. I have nothing to do with the Transkei. I prefer to stay here in Cape Town.'

A Langa teacher who refused to give his name described Transkei independence as 'purely cosmetic.'

'It has not even got the basic solutions to the problems facing South Africa.'

Mr Mthobeli Gzekinkundla, who comes from the Transkei, said the country would 'never be independent as long as its citizens walk cap in hand around South Africa which is, in fact, their fatherland.'

A woman who moved from the Transkei to Cape Town in the early '20s described Transkei independence as 'black magic. I do not believe in witchcraft.'

She said that political freedom with empty stomachs caused more problems and was doomed to failure.

A former Western Province rugby player and leading sportsman who wished to remain anonymous said the although the Transkei was his home 'the

question of independence has nothing to do with me.'

He said independence was in the hands of Chief Kaiser Matanzima and his brother who 'run the scene. The whole system is unfair to the Black people in the Transkei and the White people living there.'

The Rev David Guma of the Nyanga Holy Cross Mission said independence without bloodshed was not a novelty. 'Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were given their freedom without bloodshed, but the difference was that the people wanted it. No amount of blackmail will ever make people accept Bantustans.'

Miss Valencia Dekeda, a teacher from the Transkei, said: 'We have been looking forward to independence, but I wonder what it holds for us.'

'I am particularly interested in education and want to know if our children will get free education. Also what will the pensions for old people be like in the Transkei after October 26.'

Guguletu housewife, Mrs Delive Sogaxa said some people made 'stupid comments' about the Transkei because they did not know the country and were 'jealous of the steps being taken by Chief Kaiser Matanzima to lead the country out of oppression.'

A Guguletu businessman, Mr Walter Magazi, said: 'I am interested in the Transkei, especially in the achievement of freedom without bloodshed. It is something that I must thank the South African Government for. It shows the great love the White man has for the African people.'

GUGULETU
businessman
Mr Walter
Magazi
(right) feels
independence
for Transkei
shows 'the
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THE Rev
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Mission at
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GUEST LIST KEEPS YOU GUESSING

TRANSKEI Government officials this week refused to disclose which foreign dignitaries had accepted invitations to attend the country's independence celebrations on October 26.

A spokesman for the information office of the Transkei Prime Minister's Department said this week he was not prepared to release a guest list until it has been finalised.

With slightly more than two weeks to go before the celebrations begin, the only information available at this stage is about those dignitaries who will not attend the celebrations.

It is impossible to establish through hotels and catering organisations in Umtata even roughly how many people will attend.

PUBLICLY

Most of the diplomats and foreign representatives will be housed in special trains equipped with lounges and dining cars.

So far only a few people have announced

Weekend Argus Reporter

publicly that they will not accept invitations to be in Umtata on October 26.

These include Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, of KwaZulu, and Mr Kenneth Mopeli, of Qwaqwa. They have rejected personal invitations from Chief Kaiser Matanzima, who is certain to be the Transkei's Prime Minister.

TACIT

It is, however, doubtful if many Western nations will attend the ceremonies. Nine European countries, through the European Economic Community, have flatly refused to acknowledge the Transkei's coming independence.

If these countries send representatives to the independence celebrations it could be seen as at least a tacit recognition of the country.

The United States is also unlikely to attend the independence celebrations. The U.S. House of Representatives has already voted in favour of a mo-

tion not to extend diplomatic recognition to Transkei.

OAU RULE

The five Nordic countries — Denmark, Iceland, Finland, Norway and Sweden — recently mounted an international campaign to persuade other countries not to give diplomatic recognition to the Transkei. They are unlikely to be represented at the celebrations.

Black countries in Africa are already bound by an Organisation of African Unity resolution not to recognise the Transkei's independence. This rules out the possibility of most OAU member countries being represented in Umtata on October 26 although some Black states within South Africa may attend.

CONSULTED

Transkei inhabitants themselves are reported to be showing a marked lack of interest in the Independence Day celebrations.

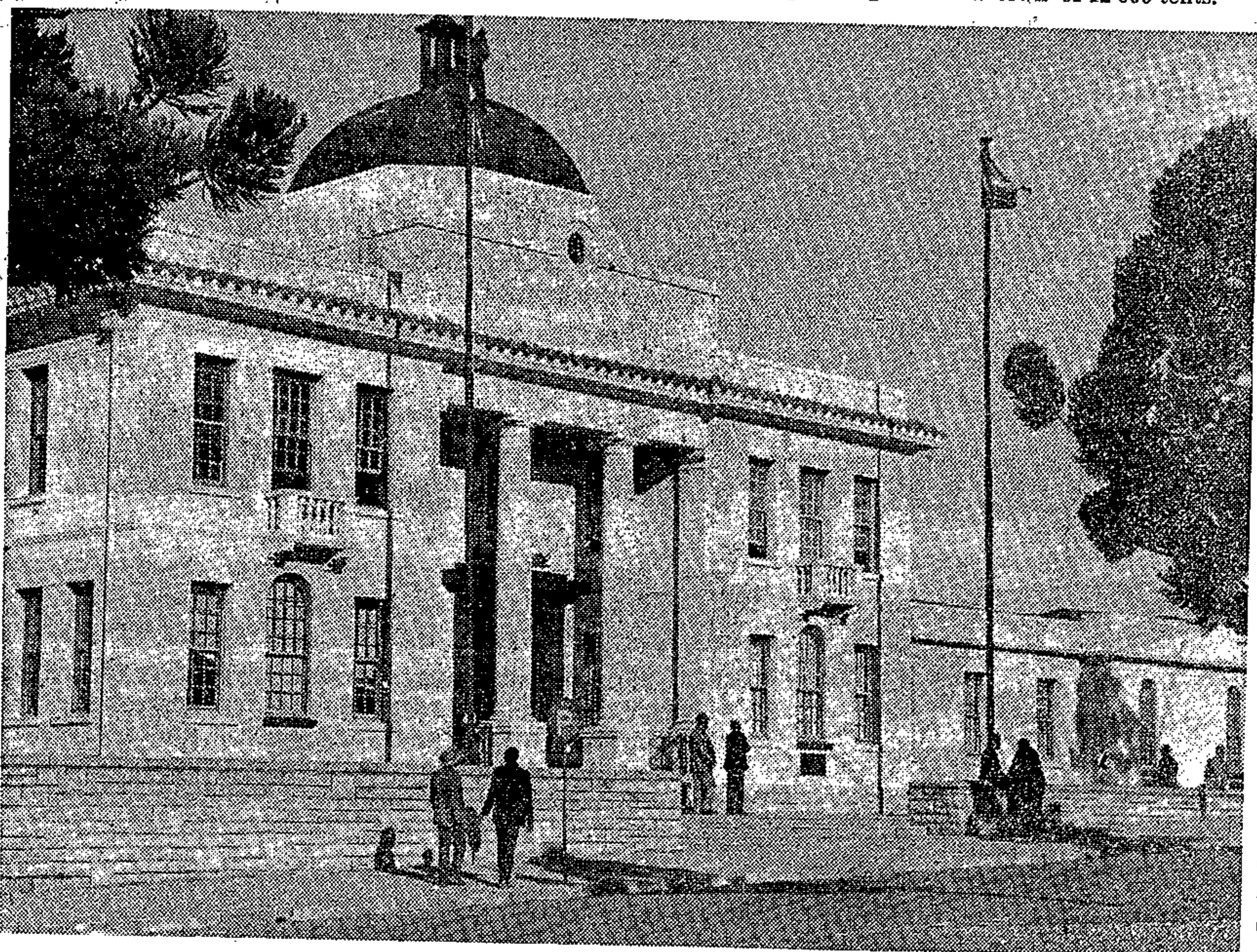
Many Transkeians feel they have not been sufficiently consulted or involved in the planning and

preparations for independence.

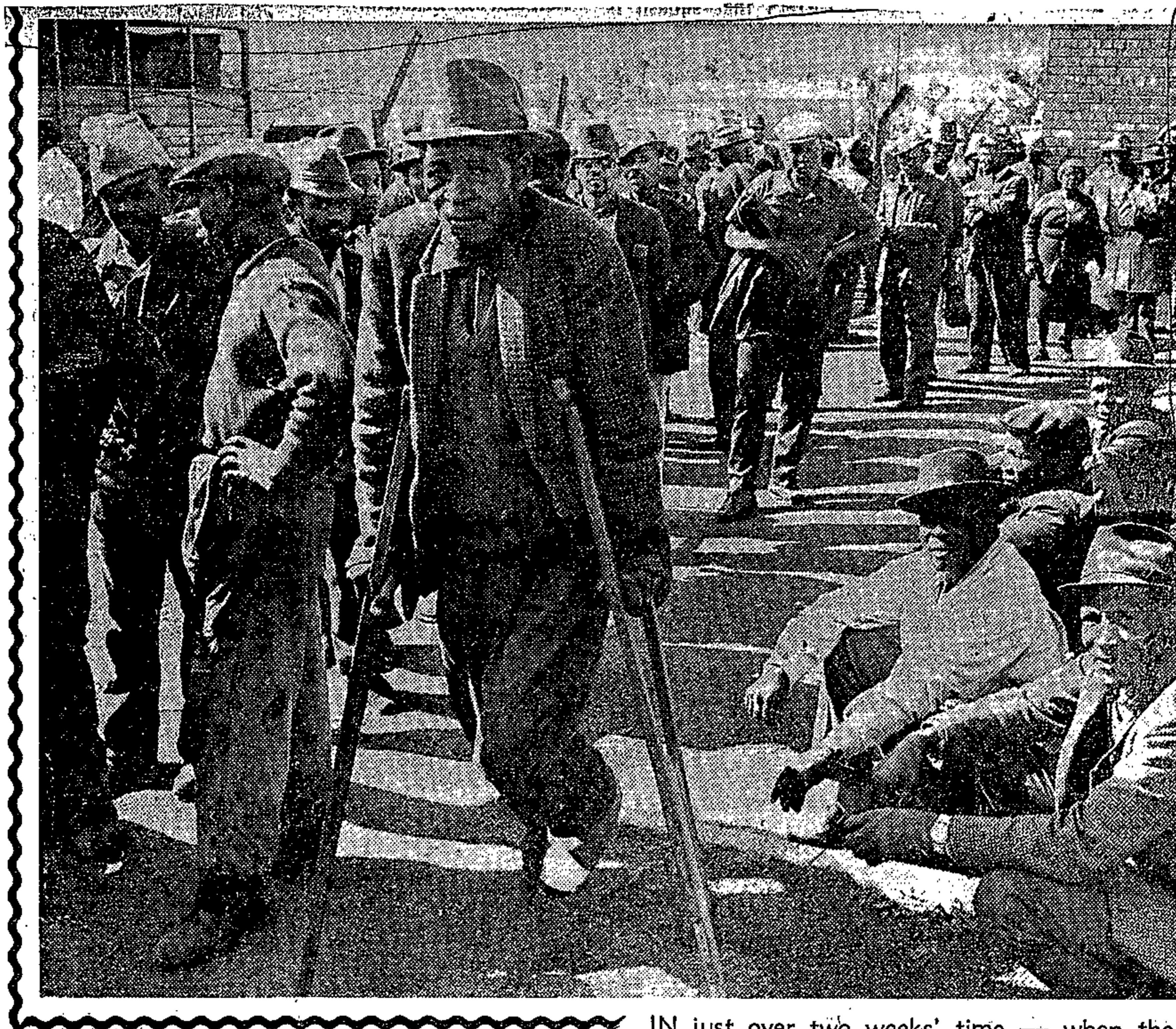
There are also indications that many Blacks living in Umtata plan to pack their bags over independence week. They feel they will be safer and happier visiting relatives in the country.

Meanwhile the capital city continues its grandiose plans for independence celebrations. At least 12 000 Transkei citizens are expected to converge on Umtata for the week, all of whom have to be fed.

They will be housed in a 'town' of 12 000 tents.



SEAT of power of Transkei is the Bunga which will become a fully fledged Parliament when the country becomes independent on October 26.



IN just over two weeks' time — when the Transkei becomes independent — 1.6-million people living in South Africa will lose their South African citizenship. Many of the people who face the problem of becoming stateless, live in Cape Town — and have done all their lives.

BELOW: Black army trainees line up for marching drill in preparation for the independence parade.



TRANSKEI INDEPENDENCE: THE CALCULATED RISK

Xhosas innately are a friendly and hospitable people, erally intelligent, musical, artistic and highly voluble: They lure extravagantly with the hands in conversation and will a friend across the street in an uninhibited ringing tenor.

is not entirely with tongue in that I have described them as the k Italians".

en the language can be likened to r: It is at once romantic, poetic and fully expressive.

e of the loosely inter-linked languages Nguni group — the others are Zulu, and Xhosa — it is closest to Zulu : not so fitting. The distinctive click s make it a highly emphatic and on-poetic language. A motorbike is "isi-" and a village where the wind es through the reeds is "Tusikishi".

ten Verwoerd announced his separate ment plans there were 17 000 Whites z the 14 million Xhosas in the Trans- he most influential being traders and servants.

ne of the 6 000 Whites, who were hit out" under the Verwoerd policy set- elsewhere but the outflow dropped to die because of the cost and the hating of Chief Kaiser Matanzima's non-racial

has leaned backwards to cosset White lize; for example by saying their child- in continue attending Whites-only s. Although many of the remaining Whites will become Transkeians the y has adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

the last ten years the Transkei's an- dgeet has advanced from R13-million 30-million. About one-fifth of the mo- as been consistently generated over- ars within the territory itself but the all has always had to be made up by outh African Treasury. (The Transkei w secured its first overseas loan for ment purposes.)

ch of the money pouring in is being led into pre-independence prestige ts, concentrated mainly in Umtata, s a R30-million hospital, a R12-million t, a R6-million stadium, a R13-million ment office block, a R15-million mil- ase and a R2-million presidential pal-

rowth point

start has also been made on a R70- 2 university campus and new roads are built at a cost of R12-million.

terms of what has been spent pre- y the Transkei has been most gener- prepared for independence but rela- speaking it will remain a desperately nation dependent upon South Afri- r whatever foreign aid it can get.

ie Xhosa Development Corporation) was the instrument through which White businesses and properties were t for Black ownership. It also set up training programmes and advanced level loans for Blacks to take over enterprises. Its annual expenditure sen from R7-million in 1966 to R50- n in 1975.

e XDC now also offers industrialists th Africa and abroad handsome incen-

WHEN the torch of independence is lit in the Transkei on October 26 to give Africa a new Black state it will also set South Africa, where the White man has ruled untrammelled for more than 65 years, on a course of "balkanisation" that could well prove irreversible. The Transkei is the largest of nine "homelands" destined for independence through the White National Party's separate development programme.

The people that will



Much of Xhosa life is rooted in rich, varied tribal lore and customs, which may change or wither in time, but still hold considerable sway among the traditionally red-blanked people of the Transkei, even as they move towards a new political era. The long-stemmed pipe, the "zopolle", is smoked, only by elderly women, the "ama-xhebokezi", one of whom is shown (left) wearing blanket, beaded medicinal gourd and necklaces.

are using a familiar Black nationalist ploy in saying that the Blacks were never consulted about land boundaries in 1936, were publicly opposed to the decisions, had never accepted them and, indeed, say that whatever was envisaged in the thirties is scarcely adequate



KAISER MATANZIMA . . . No illusions

without repudiating its own credibility and sincerity.

So, where Pretoria can say that independence is proof of good faith and a promise kept, Matanzima can claim that for all its imperfections the Transkei will be a politically free section of South Africa, something Blacks would not have achieved without accepting at least the principle of separate territorial development.

The Chief Minister, who has emerged a shrewder and more pragmatic politician than he was given credit for initially, can have no illusions about the problems that lie ahead.

He has to lead a people who are kindly, friendly, deeply humanist, genuinely religious, and wealthy in an enthusiastic optimism that is peculiarly African, but a nation that is still poor, under-educated and under-industrialised, although certainly better cushioned against post-independence shocks than some other African states.

Rich prize

If peaceful non-racialism is a failure there, the fragile structure of race relations in other areas of Southern Africa probably will be gravely imperilled.

So what happens in the Transkei is less the end of a process of emancipation than a beginning, a process of preparation through which all Southern Africa must go before there is peace and stability. This is a rich prize and not beyond attainment.

For all the ethnic territorial and political fragmentation in Southern Africa in the past and possibly for some time ahead, for all the agonies, joys, failures, successes, sufferings and excitement that lie ahead, it has the potential to become a political and industrial entity from the Cape to the Zambezi and from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic.

The National Party in South Africa, when

The Xhosa Development Corporation (XDC) was the instrument through which most white businesses and properties were bought for Black ownership. It also set up Black training programmes and advanced technical education for Blacks to take over white enterprises. Its annual expenditure has risen from R7-million in 1966 to R56-million in 1975.

The XDC now also offers industrialists in South Africa and abroad handsome incentives to establish factories in the Transkei. The XDC's main growth point is Butterworth, where it is developing 100 hectares of industrial land, as well as 40 hectares in nearby Ibeka.

But time is not on the side of this industrial programme. The objective is to create up to 5000 job opportunities each year. Yet it is conservatively estimated that more than 26000 Transkeians enter the employment market every year.

Experts believe that with the right approach the Transkei could become one of the richest agricultural areas of the sub-continent. More than one-fifth is cultivable — a greater proportion than in South Africa as a whole. Its soil will grow almost anything — but the hooves of the Xhosa herds have sorely scarred soil better suited to tobacco, maize and sugar.

As things stand now, highly productive cultivation is still a distant dream. The land simply does not have the manpower because of the migrant labour system that has prevailed in the Transkei for more than half a century.

Export labour

The ratio of men to women at any given time is seven to ten, and because most of the able-bodied men seek work in the mines and factories of South Africa the ratio of fit young men is far below farming needs.

And desperate though the territory may be to exploit its undoubted agricultural potential, it is economically even more dependent upon its migrant labour.

The 360 000 Transkeians who in any one year are working in South Africa — compared with a domestic work force of about 400 000 — contribute about 70 per cent in taxes and remittances to the Transkei's internal revenue (in the sixties it was about 48 per cent) and in the 10 years to 1973 export labour helped boost gross national income from R82-million to R407-million and per capita income from R58 to R178.

Today those figures will be substantially higher as a result of the increase in Black wages in South Africa.

For the foreseeable future, the territory's economy will have to rely on the twin pillars of migrant labour earnings and Pretoria's hand-outs.

On the eve of independence, Chief Kaiser Matanzima and his Transkei National Independence Party are deeply entrenched in power. His original majority of five in the Transkei Assembly in 1963, attributable mainly to support from appointed chiefs, changed to elected majorities in 1969 and 1974 and since then defections from the opposition Democratic Party have given the TNIP an overwhelming superiority of 98 to 12.

The opposition has been further weakened by arbitrary arrests and splintered by leadership quarrels in which Knowledge Gwama's position has been challenged by the militant supporters of Hector Ncokezi.

The TNIP regards Ncokezi as a radical, but to understand what this means in South African terms requires appreciation of the present state of Black politics.

Matanzima and the Chief Minister of the Bophuthatswana homeland, Chief Lucas Mangope, are farthest to the right in the political spectrum, with most of the other

Will be boom again



homelands leaders occupying the centre, notably KwaZulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who takes a tough anti-apartheid line but works within separate development on an avowedly pragmatic basis.

Buthelezi and, to a lesser extent, Matanzima have fairly large national followings, even in the Black townships of "White" South Africa, but it is becoming increasingly obvious that a substantial number of urban Blacks regard them as collaborators with the White system and reject them as leaders of consequence.

The masses in the townships may not seem to have leaders, but leaders there are, who are generally dedicated activists, young, articulate, tough, militant and radical to the point of being convinced doctrinaire socialists.

They undoubtedly would be members of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress were these bodies not banned.

Real struggle

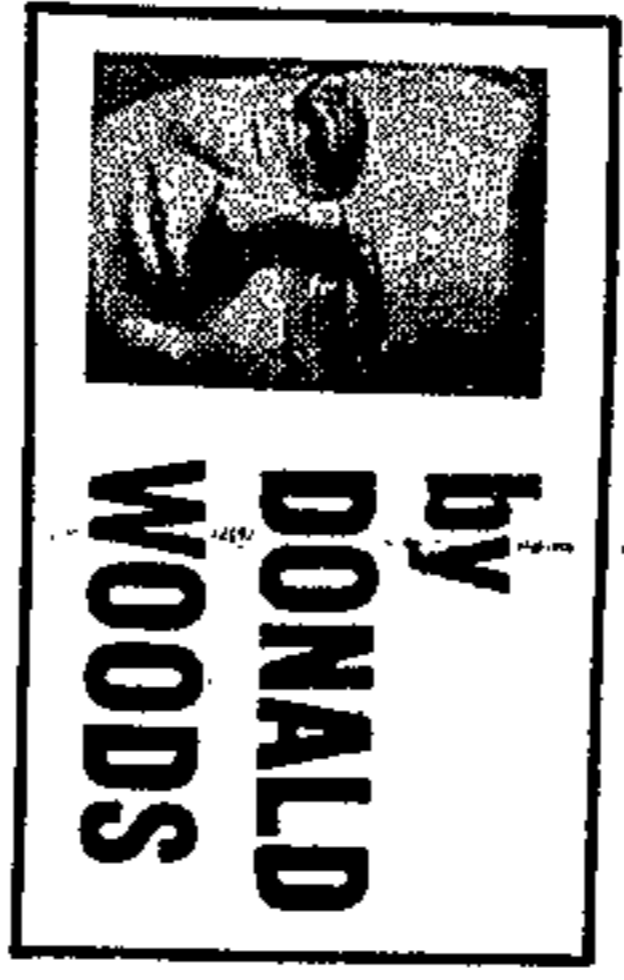
Most South Africans have astonishingly little knowledge of these shadowy leaders. The young radicals accuse the Matanzimas and the Buthelezis of "entrism", entering the apartheid process by working within the separate development system and thereby giving it credibility.

And they seem to be winning increasing support in the ranks of Black youth throughout South Africa in what appears to be the real struggle for Black power — the radicals against the homelands leaders.

Kaiser Matanzima believes this is merely a sign of political immaturity in a minority and it is also what most Whites would like to think. But if this underestimates the mood of a new articulate generation and the educated youth of the Transkei, Matanzima may find himself faced with a tougher, more extreme form of opposition than he has so far been given.

For containment, it is true he still has Proclamation R400 with its considerable powers of denailing awkward political opposition, but after independence the departure of the physical South African presence may embolden hard-line opportunists to fear it less.

The Chief Minister's response to significant opposition will depend as much on how he fits into the broad picture of Black politics in Southern Africa as on how wisely he uses the instruments of government. Matanzima has already said that he wishes



by DONALD WOODS

a sovereign Transkei to be recognised by the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Western nations. He is unlikely to get this, certainly not immediately after independence.

The UN and the OAU have made it plain that this form of independence is unacceptable and Britain too has said it will not recognise the Transkei.

The albatross round Matanzima's neck is Pretoria's sponsorship. He has argued cogently and persuasively that this is no different to independence granted by Britain to its African colonies, but after 27 years of the National Party's apartheid rule, there is deep suspicion abroad of any Pretoria project, even when this entails the independence of a Black or non-racial state.

Justified or not, the outside world believes the new Transkei will be a puppet state and territorial "window dressing" by South Africa.

Clearly, the Chief Minister intends to distance himself from Pretoria's political policies. Apart from his non-racial stance, he has sought the release of Transkeians now imprisoned for "political" offences, including his uncle, Nelson Mandela, leader of the banned African National Congress.

Although rebuffed by Pretoria, this is still his objective. If he were to succeed it is obvious that he would hope Mandela would plead the cause of recognition for the Transkei, but whether his kinsman could bring adjustment and whether Mandela's credibility among Black militants would survive such an action are open to question.

Political albatrosses do not fall quickly from the neck. There were perhaps two main areas in which Matanzima could have earned international suspicion successfully — the adoption of a totally democratic constitution with a Bill of Human Rights similar to that of the United Nations and an all-out drive to secure overseas aid and invest-

ment and so sever the Republic's financial strings.

On the constitutional issue, Matanzima has accepted a form of government that is far too conservative, has no Bill of Rights, and provides for parity between elected members and appointed chiefs. Matanzima's argument that the chieftainship system is deeply cherished may sound fine in Negelent but does not really wash in Washington.

