

HOMELANDS

CISKEI

- GENERAL

DEC 1977 - MAY 1978

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DD 20/2/77

(105)

## Ciskei to close famous school

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Healdtown Institution, which has given education to Blacks since 1855, will no longer do so unless there is a change of heart by the Ciskei Government or a special fund is established to maintain the school.

According to a statement released yesterday by the Ciskei Department of Education, the Government will not renew its lease with the Methodist Church of the school. The lease expires at the end of the month.

The Ciskei Government will transfer the administrative and teaching staff of the school to other post-primary schools in the homeland.

The statement went on to say students who were to do forms III and V would have to apply to other schools for admission but such acceptance would depend on "merit and conduct."

"Those students who had already been accepted for form IV in 1978 will have to apply for schooling elsewhere," the statement added.

According to the communique, the Ciskei Government took into consideration many factors before deciding not to renew the lease, among which were the running costs of the institution.

Healdtown was founded in 1854 by the Rev John Ayliff who opened an industrial school there the following year for the tuition of the Fingoes who had been resettled there.

The establishment of the school was encouraged by Sir George Grey.

By 1955, the school had blossomed to embrace a teacher training school, a high school and a practising school for the benefit of primary school pupils and student teachers.

In 1934, there were 1 250 registered students at Healdtown coming from 36 different districts and representing 28 tribes.

Control of education at the school passed in 1956 into the hands of the South African Government after the enactment of the Bantu Education Act.

Among the many famous students who received their education at Healdtown were Dr Charles Bikitsha, Transkei's Secretary for Health and Mr John Jabavu, founder and editor of *Imvo Zabantsundu*.

Others from outside the Ciskei were Mr P. Motsegare (Bechuana-land), Mr R. Conjwa (Griqualand East) and Dr S. Molema (Mafeking).

The first Black warden at the school after Rev Bollen, Rev D. M. Nabe, was also an old Healdtown student. He became warden in 1972. — DDR.

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(f)  
(g)  
(h)

# CNOK GEE BEURSE VIR CISKEIERS

III.

**DIE Ciskeise Nasionale Ontwikkelingskorporasie het 'n aantal beurse beskikbaar gestel vir Ciskeiers wat graad- of nagraadse kursusse aan die Universiteit van Fort Hare wil volg.**

A. V  
D

*Die beursskema is daarop gemik om gekwalifiseerde mense vir die tuisland se toekomstige ontwikkeling beskikbaar te stel, en maak voorsiening vir kursusse hoofsaaklik in landbou, hand-*

*del, wetenskap en personeelbestuur.*

Mnr. F. S. Meisenholl, hoofbestuurder van die CNOK, het by 'n onlangse konferensie van die National Federated Chamber of Commerce gesê dat die CNOK nie 'n enkele Cis-

keier met 'n landbougraad in diens het nie — omdat daar net nie een gevind kon word nie.

„Ek hoop dat die instelling van dié beursskema hierdie tekort sal oorkom,” het hy gesê.

Mnr. Meisenholl het bygevoeg dat applikante ten minste 'n jaar se studies agter die rug moet hê, of in besit van 'n goeie matrieksertifikaat moet wees.

Persoonlike kwalifikasies soos leierskap en integriteit sal 'n sterk aanbeveling wees.

Die CNOK bied R250 per jaar vir eerstejaarstudente, en minstens R500 'n jaar daarna. Daar sal van suksesvolle kandidate verwag word om by die CNOK diens te aanvaar vir 'n tydperk gelykstaande aan dié van hul studieperiode.

- insurance companies - "capitv
- other private financial insti
- (non-banking)

(3) The Banking Sector:

- (a) Commercial banks - short - government stock and Treas - legal minimum reserve re
- (b) Reserve Bank - hold approx - keep deposit stabilizatic

(4) Loan levies - the tax paying public.

Foreign (5) Overseas capital markets.

(Addendum: Some description of the workings of the capitive market and methods of obtaining loan finance by certain public organisations.)

B. Major types of government accounts

- (1) Revenue
- (2) Loan
- (3) Exchequer ( = Revenue plus Loan plus SWA plus Bantu Education)

DD 23/12/77

# Missing CLA member detained by police?

105

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— A member of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, Chief Dumalithona Mpangele, is missing from his Mgwali home and is believed to be in detention in terms of the Ciskei's emergency regulations.

The Ciskei police refused to comment yesterday on the alleged detention. The Minister of Justice, Chief P. Siwani, could not be contacted and his secretary, Mr J. C. Henning, also refused to comment.

Mrs Mpangele was reportedly in King William's Town yesterday, but her whereabouts were unknown.