It is also irrelevant to say that the Transkei is a more suitable candidate for international recognition than Uganda with its undemocratic regime. The Transkei's plight is that it is the political ward of the notorious apartheid state.

Its case has not been improved by reference to Proclamation R400 and the constitutional powers that are intended by South Africa but disputed by the Transkei Government to confer Transkei citizenship upon the 1.3-million Xhosa living and working in the Republic, thereby automatically depriving many whose roots are deep in "White" urban South Africa of a greater Black citizenship and the so-called rights and privileges that go with it.

In simple terms the Republic wishes to shed itself of nearly four million Xhosaes whatever common vote is evolved for the people living in "White" South Africa.

Kaiser Matanzima has said his country will never become the "dumping ground" for Blacks who are not wanted by the Republic but the Nationalists have denied there is any disagreement on the citizenship status of people who have come to be called "shadow" Transkeians.

The acrimonious confusion over this and other constitutional issues contained in the Status of the Transkei legislation is likely to persist right up to and beyond the time of independence.

The other contentious issue that is unlikely to be resolved before independence concerns land.

Matanzima is persisting with claims to contiguous White East Griqualand and the towns of Kokstad, Matatiele, Maclear and Elliot to the north.

In rejecting these claims, the South African Government is standing steadfastly by its policy that it will not cede any more land to the homelands, the boundaries of which were fixed largely by the 1836 Native Land and Trust Act.

Matanzima and other homelands leaders

are using a familiar Black nationalist ploy in saying that the Blacks were never consulted about land boundaries in 1836, were publicly opposed to the decisions, had never accepted them and, indeed, say that whatever was envisaged in the thirties is scarcely adequate in the seventies.

Meanwhile, as the time of South African Parliamentary authority draws to a close there are still weird anomalies. A Transkei Member of Parliament may not sit in the New Regent café round the corner from the Assembly where he debates Transkei legislation — only Whites may do that.

The café is a White spot within a Black spot (a Black-zoned part of Umtata) within a White spot (Umtata itself) within a Black spot (the Transkei) within a White spot (the Republic) within a Black spot (the African continent).

Conversely, before the self-styled constitution a White commercial traveller would lunch in a Transkei hotel dining-room while his Black assistant would eat in a special room set aside for him. Today, in several Black-run hotels the Black man lunches in the dining-room and his White employer uses a special room.

Perhaps this reversal of roles is a necessary prelude to the promised era of non-racialism heralded by the new Transkei policies.

Much depends upon the capability, the leadership and statesmanship of Matanzima. His brand of politics has been shaped by the apartheid pattern that gave Black leaders a legitimate platform which they had never had before and an equality in status with White leaders which Pretoria could not deny.

The end of a process of emancipation beginning a process of preparation which all Southern Africa must have is peace and stability. This is the only way to achieve the goal of a new and not beyond attainment. For all the ethnic territorial fragmentation in Southern Africa and the agonies, joys, failures, successes and excitement that he abhors the potential to become a political industrial entity from the Cape Peninsula and from the Indian Ocean Atlantic.

The National Party in South Africa translated its ethnic separate development account of the fact that ethnic divisions between South Africa's Blacks are coming more and more blurred as well.

The Xhosa are among the many peoples who culturally and linguistically under the great Nguni tribal umbrella bring more than ten million people as far north as the Zambezi, with close to those of the English- and A speaking Whites.

Along with the profound, deep influence of White culture and the forces that could make Southern Africa, agriculturally and in resources one of the richest areas in the world and also explains why the has the same national anthem as Zambia — Nkosi Sikelele i Afrika (G Africa) — and why so many Nguni are commonly used in places as diverse as the Transkei, Malawi, Rhodesia and Botswana.

The Transkeians will sing Nkosi i Afrika with a new zeal this month more than their own well-being and with their own interests very much at heart, all the other people of Africa could advisedly respond:

● This article has been condensed from Optima magazine.

INNKEEPER KAISER'S BARGAIN

SUNDAY TIMES, October 10, 1976. 3

By NIC VAN OUDTSHOORN

THE GOVERNMENT has sold at least one Transkei hotel at almost half the purchase price to a company in which the Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, and his brother, George, are shareholders. The Department of Bantu Administration and Development, acting as agents for the Bantu Trust, bought the Qamata Poort Hotel near Queenstown for R22 000 in November, 1968.

A few months ago, it sold the hotel to the Qamata Bantu Trading Company for just R12 000. Spokesmen for the company have confirmed that both the Chief and his brother, the Transkei's Minister of Justice, are shareholders. The department is also believed to have sold other hotels — for substantially less than it paid for them — to other companies in which the two brothers have shares. These bargain-basement deals, clinched only a few weeks ago, in-

volve the Masonic Hotel at Idutywa, the Coldstream at Ngqeleni, the Cofimvaba at Cofimvaba, and the Gordon at Elliotdale. The first two hotels were bought by Rhoda Bantu Ltd, and the last two by Dalindyevo. Both Chief Kaiser and Chief George own shares in Dalindyevo. The Chief Minister is a shareholder in Rhoda Bantu. Both these companies and Qamata Bantu have the same directors, the same registered offices in Umtata, and the same company secretary.

In all these cases, the Matanzima-associated companies paid many thousands of rands less than the Department of Bantu Administration paid when it bought out the White owners, according to sources. The exact figures involved are being kept secret by the department, the Transkei Development Corporation (which administered the hotels for the Bantu Trust)

Secret

and the various companies which bought the hotels. Spokesmen for all these bodies refused this week to supply any details about the sums involved in the transactions, which are at present being registered at the Deeds Office. Spokesmen for the Idutywa Town Clerk's office and for the village management boards of Ngqeleni and Cofimvaba said they had been told last month by the Bantu Trust that these hotels had been sold to the various companies. The village boards had been

asked for rates clearance certificates by the Deputy Attorney-General in Cape Town who was handling the transfers on behalf of the Government. These certificates are required before any property transaction can be registered at the Deeds Office. But the board officials say they have not been told the prices involved in the out-price deals. A spokesman for the firm that acts as company secretaries for

Not told

the Matanzima-associated said he had been ordered not talk to anyone about these companies. "The chairman is the only one who can make statements," he said. The chairman of all three companies, Dr. W. K. Mbekeni of Tsolo, said, however, that he was not prepared to reveal any details of the sales. A spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in Pretoria said he could not supply any details of the transactions, either.

~~SECRET~~

TRANSKEI CONFIRMS ACTORS' ARRESTS

11/10/76
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH.—The Transkei Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, confirmed today that South Africa's two top Black actors, Winston Ntshona and John Kani, were arrested in Butterworth on Friday night.

The two actors, who were taking part in a performance of the Athol Fugard play, *Sizwe Bansi is Dead*, were arrested after a performance in the Butterworth Town Hall.

The organisers of the show, Mr Zulu Maneli and Mr Lulama Nduna, of Umtata, said today they saw six policemen from Umtata arrest the two men.

They were told the two actors were being arrested under the Transkeian Proclamation R400.

Mr Kani's wife, Mrs

Nomzi Kani, said she had been told on Saturday of her husband's arrest.

INTERPRETER

Both actors and their families live in Port Elizabeth. Mrs Kani, the mother of three, is an interpreter clerk at Livingstone Hospital.

The two actors are the only South Africans to win Tony awards, the highest award in American theatre.

In East London recently *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* was banned only hours before it was due to be performed.

Matanzima tells why actors held

12/10/76 DP

UMTATA — John Kani and Winston Ntshona, the two actors in the world-acclaimed play, *Sizwe Banzi is Dead*, had been detained following strong protests from Transkeians that the play was highly inflammable, vulgar and abusive.

This was said here yesterday by the Transkei Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, who confirmed the actors were being detained under Proclamation R400 after the performance of their play in the Butterworth Town Hall on Friday night.

He said they were being held for questioning and would be released as soon as they answered the questions satisfactorily.

Chief George said: "In the light of the allegations, my police acted reasonably as I feel it is undesirable at this point, when there is so much racial tension in the country, for the two gentlemen to stage the play in our beloved country, the Transkei, where we as a government have pledged ourselves to building good race relations."

"I abhor any play or plays that have the effect of inflaming the feelings of one race against another in our Transkei, and further I submit that it is highly irresponsible for any person to come and tell the people of the Transkei that independence will bring bloodshed in its wake."

Such a statement called for an explanation from those who made it.

He said Transkeians were highly civilised and sophisticated and could not stand rude, vulgar and abusive language. They had to be protected from such language.

Meanwhile, in London the detention has sparked

strong reaction from the British actors' union, Equity, which will hold a mass picket outside South Africa House tomorrow.

Equity is holding a referendum on whether to outlaw any of its members who perform in South Africa and the president of the group of radicals pressing for such action, Mr L. Mahoney, has called a meeting for Equity to discuss "suitable action" on the detention.

Mr Mahoney said: "This could be the final proof of harassment to black creative talent that Equity members need to make them decide to boycott South Africa completely."
— DDR-DDC.

Matanzima threatens ban on newspapers

13/10/76 AM

UMTATA — If the English Press did not stop its "vicious insults and diabolical political propaganda" against him and his brother, then its newspapers would not be allowed to circulate in the Transkei, the homeland's Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said here yesterday.

He was reacting to reports in a Sunday newspaper on October 3 and October 10 which claimed that Chief Kaiser and Chief George Matanzima, the Minister of Justice, owned "a lot" of shares in a group of hotel and bottle-store companies based in Umtata.

Transkeian Associated Companies (Pty.) Ltd. is the holding company for six companies which owns hotels and bottle stores throughout the Transkei.

The reports also claimed that the South African Bantu Trust had sold the Qamatapoort Hotel, near Queenstown, to one of the associated companies for almost half what the trust had paid for it.

Yesterday Chief Kaiser issued the following statement:

"I have for a long time ignored the vicious insults and diabolical political propaganda levelled against me and my brother George by the English journalists in the English Press.

"The publication in the Sunday Times, under the pen of Nic van Oudtshoorn, concerning our alleged shareholding in hotel companies, depicts the deep seated hatred these English jingoes have developed since we took over the Transkei — their new England — in 1964.

"This hatred for the Matanzimas by the English people — the so-called liberals — who cynically raped our forefathers' country, is now escalating in alarming degrees because all propaganda to influence the voters against us has dismally failed.

"These robbers of our land are now adopting dirty tactics.

"What is wrong in Ministers of State taking shares in public and private companies? In any event, why tell lies deliberately about us and say we are shareholders in companies in which we have no financial concern?

"Why have these papers not published the names of English capitalists with businesses in the territory? It is not necessary for me to name them, as they are known to this racialistic English Press.

"Have we to work hard to regain our rights and then be excluded from the economy of the country? How many farms did the former Prime Ministers of the Cape colony own and how many businesses in which they were involved were published?

"I regret that at a time when race relations have to be normalised, the British South African immigrants should emulate their cousins in England and show so much jealousy and hatred for people who have been financially strangled by them for so long a time.

"We have taken note of this sinister attitude and will react accordingly when occasion and opportunity presents itself.

"If the English Press does not stop this nonsense our legislation will stop it, and its circulation will be confined to the Republic of South Africa." — (Sapa.)

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(2) 325- Defenbron

CAPE TIMES 13/10/76

Actors held because play 'inflammatory'

UMTATA. — The Transkei Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, said that actors John Kani and Winston Ntshona of the internationally acclaimed play "Sizwe Banzi is Dead" were detained following strong protests from Transkeians that the play was highly inflammatory, vulgar and abusive.

Chief George Matanzima said the two were being held for questioning and would be released as soon as they replied satisfactorily to the questions put to them.

Mr Kani and Mr Ntshona were arrested after a performance of "Sizwe Banzi" in Butterworth on Friday night and are being held under Transkei's proclamation R400.

The play was laced with a smattering of four-letter words used to depict the frustration of pass law victims.

When the play was performed in Umtata it was insinuated that after independence Transkei would become a dumping ground for dispossessed urban Blacks such as Sizwe Banzi.

The audience seemed surprised that the actors criticized Transkeian independence so openly, but there were no roars of disgust or anger, only roars of laughter, one theatre-goer said.

Playwright Mr Athol Fugard said the reasons for the arrest of the actors seemed incredible.

Matanzima may stop English newspapers

103

Cape Times
13/10/76

UMTATA. — Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, yesterday threatened to take action against the English press by preventing circulation of its newspapers in the Transkei, if they did not stop their "vicious insults and diabolical political propaganda" levelled against him and his brother.

He was reacting to report in a Sunday newspaper on October 3 and October 10, which claimed that Chief Kaiser and Chief George Matanzima, the Minister of Justice, owned "a lot" of shares in a group of hotel and bottle store companies based in Umtata.

Transkeian Associated Companies (Pty) Ltd is the holding company for six companies which own hotels and bottle stores throughout the Transkei.

The reports also claimed that the South African Bantu Trust had sold the Qamatapoort Hotel near Queenstown to one of the associated companies for almost half the amount the trust had paid for it.

Chief Kaiser yesterday issued the following statement:

"I have for a long time ignored the vicious insults and diabolical political propaganda levelled against me and my brother George by the English journalists in the English press.

"The publication of the Sunday Times under the pen of Nic van Oudtshoorn, concerning our alleged shareholding in hotel companies, depicts the deep-seated hatred these English jingoes have developed since we took over the Transkei — their new England — in 1964.

"This hatred for the Matanzimas by the English people — the so-called liberals — who cynically

raped our forefathers' country, is now escalating in alarming degrees because all propaganda to influence the voters against us has dismally failed.

"What is wrong in ministers of state taking shares in public and private companies? In any event, why tell lies deliberately about us and say we are shareholders in companies in which we have no financial concern?

"Why have these papers not published the names of English capitalists in businesses in the territory? It is not necessary for me to name them because they are known to this racialistic English press.

"I regret that at a time when race relations have to be normalized, the British South African immigrants should emulate their cousins in England and show so much jealousy and hatred for people who have been financially strangled by them for so long a time.

"Why are there so many liquor companies not referred to, particularly those of White people? If the English press does not stop this nonsense our legislation will stop it and its circulation will be confined to the Republic of South Africa only." — Sapa

PRESS STATEMENT

103

BY THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

(For release on 14 October 1976 at 15h00)

TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS ACROSS THE COMMON BORDER BETWEEN
SOUTH AFRICA AND TRANSKEI AND MATTERS INCIDENTAL THERETO

As from the date of independence of Transkei on 26 October 1976 the undermentioned arrangements shall come into force.

Ports of Entry for Road Traffic

South African citizens and citizens of Transkei shall enter or leave South Africa only at the ports of entry listed in Annexure 1 of this statement. At all points of entry and departure notice boards are being erected.

Citizens of a country other than South Africa or Transkei shall enter or leave South Africa by road only at the border control posts of Kei Bridge and Umzimkulu Bridge.

Air Travel

Persons travelling by air are subject to passport control examination and may only depart for Transkei or arrive from Transkei at the designated airports listed in Annexure II of this statement.

Passports

South African citizens must be in possession of a recognised travel document to enter Transkei. The Government of Transkei has agreed to recognise the South African Identity Document B-I. 1 and B-I. 2, Travel Document B-I. 70, Document for travel purposes B-I. 105 and the South African passport B-I. 110 as valid passports for purposes of entry into Transkei.

Citizens of Transkei must likewise be in possession of a recognised travel document to enter South Africa. The South African Government has agreed to recognise the Transkei national passport, Transkei travel document and as an interim measure reference books issued by the South African authorities as valid passports for purposes of entry into South Africa.

A citizen of a country, other than South Africa or Transkei, desirous of departing from South Africa for Transkei requires a passport issued by or under the authority of the Government of the country of which such a person is a citizen or national.

Visas

A South African citizen does not require a visa to enter Transkei except where the individual concerned has specifically been informed by the Government of Transkei that in his case the visa exemption has been withdrawn.

A citizen of Transkei does not require a visa to enter South Africa except where the individual concerned has specifically been informed by the South African Government that in his case the visa exemption has been withdrawn.

The Government of Transkei has indicated that at this juncture aliens other than South African citizens require visas to enter Transkei. Application should be made to -

- any diplomatic, consular or official representative of Transkei abroad; or
- the Secretary for the Interior, Private Bag X5006, Umtata.

Application forms will also be available at the office of a South African diplomatic or consular representative in countries where there is no accredited representative of Transkei.

Residence or sojourn in Transkei

South African citizens who wish to reside or remain in Transkei for a period in excess of 14 days are required to apply for permission to do so to Transkei authorities. These authorities are the Transkei Embassy in Pretoria, the Transkei Consulate-General in Johannesburg and the Transkei Consulates in Cape Town, Durban, Bloemfontein and Port Elizabeth, the Secretary for the Interior, Private Bag X5006, Umtata, and the Transkei Passport Control Officer-in-Charge at either Kei Bridge or Umzinkulu Bridge.

South African citizens entering Transkei in transit or for a visit for a period not exceeding 14 days do not require the prior permission of the Transkei authorities but must be able to comply with the ordinary entry requirements of Transkei.

Those who wish to prolong their visit to Transkei beyond the 14 day period or in excess of the period initially granted are required to approach the Secretary for the Interior, New Government Building, Umtata, or in a district other than Umtata the magistrate of that district for the necessary permission.

South African citizens normally resident in Transkei or temporarily residing there on the date of the independence of Transkei and desirous of continuing their residence in Transkei must report their presence in Transkei within 6 weeks from the date of independence of Transkei, to the Secretary for the Interior, Umtata, or the nearest magistrate with a view to obtaining the required permits.

Residence or sojourn in South Africa

Citizens of Transkei who wish to enter South Africa for a temporary purpose in excess of 14 days are required to apply for permission to do so to the South African Embassy in Umtata or to the South African Passport Control Officer-in-Charge at either Kei Bridge or Umzinkulu Bridge.

Citizens of Transkei entering South Africa in transit or for a visit for a period not exceeding 14 days do not require the prior permission of the South African authorities but must be able to comply with the ordinary entry requirements of South Africa.

Citizens of Transkei who wish to prolong their visit in South Africa beyond the 14 day period or in excess of the period initially granted are required to approach the nearest Magistrate or the Bantu Affairs Commissioner or a Station Commander of a Police Station in the area in South Africa which they are visiting, for the necessary permission.

A citizen of Transkei engaged for employment in South Africa must in addition to a valid passport or travel document also hold a contract of employment attested to by a Magistrate in Transkei or other Transkei official duly authorised.

Citizens of Transkei residing in South Africa or in employment here must obtain Transkei travel documents in lieu of reference books as soon as possible after the date of independence of Transkei to regularise their continued residence in South Africa. Advice as to how to secure such travel documents will be available at Bantu Affairs Commissioners.

ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION AT THE REQUEST OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR.

PRETORIA

14 OCTOBER 1976

ANNEXURE I

LIST OF PORTS OR ENTRY (BORDER CONTROL POSTS AND BORDER CROSSING POINTS) BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA AND TRANSKEI

BORDER CONTROL POSTS

1. At Great Kei River bridge (Komga - Butterworth)
2. At Umzinkulu Bridge (Ixopo - Umzinkulu)

CROSSING POINTS (ROAD)

3. At Gaika Ford on the Tsomo-Stutterheim Road (Stutterheim - Tsomo)
4. At White Kei River Bridge : Near St. Marks (Queenstown - St. Marks)
5. At Bolotwa : on the St. Mark's-Drivers Drift Road (Queenstown - Glen Grey)
6. Near Everton (Nonesi's Nek) : on the Queenstown - Lady Frere Road (Queenstown - Glen Grey)
7. At Bowden Mission : on Queenstown - Dordrecht Road (Queenstown - Glen Grey)
8. At Bankies : on the Dordrecht - Queenstown Road (Wodehouse - Glen Grey)
9. Near Umhlanga Location : on Brakleegte to junction of Indwe - Lady Frere Road (Indwe - Glen Grey)
10. On boundary of Indwe Commonage : along Indwe - Lady Frere Road. (Indwe - Glen Grey)
11. On the Xalanga border : near Indwe Poort on the Indwe - Lady Frere Road (Indwe - Xalanga)
12. Near Garry-Owen : on the Indwe - Cala Road (Indwe - Xalanga)
13. Near Garry-Owen : on the road from Ida to its junction with the Indwe - Cala Road (Indwe - Xalanga)
14. Near Xalanga : on the road from Cala to its junction with the Cala - Elliot Road (Elliot - Xalanga)
15. Near Qiba : on the Cala - Elliot Road (Elliot - Xalanga)
16. At satansnek : on the road between Engcobo and its junction with the Elliot - Cala Road (Elliot - Engcobo)
17. At Cebe : on the All Saints - Ryno Road (Elliot - Engcobo)
18. At Mnyolo : on the Coghlan - Ugie Road (Maclear - Engcobo)
19. Near Umnga Head : on the road from Ugie to its junction with the Coghlan - Ugie Road (Maclear - Tsolo)
20. Near Mcembu : on the road from Elujecweni to Glen Cole (Maclear - Tsolo)
21. Near Nelani : on the road between Stanford Grave and Montgomery (Maclear - Tsolo)
22. At Hopedale : on the Tsolo - Maclear Road (Maclear - Tsolo)
23. At or near Hardale : on the road between Hardale and its junction with the Tsolo - Maclear Road (Maclear - Tsolo)
24. At Halcyon Drift : on the **Maclear** - Mount Fletcher Road (Maclear - Qumbu)
25. At Luzi Poort on the Luzi-Eland's Height Road (Maclear - Mount Fletcher)

26. At Bertievale : on the road from Likhetlane to its junction with the Matatiele - Ongeluksnek Road. (Mount Currie - Mount Fletcher)
27. At the Matatiele Municipal boundary along the farm Simpson on the road from Matatiele to Mount Fletcher (Mount Currie - Matatiele)
28. At Lunia : on the Matatiele - Mount Fletcher Road (Mount Currie - Matatiele)
29. Near Queen's Mercy - on the Mparane - Bittern Road (Mount Currie - Matatiele)
30. At Gladstone : on the Mparane - Bittern Road (Mount Currie - Matatiele)
31. At junction near Pidgeon Rocks : on the Matatiele - Qacha's Nek Road (Mount Currie - Matatiele)
32. Near Driefontein : on the road from Swartberg to Rama's Gate (Mount Currie - Matatiele)
33. Near Taylerville : on the road from the junction on the road between East Anglia and Elanga to Afsondering (Mount Currie - Matatiele)
34. Near Wellend farm : on the road from Cedarville to Rockform. (Mount Currie - Matatiele)
35. Near Mvenyane Mission : on the road from the junction of the Cedarville Road to the junction near Wellend (Mount Currie - Matatiele)
36. Near Kakashill on the Cedarville - Mount Frere Road (Mount Currie - Matatiele)
37. Near Mpur : on the road from Umzimkulu to its junction with the Kokstad - Franklin Road (Mount Currie - Umzimkulu)
38. Near Llewellyn : on the road from Umzimkulu to its junction with the Kokstad - Franklin Road (Mount Currie - Umzimkulu)
39. Near Rooi Poort : on the road from Hoha to its junction with the Coleford - Kingscote Road (Mount Currie - Umzimkulu)
40. Near Stonehenge : on the road from Hoha to its junction with the Coleford - Kingscote Road (Mount Currie - Umzimkulu)
41. Near Kingscote : on the Kingscote - Coleford Road (Mount Currie - Umzimkulu)
42. Near Coleford (On Natal border) : on the Kingscote - Coleford Road (Underberg - Umzimkulu)
43. Near Riverside : on the Riverside - Creighton Road (Polela - Umzimkulu)
44. Near Hluku : on the road from Izingolweni to its junction with the Umzimkulu - Kokstad Road (Alfred (Harding) - Umzimkulu)
45. Near Hluku : on the road from Harding to its junction with the aforementioned Road (Alfred - Umzimkulu)
46. Near Deepdale Grange : on the road between Harding and its junction with the road mentioned at point 47 (Alfred - Umzimkulu)
47. At Staffords Post : on the road between Harding and its junction with the Kokstad - Umzimkulu road (Alfred - Umzimkulu)
48. At Boshoff's Drift : on the road from the junction on the Port Donald - Kokstad Road to its junction with the Harding - Ingeli road (Alfred - Mount Ayliff) 3/...