Chief Mpangele is regent for Prince Maxhoba Sandile, heir apparent to the Rarabe

paramountcy, which has been the cause of a protracted wrangle among Rarabes since the death last year of Paramount Chief Mxolisi Sandile.

Recently, Prince Maxhoba joined Chief Minister L. L. Sebe's Ciskei National Independence Party. Chief Mpangele was among those in the vanguard of the paramountcy wrangle as a member of the Sandile house.

He believed the appointment of Chief L. Maqoma as acting paramount chief — which was contrary to the wishes of the King of the Xhosas, King Xolilizwe Sigcau, that the paramount chief's widow, Queen Nolizwe, should act — was an intrusion of the

autonomy of the Sandile house.

Chief Mpangele is the first member of the CLA to be detained in terms of the emergency proclamation. He is a member of Chief Mabandla's opposition Ciskei National Party.

Meanwhile, the Ciskei Government, using the same emergency proclamation, has prohibited another CNP member from entering the Victoria East constituency in the Ciskei.

The prohibition order, signed by Chief Siwani, was served on Mr Capetown Dlepu on Tuesday by Mr P. K. Greyling of the Alice Security Police.

Mr Dlepu is a businessman at Fort Beaufort. He was found guilty in the Alice Magistrate's Court this year on charges relating to the assault of a Sebe supporter at a meeting near Fort Beaufort last year.

Mr Dlepu successfully appealed against his sentence. — DDR.

# Inquiry into needs of Ciskei capital

DD 12/1/78

105

## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

A commission of inquiry to investigate the needs of Alice when it becomes the capital of the Ciskei will be appointed shortly, according to the Commissioner General of the Ciskei, Mr J. J. Engelbrecht.

"The decision that the capital of the Ciskei will be in or adjacent to Alice has already been taken, now we want to know what the needs of Alice will be in matters such as town planning, infrastructure, water, sewerage, official buildings and housing for white seconded officials.

"A commission will be appointed shortly to investigate all these matters."

The Commissioner General said the meeting between the Ciskei Government and the municipality of Alice that would take place in his office on January 20 was not directly concerned with the capital issue.

"The important issue at these consultations will be the co-operation between these two bodies to ensure that Alice does not deteriorate.

"The municipality is concerned about whites moving out and the uncertain future of the town. Co-operation is important so that when the town is handed over as the capital of the Ciskei, it should be a living and vital town and not a graveyard," the Commissioner General said.

The South African

Government originally tried to persuade the Ciskei Government to have its capital at Middledrift for the convenience of the white officials, but the Ciskei was determined on Alice because, as Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe said, the town had clear links with the people of the Ciskei.

Alice has also been the education centre for blacks and to add to the educational facilities, Consolidated Goldfields is to build a trade school in the town at a cost of R1 million.

Both residents and organised business in Alice welcomed the decision to make Alice the capital and both believe the town will now grow.

It is hoped that a start on some administrative blocks will be made later this year and a few Ciskei Government departments will be shifted to the town. The Cabinet Ministers will follow after their official residences have been built.

The existing Ciskei Government offices which were constructed recently will be converted into a school hostel and provision was made for this when the building was planned.

The Mayor of Alice, Mr Ian Terwin, will lead his council's three-man general purposes committee at next Friday's meeting.

The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief L. Sebe, and other officials will also be present. — DDC

# Ciskei uranium a possibility

DD 13/1/78

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CAPE TOWN — There may be uranium, the rich substance needed for nuclear fuels, in Ciskei, according to the Bantu Mining Corporation.

"Uranium mineralisation has been found in Beaufort sediments in other parts of the Republic. A relatively large area of Ciskei is underlain by similar rock formations. Therefore the potential for similar deposits is there," the Corporation says in a report.

But, except for small deposits of limestone and kaolin, the Corporation says bluntly: "The mineral potential of Ciskei is limited."

The speculation that Ciskei may have money-generating uranium deposits is contained in the book, *The Mineral*

*Potential and Mining Development in the Black Homelands of South Africa*, which was released by the Corporation last year.

The book says nothing further about the possibility of uranium in Ciskei.

It does, however, say that there are several million tonnes of poorly consolidated calcareous sand, a type of limestone, at Patos Kop next to the Great Fish River in the Peddie district. About 35 000 tonnes has been quarried annually at the deposit since 1971.

Cretaceous limestone deposits are known to occur on the three other farms in the Peddie district and a similar deposit is being worked on a small scale at Need's Camp, near

East London, but there are only a few hundred thousand tonnes in reserve at each locality.

Kaolinitic clay, similar to that found in the Grahamstown district, has been discovered on Patos Kop in the Peddie district but the exact quantity is not known and a sample from the deposit only found 20 per cent kaolinite.

The report also says that phosphate mineralisation is known to occur in the upper shales, which has an extensive strike length, and it could be a favourable environment for low-grade sedimentary phosphate mineralisation.

Dolerite, which is suitable for aggregate, is also commonly found in Ciskei, the report says. — DDC.

Ciskei Chief Minister Mr Sebe tells of his big plan for 1978 in an exclusive interview with Leslie Xinwa

DD 13/1/78 (105)

# Self autonomy for the Ciskei

**EAST LONDON** — The Ciskei would be the first homeland to opt for self autonomy if a Bill which was brought up at the last Parliamentary session became law this year, the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief L. Sebe, said.

Chief Sebe was asked to give more detail to a speech he made at Mbitsha when he returned from Israel at the weekend.

"We are hoping this Bill will go through this year's session and we shall take the first opportunity to implement the regulations empowered by it," Chief Sebe said.

He said the regulations

enacted in the Bill should be embodied in the stage in which the Ciskei was.

"In fact everything that the Bill envisages should have been included in the regulations governing homelands right from the

beginning. It would have been better if this had been done because it would have given us greater responsibility.

"We would have very little to do with Pretoria's Bantu Administration

Department. This would expedite progress and would give more responsibility to the people — creating some responsible jobs for them," Chief Sebe said.

When the Bill was first published in March, last year, it was stated it could mean the homelands could abolish laws like the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act.

But provision was made in the Bill for South Africa to veto legislation passed by the self-autonomous countries.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, said the Bill would "mean that a former self-governing homeland will become fully autonomous as far as internal operations are concerned."

He said the autonomous homeland would have legislative authority over all its internal affairs so that only foreign relations were excluded.

One clause said if the South African Government wanted an internally autonomous country to make changes to the legislation it had adopted it (the South African Government) would make 'suggestions' and these would have to be incorporated if the legislation were to take effect.

An interesting aspect about the self-autonomy of the homelands as envisaged in the Bill was that they could enjoy the benefits of South Africa's international status, including its passports and other links with the outside world, which citizens of independent Transkei do not enjoy.

13/1/78

# Ciskei may opt for autonomy

(105)

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Meanwhile, five members of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly have petitioned Chief Sebe to convene a special session of the Assembly before January 31. — DDR-DDC.

Full stories in today's Indaba.



It is less than 60 days before the expiry date of the present five years the Ciskei Government has the mandate for running the homeland.

But up to now there are no clear indications when the next election will be held.

For some time there have been threats by opposition members they will not participate in a general election if it were to be held now while the homeland is under a state of emergency.

No one is saying when the emergency regulations will be lifted and worse still there are no clear indications about the line of action to be taken to ensure the running of the homeland after the expiry of the five year term.

# Pretoria's problem in the Ciskei

BD

6/11/75

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Pretoria could do one of two things. They could scrap the emergency regulations and tell

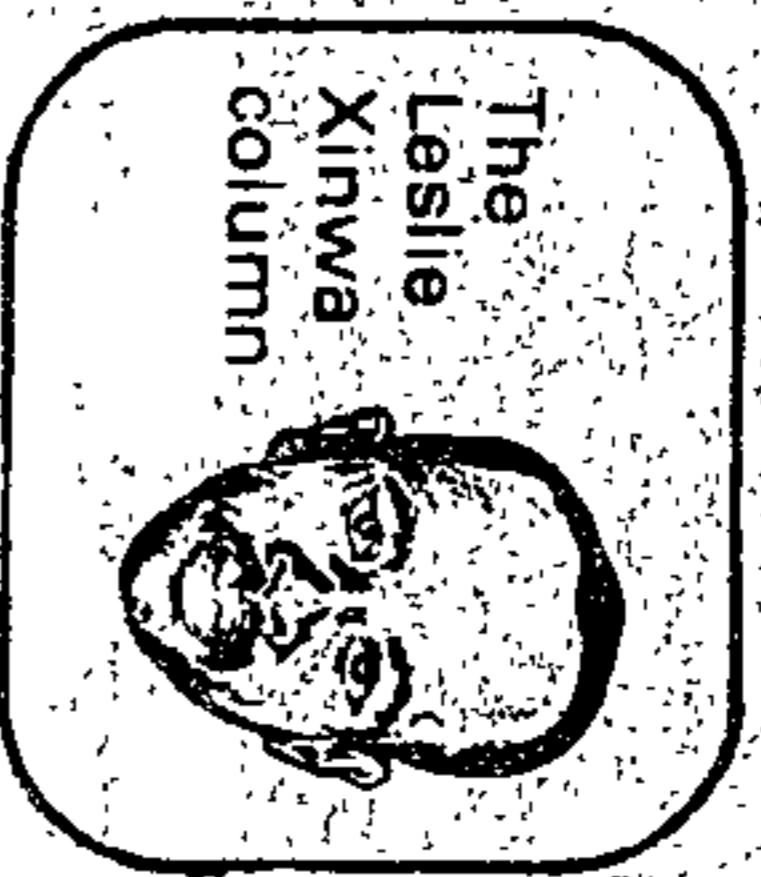
Zwellitsha there is no need for such regulations in an area that has seen the least number of disturbances compared with the major metropolitan areas of South Africa in which there have been no such regulations.