49. At Gun Drift : on the road from Harding to its junction with the Bizana - Magusheni road (Alfred - Bizana)
50. At Mpunzi Drift on the road between Izingolweni and Redoubt (Alfred - Bizana)
51. At Mtamvuna River Bridge : on the Bizana - Port Edward road (Port Shepstone - Bizana)
52. Near Rietfontein : on the road between Herschel and its junction with the Lady Grey - Aliwal Road (Lady Grey - Herschel)
53. At Governor's Drift : on the road between Sterkspruit and Zastron (Zastron - Herschel)
54. Near Lundean's Nek on the road between Telle Trading Station and its junction with the Rhodes-Barkly East Road (Barkly East - Herschel)

CROSSING POINTS (RAILWAYS)

55. At White Kei River Bridge (Queenstown - St. Marks)
56. On boundary between Bolotwa and Malangazana Halts/Sidings (Queenstown - Glen Grey)
57. On boundary between Bolotwa and Braamnek Halts/Sidings (Queenstown - Glen Grey)
58. On boundary between Tafili and Clark's Halts/Sidings (Wodehouse - Glen Grey)
59. On boundary between Umhlanga Halts/Siding and Indwe Station (Indwe - Glen Grey)
60. On boundary between Llewellyn and Singisi Halts/Sidings (Mount Currie-Umzimkulu)
61. On boundary between Riverside Station and Centocow Halts/Siding (Polela - Umzimkulu)

FOOTNOTE :

Passport control posts will initially not be established at all ports of entry or passport control officers stationed at these ports.

ANNEXURE II

LIST OF AIRPORTS

ALIWAL NORTH
BEN SCHOEMAN
B.J. VORSTER
JAN SMUTS
J.B.M. HERTZOG
LADYBRAND
LADYSMITH
LANSERIA
LOUIS BOTHA
MATATIELE
MARGATE
RAND AIRPORT
WEPENER
WONDERBOOM

103/
261

CRC no

to Kei

pensions

14/10/76

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A Bill to allow for pensions to be paid to Coloured South African citizens in independent Transkei has been rejected by the Coloured Representative Council (CRC).

The Bill — the Coloured Persons' Social Pensions Amendment Bill — introduced in the council by Mr Norman Middleton, the Labour Party's CRC executive member for welfare and pensions — was supported by the Federal Party.

But the Council adopted by 26 votes to 17 a Labour Party Amendment Bill that the Bill be read in six months.

Earlier in the debate, Labour Party speakers pointed out that the Minister of Coloured Relations had the power to approve the Bill if the CRC rejected it.

The CRC also adopted a motion that the Theron Commission's report be discussed. A Federal Party amendment that the Theron report be discussed after the Government had submitted its final White Paper was defeated.

Earlier, the chairman of the CRC, Mr L. V. du Preez, refused to accept a Labour Party amendment that the Theron report be rejected because it was based on discrimination.

Also unanimously adopted was a motion that the authorities be asked to create better facilities for commuters at all railway stations.

W

Transkei win for Kaiser

STAR

15/10/76

Own Correspondent

Umtata

Only four opposition candidates were returned in the Transkei general election for its first parliament after independence on October 26.

Charges

The four detained candidates of the opposition New Democratic Party lost decisively.

Chief Matanzima said that the four men and their leaders, who are still in detention under Proclamation R400, would not be released now the election was over.

They would be charged and tried in court, he said.

Opposition leader Mr Knowledge Guzana was said to have lost his deposit in the election, although this could not be confirmed.

Chief Matanzima said he regretted the virtual extinction of the opposition and that he would not like to see a one-party system in Transkei.

The results, announced today, gave Prime Minister - designate Chief Kaiser Matanzima 69 of the elected seats and a total — including appointed chiefs — of 143 out of 150 seats.

Chief Matanzima said: "By an overwhelming majority and in an election in which the percentage (poll) is higher than in the two previous elections, the voters have given a decisive victory for the leader of the country and an unqualified victory for the independence of the Transkei.

"Ours will silence the whole world and cause a rethinking about our recognition which dismisses the allegations that our independence is in support of the Republic of South Africa policy of apartheid."

Actors to be charged

Cape Times 16/10/76
UMTATA. — The two actors from the world-acclaimed play, Sizwe Banzi is Dead, John Kani and Winston Ntshona, who are being detained by Transkei police are to be brought to trial, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima said yesterday.

He said he did not know the date of the trial and the exact nature of the charges to be brought against the actors who are being detained under the Transkei's Proclamation R400.

103

2) 325 - Detention

(103)

MORE LOVELLY BARGAINS

By NIC VAN OUDTSHOORN

MORE details of profitable property deals involving Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima came to light this week.

Investigations show that:

● Companies in which he is a shareholder bought hotels from the South African Government for at least R56 000 less than the Government paid for them.

● He benefited from a series of land deals with the Government.

These are the hotels which the companies bought from the Government's Bantu Trust:

● The Cofimvaba Hotel for R8 000 — R23 193 less than the Government agency paid for it.

● The Masonic Hotel in Idutywa for R48 000—R16 926 less.

● The Coldstream Hotel in Ngqeleni for R110 000 — R6 442 less.

● The Gamaata Poort Hotel for R21 000—R10 000 less.

Chief Kaiser's brother, George, the Transkei's Minister of Justice, also holds shares in the companies which bought the Cofimvaba and Gamaata Poort Hotels.

Bought

The Chief Minister's personal land deals with the Government include:

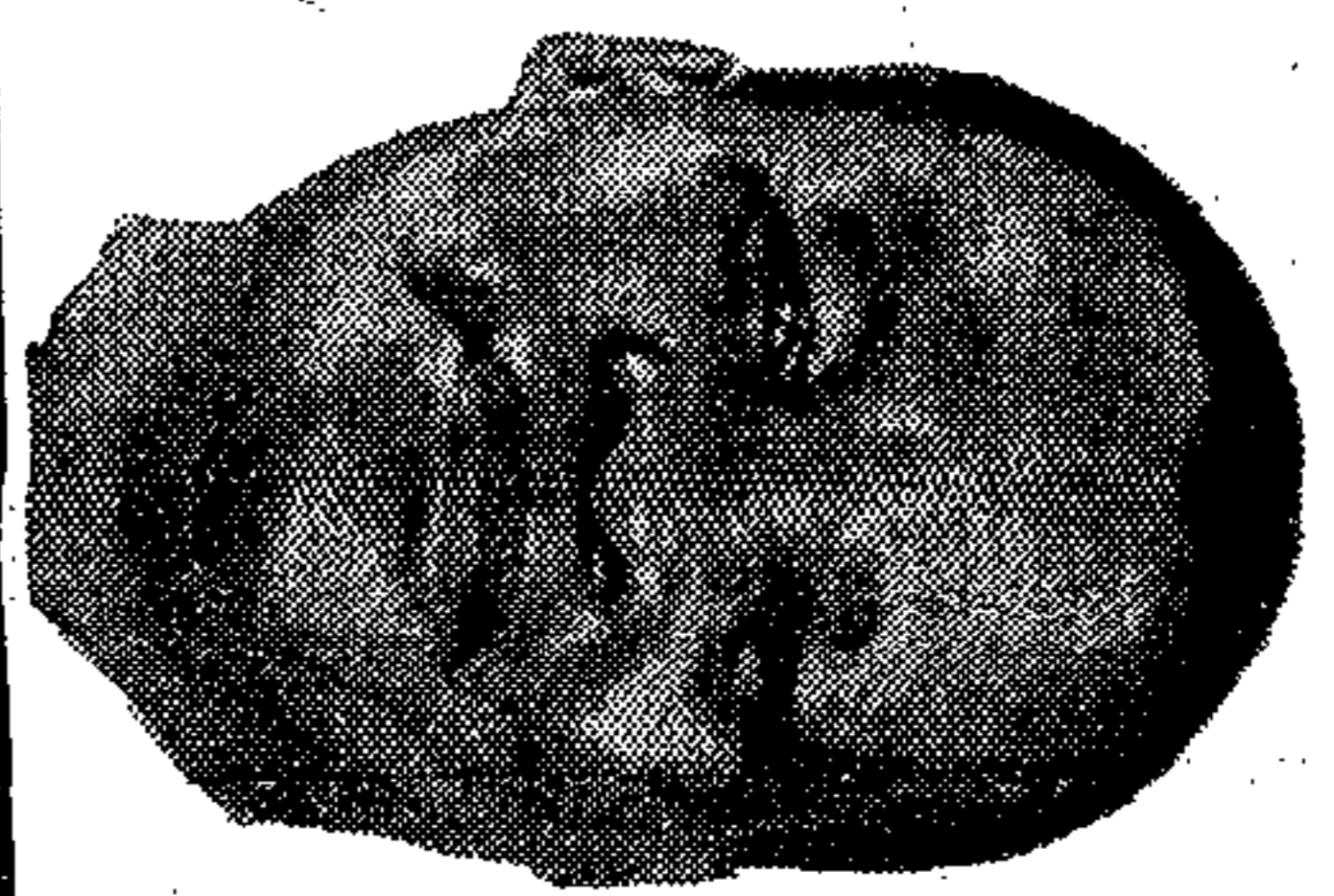
● The purchase of two plots in Cofimvaba from the Bantu Trust on December 28, 1971, for a total of R6 000.

Three years earlier the Trust had bought these two plots and four adjoining ones for R37 379 from their former White owner, Mr Gerald Acton.

All six plots are exactly the same size, so their purchase price was an average of R6 229 each—or just under R8 000 more than Chief Kaiser paid.

● The purchase of another plot at Cofimvaba from the Bantu Trust for R600 on December 8, 1972.

The Bantu Trust had bought this plot and another next to it for R1 620 on November 18, 1972. Since both plots are the same size, the average price



FOR THE KAISER

Half a farm = whole farm + R10 000

THE SUNDAY TIMES investigation has also tracked down details of a land swap deal between Chief Kaiser and the Bantu Trust.

Chief Kaiser inherited a farm near Gamaata in Tembuland from his father in 1961.

At the time the estate was being processed, the Receiver of Revenue valued this farm at R2 313, according to a valuation certificate filed in the Deeds Office in Cape Town.

In 1966 Chief Kaiser divided this farm and exchanged just over half of it with the Bantu Trust for the farm Zenzeli in the Glen Gray district of the Transkei.

In addition to Zenzeli, which the Trust valued at R60 110, Chief Kaiser was also paid R10 395 in cash for the portion of his private companies which all share the same directors, the same company secretary and the same registered offices in Umtata.

Chief Kaiser and his brother both have shares in two of the companies — Dalindyeo and the Gamaata Bantu Trading Company — as the Sunday Times revealed last week.

Chief Kaiser alone of the two owns shares in the third company — Rhoda Bantu — which bought the Masonic and Coldstream hotels.

All the deals took place during the past few months and, except for one, are still in the process of being registered.

The prices the Matanzima-linked companies paid for the hotels — all of which have lucrative liquor trades — were disclosed this week by an official spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

Gamaata farm. He is still the owner of the rest of that farm.

On the hotel deals, a spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in Pretoria said this week in all cases the Matanzima-linked companies had been allowed to lease these hotels before buying them.

He said the price of the Cofimvaba Hotel appeared

low because the hotel had become dilapidated during the time the Trust owned it and while it was being leased by Dalindyeo, one of the companies.

The spokesman also said that all sales of land in the Transkei were advertised at magistrates' offices and, in most cases, the highest offers were accepted.

This, however, he admitted, did not always happen.

in the process of being registered.

The prices the Matanzima-linked companies paid for the hotels — all of which have lucrative liquor trades — were disclosed this week by an official spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

was R810 — R210 more than the chief paid.

● The purchase on April 30, 1973, of two plots in Umtata for R5 520. The Bantu Trust had bought the plots from a widow just a month earlier — for R8 264. The hotel deals were carried out through three

Kaiser says riots a warning for Republic

JOHANNESBURG — Transkei's Chief Kaiser Matanzima had a warning for South Africa at the weekend: leftists had discovered fertile ground for revolution in race discrimination.

He was speaking at an independence celebration in Soweto which faced a boycott call by the president of the Soweto Students' Representative Council, Mr K Seathlolo. About 2 000 people attended the ceremony, half of whom were schoolchildren.

Chief Kaiser said the country-wide riots should be regretted by all peace-loving people.

But, he added, they contained a lesson for the ruling class on the dangers of race discrimination and on the need for speedy action to eliminate it.

Chief Kaiser, who greeted the crowd with the clenched fist salute was cheered loudest when he broke away from his typed speech and said that after independence, Transkei citizens would no longer have to carry the "dom pass" and would be treated as "ladies and gentlemen."

The millions of blacks in South Africa constituted a permanent society in white-ruled areas and were unlikely to return to their homes of origin in large numbers, he said.

"Our ties of blood and, in some cases, citizenship with these people will not be broken, but their interest in the domestic politics of an independent Transkei may be expected gradually to wane," he

said.

"We expect that South Africa will not regard independence for the Transkei as the last word on its citizens in South Africa.

"On the contrary, we expect South Africa to make the lives of my people as acceptable as those of foreigners of European extraction living and working in the Republic."

Another highlight of his speech was his attack on the Qwa Qwa Chief Minister, Chief K. Mopeli who has backed the move

among the 60 000 Transkei Basotho to secede from the Transkei.

He described the Basotho leader as a political baby in need of a tuition course in leadership.

"Instead of fighting for the re-acquisition of land lost by the Sotho to the Voortrekkers in the 19th Century, he has his eyes on Transkeian land."

He warned Chief Mopeli to desist from using "tsotsi tactics" if he did not want to incur the Transkei's wrath. — DDC.

George: Transkei part of pan-African dream

18/10/76

pp

CAPE TOWN — Independence of the Transkei would mean the pursuit of happiness for the people of Africa and the eventual realisation of the pan-African dream.

This was spelt out in a lengthy independence celebration address by the Transkei Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, in Langa at the weekend.

"Four million people will add their pan-African voices to autonomous Africa, never again to submit to apartheid or white racism.

"It is the beginning of a new era rather than the end of an old one," he said.

Commenting on the role of the Transkei, Chief George said the homeland would re-assert the brotherhood of man, human dignity and self-determination.

He said the Transkei's main role in opting for independence was geared to "the task of making our contribution to the re-shaping of South Africa."

Chief George said that for the homeland to be recognised politically and economically, the Transkei had to be free to enter international forums and "take part in universal civilisation."

"Our youth are our richest potential for the future, and under apartheid they are being throttled into ineffectiveness," he said.

The Transkei listed racial policies, distribution of wealth and power as "the gravest challenges to Africa". Chief George said Transkei independence should be seen as a power base for negotiation and the end to racist institutions in South Africa.

"The people of Transkei share a common concern. We can no longer linger while the situation deteriorates towards a holocaust that will spew chaos.

"Where the Transkei goes from here depends on the political astuteness of our African brothers on the continent," he said.

Chief George warned: "The name and the rules of the game change."

He said the aim of the Transkei was to destroy white racism which he regarded as the most persistent form of racism.

Chief George, however, conceded that Transkei independence would be meaningless without the rest of Africa.

"The Transkei now assumes its powers as a free and independent State to establish commerce and contract alliances with the free countries of the world.

"Also to form a federation with any African States for

In an interview after his address, Chief George hinted that he might ban the actors detained in the Transkei, John Kani and Winston Ntshona.

They were detained

after performing their play, Sizwe Banzi is Dead, in Butterworth.

Chief George said he would have the power to ban the actors only after independence on October 28.

Alternatively, he said, Mr Kani and Mr Ntshona could be charged and brought to trial depending on the Transkei Attorney-General's decision.

"We are trying to build good race relations in the independent Transkei and we cannot allow people to utter abusive, vulgar and inflammatory statements even from the stage," he said.

A Transkei delegation would leave on a tour of African States immediately after independence.

— DDR-SAPA.

103

2 The Cape Times, Wednesday, October 20, 1976

Chief Sigcau to be President of Transkei

Own Correspondent
National Independence Party at a closed meeting in Umtata, the future Prime Minister of Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, announced yesterday. Chief Sigcau will be installed as President on October 26.

The chairman of the largest regional authority in Transkei was unanimously elected by the caucus of the Transkei

Flagstaff district on March 12, 1912. His home is the Quakeni Great Place. From 1930 to 1934 he attended school at Lovedale with the Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

He returned home in 1935 to become headman at Ntlenzi. After the death of his brother Mandlonke in 1938,

Mr. Sigcau took his brother's place as chief and became a member of the Transkeian Territories General Council — the Bunga.

Chief Sigcau was a member of the recess committee that drew up the constitution for self-government of Transkei. From 1959 to 1960 he was head of the Transkeian Territorial Authority.

The vote of Chief Sigcau and his supporters was the crucial one in the tightly-contested race for the Chief Minister's post between Chief Kaiser Matanzima and Paramount Chief Victor Poto, the leader of the Western Pondos. Chief Kaiser won by a handful of votes and since then Chief Sigcau has been a close ally of the Chief Minister.



Paramount Chief Both Sigcau

Cape Times 20/10/76

Transkei to uphold democracy — Chief

UMTATA. — The Transkei Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, yesterday reaffirmed his desire to maintain democracy in an independent Transkei, but warned that attempts to undermine the system would be firmly put down.

Speaking to newsmen in his office here, Chief Matanzima also foresaw the establishment of a Transkei English-language newspaper to counter what he described as the hatred South African English-language papers had for his family.

Foreign investors

"I have no doubt that the Transkei will prosper after independence. We will see to our own prosperity," he said.

Foreign investors would be welcome in the Transkei, regardless of political disputes there might be with their

governments. Chief Matanzima said he did not want the Transkei to develop into a one-party state as had happened elsewhere in Africa.

"We want to maintain the democratic system of having many parties and having elections every five years," he stated.

"There will be no internal disturbances in Transkei. If there is an underground movement we will see that it is

properly suppressed." Asked if the recent arrests of opposition politicians and others were in this connection, Chief Matanzima said only that prosecution of those involved was already starting.

The cases of the two actors, John Kani and Winston Ntshona, had been referred to the Transkei State Attorney, he said.

Chief Matanzima repeated his view that the Transkei had no difficulty about the citizenship of Xhosas in South Africa, whom the South African Government maintains will automatically become Transkei citizens after independence next week.

"Citizenship is our own affair. Our constitution is clear," he stated, saying the provisions in the Transkei Constitution were there for all to read. — Sapa

Kaiser warns agitators

DD
20/10/76

UMTATA — The Transkeian Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, yesterday reaffirmed his desire to maintain democracy in an independent Transkei, but warned that attempts to undermine the system would be firmly put down.

Speaking to reporters in his office here, Chief Kaiser also foresaw the establishment of a Transkei English-language newspaper to counter what he described as the hatred South African English-language papers had for his family.

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Foreign investors would be welcome in the Transkei, regardless of political disputes there might be with their governments.

Chief Kaiser said he did not want the Transkei to develop into a one-party state as had happened elsewhere in Africa.

"We want to maintain the democratic system of having many parties and having elections every

five years," he said. He did not believe there would be unrest in the Transkei similar to recent disturbances in South Africa. "If there is an underground movement we will see that it is properly suppressed," he said.

Asked if the recent arrests of opposition politicians and others were in this connection, Chief Kaiser said only that prosecution of those involved was already starting.

The cases of the two actors John Kani and Winston Ntshona had been referred to the Transkei state attorney, he said.

Chief Kaiser said his government would not discriminate against people who opted to leave the Transkei areas of Glen Grey and Herschel and return to the Ciskei. Anybody wishing to leave would be fully compensated.

The two districts formed part of the Ciskei homeland until December last year, when they were transferred to the Transkei. — SAPA.

Sigcau is Transkei President

UMTATA — Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau — 64-year-old leader of nearly 500 000 Pondos — is the first President of the Republic of Transkei.

The chairman of the largest regional authority in the Transkei who escaped death during the Pondo uprising in 1960, was unanimously elected by the caucus of the Transkei National Independence Party at a closed meeting here.

The appointment was announced by the Prime Minister of Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

Chief Botha's appointment ends months of speculation in the race for the presidency. It was a three-cornered race between Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase of Eastern Pondoland and Paramount Chief Sabata Dalinyebo of Tembuland.

Announcing his party's choice after the caucus meeting, Chief Kaiser said, Chief Botha was a dignified, respected and a national-minded Christian gentleman.

Paramount Chief Jongilizwe Manzolwandle Sigcau was born on March 13, 1911, at Qaukeni in Eastern Pondoland, and was educated at the Methodist Mission of



CHIEF SIGCAU

20/10/76 DD
Poto, the leader of the Western Pondos.

Chief Kaiser won by five votes and since then, Chief Sigcau has been a close ally of the Chief Minister.

In 1959, he was a member of the recess committee that drew up the proclamation for the integration of the council and Bantu authorities system, which gave administrative powers to the traditional leaders — tribal chiefs.

He was a member of the recess committee that

repu

103
247

ISAZISO

Masthead of Isaziso—the cyclostyled newsletter that is Transkei's one independent publication. The name means "Notice" or "Bulletin."

Kei's miniscule free Press

21/10/76
STAR.

is 'alive'

At independence minus five days many Transkeians are confused about exactly what their political freedom will mean.

Some fear the independence will be for the Matanzima brothers and their political allies, with everyone else being left free to do as they are told.

Few Transkei Xhosas are in a position to give their doubts wide circulation — particularly as the most potent segment of the political opposition is in detention under the territory's emergency legislation.

One who does have doubts and the means to tell his fellow Transkeians about them is a jeans-clad irrepressible named Vuyani Mrwetyana.

Founder

Mr Mrwetyana is the founder, editor and main reporter of Isaziso — weekly cyclostyled newsletter which sells for 5c and has a circulation of about 1200 in the Umtata area.

In effect he has constituted himself the Transkei's free Press — a position of some peril in an area where the authorities have shown themselves quick to act against dissidents.

Recently Mr Mrwetyana was held in jail for two weeks under Transkei's Proclamation R400. He emerged totally unabashed and unrepentant and simply carried on printing his criticisms of the Government and the system as if nothing had happened.

He also calmly applied to the Transkei Development Corporation for a loan of R20 000 to expand his publication. The loan is being considered but he has some doubts whether it will be granted.

In English

Isaziso is usually printed in Xhosa, but last week Mr Mrwetyana adopted English in his leading article to tell the Government what was needed if Transkei were to have any chance of becoming a contented country.

Although his style suggested doubts on whether his prescription would be followed, he was cautious enough to adopt an oblique approach. He did not say particular things were happening, but merely that Transkeians would be happy if they did or did not happen.

Next Tuesday the National Party's policy of separate development reaches a high point with the independence of Transkei. Many of the intended beneficiaries of that independence have their doubts about the gift of freedom, but are in no position to do anything about it. But one man at least is in a position to propagate his doubts — and does so. In the first of a three-part series on Transkei, Kevin Stocks reports on the man who is the territory's free Press.

education for all — at least up to a minimum standard.

● All members of Parliament elected without "free seats" for chiefs.

● Jobs awarded on merit and work-seekers not required to pay bribes.

● South Africa to have no say in running the country, no matter how great its financial and administrative aid.

Other reasons referred to the suppression of thugs and criminals and

to improving of standard of the teaching profession.

As Mr Mrwetyana went about propagating his view — and admitting with a grin: "Sometimes the Government does not like its own little free Press" — the territory was suddenly seeing a great deal of the outside press.

Besides the resident correspondents of South African newspapers, Umtata found itself playing host to special correspondents from most South African newspaper groups, to representatives from

the world's two largest news magazines (Time and Newsweek) and to a team from a major American television network (the American Broadcasting Company).

Hundreds more pressmen were expected for the independence celebrations.

Most of the journalists tended to be fairly sceptical of the Transkei's viability as an independent state.

One asked: "What sort of independence is it where the bulk of a coun-

try's Budget is supplied by another country; where another country owns the railways, supplies most of the electricity, supplies many of the top administrative and most of the technical personnel, controls the road communications and makes available the only usable ports?"

To this an American diplomat who was taking a quiet look at the Transkei situation replied with a laugh: "It is an independence that is very nice for another country."

Under the headline "Thirteen Reasons to be happy, or..." Isaziso gave these desired conditions:

● All political prisoners and those jailed under discriminatory South African laws be freed.

● Transkei does not contract the disease that "makes South Africa the polecat of the world community."

● All people to be equal in the eyes of the law.

● The colour of a man's skin or the "royalty" of his descent does not prejudice the normal process of justice.

Champion

● It becomes clear that Transkei has opted for independence so that it may champion the cause of Blacks in South Africa and help "morally and with material assistance to free our brothers and sisters under the iron hand of a racist minority Government."

● No interference with freedom of association, movement and expression.

● Equal pay for equal work and promotion based on merit.

● Free and compulsory

103

STOOR OF S.A.

22/10/76 pp.

Mercury Correspondent
LONDON — The South African Government is keeping its hand on "the throttle of access to the Transkei," according to Mr. Colin Legum, assistant editor and African affairs expert of the London Observer newspaper.

This is his judgment after being refused a transit visa to visit the Transkei, not as a guest of the Paramount Chief but as a working journalist.

He asked bitterly: "Is the South African Government going to decide who goes to the Transkei?"

"The argument that one can go through Lesotho raises the same difficulties because one still needs a transit visa to get there. So the Government is in a position to tell this 'independent' Republic who or not can be allowed to visit them."

Legum felt this raised a major question of principle between the Transkei and Pretoria. This is not the first time he had fallen foul of the South African Government.

In 1974, while in transit to Swaziland, he was taken off the plane at Jan Smuts and sent back. His recent experience spans a period of six months.

He said yesterday that in the light of his Swaziland experience he asked Mr. Chris van der Walt, the Information Director at the South African Embassy, to find out whether he would be given transit facilities to go to Umtata.

He was told the formal reply would be "no."

103

22/10/76

Dr. George Matanzima, the Transkei Minister of Justice, then in London, who promised to take it up with the Paramount Chief.

Legum stressed that he was less interested in the independence celebrations than spending a few weeks afterwards in Umtata.

The Paramount Chief replied it was agreed — he would be given transit facilities.

So much time had by now elapsed that Legum had committed himself to a lecture tour in the U.S. but he asked whether the transit visa could be extended to allow his wife and himself to visit Umtata in December.

The next stage of the saga was an official statement from Umtata that Legum and a Guardian reporter, Geoffrey Taylor, were to be honoured guests at the independence.

Legum then issued a statement saying there was no question of his being a guest of the Transkei Government because such invitations were incompatible with his role as a journalist.

He again asked the Transkei Government for an assurance that his transit visa would be available if he came in December. Legum has had no reply beyond the suspicion that the South African Government has now intervened.

Kaiser 22/10/76 moves DD house

UMTATA — Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, who will be the first Prime Minister of Transkei, moved into his R315 000 official residence here yesterday only hours before the finishing touches were completed.

The house has a master suite with bedroom, bathroom and sitting room. There are three more bedrooms with bathrooms and all four bedrooms lead on to a balcony.

The house on a hill overlooking Umtata has a double garage which will house Chief Kaiser's 7 m Buick Electra 225 which was imported from the United States and will be handed over to him on Sunday.

The huge house will be guarded with a police barracks for 12 men in the grounds. There will also be a guardhouse at the entrance of the ministerial complex.

The State President, who will be Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau, will have an identical car to Chief Kaiser's.

The registration plate on his car will be the Transkeian coat of arms.

The two leaders will each have a small Mercedes Benz for their personal use. It is not known how much was paid for the Buicks, but they cost almost R18 000 to import for the man in the street.

The registration number of the Prime Minister's car will be XG 1.

From October 28 Transkei will have its own number plates. They will be yellow plates with black numbers headed by the letter X. Umtata plates will therefore start with XA and Butterworth with XB.

Motor vehicle owners in the Transkei will have until next March to get the new plates.

It was announced yesterday that the landing strip at the new airport will not be fully complete on independence day, but planes will be able to land there.

But the R350 000 terminal at the K. D. Matanzima Airport at Ncise, 18 km from Umtata, is ready and will be opened by Chief Kaiser tomorrow.

A full dress rehearsal of the independence day celebrations will be staged here today for a last-minute rundown on procedure before the real thing on Tuesday. — DDC-SAPA.

123
334

Township rent rises are deferred

pp

Mercury Reporter

22/10/76

PIETERMARITZBURG—Rents for houses in African townships around the capital will not be increased immediately, though the Ministry of Bantu Administration and Development says the increases are justified.

The City Council wants to avoid possible unrest in the townships, following the Government proposal to increase rents at a time of general Black unrest in the country.

Urgent representations were made to the Minister and the Drakensberg Bantu Affairs Administration Board expressing the council's grave concern about the proposed increases.

The council considered the increases should not be implemented and that the amount of increase should be reviewed.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr. W. A. Cruywagen, considered the increases justified, as the service charges to the townships had remained constant since 1959 in spite of a trebling in the cost of providing the service.

The earnings of Africans had, on average, increased by 300 percent since 1959 and the proposed charges were within the internationally accepted norm that a person should not spend more than 20 percent of his income on housing.

However, considering the prevailing conditions, it had been decided not to increase the rates at this stage.

Kaiser spells out his plans for the future

23/10/76 DD

UMTATA — Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, 61, Prime Minister elect of the Transkei, is a tough and astute politician. He has had to be to lead the Transkei to independence.

His decision to cooperate with the South African Government in its plan to partition South Africa has evoked fierce resistance from some black people.

He has had to face accusations of being a "stooge" and "sell-out" — and assassination attempts by the underground Poqo movements.

But he has endured to capture almost complete control of the Transkei National Assembly and preside over what he has described as the "renaissance" of the Transkei people.

The text of an interview with Chief Kaiser:

On his hopes for recognition from the world.

"I feel once the Transkei is declared independent and the outside world is in a position to visit the Transkei, it may change its mind.

"I am satisfied that we comply with all the requirements of an independent state. We resent the conclusion that we are carrying out the policy of the Republican Government.

"I feel that to be just the world should test the feelings of the Transkei people. I think that the last election is conclusive evidence that they want independence."

On his priorities for the immediate post-independence period.

"I think that every country has a right to protect its citizens. The duty rests with the police. They are the people who have got to decide about the immunity (from arrest) of anybody.

"The people who were detained are being charged. Their cases are under consideration by the Attorney-General. But in any event we cannot buy popularity at the expense of the lives of our people."

On the future of Proclamation R400, which provides for detention without trial.

"All laws that we have been using until now are Republican laws, but we are in the process of repealing all those laws which militate against the interests of our people.

"As regards Proclamation R400, I have no doubt that it will be repealed although some of its provisions may be included in the new Act."

You feel there is a need for some kind of security law?

"There is a need. You cannot let the people be subjected to unscrupulous murderers. People have got to be defended. Once they stop burning huts of people at night when they are asleep, then we say that laws like Proclamation R400 are not necessary."

On Transkei claims to land outside its present borders.

"We have made it categorically clear to the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster and the Minister of Bantu Administration that most of our land is still in the Republic of South Africa.

"We shall not stop claiming the land (and) it shall be the subject of controversy between us and the Republic.

"I refer to the areas which originally belonged to the Transkei. The dis-

On the interpretation that he is fundamentally a Xhosa nationalist seeking to restore the hegemony of the Xhosa-speaking peoples over the land historically occupied by them.

"Xhosa is a language. We are Transkeians. There were 12 tribes in all. But we want to restore all the land that belonged to our forefathers. It is a controversial issue between us and the Republic.

"It might even lead to a quarrel. But we can't hand over our heritage to a people who occupy practically the whole of South Africa."

On reports that he and his brother, Chief George, have shares in companies controlling sale of liquor in the Transkei.

"The (cabinet) ministers need not be ashamed in any way of taking shares. It has been a pattern in South Africa itself.

"Ministers have been shareholders, but they are not supposed to be directors of companies because they have (political) duties to execute.

But taking shares in a company does not mean that you are playing a principle role in it. All you want to do is to secure yourself."

You do have shares and are not ashamed of it?

"I am not ashamed of it, but (the English-language) press shouldn't tell lies. I do not have shares in the Qamata Poort Trading Company. Nor has George any shares in it."

Are there companies where you do have shares?

"There are companies where we do have shares. For example I am a shareholder in the newly-formed Transkei Bank. There is nothing wrong with that.

"What annoys me is, why single out the Matan-

singled out by the Daily Dispatch, which was assisting the opposition.

"But I have come to the conclusion that all the English papers are interpreting the views of their brothers and sisters (who resent the loss of the Transkei to blacks).

Have you had a better deal from the Afrikaans language press?

"I don't read Afrikaans papers. I don't know what they say about me. But I have never heard that they said anything bad about me."

On his uncle Nelson Mandela, the Robben Island prisoner and African National Congress leader.

"I am going to take up the matter of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki. They are prominent Transkeians on Robben Island.

"I will not demand, will request, a remission of their sentence. I think the Republic will listen to me. ... I have grounds for it.

You are not anxious that Mandela, Sisulu and Mbeki will be difficult to accommodate in the Transkei because of their known opposition to the partition of South Africa into Bantustans?

"They will come to a partitioned Transkei. If they cannot find themselves happy in the Transkei, they are free to go and live elsewhere.

"But when they come back to the Transkei, they will have to fall under the Transkei constitution and respect it."

Section 57 of the Transkei constitution imposes Transkei citizenship on people of Transkei origin living in South Africa?

"I think we shall change that."

You will?

"We have done so." But that is Section 58. Section 57 is what I am in-

take independence. I couldn't do otherwise than carry out the wishes of the Transkeian people.

"Any Democratic leader should carry out the wishes of his people."

You have insisted that the independent Transkei is not a product of apartheid, but you are also on record as saying that separate development made the renaissance of the Transkei possible.

"We are hoping to be separated from the Republic and from apartheid and race discrimination. It was a renaissance in that sense." — DDC.

My priorities are to develop the Transkei economically by improving agriculture. I intend getting experts from countries that are willing to assist us. I have no doubt that Israel and Nationalist China will send us their experts."

On the detention of top members of the opposition Democratic Party.

ple was part of Pondoland. The districts of Matatiele, Mount Currie, Elliot and Maclear — these areas are Transkeian.

"I have got documentary evidence . . . they were included in the Union of South Africa on January 1, 1914. As recently as that — after the passing of the Land Act of 1913."

zima brothers and leave the other ministers? My only conclusion is that we are hated by the English people, who took this country. . . ."

You have made some pretty harsh remarks about the English-language press.

"I have not had a fair deal. I have been subject to criticism since 1963. I was

interested in?

"Section 57 — unfortunately I haven't got my constitution in front of me — is precisely what is contained in our Self-Government Act of 1963."

Your Government is happy with Section 57?

"Yes, it has never disturbed us at all."

Even though it imposes Transkei citizenship on people living outside its borders in South Africa?

"The position is that we know the people in the cities who are Transkeians.

"They have homes in the Transkei. Therefore we can't say these people may apply for citizenship. We must give them citizenship.

"It is for them not to take it. It is not compulsory as far as we are concerned. We are clear on that point. If people have left the Transkei and want to remain in the Republic, they are free to do so.

"We have never disturbed Transkeians in the Republic who do not want to register as Transkeian voters."

But the status of Transkei Act deprives people of Transkei origin in South Africa of their South African citizenship?

"It is a Republican law which will not apply in the Transkei. Our view is that we do not agree with the law. As a matter of fact, we are opposed to it."

On the African nationalist aim of uniting blacks in pursuit of equality in one South Africa.

"I stand by the policy of my Government — non-racialism. White people who are in the Transkei and who wish to remain and take up our citizenship should be allowed to do so. They should have full political and social rights."

On the view that he reneged on the Umtata Pact of November 1973 by negotiating a separate deal with Pretoria.

"I reject it. There was no pact. I advised — it came from me — the homeland leaders to make land consolidation priority number one. I advised them not to take independence until they were satisfied they got their land back.

But the Transkei accepted independence before fulfilment of its land demands?

"I was not satisfied that I had got my land back. But the people of the Transkei pushed me in the situation. I didn't do on my own. There were resolutions which came from congress (in March 1974).

"The unanimous decision — there was not single dissension — that the Transkei should

23/10/76 DD

103

103.1

Segregated schools the price of white aid

Sun Express

24/10/76

UMTATA. — Segregated schools and hospitals in the "nonracial" Transkei is the price being paid by the Matanzima Government for the services of hundreds of seconded White South African officials there.

White schools and hospitals will stay under the control of the Cape Province while Coloured schools will, as in the past, be controlled by the Department of Coloured Affairs in Cape Town.

Both White and Coloured schools will operate in terms of the Private Schools Act. This "bargain" has been struck because it is feared that if schools and hospitals were integrated immediately the Transkei becomes independent, Whites would leave in droves at a time when their technical and managerial abilities are desperately needed to get the fledgling state off the ground.

A source close to the Transkei Government also told me that the opinion has been expressed that industrialists would hesitate to establish themselves in the Transkei if staff were to be faced with a newly-integrated social system in a newly-established state.

It is obvious however that the decision has not been welcomed by the Transkei although Paramount Chief Matanzima has said in the past that he will not "force integration down anyone's throat."

The Transkei Minister of Education, Mr A. N. Jonas, reacted angrily to questions about school integration in an interview with the Express.

"The policy of the sovereign Transkei is that of a nonracial society with all its ramifications" he said. He refused to be drawn further on the matter of school integration saying: "We alone are the architects of our society. Leave us alone. We do not want to be bothered about how we are going to adjust our society. Everybody knows we are in an era of transition and that this is usually a difficult one for everybody concerned."

"We are going to bring about changes by non-violence."

At the conclusion of the interview the minister threatened me with "retaliatory measures" if I quoted him as saying the Transkei intended doing away with all discriminatory measures. His attitude left the impression that the Transkei Government was angry but impotent in the face of South Africa's inexorable refusal to agree to total integration for South African citizens in the Transkei.

There are about 800 children at White schools in the Transkei at present and the number is expected to increase with the influx of seconded White officials when the Transkei Government takes entire control on independence of 18 government departments.

Up to now the Transkei has controlled only seven government departments.

BY JEAN LE MAY

it would clearly be impractical to mix two age groups.

Mr Percival Sinclair, principal of the Umtata Coloured primary school, confirmed that the Department of Coloured Affairs would continue to subsidise Coloured



Paramount Chief Matanzima ... has said in the past he "will not force integration down anyone's throat"

At present there are some four hundred seconded White officials. The Transkei Development Corporation also has large numbers of Whites employed in the Transkei. There are 400 in Umtata alone and another 400 in other parts of the Transkei, chiefly Butterworth, which is the industrial centre.

The mayor of Umtata Mr Errol Spring who stood for the Progressive Reform Party in the last provincial by-election outlined the thinking of Transkei Whites about integrated schooling in an interview.

"Black and White education in the Transkei are at present totally incompatible," he said. "This is not a racial question, it is a question of practicability."

"The standard of Transkei education is in the first place far lower than that of White education. Moreover White children usually start school at the age of six years and are in standard six by the time they are 13. But the average age of Black pupils in standard six is 18 years so

education in the Transkei. With regard to the "evening" integration in hospitals, Dr Charles Bikitsha, Transkei Secretary for Health who will undoubtedly be the Transkei's first Minister of Health when the new Cabinet is appointed on Tuesday, said he saw no serious problems.

In areas apart from schools and hospitals integration in the Transkei capital of Umtata appears to be locking smoothly into place as the town prepares for the independence ceremonies tomorrow and on Tuesday.

Black and White mingle freely and without incidents in hotels, restaurants and in the town's only swimming pool.

It has, however, been fairly noticeable that Blacks predominate in the swimming pool although all Whites I have asked say simply the weather is not yet warm enough for swimming. One man, however, said: "It's not the weather, it's the political climate."

R20m Transkei bonsellas — but the shacks stay

Sun Express 24/10/76

By JEAN LE MAY

SOUTH AFRICAN and Transkei taxpayers have dug deep into their pockets to speed the parting homeland with close on R20-million worth of independence bonsellas. This is what they amount to —

- A new 12-storey administrative block costing R12-million;
- The K D Matanzima Airport costing R3-million;
- The President's palace costing R1 800 000;
- Four new ministerial residences costing R250 000 each.
- Plus at least R500 000 spent on the independence celebrations.

In addition there are a new air terminal at the airport, a gift from the Chamber of Mines worth R250 000, and the complete resurfacing and widening of the Umzimkulu-Kei Bridge national road.

The municipality of Umtata has also resurfaced roads and refurbished buildings throughout the capital.

The most magnificent gift is undoubtedly the President's Palace atop the "Uzimele" site — the word is Xhosa for independence, literally "standing unaided" — and the Prime Minister's

residence was handed over this week.

These lavish living quarters for the head of State and its political leader have been undertaken at a time when there is a shortage of 4 000 houses in the Umtata suburb, formerly the township of Ngangiliswe, where many people are living in shacks.

I was told by the Town Clerk of Umtata, Mr Julian Sacke, that the municipality had for years been trying to obtain a loan for housing in Ngangiliswe but without success.

There is also a critical shortage of housing for other income groups in Umtata.

Mr Sacke estimated the housing shortage at 600 middle-income and at least 150 expensive houses.

A Natal firm is developing a new suburb of 400 houses which will be available to anybody who can afford to pay up to R40 000 for them.

The Transkei Development Corporation is also developing a new 400-house suburb for its employees and industrialists who may establish themselves in Umtata.

Up to now, however, industrialists have preferred Butterworth, where the bulk of Transkei industry is located.

103

BY ARTHUR ROSE

THERE are sound reasons why, in spite of Chief Kaiser Matanzima's massive victory at the polls, many Transkeians regard independence with scepticism.

The more articulate see independence as a White-inspired strategy to perpetuate White domination.

But only 2.6 percent of Transkeians are urbanised. Most are peasants who manage somehow to maintain a precarious balance on the edge of starvation. They see more than a quarter of their children die before their second birthdays. Kwashiorkor is rife and many of the children who live are stunted by malnutrition in the crucial early years of life.

Safeguard

Recent studies suggest that more than half the children go through a period of severe malnutrition before the age of five years.

And, as if this were not enough, life in the Transkei's rural locations is dominated by chiefs and headmen who have clung to their power of allocating land and taking it away.

These peasants have come to regard the White administration as their only safeguard against the power of often corrupt chiefs.

Since 1963 economists have been debating the question whether the Transkei could ever be viable and independent of South African finance. For a country that can supply only 16 percent of its budgetary needs, the question seems academic at this stage.

Standards

Viability does not end with the ability to fund recurrent budgetary requirements. It must include the ability to provide the population with a standard of living above subsistence. Most family men are forced to work as migrant labourers in South Africa.

Of all Transkeian men in the economically active age group — 15 to 64 years — 360 000 or 59 percent were on contract work outside the Transkei in a count taken last year.

Of the 434 000 Transkeian wage earners, only 74 000 were able to find work in the Transkei.

Politics block progress but Transkei can be viable

24/10/76
SUNTAB
This figure of one in every six includes many women, therefore the availability of work for men in the Transkei is even worse than the figures indicated.

Development of industry has made its mark. But generally it is industry drawn here by labour and financial incentives more than by markets or raw materials. The most important local resource is timber.

Industrially, the Transkei is a region of South Africa and seems likely to remain so. And it is coming nowhere near absorbing the annual increase of work seekers.

The Transkei's chief export will remain the muscle power of its men.

The trouble is that contract work is part of a vicious circle that has led to steadily decreasing returns from farming.

Exports

It has not always been like this. Early reports on the Xhosa remarked at their well-fed and healthy children. Xhosa farmers responded quickly to new White markets and right up to the early 1900s, more than hundred years later, the Transkei was exporting large quantities of grain and cattle.

Shortage of space can not alone account for the fact that it now has to import nearly 200 000 tons of maize. Most nations have had to face this problem at some time or other and have managed to come up with an answer, generally by changing the structure of land use.

Dictators

In the Transkei, as in many other African countries, successive colonial Governments, including the South African Government, have shored up the power of the chiefs to keep control, turning them into petty dictators. Communi-

ties have been forced into a conservative pattern of life and natural evolution has been stifled.

This pattern has been continued into independence in the Transkei. The results were clear from the heated outcry earlier this year when the Assembly was asked to sanction individual freehold rights for farmers in only the three districts of Fingoland.

Strength

It was seen as a direct threat to chiefly powers — and the Transkei Government will continue to find the basis of its strength in its control of chiefs.

Individual tenure is not the only solution. China has proved what can be done by peasant communities farming collectively. But any real development in the Transkei is going to need a radical restructuring of land use.

Not long ago rivers ran clear and soil erosion was unknown. A solution has become a matter of urgency as some of the highest potential farming land in South Africa is being eroded to the extent that the process is irreversible in some places.

Contribution

Migrant workers' incomes still make up about 70 percent of the Transkei's gross national income. But of the gross domestic product — the value of goods and services actually produced within its borders — agriculture contributes as much as 35 percent, in spite of its backwardness.

If agricultural production could be increased 10 times — and this is not regarded as unreasonable, given the Transkei's potential and natural resources — the country would be able to call itself viable in all respects.

But progress has been blocked by

politics: on the one hand by the South African Government, which needs labour but which has not allowed families to move off the land to take up permanent jobs in mining and industry; and on the other hand by the reluctance of the Transkei Government to interfere with the relations between chiefs and their subjects.

Similar problems are being faced in forestry, the Transkei Government's biggest single money-spinner and the basis of some of its secondary industry. About 62 000 hectares of timber forest and the industry gives employment to 6 500.

Adventurous

There are plans to increase the area to nearly three times this by adding another 100 000 hectares, which would earn the Transkei a steady income of R25 million a year from sawn timber alone and give jobs to 14 000.

But it remains to be seen how far the Transkei Government will go in persuading the people who now occupy the land to take jobs in forestry instead.

An adventurous scheme has been proposed whereby forest development will be handed over to private tender. One of the main conditions, apart from strict conservation guides, will be that part of the land leased — about 10 percent — must be set aside for intensive agricultural development for food production.

Initiatives

What the Transkei needs now if the cycle of poverty, malnutrition, soil erosion and migration is to be broken are bold initiatives, not only by politicians, but also by the development planners, who up to now have been putting most of their energies into prestige infrastructural development to attract industry and impress the world to the neglect of agriculture.

THOUSANDS FLEE TRANSKEI

24/10/76.

Sun Trib

Refugees pour into the Ciskei before uhuru

By **BILL KRIGE**



Mr N. Mkrola, former Ciskei Minister of Roads and Works, who is among the Sotho refugees at Kamastone

ON THE EVE of independence thousands of Black refugees are streaming out of the Transkei to mushrooming emergency resettlement camps in the neighbouring Ciskei homeland.

About 40 South African and Ciskei Government trucks are running a dawn-to-dusk shuttle service from the Transkei's Herschel and Glen Grey districts to resettlement areas near Queenstown and Whittlesea.

Whole families are leaving, taking whatever they can. They are being dumped with all their pathetic possessions in the bare veld, where they are building new homes with anything that comes to hand — corrugated iron, plastic sheeting, cardboard or wood packaging.

Food stocks are dwindling and sickness, notably dysentery among children, is on the increase. Animals are dying.

Hundreds of tents and scores of single-room corrugated-iron huts without floors or ceilings have been hurriedly built by the South African authorities, but the massive influx of people has far outstripped supply.

The exodus began in mid-September and the tempo has quickened with the approach of inkululeko on Tuesday — the day the refugees believe their fight will be stopped.

By then their numbers could have swelled to 12 000. Although no statistics are available, it is estimated that more than 7 000 refugees had fled the Transkei by early last week and more truckloads were rumbling into the resettlement camps.

Rained off

On Wednesday the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, went to Whittlesea to visit the camps. He never got there. It rained. So he held court for three Herschel chiefs at the local hotel.

The same day I visited the areas twice.

There are three resettlement camps. The one for Sothos, in the Ciskei's Kamastone location about 30 kilometres from Queenstown, is by far the largest. It stretches for five kilometres, much of it on both sides of a dirt road. Tents and corrugated-iron huts dot the landscape, but many people were sleeping in the open with their livestock or in makeshift shelters.

Among them here are a former Ciskei Cabinet Minister, Mr J. N. Mkrola, and three of the Herschel district's six Sotho chiefs, Messrs Hinana, Malefane and Bebeza, all of whom were once Ciskei chiefs.