They could also decide to extend the period of office of the present government at the peril of being accused of flouting the basic tenets of democracy — something they have not done for the white electorate in South Africa,

at least in so far as the expiry of a term of office by a government in power.

Regulations allow the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to make it known, by proclamation, that the term of office of an elected government in the Ciskei is extended. That is the extent to which government by proclamation can simplify things for the homelands.

But there is another problem about this. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, has retired from



The Leslie Xirwa Column

politics and it might have to be a new man who will have to carry out the job of ensuring a homeland government is kept in power by proclamation. It is doubtful if any man would be prepared to start running a department

with such a move.

There do not seem to be any other options and the present Ciskei Government must only be aware of this.

At some stage last year it was strongly rumoured by government supporters that an election would be held in November but after Mr Vorster had announced the date for a General Election in South Africa, the Ciskei election was postponed and no date was set.

Although there are claims the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, would not like to go to the

people until he has been assured of the direction in which winds are blowing, there is little doubt he is not aware of the disarray in which opposition parties are in spite of moves to realign their forces.

He has a clear majority of at least four in the Ciskei Legislative Assembly and indications are that he is much stronger among the people, especially in the rural areas.

He is also faced with the problem of having to call a special session to provide finances to run government departments (and

also an election) at a time when some of his best debaters in the Assembly have turned against him.

Also facing him is the question of where the Ciskei stands on the issue of homeland independence. He is on record as having said he would only accept independence for his homeland if he were assured of recognition by the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations Organisation (UNO).

We have not heard much of these statements lately and the fact that he attended the Bophuthatswana independence celebrations last year may be regarded as indication that he is giving the question a closer look.

DD 19/1/78

# Minister explains race wage gap

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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Why is there a difference regarding per capita expenditure on the education of black and white children and why is there disparity in the salaries drawn by teachers from the two races?

An answer was provided this week by Dr Andries Treurnicht, deputy Minister for Bantu Education, who spoke as a guest of honour at Dimbaza near here.

"Circumstances of the two groups differ as also the financing procedures as regards capital expenditure and salaries in accordance with qualifications," he said.

Dr Treurnicht was speaking at the annual promotion function of Ciskei Paints, the only paint factory at Dimbaza, which has black share holders.

He said the only way to counter lack of knowledge in a developing country

such as the Ciskei was by means of intensive purposeful training at all levels.

The field of formal education for blacks had seen much progress over the past years especially since 1974, he said, with the enrolment in secondary schools having increased by almost 200 per cent.

One of the eight technical orientation training centres established by the Government was at New Brighton and would provide higher primary and junior secondary school children with a technical background, he said.

He said pupils at the centres were trained for a little less than three hours a week for standards five to eight and pupils were conveyed free of charge by bus to the centres which were distant from the feeder schools.

Such a centre in Ciskei was being established at Mdantsane. Five black instructors had already been trained and would assume duties as soon as the buildings had been completed.

"In future it may be necessary to extend the same facilities to other areas in Ciskei where sufficient numbers of higher primary and junior secondary schools warrant this development," he said.

At Mveliso in Mdantsane a course for motor repairshop assistants has been introduced. — DDR

DD 21/1/28

# Sebe reassures Alice whites

(125)

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — White residents of Alice were yesterday given an assurance by the Ciskei Government that their future in the town would be safeguarded.

Chief Minister L. L. Sebe, his minister of Interior, Chief L. Magoma, and the Ciskei Commissioner - General, Mr J. J. Engelbrecht, yesterday received a delegation from Alice led by the Mayor, Mr I. G. Terwin, to discuss the future of Alice.

Also in the delegation from Alice were Mr M. A. Hough, Mr K. W. Mackie and Mr F. W. Manthe.

Alice has been incorporated into the Ciskei as part of the consolidation scheme for the homeland and the Ciskei Government has already declared Alice will be the homeland's capital.

After the three-hour meeting at the Commissioner - General's office yesterday, a joint statement by Chief Sebe and Mr Terwin was issued to allay any fears by the white community of Alice.

The statement said: "The Ciskeian Government declares its intention of protecting the interests of white residents in Alice, especially in consideration of the contributions towards the Ciskei's development which have already been made by whites."