Mr Mkrola told me that in spite of

the Ciskei Government's efforts to introduce a health service there had been a marked increase in the number of children suffering from dysentery, stomach ailments and what he called "scabs".

"Sothos believe there is no future for them in an independent Transkei," he said. "Herschel borders Lesotho and we looked at the people there who are unable to work in South Africa except on the mines. We saw then the meaning of a passport."

Kamastone borders the Swart Koei River and water is no problem. There are schools in the area, but several have been used to house refugees. As far as could be ascertained there are no shops and no organised sanitary arrangements.

The second resettlement camp is off the Katberg road 12 kilometres from Whittlesea. The refugees here are emigrant Tembus from the Glen Grey district. When I went there it had about 600 people, but 11 Ciskei Government trucks were daily ferrying people there from their old homes.

Silver City

A third group of refugees are in a camp they have euphemistically called Silver City. It is on the outskirts of Sada, itself a resettlement area, and has about 80 single-room corrugated-iron huts and about 180 tents in three rows behind them.

The refugees in Silver City are from Ilinge, in the Glen Grey district. They came to the Ciskei about four months ago — long before the exodus began. Many have no food or reliable means of support and are being issued with pauper rations by the Government. The diet is samp, beans and jabula soup.

The picture is one of hardship, misery and squalor, but no one I spoke to regretted leaving the Transkei. Mr S. Pamana, a Tembu from the Transkei's Bolotwa district, said his main problems were lack of housing and his dwindling stocks of food.

"I have a family of nine to support and we only have food to last two more weeks. I am very worried about it," he said.

Near his shack was the lean-to of an elderly woman and her four grandchildren — built of all her belongings heaped together in a hollow square with a corrugated iron sheet for a roof. The gap between her mattress lying on soaked grass and her ceiling was less than a metre. She said she had been there for almost two weeks and claimed she had begun to suffer from chest trouble.

The leader of the Glen Grey group is Chief Zwelinzima Kattsu. He said many more people wanted to leave the Transkei but had been intimidated by those determined to stay.

"They have been told there is disease here, that children are dying and that there is no water. It is all bluff. We are happy to be back in the Ciskei," he said.

Until early this year both the Glen Grey and Herschel districts formed part

of the Ciskei. They were ceded to the Transkei on the understanding that vast areas of compensatory land, and land owed in terms of the 1936 Act, would be bought for the Bantustan. To date little progress has been made.

In 1970 a referendum was held in Glen Grey on whether it should leave the Ciskei to join the Transkei. The result was an overwhelming vote by the Tembus against leaving.

The Sothos fear they will be swamped by Xhosas in the Transkei. They have long agitated to secede and join the Sotho-dominated Qwa Qwa homeland.

'GET OUT' TWO TOLD

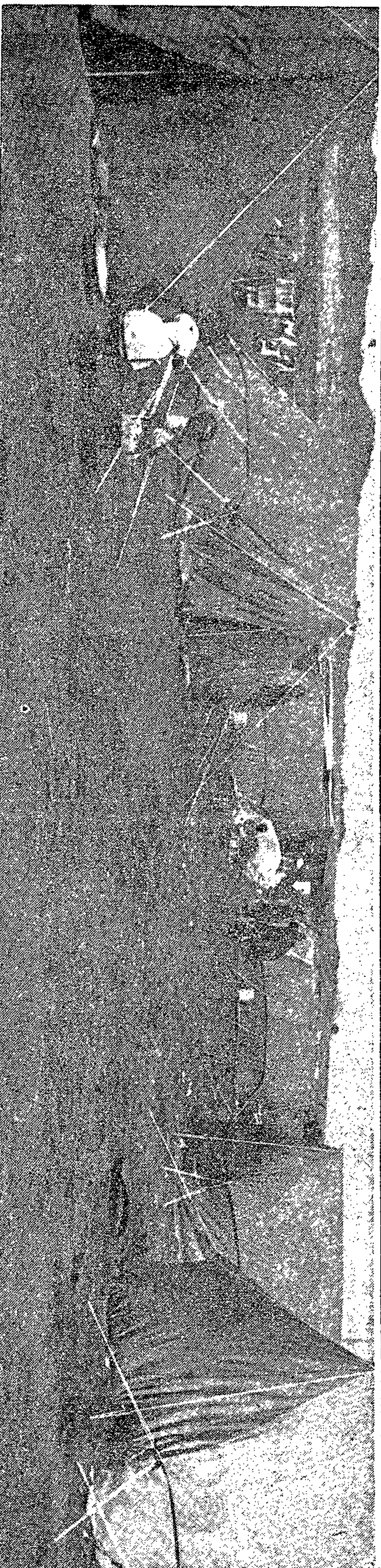
TWO Black actors detained a fortnight ago after three performances in Umtata of Athol Fugard's play *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* have been released and ordered out of the Transkei.

The Transkei Government's police adviser, Brigadier Sydney Mattheys, said John Kani and Winston Ntshona were released this week.

The detention sparked an international outcry among actors in Britain, the United States and Europe. Neither was charged and their destination after leaving the Transkei is not known.

103

inkululeko, the poverty and the pe



Not for them the great inkululeko dream. They are just a few of 7 000 refugees, mainly Sothos, who have fled the Tr anskei in recent weeks to settle in the bare ve
By independence the number of people may rise to 12 000.

24/10/76

103



SPIT-and-polish for this Transkei Army bandsman as he shines his cornet before taking the field for rehearsals. South African Army bands will also play at the independence celebrations.

democracy, yet who constantly interferes with the democratic process. Half his opposition were jailed before they could contest the last election.

He has a strong instinct for parliamentary debate and knows the rules of procedure backwards. Yet he is sensitive to criticism and intolerant of views markedly different from his own.

He rejects Communism, despises Saso, and is wary of the residual influence within the Transkei of militant Black nationalist organisations such as the banned PAC and ANC.

A precise but pedantic speaker, he was no match for the verbal pyrotechnics and nimble wit of ousted Opposition leader Knowledge Guzana. Yet though he often smarted

under his eloquent lash he never bore his rival any rancour. On the contrary, Guzana was in some things a trusted confidant and adviser.

It has been suggested that the Transkei's overwhelming economic dependence on South Africa must turn it into a client state. But Kaiser Matanzima has already repudiated apartheid and

the unresolved land issue is an ulcer that could erupt at any time.

His place in South African history is already secured. What is not known is whether in opting for independence a Trojan horse of non-racialism has not been surreptitiously moved inside the hitherto impregnable gates of Pretoria.

KAISER'S

TROJAN

HORSE... ■■■

24/10/76

103

**That great Xhosa dream
that may breach Pretoria's impregnable gates**

24/10/76

103



AMID the rehearsals for tomorrow's independence celebrations in Umtata, it's business as usual for the street sweepers. The Transkei's normally g.r.u.b.y capital is having a last-minute rush for a facelift before the foreign guests arrive.

24/10/76
103

He has led it through its constitutional stages from territorial authority to self-governing state, and now to independence. In this period his own views have changed, though his fundamental belief in a separate destiny for the Transkei has been consistent.

Where once he wanted all Whites out, they can now stay. Where the principles of his ruling Transkei National Independence Party once specifically excluded Whites from the franchise, they can now have it if they choose.

Publicly he praises separate development. Privately he has acknowledged to me that South Africa would have to change radically.

In an off-the-record interview when he returned from the United Nations two years ago he said: "Even if the Transkei becomes independent and the other homelands too, you will have to give citizenship to the Coloureds, Indians and urban Blacks. I can't see the world accepting anything less."

In a nutshell, the homelands policy will solve nothing. Independence is being taken not to ease South Africa from a tricky situation but because he wants it. He has always wanted it.

In the same interview he said: "If I were Vorster I would introduce a qualified franchise so that I could control what I was giving away."

Like the Progressive Party? he was asked. "Very much like the Progressives," he said.

Four years ago Chief Kaiser flirted with the idea espoused by Chief Buthelezi, among others, of a federation of Black Southern African states — but it was more to wring concessions for the Transkei from a reluctant Pretoria than from genuine conviction.

His boundaries are the Transkei and his understanding of affairs beyond its small horizons is shallow.

In 1972 he could with a straight face — and he has a sense of humour — tell his party congress: "My visit to Great Britain was an eye-opener. I was highly impressed by the nationalism of the British people, who are divided into four tribes — English, Welsh, Irish and Scots."

To appreciate the ex-

traordinary hold he has exercised on the destiny of the Transkei, it is necessary only to look at his handling of the independence issue and its corollary, the question of more land.

Little more than three years ago the Transkei was resolved not to ask for independence without more land. It was a stance initiated by Chief Kaiser and it was enthusiastically backed by his followers. Relations between Umtata and Pretoria reached a new low.

A few months later all that had changed. Chief Kaiser's criticisms of South Africa became muted.

The land claims were not jettisoned, but the priority was reversed. Independence first, the land to follow. It was a momentous decision, and a personal one. And without a murmur of dissent the party clicked obediently to heel.

Self assured to the point of arrogance, confident of his own rising star, Chief Matanzima can be tough and intolerant when dealing with his own Cabinet colleagues and blandly indifferent if he stands to profit by it.

After the 1973 general election the Assembly met for the ritual election of a chief minister. He got wind of a plot by 11 of his own MPs to vote against him in a secret ballot.

So he summoned his party caucus and told them that come the election they must all declare falsely that they were illiterate. Because they could supposedly neither read nor write, they would be assisted by a witness. They would tell him aloud whom they wished to vote for and he would mark the paper.

Came the day, and Chief Kaiser, a huge grin spread across his face, positioned himself at the back of the assembly hall right next to the ballot box. He made no secret that he could overhear all that was said, and needless to say no one in his party dared vote against him.

Chief Kaiser is a man who proclaims belief in

BILL KRIGE reports from Umtata

KAISER DALIWONGA MATANZIMA, 61, imperious West Tembu monarch and Prime Minister-designate of the Transkei, has lived with his dream of an independent Xhosa republic for most of his life.

From his days at Lovedale College, where for pocket money he caddied for White golfers at twopence an hour, through his student years at Fort Hare University — where he graduated in 1939 with a BA in Roman law and politics — he has always been conservative.

He is fond of telling all who will listen of his kinship with Nelson Mandela and friendship with ANC exile Oliver Tambo, but politically their paths never really crossed.

The cause they served — the unshackling of all men from the bonds of apartheid and the restructuring of power in greater South Africa — has never been part of his public philosophy. Nor for him the Pan-Africanist dream.

Talents

Instead, his own considerable talents and energies have focussed on a narrower front. His roots and instincts are in the tribal system and it has shaped his goals — the renaissance of the Xhosa-speaking people and their rebirth as a nation in an area gobbled piecemeal by the Cape Government last century.

It is an introverted vision. The physical boundaries he wants are not those of the present Transkei but all the land lost to Whites over 200 years.

His ideal of an independent Xhosaland predates by 20 years and more the ideology of independent Bantustans fathered by Dr Verwoerd. It is an important distinction. The goals set by Verwoerd's brand of nationalism slotted in with his own. The subsequent accord and collaboration were natural.

It explains why Matanzima has never been a puppet, nor ever will be. It explains too the extraordinary empathy between himself and the chief architect of

an apartheid system he abhors. To this day the mention of Verwoerd's name will draw a glowing tribute from Matanzima.

Descended as he is from the royal house of Mtirara and raised on stories of the past glories of the Tembu tribe, it is perhaps inevitable that the blood and substance of tribalism should run thick in his veins.

It has moulded his strong dominant character and has seeped downward from him to touch or taint every aspect of political life in Africa's newest republic.

The constitution of 1963, which he helped draft, was heavily biased towards chieftainship and ensured their intimate involvement in the innards of the political process.

It was tailor-made for him. It allowed him to assume office and pursue his aims against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Transkei's people. Even today, at the dawn of independence, his popular mandate for "inkululeko" is questionable.

In a sense the people do not count. It is the chiefs who matter and they back him to the hilt. Chief Kaiser has over the years adroitly exploited their well grounded fear that political redundancy will merely be a prelude to the curbing of their powers.

He has propped them up by refusing to repeal Proclamation R400 and stitched together through arranged marriages, gifts, favours and any other convenient devices a network of chiefs who owe him personal and political allegiance.

For 13 years Kaiser Matanzima has straddled the political scene in the Transkei like a colossus.

THERE is hope, still, for the Beloved Country. But there is so much bewilderment. So much doubt. So many ifs. So desperate a need for so many things to be done now.

The situation is not lost — but we are perilously far down a road that could lead to the ultimate collapse of all that is precious in this land.

Figleaf phrases used by mediocre rulers to camouflage the crisis are no longer fooling anybody. The plain fact is that people simply do not believe the Government any more.

Throughout South Africa men and women are frightened. In scores of households ordinary families are seriously questioning whether they, and especially their children, can still look forward to a peaceful future.

One hears of fatter cats who have left, or plan to leave. The body politic is feverish with rumour.

Uncertainty, bewilderment, doubt these are the emotions of a but the most mulish head-in-the-sand South Africans.

It IS true

The response of the Government will be that such talk is alarmist. They will say it smacks of defeatism, and that those who dare speak such things are themselves imperilling the country.

But in their heart of hearts Nationalist leaders must KNOW it is true. Unless they are deliberately deaf to the voices in the land they must be aware that in all walks of life South Africans ARE mentioning the unmentionable, they ARE racked by doubts whether political leaders have either the will or the wit to deal with the situation.

And the questions are being asked in solid Afrikaner Nationalist homes as much as anywhere else.

So many things are going wrong simultaneously.

The sudden collapse of Mozambique and Angola as buffer states has been followed closely by change in Rhodesia and South West Africa; uncertain change, change that could bring conflict to our very borders.

Internally Blacks are fast becoming so alienated that violence could become endemic. Mob and populist politics are spreading in Black and Coloured areas.

Naught to offer

On Tuesday the Transkei finally attains independence — but only to awaken more South Africans to the reality that, regardless of what this means for the Transkei itself, the great Verwoerdian master plan is imperfect after all; that it offers naught to the millions of Blacks, Coloureds and Indians who will for ever live outside homelands.

Economically we are in a dizzy downward spiral. Unemployment is mounting dangerously, inflation wor-

by the Editor of the Sunday Times

sens and, in terms of gold and foreign exchange reserves, the country is virtually broke.

From a despairing Western world come warnings that unless we abandon policies based on race-discrimination they dare not, will not, be seen in our company.

Have we ever, in this century, faced a worse crisis?

Yet, there could be hope. Imaginative and inspirational leadership can still lead South Africa into the light.

The tragedy is that, at this vital hour, Pretoria is overcome by political paralysis.

Mr Vorster gives no sign that he has the will to lead boldly. Obsessionally fearful of the NP right wing, he moves forward at the pace of the most verkrampste elements in his party.

In his Cabinet he is surrounded by too many men who could not, even in the most generous moments, be described as among the most gifted human material in South Africa.

Thus immobilised, the country slips inexorably into the position of an Ian Smith who waited until all his options had evaporated.

The first step

Still, it is a political fact of South African life that the vital decisions that will determine our future will be taken in the next year or two — by an Afrikaner Nationalist Government, probably led by John Vorster.

The problem is: How to stiffen his will? How to surround him with our most able men and women who can help him devise just and practical policies that will meet the needs of the times?

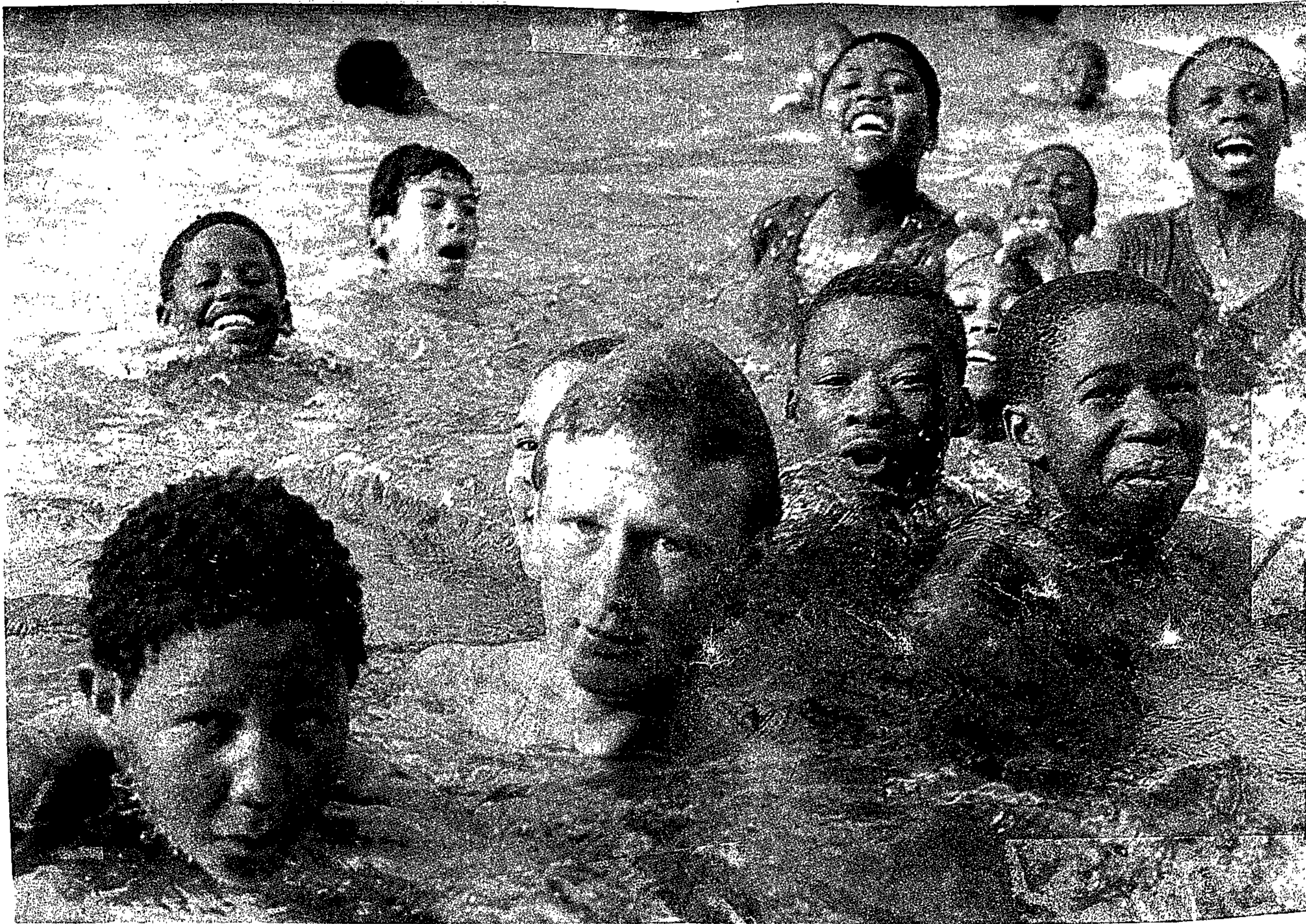
Is it not time to suspend the existing political structure and for Mr Vorster to appoint, as a first step, a truly national government comprised of the best talents available, in or out of politics?

Is it not time to mobilise the Gerrit Viljoens, the Wimpie de Klerks, the Kobus Loubsers, the Jan Marais and the Anton Ruperts?

Could such a best-man government not consult meaningfully with the Buthelezi, the Nsantwisis, the Motsuenyanes, the Van der Rosses and the many other Black, Coloured and Indian men of reason to devise com-

24/10/76

103



ONLY a few days ago petty apartheid ruled at this pool in the new Transkei. Blacks and Whites now swim together. Pool superintendent Mike Woodstock, 21, dives in with the rest, glad that the divided days are over. "I hope to be the first in the queue for citizenship" he says. "Sixty or seventy of my White friends will be there, too." Change CAN come, and in peace...

Picture: NIC VAN OUDTSHOORN

mon sense ways of giving everyone a fair say in government under a confederal umbrella?

And need such an indaba be confined to the ranks of Nationalist Afrikanerdom? Are we so richly blessed with talent that we can afford to exclude the Eglins, the Van Zyl Slabberts, the Japie Bassons, the Harry Schwarzes and the Oppenheimers.

Ready for change

Surely the national concerns are so great that it is possible for reasonable and practical men of all persuasions to collaborate sensibly. There is a shared interest in protecting the system of competitive free enterprise and reward on the basis of achievement against opposing forces from without and within.

South Africans are READY for something new.

If Mr Vorster, who has promised young South Africans that he would spare no effort to avoid conflict, stepped out courageously with a vision that

Sun T. 24/10/76

The country slips inexorably into the position of an Ian Smith who waited until all his options had evaporated...

offered genuine hope and real justice to all, he would be astonished by the response.

The majority of Afrikaners have enough ethnic self-confidence to react enthusiastically. Their energy and their immense will properly marshalled, they — in concert with a newly-motivated English-speaking section — could yet surprise the world.

And, for a change, write a happy story out of Africa.

By altering the **STYLE** of government and by acting co-operatively with South Africans of colour, a new spirit

of optimism would permeate the land — and spread abroad.

And how would Blacks, Coloureds and Indians respond if, after lifetimes of being conditioned to minimal expectations, they were suddenly offered real hope and discrimination-free opportunity?

This is not a society that is wobbling on its knees in the 13th round of a contest with history. It is no pushover. We have massive, raw power that is still unused to defend stability and order — but we can never justify its deployment in defence of anything that is not just. No man dare shoot from a weak moral base.

Many South Africans like to compare their country with Israel.

But we are like an Israel without American support.

Which means we have to put our house in order ON OUR OWN.

'FRIENDS'

25/10/76

FROM PAGE 1

stoutly defended his decision to opt for independence for the Transkei, and said he would respond favourably to any overtures from the South African Government.

Our East London correspondent reports that more than 200 politicians and journalists from 27 different countries spent the afternoon there yesterday on their way to the independence celebrations.

The politicians, mostly members of Parliament and senators from South America and Europe, and the journalists were guests of the Department of Information.

They arrived on two scheduled and two chartered flights, given lunch and welcomed by the mayor of East London, Mr. J. A. Yazbek. They then went on a bus tour of East London before catching a special train for Umtata.

The 30 politicians included two senators from Belgium, Mr. W. Jorisson and Mr. J. Daems, and the official representative of the Uruguayan armed forces, General B. Hotou.

Sapa reports that the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr. Hilgard Muller and Mr. M. C. Botha, arrived in Umtata yesterday to attend the celebrations.

● See also Pages 5, 9 and Editorial Opinion

Fears of more than 100 000 fleeing land

25/10/76

STAR.

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — The Ciskei Government fears more than 100 000 Blacks will flee the Transkei in the next three months and claims that gangs of pro-Transkeian youths have harassed and assaulted many of the thousands who have already left.

Meanwhile, the Transkei's Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, has said he is "very angry" at a Press report which gave the impression that the people were running away from independence.

He said the movement of the people from the districts of Glen Grey and Herschel had not come as a surprise because they had indicated in a referendum that they would prefer to stay in the Ciskei.

It was just a coincidence that they happened to move on the eve of the Transkei's independence.

Already 8 000 to 10 000 Blacks from Herschel and Glen Grey — both former districts of the Ciskei which were given to the

Transkei in December — have fled to the Ciskei where they are living in hastily erected tent towns.

This was confirmed last night by the acting Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Mr L F Siyo, who said 70 to 80 percent of Herschel and Glen Grey residents wanted to come to their former homeland.

Mr Siyo could not confirm reports that whole families were being dumped on the bare veld with not even tents for shelter.

He said the last-minute

panic to get out before the Transkei's independence tomorrow was not caused by their not wanting to be independent, but "because of irresponsible elements which assaulted people coming to the Ciskei" The Transkei police had refused to take action against the culprits.

"They want to come to us because they feel they are Ciskeians and should not be forced to live in a country where they have no future."