Whites in the town had

an important part to play in the Ciskei's future and it was unnecessary for them to entertain any fears the Government would at any time force them to leave.

"The Government feels their presence is essential to the smooth development of the Ciskeian capital and the Ciskei as a whole."

The statement said all parties in the matter were anxious to avoid the "mistakes of the past" which had resulted in former white settlements in black areas deteriorating into "ghost towns" to the detriment of both white and black interests.

"Such a state of affairs can be avoided if the rights of all citizens, black and white, are respected."

Chief Sebe, answering questions later, said Alice was going to be a multi-racial town "as we do not practise apartheid in the Ciskei."

He said a commission, whose membership would be announced soon, would investigate the resettlement of Ciskeians at Alice and the entire replanning of the town as well as the costs involved in such a scheme.

Only after the recommendations of the commission had been dealt with officially would the resettlement at Alice begin. — DDR.

# Homeland hospital chief fired on the spot

SUN. TIMES 22/1/78

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DR ROD McDade, medical superintendent of the second largest hospital in the Ciskei, was dismissed this week and told not to set foot in the building again.

The Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sehe, has assured white residents of Alice, which is to become the Ciskei's capital, that they have a role to play and their interests will be protected.

Dr McDade had worked at Mount Coke Hospital,

By **ROB HUDSON**

near King William's Town, for four years.

He was appointed medical superintendent 18 months ago, before Chief Sebe's Government was elected under a constitution leading to independence.

He was told by the Secretary for Health, Dr Jack Klopper, and a delegation of other officials to leave on Tuesday morning.

Dr McDade said yester-

day: "My wife and I are naturally very disappointed.

"We have been here a long time. I thought we were building bridges between black and white.

"We have been very happy here and are very distressed at the way things were handled.

"I have felt for some time that my position was becoming untenable in that I was given total responsibility without any authority to do anything."

Dr McDade has accepted a post at a hospital in King William's Town and has been succeeded by Dr Leslie Mzimba, who has been at Mount Coke for three years.

Seven whites remain on the staff of Mount Coke.

Dr Klopper said all white posts in the Ciskei were temporary and would eventually be Africanised.

"We are here to help and train the people. We must accept that we must all go."

I asked Dr Klopper if Dr McDade's dismissal was not sudden.

"That may be, but it's all policy. I understand that it was a Cabinet decision."

Dr Klopper said a committee from the Department of Bantu Administration would visit the area next month "to localise as many posts as possible."

# Sebe laat wit dokter trap

105 Rapport 22/1/78

Deur EDDIE BOTHA

WIT dokters in vier hospitale in die Ciskei vrees verdere afdankings ná die summiere ontslag van die superintendent van die Mount Coke-Hospitaal by King William's Town vandeeweek. Na verneem word, het hoofminister Lennox Sebe persoonlik — oor die kop van sy minister van gesondheid — vir dr Rod McDade die trekpas gegee.

Dr McDade — hy was vier jaar lank werksaam by die hospitaal — is Maandag drie uur tyd gegee om die hospitaal te verlaat. Sy plek is dadelik geneem deur dr L Mzimba, een van die twee swart dokters in die hospitaal. Geen rede vir Dr McDade se afdanking is verstrekk nie.

Tesame met dr. McDade, het RAPPORT verneem, gaan die sekretaris, assistent administratiewe beampte en twee instandhoudingsbeamptes, almal blankes, ook binnekort afgedank word. Dit is reeds bespreek, maar die vier is nog nie hiervan in kennis gestel nie.

Dr McDade se afdanking volg op tugstappe wat in die loop van sy dienstrydperk teen amptenare in die hospitaal gedoen is. Van die amptenare teen wie die stappe gedoen is, het glo elke keer regstreeks by die hoofminister beswaar aangeteken.

Onder meer is verneem dat dr McDade ook heelwat probleme gehad het met 'n vroulike dokter, dr M. Piliso. Dr Piliso het aanvanklik in Transkei gewerk, maar is later deur die Transkeise regering versoek om die land te verlaat.

Maandag se skielike afdanking van dr McDade volg ná 'n telegram wat 'n week gelede deur die Ciskeise regering aan die Departement van Gesondheid in Pretoria gestuur is. In die telegram word die departement versoek om dr McDade te verplaas.

In daardie stadium was dr McDade in Pretoria en het sy vrou hom van die telegram verwittig. In die versoek van

die Ciskeise regering is slegs gevra dat dr McDade verplaas word. Geen spesifieke tyd is aangedui nie.

Dr. McDade se oorpasing is bespreek op 'n vergadering tussen die sekretaris van gesondheid in die Ciskei, dr. Jack Klopper, die sekretaris by Mount Coke-Hospitaal, en dr. Mzimba, die nuwe superintendent. Dr. Mzimba het tw kenne gegee dat die blankes van alle administratiewe poste onthef sal moet word.

Maandag, na sy terugkeer uit Pretoria, het dr. McDade tugstappe gedoen teen 'n laboratorium-assistent weens sekere onreëlmatighede. Na verneem word, het die man regstreeks by kaptein Sebe gaan kla.

Kaptein Sebe het glo onmiddellik ingegryp en dr. McDade is die volgende dag drie uur tyd gegee om die hospitaal te verlaat. Selfs die Ciskei se minister van gesondheid was nie bewus van dr. McDade se onmiddellike afdanking nie.

Na verneem word, is dr. Klopper se posisie as sekretaris van gesondheid ook in gedrang. Hy is glo baie bekommerd dat daar dalk teen hom opgetree kan word. Dr. Klopper het dr. McDade se afdanking 40 minute lank met kaptein Sebe bespreek.

Die gevoel onder die blanke dokters in die Ciskei is dat hulle alle verantwoordelikheid by die hospitale moet dra, maar dat hulle geen gesag het nie. Voor die oornamen deur die Ciskeise regering was daar nooit probleme nie, sê een van die senior dokters aan RAPPORT.

Die dokter sê dat dr. McDade slegs gedoen het wat volgens hom reg was. Dr. McDade was bewus dat sekere mense by kaptein Sebe oor sy handhawing van dissipline gaan kla het.

Die naweek, terwyl hy besig was om in te pak, wou dr. McDade nie veel sê nie. „Ek is nie bitter nie. Vir my persoonlik is dit geen tragedie nie, maar ek is seker dat die huidige toedrag van sake 'n tragedie vir die tuisland is.

„Ek is geen politikus nie. Die Here het my hierheen gestuur om die mense te help en ek voel jammer vir hulle. Ek, soos die ander dokters, is heeltemal bewus dat die doel is om om swart dokters op te lei, maar in dié stadium sal die standaard van die hospitaaldienste skade ly sonder die wit dokters.”

Dr. McDade het reeds 'n pos by Grey-Hospitaal op King William's Town aanvaar.

Dr. Klopper wou hom ook nie oor die saak uitlaat nie. „Dr. McDade se afdanking was 'n kabinetsbesluit. Sover ek weet, is daar geen tugstappe teen dr. McDade nie.”

Oor sy eie posisie het dr. Klopper gesê: „Alle poste wat deur blankes bekleed word, moet oorgegee word aan swartes. Ek kan te eniger tyd vervang word.”

DD 26/1/78 (105)

# Ciskei to drop Bantu education

PORT ELIZABETH.— The Chief Minister of Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, said yesterday his government had enlisted the help of the University of Port Elizabeth in phasing out Bantu education.

Among the immediate changes will be the dropping of the words Bantu Education from the National Senior Matriculation Certificate. Although Chief Sebe conceded the education system in the territory would remain the same for some time, he emphasised that words would be dropped because they were offensive.

He said the rector of the University of Port Elizabeth, Prof. E. J. Marais, had been asked to help with the phasing-out process of Bantu education.

"We have given our priority to improving the quality of the teachers first and then tackling other problems inherent in the system," he said.

Chief Sebe said the phasing out had already begun but would not elaborate.

Referring to the unrest in the Eastern Cape, he said initially the boycott was a legitimate protest

against a system of education. However other elements, especially the won't-works, had quickly exploited the situation to suit their ends, he said.

Prof. Marais last night denied any suggestion that his university would help to "phase out Bantu education" in the Ciskei but confirmed it would undertake in-service training of black teachers, many of whom are widely known to be unqualified, to help them improve the standard of education they deliver to their pupils.

The University would merely offer supportive services and would not participate in the drawing up of a new syllabus.

"I don't know if Chief Sebe envisages a new syllabus but he has made no mention of it to us," Prof. Marais said. — DDC.

# Sebe will ask Rupert to invest in Ciskei

CAPE TOWN — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief L. L. Sebe, said from King William's Town yesterday that he would pay a visit to Cape Town on February 1, during which he would have talks with the Afrikaans financier, Dr Anton Rupert, on the question of investing in the Ciskei.

In an interview Chief Sebe said the Ciskei needed more investment from South African businessmen. Many had not invested in the Ciskei out of ignorance of the homeland concept.

He said the Ciskei was now growing more tobacco and he wanted to talk to Dr Rupert because he knew that Dr Rupert was interested in agricultural projects.

"I have been amazed at the lack of knowledge of the real facts about the homeland policy. I have managed over the years to break this problem by talking to chambers of commerce and such related labour and business institutions."