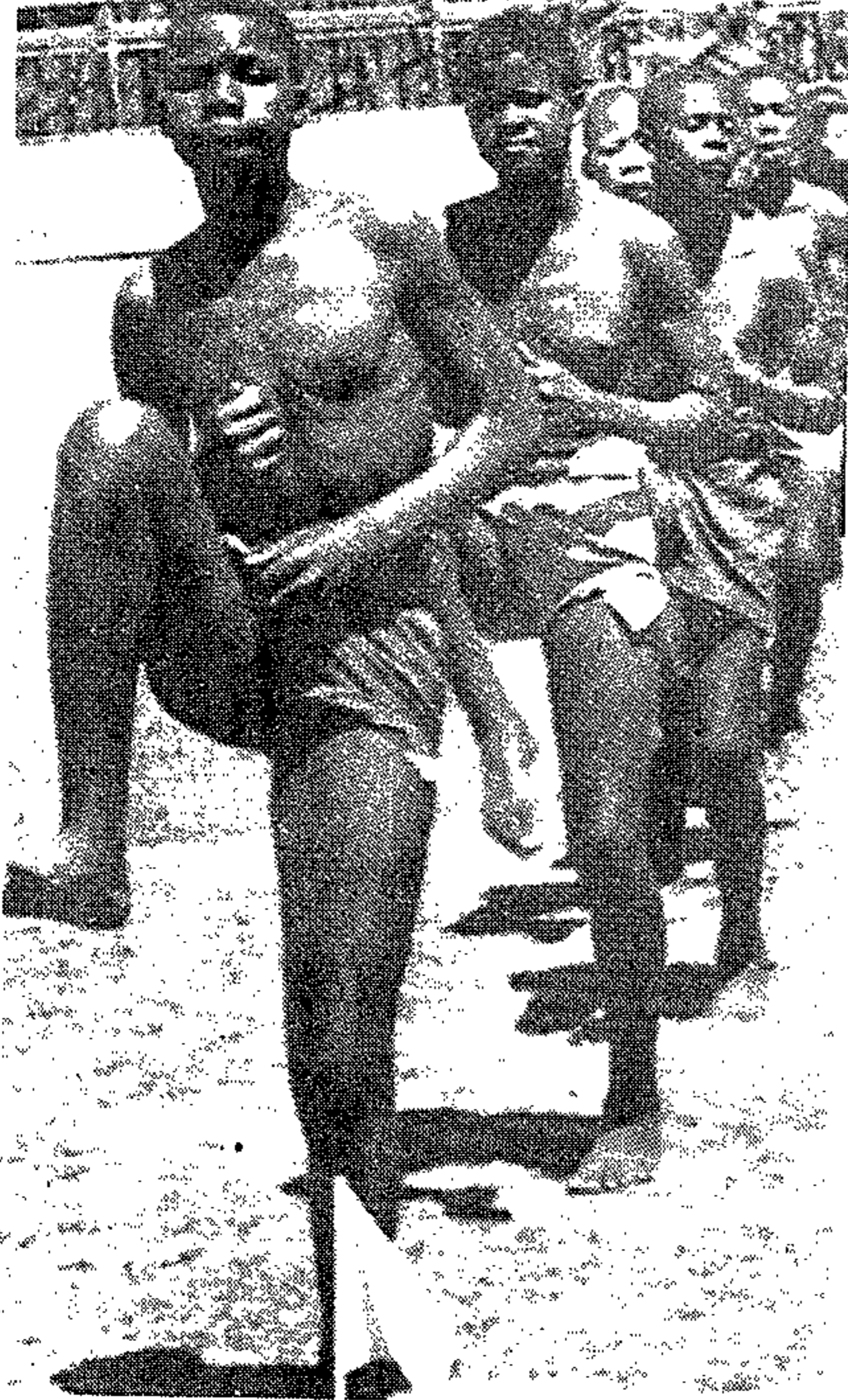
He said the Deputy Mi-

nister of Bantu Administration, Dr Hartzenberg, had told the Ciskei that the period during which people could still move out of the two districts had been extended to three months by mutual agreement of the South African and Transkeian governments.

Mr Siyo said the South African Government had lent the Ciskei 2 000 tents to house the refugees in temporary resettlement camps near Whittelsea.

He denied that conditions in the camps were deplorable and that there were fears of epidemics breaking out.

Faces in a new Transkei



Getting fit for the future — and rehearsing for a display by schools at the Umtata stadium.



Getting ready for independence, Mrs Nozuko Matanzima, wife of the future Transkeian Prime Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, has her face made up.



Members of the Transkei Regiment rehearse their role in their country's celebrations.

Cape Times 25/10/76

Hundreds leave Transkei for Ciskei

UMTATA — The South African Government has confirmed that people are leaving the Transkei districts of Herschel and Glen Grey, but denies that the number has reached 7 000.

The Commissioner General of the Xhosas, and ambassador designate to the Transkei, Mr D H Potgieter, said yesterday that a report in a Sunday newspaper that thousands of refugees were fleeing the Transkei was exaggerated, and designed to "poison" Transkeian independence.

"I wonder if even a thousand have been moved,"

Mr Potgieter said. He blamed three chiefs who had opposed the transfer of the two districts from the Ciskei to the Transkei for the belief among tribespeople that their cattle and land would be confiscated after October 26.

He repeated assurances given this week by Chief Kaiser Matanzima that people in those areas who wished to return to the Ciskei would be free to do so before and after independence.

Mr Potgieter said South African Government trucks

had been used for the past six weeks to move people to the Ciskei.

The South African Government was also helping to auction the cattle and belongings of those who wanted to sell up.

Some of the people who had left the Transkei were now wanting to return because there were few facilities for their resettlement in the Ciskei.

He said the former Ciskeian Minister of Roads and Works, Mr N Mkrola, and three deposed chiefs, were responsible for inciting the people to move and

encouraging the belief among them that they would be victimized by the Transkeian Government.

The three chiefs — Hinana, Malefane and Bebeza — were relieved of their chieftainships by Chief Matanzima when they decided to leave the Transkei.

Chief Matanzima said last week that the South African Department of Bantu Administration and Development would continue to compensate the residents of the two districts who wanted to leave after October 26. — Sapa

Many changes in new state

Transkei: New era at midnight

Cape Times 25/10/76

UMTATA. — At midnight the territory known to South Africans as the Transkei, homeland of the Xhosa people, will be a foreign state — the Republic of Transkei.

Transkei will be a land of the Xhosa, ruled by the Xhosa for the Xhosa. This is the major change taking place from midnight tonight, and 101 cannon will signal the start of a new era in the history of Southern Africa.

Many changes in the established order of the former South African territory will be evident, and these are notable.

Social mixing

The Black and White races will be allowed, and encouraged, to mix socially and compete for jobs. Hotels and public bars have been open for the past month without incident, while Blacks have ousted Whites from all but a few jobs in the Government service. White South African civil servants will remain for some time, seconded to the Transkei as advisers, but they are expected to leave within a few years.

The former Whites-only municipal swimming baths were opened to all races this week, and films shown at the town cinema are viewed by mixed audiences.

Other ideological changes stem from the repeal of such laws as the Group Areas Act, the Promotion of Political Interference Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act and other statutes of the South African Parliament seen here as discriminatory.

Immorality Act

However, it is unlikely Umtata's streets will be frequented by Black prostitutes soliciting tourists as has happened in Lesotho and Swaziland. The Mixed Marriages Act and Immorality Act will not be repealed, and gambling will not be allowed within the foreseeable future.

"We have our moral standards," the country's leader, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, has stated.

The Transkei Parliament

will have the power to change or repeal any of these statutes later should it see fit.

South Africans will require a valid travel document to enter Transkei, such as a book of life, for visits up to 14 days. For longer stays, passports without visas are necessary. Other foreigners will have to have passports.

Among the more visible changes is the introduction of yellow car registration plates with black lettering. Vehicles belonging to private residents of Umtata will bear the letters XA, followed by the number. Butterworth will be XB, and so on down the alphabet.

The rand will continue to be used in Transkei, and it is understood that there will be free movement of capital in and out of the country.

End of racism

But the most important changes, certainly as far as the country's leaders are concerned, remain ideological and political.

In the words of Chief George Matanzima, Minister of Justice and brother of the leader: "Four million people will add their pan-African voices to autonomous

Africa, never again to submit to apartheid or White racism. It is the beginning of a new era rather than the end of an old one."

● In Kimberley the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said Transkei would be just as independent as countries like Britain and West Germany.

Addressing a National Party meeting, he said Transkei would not in any way be subjected to South Africa and would be free to decide its own future.

More viable

There were people who opposed independence for the homeland on the grounds that the homeland was not viable. However, the Transkei was more viable than between 40 and 60 of the member countries of the United Nations.

There were countries which had indicated that they would not recognize an independent Transkei because they were against the fragmentation of South Africa. But what business was that of theirs?, Mr Vorster asked. — Sapa.

● Faces of new Transkei — page 2.

Overture to ANC, PAC

Own Correspondent
UMTATA. — The Transkei will be available as a base for the "liberation struggle" of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, the Transkei Prime Minister-elect has told a Kenyan journalist.

Describing the banned congresses as movements "for the liberation of Black people", Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima told Mr Chege Mbitiru: "We would like to enter and join with them."

Mr Mbitiru, foreign editor of the Nairobi-based Nation newspapers, interviewed

Chief Kaiser in the Transkei capital last week.

The tape-recorded interview was published in the Sunday Nation yesterday. The tape was made available to the Rand Daily Mail by Mr Mbitiru.

The Transkei will have the right to accept "friendly assistance" from Red China and Soviet Russia, Chief Kaiser said in the interview.

He had no quarrel with either of the banned nationalist movements as they stood for the "liberation" of Blacks "under the yoke of oppression", in South Africa. "We have never had to

fight against them," the 61-year-old Transkei leader said.

"We thought that if we got a base which could be used by these movements in fighting for the liberation of the country, they would come to our praise.

"They will be free to say anything they like in an attempt to free their people in the Republic, who are still under the yoke of oppression.

"But as long as they regard us as stooges of the Republic of South Africa, then they are driving us away from the struggle, which we would like to enter and join."

Thousands pour in for birth of new Transkei

ARGUS 25/10/76

103

The Argus Correspondent

UMTATA. — Thousands of excited Xhosas are streaming into flag-bedecked Umtata for the celebrations which will see the birth at midnight of Africa's 50th independent state and South Africa's first separate development offspring — the Transkei.

But, while an air of festivity hangs over the capital, celebrations so far have been marked by low attendances.

The tent town that overlooks towering Independence Stadium and was erected to accommodate 12 000 people, was less than a third full by late yesterday.

Organisers at the tent town claimed, however, that large numbers of independence revellers were expected to arrive during the night and early today.

Most of the pre-independence sporting and cultural functions at the 35 000-seat Independence Stadium have been seen by sparse crowds, generally below half capacity.

Umtata has undergone a dramatic change towards total integration over the past few days.

The birth of the new state will be marked by a 101-gun salute and the lighting of bonfires on hilltops throughout the Transkei.

The South African State President, Dr Diederichs, is to hand over the Status of the Transkei Act, declaring the Transkei a sovereign independent state, after making his last speech as Head of State of the Transkeian people.

The first President of the Republic of Transkei will be elected by Parliament here tomorrow.

There is only one candidate, Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau.

Dr Diederichs is due to speak at 11.15 pm, and the South African National anthem, Die Stem, will be sung for the last time at an official occasion here half an hour later.



THE Prime Minister elect of the Transkei, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, and Mrs G. G. A. Munnik, wife of the Transkei Chief Justice, were among the multi-racial crowd at an inter-denominational church service in Umtata yesterday.

Dry period

Hotels, bars, restaurants and public amenities have gone multiracial.

The atmosphere so far has been genial and relaxed.

Blacks have so far been generally friendly to Whites, many of whom have attended multiracial celebrations.

White journalists entering bars crowded with celebrating blacks have had cordial receptions.

Heavy bouts of spirited public drinking officially came to an end about midnight on Saturday, when bars and bottle stores were closed until Wednesday.

However, local she-beens are known to have laid in heroic quantities of liquor to tide thirsty revellers over the dry period.

But law and order will be strictly maintained. About 600 South African policemen, mainly Blacks, have been called in to supplement the local police force.

New flag

Policemen in pairs have made regular patrols in the capital's White residential areas, and on all occasions there is a quiet but impressive presence.

Thousands of people, including several hundred invited guests, will see the South African flag lowered here for the last time at midnight to be replaced by the new Transkei national flag.

Independence

Matanzima — wily about charming

The Argus Correspondent

UMTATA. — Transkei's Prime Minister-designate, Kaiser Daliwonga Matanzima, 61, has often told those around him he will become a changed man on independence day.

That day has arrived and Paramount Chief Matanzima will be watched closely in the next few weeks to find out what he means by 'changed man.'

To most, this wily tribal chief turned politician who plotted his country to independence, is an enigma. No one is known to be really close to him — not even his brother and right-hand man, Chief George Matanzima.

Eyes cloud

A man of contrasting moods he can win over even those he calls the 'doubting Thomases' with his charm and politeness. At these moments he is approachable to even the lowliest.

But when something displeases him his eyes

cloud over and he looks right through you, terrifying even the mightiest with his wrath.

He is politically shrewd and ruthless with anyone who he sees as a threat to his position or goals. His moods fit well.

Chief Matanzima's long time goal was to lead Transkei to independence. He got it. Over-riding he had rid Transkei of most of South Africa's race laws and has brought development along with thousands of jobs for his people to this former tribal backwater.

Braved scorn

To get what he wanted Chief Matanzima has braved the scorn of Black Africa and fellow South African Blacks for 'collaborating' with the Republican Government and its apartheid policy.

But earlier this year he sent his brother George on a goodwill trip to Africa to drum up support for Transkeian recognition to the United Nations.

At the time he said Transkei would apply for membership in

United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity. In spite of the fact that these two bodies — 'the exclusive clubs' he calls them — have rejected recognition of Transkei, he reiterated in a recent statement that the new nation would apply for membership anyway.

These apparent inconsistencies are all part of the Matanzima enigma and attempts to interpret his actions as shrewdly planned long-range strategies or whatever have been the bane of political analysts.

But on one thing most observers agree: He is nobody's puppet — as the South African Government has learnt somewhat belatedly.

Roman law

Chief Matanzima was born in Gannata on June 15 1915 to the royal Lendu house of Mthara. He attended Fort Hare University College and graduated with a BA in Roman Law and politics from the University of South Africa.

But flirting with the Verwoerdian concept of separate development in

the early 60s was just a means to an end to be shrugged off at the right time and replaced with a policy of non-racialism.

His political record is full of these apparent contradictions.

In 1963, when the Transkei was given limited self-government under the Transkei Constitution Act, Chief Matanzima told the Press he did not want Whites to settle in the territory nor did he want them to establish industries in his country.

White money

Today Transkei is officially multiracial, a number of White-owned industries have been established and the Transkei Development Corporation has embarked on a public campaign to attract more White industry from South Africa and abroad.

In an early book about Transkei's self-government Chief Matanzima was quoted as saying: 'Leaders of other forces outside? They are jackals. I have no affinity with other African states. Our affairs are not their indaba.'

And: 'The United Nations stinks. That body should be dissolved.'

In 1943 the South African Government appointed Chief Matanzima a member of the then United Transkeian Territorial General Council, one of the evolutionary stages of Transkei's legislative system.

Big challenge

After passing his attorney's admission examination in 1948 Chief Matanzima played a leading role in the various legislative stages leading to self-government in 1963.

Probably his greatest challenge came in 1963 when the new Transkei Legislative Assembly set for the first time to elect a Government.

Before the lunch adjournment his political rival's candidate for chairman was elected by 56 votes to 49.

It was at this moment that he brought all his political wilyness to bare to snatch victory from what looked like certain defeat.

Whatever happened during that crucial lunch break — there was Press speculation at the time of bribes and threats — Matanzima was elected

Chief Minister by 54 votes to 49, with two spoilt papers.

In his acceptance speech he said his victory was an uncompromising rejection of multiracialism and a mandate for the separation of Whites and Blacks and eventual independence for the Transkei.

At that time Chief Matanzima's support came mainly from the 64 chiefs appointed to the 109-member Legislative Assembly. Most of the elected members supported the Opposition led by the late Paramount Chief Victor Poto. These two factions then formed political parties — the ruling Transkei National Independence Party and the Opposition Democratic Party.

But Chief Matanzima was never again to let himself come so close to defeat. Backed as before by the South African Government he consolidated his support and gradually eliminated the Opposition at the polls and more recently by detaining the leaders of what was left of the Democratic Party.

Told to leave

His party swept to victory in last month's general election, leaving only four elected members and three chiefs to take their seats in the Opposition benches when the new Parliament opens tomorrow. Critics and friends alike were dumfounded by the detention of the Opposition members in an election which Chief Matanzima's party would

in any case have won overwhelmingly.

Then two weeks ago the Transkeian security police detained the internationally known South African stars of Sipwe Band Is Dead, John Kani and Winston Nshona, who were finally released four days ago and told to leave the Transkei.

These detentions created an international uproar and probably paid to any last chances that some Western countries would have second thoughts about recognising South Africa's new-born baby.

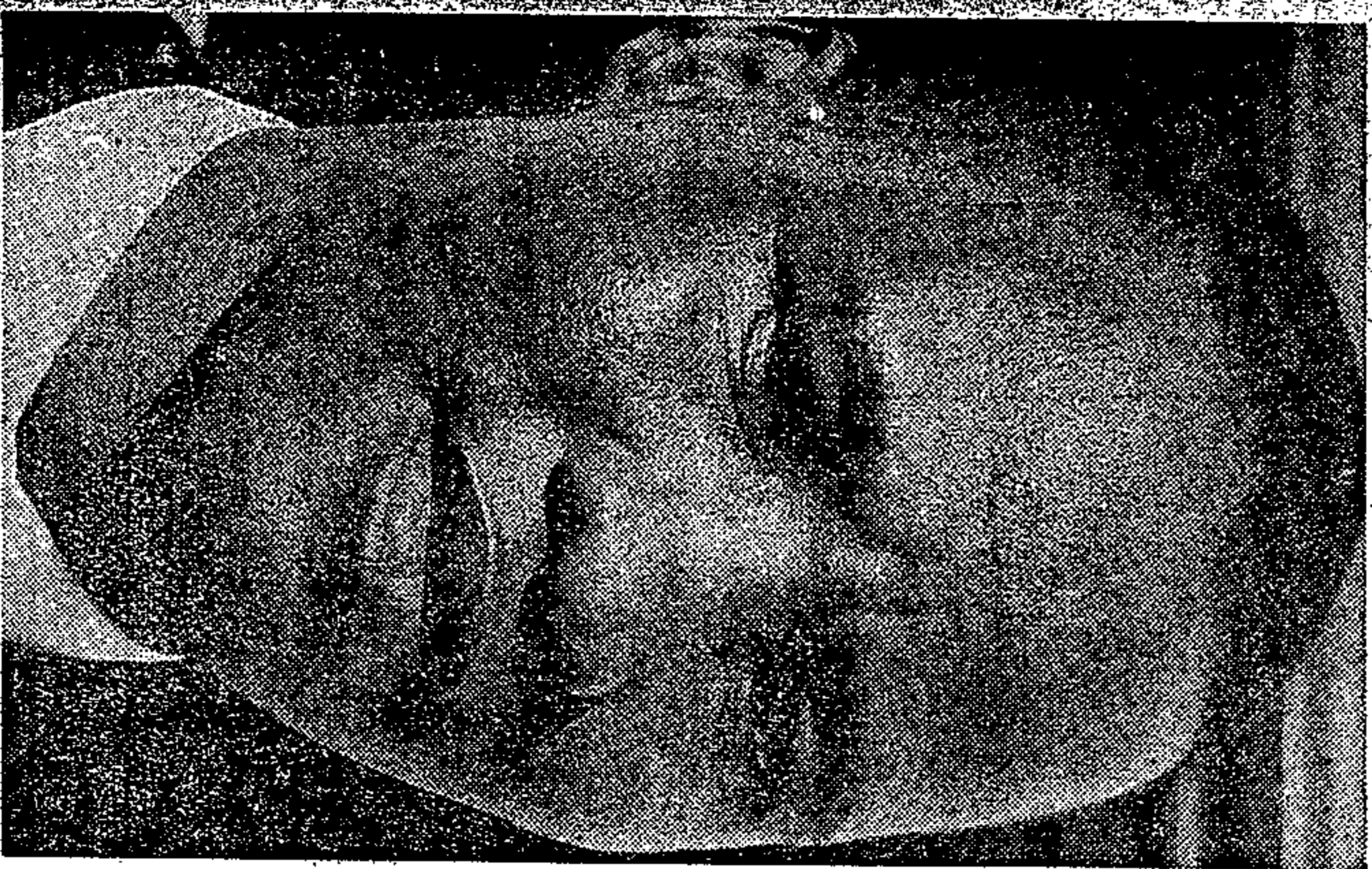
By his recent actions Chief Matanzima seems to have returned to his early states stance of 'hell with the rest of the world.' It is the oddest of all his contradictions and one that defies interpretation.

Transkei — confusing contrasts on BBC TV

The Argus Bureau

LONDON. — British television viewers must have been utterly bewildered. On the eve of the birth of the world's newest independent state and apartheid's first geographical offspring, they were treated to a 45-minute documentary film portraying the Transkei as a land of stark and

A White BBC television reporter being refused a room at an Umata hotel because it is for Blacks only, while a Black Cabinet Minister tells the world that Whites who stay after the spring will be very welcome in the multiracial society that is being born. This was the Transkei which BBC



Paramount Chief Matanzima.

FARMING HAS GREAT POTENTIAL

The Argus Political Correspondent

THE Republic of the Transkei will claim its independence at midnight today has a land area of 4.4 million ha, which makes it larger than 12 other African countries bigger than Switzerland and twice the size of Wales.

Situated in the southern eastern corner of South Africa its natural borders are formed by the Great Kei River, the Drakens-

berg Mountains and the Indian Ocean.

The Transkei also borders on Lesotho, Natal and the Cape Province.

Because a large part of the Transkeian population lives for at least part of the year outside the homeland — mainly because of migrant labour — the population has to be divided into two groups: the factor population and the de jure population.

The de facto population is that part of the population actually present in the homeland. The de jure population is the de facto population as well as the temporary and continuous

absentees in White South Africa and the other homelands.

According to the 1970 census, the latest taken, the de jure population there were then more than 10 000 Whites and more than 7 000 Coloured people in the Transkei.

FARMING

Of the total de jure Xhosa population 43.7 percent live in White South Africa.

The area is potentially one of the best mixed-farming regions in South Africa.

The Transkei's budget has largely been subsidised by the South African Government — a practice that will continue, on a declining scale, after independence.

For 1976-77 the budget totalled R135.7-million.

The gross domestic product of the Transkei is estimated at about R32-million. Agriculture was the greatest contributor at more than R4-million, followed by community, social and personal services at more than R34-million.

INCOME

The gross national income is about R410-million. Migrant labourers made the largest contribution to the GNI. According to the latest available figures 303 238 Transkeian men were working in White South Africa as opposed to 87 479 men and women employed in the homeland.

Migrant workers contribute about 70 percent of the GNI. Non-Blacks living in the Transkei accounted for less than four percent.

It has been estimated that the Transkei could provide South Africa with half the tea it needs annually. It is also capable of producing coffee, sugar cane, cotton and hemp worth R40-million a year.

UNTAPPED

In 1975 Transkeian livestock totalled 1.3-million cattle; 2.5-million sheep and 1.4-million goats.

While annual turnover could amount to 20 percent, the actual turnover is only one percent — leaving the Transkei's meat potential virtually untapped.

The Transkeian forestry industry is considered to have great potential.

Forestry covers about 200 000 ha of which 70 000 ha is under indigenous trees and more than 60 000 ha is under plantations.

About 6 500 people are at present employed by the industry and forestry products sold during 1975/76 were worth more than R2-million.

When an additional 100 000 ha of plantations is established as planned, requiring a capital investment of R50-million, a further 7 500 jobs could be created and the Transkei would net R25-million a year.

BLACK FAMILY

A White woman getting ready to leave the territory because she cannot stomach the thought of a Black family living next door but who confesses to be co-existing quite happily with a Black family across the road.

A Black Transkeian army recruit vowing that the main duty of the 100-strong defence force is to protect his people from the communists. While a Black minister of religion and Member of Parliament admits the newly emergent nation will accept aid from the Eastern bloc if necessary.

NO BITTERNESS

Surprisingly, perhaps, the sprinkling of Whites interviewed on the programme, screened during the peak early evening viewing hour, showed no hint of bitterness or resentment.

Most were happy to be staying on under Black rule — in complete contrast to their Rhodesian colleagues whose gloomy prognostications of life in a Black Zimbabwe have dominated television screens in Britain for weeks on end.

television presented to the outside world yesterday — just two days before the South African flag is lowered for the last time in a state which, so far, only South Africa itself will recognise.

It was, overall, a sympathetic portrayal by reporter John Pizey in which the peaceful nature of the transition was spotlighted.

UMTATA DIARY

New power: A blessing or curse?

The Argus Bureau

UMTATA. — The final countdown for Transkei independence has begun.

The programme of today's events in Umtata is:

Morning — Arrival of South African State President and other dignitaries.

7.15 pm — State banquet given by the South African State President.

8 pm — Traditional dancing at the Independence Stadium.

11.15 pm — Address by South African State President and handing over of the Status of the Transkei Act.

11.45 pm — Singing of Die Stem followed by the lowering of the South African flag.

11.58 pm — Playing of the Transkeian national anthem and the raising of the flag of the Republic of Transkei.

The Argus Correspondent

UMTATA. — Independence could be either a blessing or a curse to the Transkei and to the rest of South Africa, depending on how the rulers used their new power.

Says the Anglican Bishop of Port St Johns.

A small minority, if justice is ruled by politics, and to the rest of South Africa, depending on how the rulers used their new power.

The chief of headman should not require a present before he would open his mouth.

But blessing would result if no one need starve in the future Transkei and if those in authority make their first care the wellbeing of the humblest of their people.

Good would come from independence if the courts offered equal justice to all, and if the poorest in the land could look with confidence to the police for protection.

Bishop Schuster said there were people in the Transkei who opposed the idea of independence for the territory. Some demanded immediate majority rule for

the Black people of the whole of South Africa and were even willing to pay the price of bloodshed by which alone such an immediate transfer of power might be achieved.

POWER BASIS

Others believed that it was right to take what was offered and to use such power bases to win further change in the future.

According to Chief Jeremiah Moshesh, Transkei Minister of Health, the Transkei had been a sick country under the yoke of foreign domination, but its people could now rejoice at the prospect of liberating themselves.

Chief Moshesh said the riches of the Transkei had been systematically exploited and syphonned off to enrich overlords,

leaving bare bones and crusts for the children of the soil to gnaw and chew as best they could.

The choicest cuts from the carcass, had gone to grace the tables of foreign overlords and rich merchants, while the indigenous peoples had been undernourished, physically and mentally, for several generations.

Mr M. C. Botha, South African Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said an independent Transkei's basic function would be to provide for the spiritual and material wellbeing of its peoples, not to play a role in international politics.

Transkei's de facto independence at midnight tonight was not changed by the fact that certain organisations and states had decided to withhold recognition of the state's independence, Mr Botha said on the radio programme Top Level, reports Sapa.

President arrives in Umtata

The Argus Correspondent

UMTATA. — The ceremonial build-up to the Transkei's independence began with the arrival of the State President, Dr N. Diederichs, and Mrs Diederichs in Umtata earlier today.

The presidential couple arrived by air from Pretoria at the new K. D. Matanzima Airport and were flown by helicopter to the residence of the Commissioner General of the Transkei where they will stay during the visit.

They then drove to the Bungena Parliament building where they were greeted by Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Prime Minister designate of the Transkei.

Outside the Bungena, Dr Diederichs took a salute from the State President's guard and inspected it with Chief Matanzima while a 21-gun salute was fired.

Chief Matanzima then presented members of his Cabinet, local dignitaries and South African VIPs, including the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Brand Fourie.

MIDNIGHT

On the stroke of midnight there will be a 101-gun salute and torches throughout the new state will be lit.

12.05 am (October 26) — Torch bearers from the nine regions of the Transkei will enter the stadium and kindle the Independence Flame.

12.15 am — After a prayer and scripture reading, the Prime Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, will address the nation followed by the Transkei national anthem and a fireworks display.

The Argus Correspondent

UMTATA. — Chief George Matanzima, the Transkei Minister of Justice, last night indicated unequivocally that there would be an amnesty for certain prisoners after independence tonight.

Asked specifically if there would be an amnesty, Chief Matanzima said he was sure certain

prisoners would be affected when the Transkei became independent.

In a short interview here last night he said he 'did not know' whether political prisoners would be included in any of the independence benefits.

There are at present 13 top Democratic Party members in detention in the Transkei.

MAIN CONCERN

The main concern of Transkei at this stage will be financial investment to develop its natural resources and to stimulate social and economic progress. Investment depends on the state's political stability and its economic potential.

Transkei has great economic potential and its political stability is in the hands of the Transkeians themselves.

Independence for Transkei would bring a new situation and new challenges for Transkeians and South Africans and would demand adaptations, but would not pose insurmountable problems, Mr Botha said.

AMNESTY

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Amnesty for some possible

The Argus Correspondent

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EMBARGO : 12h00
25/10/76

PRESS RELEASE BY DR J. DE BEER, SECRETARY FOR HEALTH,
IN RESPECT OF SIGNED AGREEMENTS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS
OF SOUTH AFRICA AND TRANSKEI REGARDING HEALTH SERVICES

In an agreement signed by the Governments of the Republic of South Africa and Transkei regarding consultation, co-operation and reciprocal assistance in matters concerning health services it has been agreed that the two countries will continue to assist each other with the training of health personnel. The training facilities of the two countries will therefore be placed at the disposal of all their citizens.

As far as international health requirements for travellers are concerned it has been agreed that international health documents will not be required of citizens of the two countries when crossing the common borders. This was agreed to as internationally accepted health standards will be maintained by both the countries and vaccination or health documentation will therefore not be required.

In the case of hospitalisation it has been accepted that citizens of the two countries who cannot individually accept liability for their own hospital fees will be treated in provincial and other state hospitals and Transkei hospitals without the recovery of the expenditure between the two countries. As far as officials of the Public Service of the Republic of South Africa are concerned and where their services are made available to the Government of Transkei it has been further agreed that the Department of Health will provide for such officials health facilities in Transkei.

Goods produced, manufactured or processed for human consumption will by agreement comply with the provisions of the present legislation when imported or exported by either South Africa or Transkei. This part of the agreement will ensure that these goods may be imported and exported without any further health control.

Both South Africa and Transkei considered it necessary that there should be consultation, co-operation and reciprocal aid in matters relating to the control of medicines and various professions as well as training and registration of these professional persons. For this reason the two governments agreed that the relevant statutory bodies in the two countries shall conclude separate agreements whereby these matters are regularised. This will ensure that the present standards and registration requirements will apply in both countries.

The agreements will become effective on the date of independence of Transkei which is 26 October 1976.

ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION ON
REQUEST OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

PRETORIA

ADDRESS BY THE STATE PRESIDENT, DR. N. DIEDERICHS, ON
THE OCCASION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF TRANSKEI

EMBARGO: 25 OCTOBER, 1976: 23h30

Mr. Chief Minister, Honoured Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen -

It is indeed an historic hour that we are experiencing as, within the hour, the Republic of Transkei will be born. It is given to very few to be present at the birth of a new state; and to fewer still is it given to be present when a state is born in such a peaceful manner.

Let us look back for a few moments before we proceed with the momentous event which lies before us.

Firstly, let us remember the fathers of the Transkeian Nation: those ancestors whose great deeds are recalled in the history of your people and who are deeply revered by you all. The achievements of the figures of the past make an important contribution to the cohesion and heritage of a nation. It is not for me to single out any of the

great names, because you know them all, the leaders who were the forefathers of the people of Transkei.

In the second place, let us look at the leaders of your nation at the present time and let me say, immediately, that the people of Transkei have been fortunate in their leaders.

There are your five Kings, or Paramount Chiefs, of Eastern Pondoland, Gcalekaland, Tembuland, Western Pondoland and Western Tembuland, each of whom has guided his people as their traditional ruler. They have held very important positions in your Legislative Assembly and will continue to do so in your National Assembly in terms of the new Constitution of the Republic of Transkei.

3/....

There are your political leaders in the modern constitutional sense, and here I refer particularly to the members of your Cabinet. These persons are, in their own right, outstanding individuals, but there is among them one who rises above all as a result of his wise leadership, his statesmanship, and that person is the Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Daliwonga Matanzima. We in South Africa have walked a long road with the Chief Minister. It is he who, since 1963, has led Transkei through the constitutional processes of self-government towards independence, and I am sure that he will continue to serve his people and country with the same unselfish dedication.

To pave the way for Transkei's smooth transition from an integral part of South Africa to an independent State, and with a view to regulating matters of mutual concern which

4/....

both Governments have recognised, the Governments of Transkei and South Africa have signed a number of agreements. These agreements have laid down the pattern of our future inter-state relations. They also testify to the multiplicity of matters which are of common interest to neighbouring States.

Relations between States and their people are not, however, regulated by treaties and international agreements alone, but also by the attitudes of Governments and especially their people. The Governments and people of South Africa and Transkei have been closely associated and have depended upon one another for many years in the daily tasks of

5/.....

life and the promotion of development. This will also be the case in the future and I can state with deep sincerity that never has a new State been born with such goodwill and common purpose.

The people of South Africa have viewed with sympathetic understanding the natural desire of Transkei to achieve independence. And so our two Governments and peoples have moved patiently yet resolutely over the years through the various stages leading to the climax which we are witnessing tonight. A great deal of work has been done. Administrative arrangements for the transition to Independence were made, the agreements I have already mentioned were concluded, laws were passed - culminating in two historic documents, your own Constitution and the Status of Transkei Act 1976

6/.....

passed by the South African Parliament, which divests the Republic of South Africa of all sovereignty and authority over Transkei and its citizens and provides for Transkei to be a sovereign and independent State.

Tomorrow your Parliament will consider this Constitution, drafted and revised and thoroughly examined by your Recess Committee and your Legislative Assembly. You will be masters of your own political destiny in accordance with the rules which you yourselves will have adopted.

The Republic of Transkei will comply with all the normal requirements for recognition as an independent State. Under

7/....

wise leadership, Transkei has enjoyed good and stable government, and I am confident that, in the new era that lies before you, good government, stability and progress will be the ideal and achievement.

South Africa will, from the outset, exchange Ambassadors with Transkei and I have no doubt that, in time, the Republic of Transkei will take its rightful place in the international community of states.

The achievement of an Independent Transkei has taken place in harmony and mutual understanding. This same harmony and mutual understanding will, I am sure, characterise future relations between Transkei and South Africa.

As neighbours there will and must be close co-operation in matters of common concern. There will, I am convinced, be

8/....

awareness of our responsibilities not only to our own two countries but to southern Africa as a whole, this rich and diverse part of the continent of Africa which claims our love and loyalty and where our present and our future lie.

We in south Africa know from our own experience the vital and constructive forces that are released by the attainment of the ideal of independence, and we know that Transkei will marshal these forces to achieve greater progress and prosperity for its people. The challenges for any state in the world today are enormous, and call for wisdom, patience and resolution. We have no doubt that the
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Republic of Transkei possesses the qualities and resources to meet the challenge of the future. It is an exciting prospect for you, as a newly-independent state, and we in South Africa will watch your progress with sympathy and understanding.

The Government and the peoples of the Republic of South Africa, as friends and neighbours, wish the Government and the people of the Republic of Transkei well and God speed on their way.

May the guidelines which have been laid down for the future co-operation between our two countries and the good spirit in which Independence has been attained lead us to an even closer understanding of each other and an ever increasing friendship and mutual respect.

It now remains for me to ask the Chief Minister to receive, on behalf of the people of Transkei, this symbol of the handing over of authority and Independence, namely this copy of the Status of Transkei Act, 1976, and the golden pen with which it was signed and made law.

I thank you all, and may God bless you.

ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION AT THE REQUEST
OF THE OFFICE OF THE STATE PRESIDENT

PRETORIA

21 October, 1976

TOESPRAAK DEUR SY EDELE S.P. BOTHA, L.V., MINISTER VAN ARBEID,
GELEWER TYDENS DIE OPENING VAN DIE JAARKONGRES VAN DIE MOTOR-
NYWERHEID-WERKNEMERSUNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA IN JOHANNESBURG OP
25 OKTOBER 1976 OM 20h00

VIR VRYSTELLING NA LEWERING OM 20h00 OP 25 OKTOBER 1976

Geagte Burgemeester, mnr die President en Kongresgangers,
dit is vir my aangenaam om vanaand saam met u te kan verkeer en
ek wil dan ook die Motornywerheid-werknemersunie van Suid-Afrika
hartlik bedank vir die uitnodiging aan my om die amptelike
opening van die Unie se jaarkongres te kan bywoon.

Ek is dankbaar vir die geleentheid om in my hoedanigheid as
Minister van Arbeid as gasspreker by dié geleentheid te kan
optree, aangesien dit die eerste keer is waar ek in 'n amptelike
hoedanigheid met verteenwoordigers van u vereniging kan kennis
maak.

Soos u weet, is die bewerkstelling en handhawing van arbeids-
vrede een van die vernaamste funksies van my Departement, en ten
einde hierdie funksie te kan vervul, trag my Departement
voortdurend om die goeie samewerking en welwillendheid van alle
arbeidsorganisasies te behou. U sal begryp dat sonder hierdie
samewerking dit haas onmoontlik sal wees om ons strewe na te-
vredenheid en harmonie in die arbeidsveld te verwesenlik.

Geleenthede soos hierdie stel my in staat om deur kontak en
deur gedagtes te wissel in voeling met die behoeftes en
strewes van die land se werkers te bly wat net tot groter insig
en meelewing aan albei kante kan lei.

Om hierdie rede dan, mnr die President, verwelkom ek die ge-
leentheid des te meer om vanaand hier in u midde te kan wees
en 'n paar woorde tot u te kan rig.

Aan my is meegedeel dat die Motornywerheid-werknemersunie
van Suid-Afrika tans in die omgewing van 23,000 lede het, wat
hom onder die 10 grootste vakbonde in die land plaas.

U wat dus afgevaardig is om hierdie kongres by te woon, is in werklikheid die leiers van daardie groot getal lede wat na u opsien om u vereniging se beleid en rigting vir die komende jaar te bepaal. Dit is inderdaad 'n baie groot verantwoordelikheid wat op u skouers rus. Ek wil dus vanaand die geleentheid te baat neem om met u gedagtes te wissel oor sekere sake waarmee u daaglik te doen kry en ten opsigte waarvan u by een of ander geleentheid leiding moet gee aan diegene wat u verteenwoordig.

Die sake waarmee u as vakbondleiers te doen kry, omvat 'n wye veld dog ek is nie voornemens om vanaand aan die hele terrein aandag te skenk nie. Ek wil slegs sommige van die aspekte wat na my mening die belangrikste is, van nader beskou.

Soos u bewus is, beleef Suid-Afrika ekonomies tans moeilike tye.

Alhoewel daar bespiegel word dat die ekonomiese klimaat binne die volgende paar maande mag verbeter, is dit in die lig van die talle probleemsituasies waarmee ons land tans te kampe het, duidelik dat elke landsburger die grootste mate van ywer en spaarsaamheid aan die dag sal moet lê om te verseker dat ons land nie kwesbaar gelaat word nie. Teen hierdie agtergrond sal daar aan almal besondere eise gestel word wat groter toewyding, harder werk en doelgerigter optrede verg.

Ek is seker dat elkeen wat prys stel op die behoud van ons land en sy mense nie hiervoor sal terugdeins nie en geen offerering te hoog sal ag nie.

Elke burger van hierdie land behoort sy eie belange teen die agtergrond van die land se belange te sien en moet noodwendig ag slaan op sekere breëre ekonomiese aspekte.

Geen lojale landsburger kan na ons ekonomiese tendense kyk sonder om ernstig ag te slaan op die nadelige uitwerking van inflasie nie.

Dit is op die oomblik een van ons grootste knelpunte. Dit is 'n wêreldprobleem wat ons in eie geledere met elke wapen tot ons beskikking sal moet beveg.

Eerstens sal ons die stryd teen inflasie eenvoudig móet wen om volgehoue groei en die handhawing van ons lewensstandaard te verseker. Tweedens moet ons ons Vaderland in hierdie tye so sterk as moontlik hou en ons krag gaan in 'n aansienlike mate afhang van hoe gesond ons ekonomie is.

Inflasie is die resultaat van die mensdom se eie doen en late en hy kan hierdie knelpunt alleen afweer deur sy eie wil om dit te oorkom.

Te veel van ons hedendaagse mense het daaraan gewoon geraak om welvaart en 'n demokratiese vrye sosio-ekonomiese lewenswyse as gegewe regte te beskou wat as sodanig vir alle tye gewaarborg sou wees.

Hulle beskou dit as vanselfsprekend dat hulle inkomstes en lewensstandaard elke jaar outomaties sal verbeter. Hulle moet egter beseft dat vryheid en voorspoed alleen deur opoffering verwerf is en alleen deur harde werk, vindingrykheid, ywer, en dus deur optimale produktiwiteit gehandhaaf kan word. Ons sal eenvoudig verhoging van produktiwiteit in alle sektore van ons bedryfslewe moet sien as een van die magtigste middele om inflasie te bestry.

Daar is verskeie oorsake vir die huidige inflasionêre toestand. Een van die belangrikste wat ek graag wil noem en wat u as vakkond raak, is die kwessie van koste-inflasie. Hierdie tipe inflasie kan die beste geïllustreer word waar ons te doen kry met byvoorbeeld lone wat vinniger as produktiwiteit styg. Die uitwerking van hierdie toedrag van sake is dat die produksiekoste van goedere asook dienste styg omdat die koste verbonde aan die verhoogde lone net eenvoudig die verkoopprijs van die eindproduk opjaag.

Daarbenewens veroorsaak inflasie dat die hele kostestruktuur van die ekonomie nadelig getref word, veral indien dit tot gevolg het dat ingevoerde goedere goedkoper as plaaslik-vervaardigde produkte beskikbaar is. Ook het dit tot gevolg dat die loon- en salaristrekker se lewensstandaard daal omdat lone nie altyd met die styging van lewenskoste tred hou nie.

Dit is nie my bedoeling om van u te verwag om nie op hoër lone of ander verbeterde diensvoorwaardes aan te dring nie. Maar omdat inflasie soveel gevare vir ons land inhou, wil ek 'n ernstige beroep op werkers doen om selfbeheersing ten opsigte van eise vir hoër lone en salarisse aan die dag te lê, en nie die kwessie van produktiwiteit uit die oog te verloor wanneer eise gestel word nie. Ek wil egter nie dié oproep tot werkers in die motornywerheid beperk nie - ek rig dit aan werkers in alle sektore van ons land.

In dieselfde asem wil ek dit egter duidelik stel dat dit nie slegs van die werkers verwag word om opofferings te maak om die inflasieprobleem te bowe te kom nie. Ook die werkgewers sal hulle deel moet bydra deur prysverhogings in toom te hou en alles moontlik in die werk te stel om te verseker dat sy werkers, sy masjinerie en toerusting so produktief moontlik benut word.

Ons beleef tans 'n verlangsamings in die tempo van ekonomiese bedrywighede. Die inflasie-euwel het geen geringe aandeel hierin gehad nie en die kwessie van nie-optimale produktiwiteit is, myns insiens, in 'n hoë mate vir die steeds hoë peil van inflasie verantwoordelik.

Dit is daarom dat die aksieprogram teen inflasie, wat tot dusver aan verwagtinge voldoen het soveel klem op hoër produktiwiteit lê. Ofskoon u vereniging nie 'n mede-ondertekenaar van die aksieprogram teen inflasie is nie, glo ek tog dat die vereniging en sy lede ons stryd teen inflasie steun. Dit is 'n saak van landsbelang wat die heelhartige steun van elke Suid-Afrikaner verdien.

However serious the need for increased productivity may be, it is clear that the Government cannot be expected to handle this problem all by itself. Various steps have already been taken by the Government to alleviate the skilled manpower shortage and to increase productivity.

In addition to immigration and the greater utilisation of female labour as two ways to alleviate the skilled manpower shortage, various other steps have been taken by the Government to augment the skilled labour resources.

The Apprenticeship Act was specifically revised and amended to improve training and to stimulate the intake of apprentices. Apprenticeship periods have since been reduced, in a number of industries, while training schedules have been overhauled and modernised to improve the quality of training.

The system of qualifying trade testing has also been improved to accelerate the attainment of artisan status.

Fifteen years ago the average yearly intake of apprentices was about $6\frac{1}{2}$ thousand as against an average of 11 thousand during the last five years.

Just on 11 500 persons have qualified as artisans in terms of the Government's scheme enabling adults to attain skilled status in terms of the Training of Artisans Act.

The object of this measure is to alleviate the position where a serious shortage of artisans may exist. The Act is supplementary to the Apprenticeship Act and caters for the training of persons, other than minors, who have not had the opportunity of entering into an apprenticeship, in order to enable them to attain artisan status in trades where there is a serious shortage of skilled workers. Intensive training is provided to White persons in a Government institution at Westlake in the Cape on a full-time basis for 12 months and this is followed by training in employment with an approved employer.

Persons who have not served an apprenticeship but who have nevertheless attained the requisite degree of skill through practical experience, are also accorded artisan status in terms of the Training of Artisans Act on successfully undergoing a prescribed trade test.

Technical training facilities have been improved and considerably extended. As a result, the number of full-time students at technical and vocational institutions have more than doubled since 1960.

To encourage employers to train for their own needs instead of drawing trained workers from other establishments, the Industrial Conciliation Act was amended a few years ago specifically to enable industries to introduce schemes aimed at compelling all employers to contribute financially towards the training of skilled and other personnel.

As a further stimulant to training, the Government has granted liberal tax concessions to employers who participate in training schemes. It is up to industry to utilize the machinery and concessions thus placed at its disposal to further speed up the flow of trained workers.

The need for increased productivity is such that training cannot be confined to Whites. It is in any event Government policy to stimulate the creation of employment opportunities whereby the living standards of all sections of the population could be improved progressively. With this end in view my Department also administers Acts whereby Non-Whites could be trained and afforded an opportunity of performing skilled work.

Close on 2 500 Coloureds and Asians were apprenticed last year in terms of the Apprenticeship Act, while some 9 000 Bantu have qualified as skilled workers in a variety of building trades under the Bantu Building Workers Act since the Act came into operation.

Mnr die President, ek het 'n paar van die stappe aan u voorgesê wat die Regering gedoen het in 'n poging om 'n oplossing te vind vir ons huidige mannekragtekort en om hoër produktiwiteit in die hand te werk.

Daar is egter myns insiens verskeie ander moontlikhede wat deur die nywerheid aangewend kan word om die tekort aan mannekrag te verlig.

En die effektiwiefste hiervan is natuurlik die beter benutting van ons beskikbare arbeidskragte.

'n Land se ekonomiese groei is in 'n baie groot mate afhanklik van die beskikbare opgeleide mannekrag. Sonder die nodige opgeleide mannekrag kan 'n land haas nie ekonomies ontwikkel nie.

Ons besef almal dat daar tans, die verlangsamings in die ekonomiese bedrywighede ten spyte, steeds 'n tekort aan mannekrag - veral geskoolde arbeid - in die Republiek ondervind word. Soos reeds aangetoon, is dit 'n probleem wat die Regering se ernstige aandag geniet want arbeid is en bly 'n sleutelfaktor in die gesonde uitbreiding van ons ekonomie.

Die toekomstige groei en vooruitgang van ons land sal tot groot hoogte afhang van die mate waarin ons daarin slaag om hierdie probleem te bowe te kom - of ons die regte weë en middele prakseer en aanwend om die volste en beste gebruik van ons beskikbare arbeidsmag te maak.

Ook in die motornywerheid is daar 'n toenemende aanvraag na geskoolde arbeid. Toe ek dus die uitnodiging aanvaar het om vanaand by hierdie geleentheid as gasspreker op te tree het ek myself die vraag afgevra hoe hierdie vraag bevredig kan word.

Ek is terdeë bewus daarvan dat die motornywerheid een van die eerstes was met die stelsel van herindelings van werkverrigtings wat voorheen as die werk van vakmanne geklassifiseer is en tradisioneel veral deur Blankes verrig is, as gevolg waarvan die

minder geskoolde aspekte deur werkers in die laer kategorieë verrig kan word. Hierdie stelsel het dan ook in 'n mate die druk op die opgeleide mannekrag verlig, maar dit alleen is skynbaar nie die oplossing vir die probleem nie.