Chief Sebe said land and investment constituted the two main pillars on which the homelands

policy rested. He cited these as the main problems facing the Ciskei.

More money would have to be poured in by the South African Government and businessmen if the policy was to work, he said.

More money would make his Government more stable and would provide more jobs for Ciskeians.

More land was also needed to consolidate the homeland. Chief Sebe described the Ciskei as the "green gold of the country," but lamented

the fact that his people were working and living in the South African urban centres.

On the question of the squatters who had been moved from the Peninsula, some of whom were Ciskeian citizens, Chief Sebe said his urban representatives in Cape Town had not been consulted by the South African officials. His Government was therefore unable to make arrangements to resettle the people.

He said he was aware that some of the people who were of Ciskeian origin had never been to the Ciskei. His Government would hold more consultations with the South African Government about their plight.

Chief Sebe said agriculture would continue to remain the economic mainstay of the Ciskei. His Government did not have any plans to prospect for mineral resources, but there were tentative plans and these would be worked on later.

— DDC.

X

# PE Ciskei <sup>W/E</sup> meeting <sup>ARGUS</sup> is banned <sup>23/1/78</sup>

Weekend Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — A public meeting of Ciskei opposition parties, due to be held in New Brighton today, has been banned by the Port Elizabeth chief magistrate, Mr C B van Zijl.

The notice served yesterday on the leaders of opposition parties said that to hold the meeting this weekend might seriously endanger public peace. The ban is effective until noon on Monday.

It was served on Mr A Z Lamani, deputy leader of the National Labour Party, yesterday.

The meeting was to have been between the National Labour Party, the Ciskei Unionist Party, and the National Party, and was scheduled to be held in the Gana Kakaza Memorial Hall.

The meeting would have been the first between the new alliance election pact, Inbhumbha, in Port Elizabeth.



# Ciskei schools open

ALICE — Senior schools  
in the Ciskei open today.

Mr K. B. Tabata, Secretary of Education for the Ciskei, said despite all the unrest in the schools, a high percentage of Ciskeians wrote examinations in 1977.

The results of the junior certificate exams are not yet available, but the senior certificate results show between 70 and 80 per cent passes.

Fort Hare has already indicated applications are coming in steadily and a record intake is expected. Several new schools will admit pupils this week.

At Mdantsane, there are three new schools which include a lower primary, a higher primary, and an additional junior secondary school.

At Zwelitsha, a new lower primary school as well as the new teachers' training college, the Lennox Sebe College, opens today.

In the rural areas, two new lower primary schools have been opened in the Tyumie Valley near Alice, as well as similar schools at Frankfort and Peddie.

At Alice, a trade school is expected to be started this year. A final decision on the site is still to be taken.

At Healdtown, a big change on the Ciskei education scene is the closing of Healdtown High School.

Mr Tabata says pupils from Healdtown may be admitted to any Ciskei schools. Many have already been accommodated at Peddie and Mdantsane. — DDC.

105 1/2 18/10  
**Sebe:  
R252**

## not to detain

**KING WILLIAM STOWN**  
— Ciskei emergency regulations were not intended to have politicians arrested who were campaigning in proper political fashion.

This was the assurance given to opposition parties by the Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, who was asked to comment on the effect Proclamation R252 had on the election and whether it might be withdrawn.

He also gave the assurance he could not have members of the opposition arrested in terms of the Proclamation because it would make them big. "My election machinery is in top gear and I don't have to detain any opposition member to win the election," he said.

The emergency regulations are not intended to interfere with the genuine political programmes of any political party governed by the Ciskei constitution," he said. R252 was designed to bring to book all elements which threatened peace and order in the Ciskei.

About permits to hold meetings in terms of R252, Chief Sebe said even the ruling party had to get a permit. "And as far as I know, nobody has been refused a permit to hold if they had identified themselves appropriately to the magistrate."

Commenting on Chief Sebe's statement, Mr L. S. Mtoba, a senior executive member in Chief J. T. Mabandla's opposition Ciskei National Party, said:

"What we are concerned about is not so much the effect of an arrest, but the effect of the Proclamation on people waiting to make public statements as well as the general membership and prospective followers."

He said the proclamation was a threat to free expression of political ideologies.

Chief Sebe had no control over his enthusiastic followers "who may use this proclamation to intimidate and threaten people with.

"And, if Chief Sebe was certain of the might of his election machinery, why did he not withdraw R252?"

"And if he believes arresting members of the opposition would make them big, why does he not detain his prospective candidates like his brother, Namba, Mr Dyonase and Mr Myataza to boost their stocks?"

"And does he believe detaining people like Chief Dumalits'hona Mpangele, Mr Nyati, Mr Jekwa, Mr Kaba and others has made them big? Somebody must tell Chief Sebe he has not made himself big either by depriving those people of their freedom." — DDR.