By nadere ondersoek wil dit my voorkom dat daar in u nywerheid hoegenaamd nie genoeg vakleerlinge opgelei word om die steeds groeiende getal voertuie op ons paaie behoorlik te kan versien nie - 'n feit wat binne afsienbare tyd baie stremmend op ons ekonomie kan inwerk, as dit nie klaar reeds 'n uitwerking het nie.

Volgens statistieke tot my Departement se beskikking is daar in 1972 altesaam 2 358 vakleerlinge in die motornywerheid ingeboek. Hoewel dié getal in 1973 met 97 gestyg het, het dit daarna redelik skerp gedaal en het daar in 1975 slegs 1 661 nuwe vakleerlinge die nywerheid betree - met ander woorde 'n daling van 29,6% op die syfer vir 1972. Daar is aanduidings dat die syfer vir 1976 nóg laer as dié vir 1975 sal wees en die vraag ontstaan onwillekeurig wat die rede of redes vir hierdie agteruitgang kan wees.

Daar word beweer dat hierdie toedrag van sake onder meer gewyt kan word aan die beperkings wat ingestel is met die oog op brandstofbesparing. Die mening word gehuldig dat aangesien mense as gevolg van die beperkings minder van motorvervoer gebruik maak en verplig is om teen 'n matige spoed te reis, die behoefte aan hersteldienste - en dus na opgeleide arbeid - gedaal het. Dat die beperkings wel 'n invloed op die bedrywig-hede van die motornywerheid moet hê, kan seker nie betwis word nie.

Daar moet egter nie uit die oog verloor word nie, dat Suid-Afrika se bevolking toeneem, dat hul lewensstandaard geleidelik verbeter en dat die getal voertuie op ons paaie dus ook moet toeneem.

Dit spreek dus vanself dat 'n posisie moet ontstaan waar die toenemende getal voertuie op ons paaie- en die toenemende vraag na hersteldienste wat noodwendig daaruit moet voortspruit - behoort

te vergoed vir enige afname in die nywerheid se bedrywigheede as gevolg van die beperkings. Die moontlikheid bestaan selfs dat die vraag na hersteldienste die perke van vroeër mag oorskry.

Dit is vir my duidelik dat wanneer daar 'n oplewing in die bedrywigheede van die motornywerheid sal kom, die nywerheid ten opsigte van geskoolde arbeid met ernstige arbeidsprobleme te kampe sal hê.

Die dalende inname van vakleerlinge getuig hiervan.

As in ag geneem word dat die opleiding van vakmanne in die motornywerheid oor 'n tydperk van drie tot vyf jaar geskied, is hierdie 'n aangeleentheid waaroor die nywerheid vroeër of later ernstig sal moet besin en waaraan u vereniging, mnr die President, uit die aard van die saak ook aandag sal moet skenk.

U sal onthou dat die behoefte aan die opleiding van Kleurlinge as motorwerktuigkundiges die Regering 'n paar jaar gelede genoop het om 'n opleidingsentrum vir Kleurlinge in die Kaap op te rig. Hierdie sentrum wat deur die Administrasie van Kleurlingsake in stand gehou word, is teen hoë koste daargestel dog kan maar net 40 Kleurlingvakmanne per jaar ten opsigte van een ambag lewer.

'n Verdere probleem wat in die jongste tyd onder my aandag gekom en waarby u vereniging ook belang het, is dat daar skynbaar nie genoegsame Blankes beskikbaar is om as vakleerlinge in die motornywerheid ingeboek te word nie. U is bewus daarvan dat as gevolg van dié probleem daar in die jongste tyd etlike Blankes as vakleerlinge ingeskryf is sonder dat hulle aan die minimum voorgeskrewe kwalifikasies voldoen het.

Mnr die President, ons woon en werk in 'n veelvolkige land en as ons in gedagte hou dat die Blankes, wat minder as 'n vyfde van die totale bevolking uitmaak, grootliks in die basiese behoeftes van al die volke van Suid-Afrika moet voorsien, behoort dit vir elkeen duidelik te wees dat die huidige posisie nie onbepaald sal kan voortduur nie. Daar is net nie genoeg Blankes om al die werk wat hulle tradisioneel gedoen het, langer te behartig nie

en die vraag wat by my opkom is of ons nie ernstige aandag daaraan moet begin gee om meer Kleurlinge en Asiërs in die motornywerheid met die oog op die toekomst op te lei nie.

Die afgelope vier jaar is daar jaarliks gemiddeld 242 Gekleurdes, dit wil sê Kleurlinge en Asiërs, in die motornywerheid as vakleerlinge ingeskryf teenoor 1 875 Blankes per jaar. Persentasie-gewys verteenwoordig die Gekleurdes dus gemiddeld slegs sowat 11,4% van die vakleerlinge wat jaarliks tot die motornywerheid toetree.

Ek is meegedeel dat die klein persentasie Kleurling- en Asiërvakleerlinge wat in motorambagte opleiding ontvang in 'n groot mate te wyte is aan die ongeneentheid van lede van u vereniging om persone van daardie bevolkingsgroepe op te lei.

Dit is geensins my bedoeling om met u vakbond se standpunt oor hierdie aangeleentheid fout te vind of dit te kritiseer nie. Ek glo dat u vakbond nie ligtelik tot hierdie standpunt beweeg is nie.

Dit is immers die taak van 'n vakbond om na die belange van sy lede om te sien. Die vraag wat egter by my ontstaan is of dit nie gerade is dat u in die lig van die probleme wat ek geskets het weer oor die kwessie van die opleiding van Gekleurde vakleerlinge in die motornywerheid besin nie?

Ek wil dit egter duidelik aan u stel dat nóg ek nóg my Departement aan u sal voorskryf welke besluit u in hierdie verband moet neem of op welke grondslag enige toegewings gemaak moet word. Ek kan u ook die versekering gee dat die Regering, hoe belangrik die kwessie van mannekragtekort ookal mag wees, nie dwang op die vakbonde sal uitoefen om tradisionele werksterreine aan ander-rassiges prys te gee nie. Die Regering glo dat daar nie nywerheidsvrede kan wees as die Blanke se werkgeleentheid in gevaar gestel word nie en dat goeie arbeidsverhoudinge nie in sulke omstandighede kan voortbestaan nie. Dit is daarom dat daar telkens van owerheidsweë beklemtoon word dat die gebruik van Nie-Blankes op aspekte van geskoolde werk slegs in samewerking met die Blanke werkers en hul vakbonde moet geskied.

Met die oog op die ernstige mannekragposisie wat daar in die motornywerheid kan ontstaan neem ek vanaand die vrymoedigheid om u te vra om weer na die probleem betreffende die opleiding van Gekleurde vakleerlinge te kyk. U ken u nywerheid, u weet tot welke mate die belange van u lede beskerm moet word en in welke mate die belange van Suid-Afrika op die spel is.

Met inagneming van die wydverspreide onrus wat onlangs in ons land voorgekom het is dit die plig van elke Blanke om ons Eerste Minister by te staan in die gestanddoening van sy belofte aan ons Gekleurde bevolking dat hul griewe ondersoek sal word, en dit is lank reeds een van die Kleurlinge se griewe dat daar nie genoeg werkgeleenthede in die hoër werkskategorieë vir hulle beskikbaar is nie.

Dit is moreel reg en ter wille van stabiliteit en vrede noodsaaklik dat alle rassegroepe voldoende werkgeleenthede gebied word.

Ons Gekleurde jeug is in 'n groot mate van lede van u vereniging afhanklik vir opleiding in die motornywerheid omdat daar nie genoegsame Gekleurde ondernemings is by wie hulle vir opleiding kan gaan aanklop nie.

Ek glo nie dat dit bloot toeval is dat die leuse van u vereniging "Deur samewerking kom oorwinning" is nie. Die Regering kon nog altyd op u samewerking staatmaak en daarom het ek die vrymoedigheid om ook hierdie baie belangrike saak in u midde te lê.

Mnr die President, met dié paar gedagtes wil ek my beste wense oordra vir 'n suksesvolle en vrugbare kongres. Mag die besluite wat geneem word tot voordeel strek van u lede sowel as van ons land as geheel.

UITGEREIK DEUR DIE DEPARTEMENT VAN INLIGTING OP VERSOEK VAN DIE MINISTERIE VAN ARBEID.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Transkei - Genaf
(103)

INDEPENDENCE OF TRANSKEI

PRESS STATEMENT RELEASED BY THE MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

At present goods and services move freely without any quantitative or other restrictions and free of customs duty between Transkei and South Africa. Similarly, there is a completely free movement of goods and services between Transkei and South Africa's three Customs Union partners, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

It is the declared intention of Transkei to apply for membership of the Customs Union between South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland after it attains independence.

An agreement on the economic relations between South Africa and Transkei to cover the interim period from the date of independence was signed in Pretoria on 17 September 1976.

This agreement provides for the continued free movement of goods and services between South Africa and Transkei after the latter attains independence, and for the continued application by Transkei after that date of the common customs, excise and sales duties applicable in the Customs Union Area.

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An agreement has also been entered into between the two Governments in terms of which the Government of Transkei has undertaken, inter alia, to introduce legislation in order to ensure the continuation of all existing rights in respect of matters pertaining to companies, patents, trade marks, designs and copyright after it attains independence until such time as the relevant rights are due for renewal. The two Governments have agreed, further, to declare each other as convention countries for the purposes of the various Acts relating to the aforementioned matters.

After independence Transkei will provide its own Weights and Measures and Price Control Inspection Services.

Transkei - General

103

**PERSVERKLARING DEUR DIE SEKRETARIS VAN VERVOER AANGAANDE
OOPEENKOMSTE TUSSEN DIE REGERING VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN
SUID-AFRIKA EN DIE REGERING VAN TRANSKEI OOR VERVOERAAN-
GELEENTHEDE RAKENDE DIE DEPARTEMENT VAN VERVOER.**

(Vir Onmiddellike Vrystelling)

Met die onafhanklikwording van Transkei op 26 Oktober 1976, tree verskeie ooreenkomste wat aangegaan is tussen die Regering van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en die Regering van Transkei rakende die Departement van Vervoer, in werking.

VERPLIGTE MOTORVOERTUIGVERSEKERING

Ingevolge 'n ooreenkoms tussen die Regering van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en dié van Transkei en die bepalings van die Wet op Verpligte Motorvoertuigversekering, 1972 (Wet 56 van 1972) soos gewysig, sal derdepartyversekering na onafhanklikwording van laasgenoemde tot en met 30 April 1977 op 'n basis bedryf word wat die motoriste publiek op geen manier hoegenaamd sal ontrief nie.

Dit is gereël dat bestaande derdepartyversekering ten opsigte van motorvoertuie wat in Transkei geregistreer is, van krag sal bly tot en met die verstryking van die versekerings-termy, dit wil sê 30 April 1977. Insgelyks sal derdeparty-versekering wat ten opsigte van motorvoertuie wat in die Republiek geregistreer is van krag wees in Transkei na sy onafhanklikwording tot 30 April 1977.

Voorsiening is ook gemaak dat bevoegde versekeraars en hulle agente na onafhanklikwording van Transkei voort sal gaan met die uitreiking van derdepartyversekering ingevolge die bepalings van die Republiek se Wet op Verpligte Motorvoertuigversekering, soos gewysig, ten opsigte van motorvoertuie wat in Transkei geregistreer is en dat sodanige derdepartyversekering in beide State van krag sal wees tot en met 30 April 1977.

Eise voortspuitende uit gemelde derdepartyversekering moet derhalwe soos in die verlede teen daardie bevoegde versekeraar wat

die betrokke versekering uitgereik het, ingestel word.

Daar was ook verder gereël dat eise ten opsigte van onversekerde en ongeïdentifiseerde motorvoertuie wat voor of op 30 April 1977 in Transkei ontstaan, nog soos in die verlede teen die Motorvoertuigassuransiefonds ingestel moet word volgens die bepalinge van die Motorvoertuigversekeringsregulasies, 1972 soos van toepassing in die Republiek.

PADVERVOERAANGELEENTHEDE

Die ooreenkoms wat tussen die Regering van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en die Regering van Transkei met betrekking tot padvervoeraangeleent- hede aangegaan is, tree op 26 Oktober 1976 in werking.

Hierdie ooreenkoms bepaal dat die wettige vervoer van persone of goedere deur middel van 'n motorvoertuig vanaf punte geleë binne die gebied van Transkei oor die gebied van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika na punte geleë binne die gemelde gebied van Transkei nie motortransport soos omskryf in artikel 1 van die Motortransportwet, 1930 (Wet 39 van 1930), soos gewysig, sal uitmaak nie, met dien verstande egter dat geen goedere of persone opgelaai of afgelaai word terwyl sodanige motorvoertuig in die gemelde gebied van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika opereer nie.

Voorts bepaal die ooreenkoms dat die wettige vervoer van persone of goedere deur middel van 'n motorvoertuig vanaf punte geleë buite die gebied van Transkei oor die gebied van Transkei onderneem mag word sonder dat magtiging vir daardie deurvervoer nodig is, met dien verstande ook dat geen goedere of persone opgelaai of afgelaai word terwyl sodanige motorvoertuig in die gemelde gebied van Transkei opereer nie.

In gevalle waar karwelers voornemens is om persone of goedere vanaf punte geleë binne die gebied van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika na punte geleë binne die gebied van Transkei te vervoer, moet sodanige vervoer gemagtig word deur die betrokke Plaaslike Padvervoerraad in die Republiek van Suid-Afrika sowel as deur die Padvervoerraad in Transkei. Dieselfde prosedure geld vir die vervoer van persone of goedere vanaf punte geleë binne die gebied van Transkei na punte geleë binne die gebied van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika.

Alle Plaaslike Padvervoerrade in die Republiek van Suid-Afrika asook die Padvervoerraad in Transkei is op volle hoogte van omstandighede en kan genader word indien nadere inligting benodig word.

LUGVAARTAANGELEENTHEDE

Op lugvaartgebied het die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en Transkei 'n Nota gewissel oor sake van gemeenskaplike belang en 'n Ooreenkoms onderteken vir die eksplorasie van vasgestelde lugdienste.

Die Nota maak daarvoor voorsiening dat lugvaartverhoudinge tussen Suid-Afrika en Transkei gebaseer sal wees op die internasionale konvensies en wysigings daarvan, waarvan Suid-Afrika 'n lid is.

Die eerste groep van hierdie konvensies is die Warschau-konvensie, die Den Haagse Protokol en die Guadalajara-konvensie. Hulle reël aanspreeklikheid vir skade wat deur belanghebbende partye gely word as gevolg van die dood of besering van 'n passasier in 'n lugvaartuig, wat op 'n internasionale vlug in 'n ongeluk betrokke was. Hulle reël ook vir aanspreeklikheid vir skade gely as gevolg van die vernietiging, beskadiging, verlies of vertraging van bagasie of vrag op sulke vlugte.

Die tweede groep is die Chicago-konvensie en die Transito-ooreenkoms wat internasionale standaarde, praktyke, prosedures, stelsels en oorvlugregte reël.

Die laaste groep is die Tokio, Den Haagse en Montreal-konvensies wat daarvoor voorsiening maak dat persone wat skuldig is aan misdrywe teen internasionale burgerlike lugvaart gestraf sal word of vir strafpleging uitgelewer sal word, dat

passasiers van gekaapte vliegtuie toegelaat moet word om hul reis voort te sit en dat sodanige vliegtuie aan hul eienaars terugbesorg moet word.

Laastens maak die Nota voorsiening vir die lewering van soek-en-reddingshuip en van lugverkeersleidingsdienste aan vliegtuie wat in Transkeise lugruim vlieg, en dat tegniese bystand op versoek aan Transkei gelewer kan word.

Die Lugdiensoreenkoms volg die normale patroon van sulke ooreenkomste. Dit maak onder andere voorsiening dat elke land een of meer van sy eie lugrederye kan aanwys om na die ander land te vlieg; vir die roetes wat hierdie lugrederye moet volg; vir die gelde en tariewe wat gehef mag word; en vir die frekwensie van vlugte, die weeklikse kapasiteit en die verkeerspunte wat toegelaat sal word. Die Ooreenkoms maak verder voorsiening vir die vergemakliking van formaliteite, vir die beskerming van die belange van die onderskeie lugvervoerders en dat elke land tevrede gestel moet word dat die lugrederye van die ander land in staat is om aan sy wette en regulasies te voldoen.

BESOEDELING VAN DIE SEE DEUR OLIE

Die Ooreenkoms tussen die Regerings van die Republiek van Transkei en die Republiek van Suid-Afrika in verband met die bestyding van besoedeling van die see deur olie, tree op 26 Oktober 1976 in werking.

Kragtens die Grondwet van die Republiek van Transkei bly die Suid-Afrikaanse Wet op die Voorkoming en Bestyding van besoedeling van die See deur Olie, 1971 (Wet 67 van 1971), soos gewysig, van toepassing op en van krag in Transkei. Hierdie wet skep die sogenaamde verbode gebied wat bestaan uit die strook see twaalf myl wyd langs die kus waarbinne 'n skip nie olie mag uitlees nie.

Hierdie wet verleen aan die Minister van Vervoer van Transkei uitgebreide magte om besoedeling van die see deur olie binne die verbode gebied van Transkei te bestry en te voorkom. Maar, aangesien Transkei nog nie oor die nodige organisasie beskik om 'n besoedeling aktief te bestry nie, sal Suid-Afrika met sy organisasie, hulpbronne en bedrewenheid wat deur die jare opgebou is, op versoek van Transkei, onderneem om 'n besoedeling van die see binne sy verbode gebied, te verwyder. Transkei kan ook op versoek van Suid-Afrika 'n soortgelyke diens binne die Suid-Afrikaanse verbode gebied lewer. Die land wat die diens lewer handel as 'n onafhanklike ondernemer en word deur die ander land betaal.

WEERDIENSTE

Wat weerdienste betref is Transkei tot op hede op gelyke voet behandel met enige ander deel van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en volgens die Ooreenkoms aangegaan tussen die Regerings van die Republiek en Transkei na onafhanklikwording sal die weerdienste aan Transkei onveranderd voortgesit word tot tyd en wyl daar spesifieke voorstelle vir verandering deur een of albei van die betrokke owerhede gemaak word.

Die Weerburo het tans 5 klimaatstasies in Transkei naamlik by Cape Hermes (Port St. Johns), Mbashe, Ncorafats, Paddock en Umtata. By hierdie stasies word een- tot seskeer per dag waarnemings van die weerselemente gedoen, op state ingeval en aan die Weerburo verstrek vir publikasie in maandelikse en jaarlikse verslae, asook vir klimaatstudies en verstrekking van inligting. Die stasies by Cape Hermes en Umtata is eerste orde stasies wat breedvoerige waarnemings 3- tot 6 keer per dag doen en berigte telegrafies aan die Weerburo verstrek vir voorspellingsdoeleindes. Daar is ietwat meer as 100 amptelike reënmeters in die gebied waar die reën daaglik gemeet word en maandeliks aan die Weerburo verstrek word.

Die Weerburo maak gebruik van al Transkeise weer- en klimaatdata netsoos vir alle stasies in die Republiek. So word weervoorspellings oor die radio verskele kere per dag verstrek vir die kusgebiede en die binneland van Transkei as dele van groter gebiede wat tot buite die grense van Transkei strek. Voorspellings vir skeepvaart dek ook die see aangrensende aan Transkei.

In die Ooreenkoms tussen die twee state verklaar die Republiek sy bereidwilligheid om behulpsaam te wees indien Transkei 'n eie weerdienst stig. Tot tyd en wyl so 'n eie weerdienst gestig word sal die Republiek voortgaan om :

- (1) die bestaande weerstasies te handhaaf;
- (2) die nodige instrumentasie te voorsien;
- (3) weerkundige personeel op te lei;
- (4) die data van die stasies te verwerk en te publiseer;
- (5) waarnemings sonder verwyf uit te rull;
- (6) voorspellingsdienste te verskaf en
- (7) weerdienste vir lug- en skeepvaart te verskaf.

**Uitgereik deur die Departement van Kalingting op versoek van die Departement
van Vervoer.**

PRETORIA

25 Oktober 1976.

Transkei white schools asked to admit blacks

UMTATA — The Transkeian Minister of Education, Mr A. N. Jonas, has asked white schools in the territory to open their doors to black children.

The present plan is for white schools in the Transkei to remain under the control of the Cape Provincial Administration in the foreseeable future.

Speaking at the prize-giving at Umtata High School, a white school, Mr Jonas said: "When I took up my position as Minister of Education a few years back I was appalled at the standard of education of the black child.

"Very soon I saw it was the education system and conditions that helped to create the illusion of the

intellectual inferiority of blacks.

"I believe that the education of the black child will have to be raised to a more intellectual level.

"Good education of blacks is necessary not only for themselves — it is vital to the whites of the Transkei as well, and will eventually become the deciding factor in whether the white man can live in harmony in our country."

The present system of education had led to frustration among blacks, which was dangerous. There was growing resentment on the part of the youth.

The needs of the black community for medical doctors, science teachers,

technicians and technologists were urgent Mr Jonas said.

"The time has come for us in the Transkei to come together, blacks and whites, and evolve a system of education suitable for the intellectual needs of our children, to solve our problems and uplift the communities to bring them to the same level, in all respects, as any civilised nation in the world.

Mr Jonas pleaded for tolerance, understanding and co-operation, especially in the field of education.

"Is it not time for you to open your schools' doors to the black child for certain aspects of education that are inadequate in our schools?" he asked.

"I would like to plead with you to offer your services whenever there is need. If you do this you need not despair or feel uncertain about the future of our country.

"If we cannot breed goodwill and faith here in the Transkei, where then would it be possible?

"May I remind you that as whites of the Transkei you have a stupendous and glorious task to perform. Not only have you to educate those that must still be educated, but in many cases you must re-educate yourselves for the task at hand," Mr Jonas said. — DDR.

Transkei visa rules outlined

CAPE TIMES
15/10/76

PRETORIA. — South Africans will not need visas to enter the Transkei after independence, according to the Minister of the Interior, Dr C P Mulder.

South African and Transkei citizens should cross the borders only at designated points of entry, Dr Mulder announced. Notice boards were being erected at all these points.

Citizens of other countries should enter or leave South Africa by road only at the border control posts at Kei Bridge and Umzimkulu Bridge.

Air travellers were subject to passport control and could only depart or arrive from the Transkei at Aliwal North, Ben Schoeman, B J Vorster, Jan Smuts, J B M Hertzog, Ladybrand, Ladysmith, Lanseria, Louis Botha, Matatiele, Margate, Rand Airport, Wepener and Wonderboom.

South African citizens will need a recognized travel

document to enter the Transkei, and Transkei citizens will need a travel document to enter South Africa.

The South African Government had agreed to recognize reference books issued by the South African authorities as valid passports for entry into South Africa, as an interim measure.

While South Africans will not need visas to enter the Transkei, aliens other than South African citizens will require them.

South Africans wanting to remain in the Transkei for more than 14 days will need permission to do so.

Transkei citizens employed in South Africa must in addition to a valid passport or travel document also hold a contract of employment attested to by a magistrate in the Transkei.

Transkei citizens living in South Africa should obtain Transkei travel documents instead of reference books as soon as possible after independence to "regularize their continued residence in South Africa," the statement said. — Sapa

~~103~~
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103

Ford asked to intervene for detained SA actors
Cape Times 15/10/76

NEW YORK. — President Ford has been asked by the American Actors Union to intervene for two award-winning Black South African actors arrested in the Transkei six days ago. Members of the New York Theatre community, who saw Winston Ntshona and John Kani in the Athol Fugard play, *The Island*, on Broadway last year, planned a demonstration outside the South African Consulate here.

Mr Kani and Mr Ntshona, who won Tony awards for their performances in *The Island*, were arrested after they appeared at Butterworth in another Fugard production, *Sizwe Banzi is Dead*.

Donald Grody, the executive secretary of the Actors Equity, sent a telegram to President Ford asking that he intervene for the actors. — Sapa