# Ciskei pupils flock back

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Although the percentage attendance at Ciskei schools could not be worked out, indications were that big numbers of students were registering at the post-primary schools in the homeland, Ciskei secretary for Education, Mr. K. B. Tabata, said here yesterday.

He said the concentration of admission was on the Form One level because of the non-availability of the Junior Certificate examination results.

"We have, however, advised principals of the high schools to admit all last year's junior certificate candidates to the next class while they are still waiting for their results," Mr. Tabata said.

The same arrangement was available to students who had applied to enrol as student teachers "but there is an obvious reluctance on the part of many not to take up the offer only to be disappointed in the event of failure."

Mr. Tabata said there was a misconception that only the Ciskei was affected by delayed results.

"Nothing could be far from the truth as schools as far afield as Amanzimtoti, for example, are also similarly affected."

Although he did not know why results had been delayed, it did occur at times that marks of a particular subject were inadvertently not included in the overall result and re-checking had to be done to find the fault.

"At times such a fault is traceable to the strong rooms of the Department of Bantu Education where the examination scripts are stored."

Asked what the position of former Healdtown students was, Mr. Tabata said they had all been assisted to get accommodation at other schools in the Ciskei "particularly the junior and senior certificate students." — DDR

# Sebe's motives queried

3/2/78 MS  
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN  
— The African Teacher's Association of South Africa has challenged the motives of the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief L. Sebe, in calling a meeting here last month on black education.

The meeting was attended by the then deputy ministers of Bantu Education and Administration, Dr. A. Treurnicht and Mr. W. Cruywagen.

In addition to the question of unrest in the black townships in the Port Elizabeth area, the meeting also discussed the question of resentment of Bantu Education by black scholars and what Chief Sebe termed "positive suggestions" to try and accommodate the scholar's point of view on the matter.

In a statement issued here on behalf of ATASA, the association's treasurer, Mr. S. Ngqangweni, said no new purpose was served by Chief Sebe's meeting as no significant improvement had been added to the outcome of ATASA's meeting with Mr. M. C. Botha on January 5.

"If as Chief Minister Sebe is reported to have said, ATASA's meeting with Mr. Botha was 'an engagement in futility', the leadership of ATASA is justified in questioning the motive for Chief Sebe's meeting with Dr. Treurnicht and Mr. Cruywagen," the statement says.

"The motive was clearly political. An election in the Ciskei is imminent and Port Elizabeth is a key election stronghold.

"ATASA's leadership is alive to the educational aspirations of the black community and will continue to champion the cause of black education in this country.

"ATASA's contribution to the reconstruction that has taken place in black education over the past ten years is well-known in Pretoria.

"The confidence that has been built up between ATASA and Pretoria assures the leadership of ATASA that solutions to present problems and stumbling blocks will yet be found," the statement said. —DDR

9/2/78 Natal Mercury 105

# TYPHOID SUSPECT IS DEAD

Mercury Correspondent

**QUEENSTOWN** — A Thornhill resident has died and six others have been treated for typhoid at the Frontier Hospital here. But the Ciskeian Secretary for Health, Dr. J. M. L. Klopper, said yesterday he was not alarmed by the incidents.

Typhoid was endemic in South Africa and seven was not a large number of cases, he said.

The dead person's name has not been released.

The hospital's medical superintendent said diagnosis of the patient's case had not been confirmed.

People who have been in contact with the patients have been immunised and the Ciskeian Department of Works is investigating possible causes of the cases in sanitation at Thornhill resettlement camp.

Typhoid was a prime target of Dr. Barbara Seidler's immunisation work in the 1977 Thornhill health programme.

Queenstown's Medical Officer of Health, Dr. P. L. Vogel, said the seven cases were no cause for alarm. Regular immunisations were done both in Mlungisi and the district.

The incidence of the disease was due to unsanitary conditions at Thornhill, he said.

The patients are expected to be transferred to Ciskeian Hospitals.

Dr. Klopper said Thornhill was no longer the health risk it had been this time last year.

The Thornhill clinic started by Dr. Seidler had been converted into a small cottage hospital by the addition of a few beds and there was no pressing need for further health facilities, he said.

Dr. Klopper said it was a pity the soup kitchen started by the Mtilo Ciskeian Relief Committee had been discontinued since being handed over to the people of the settlement.

11/2/78 105

# More factories for Ciskei

EAST LONDON — The Xhosa Development Corporation has approved applications for the establishment of a further seven industries in the Ciskei, according to the annual report of the corporation.

Between 1971 and 1975, 10 factories were established in the Ciskei, but for the year ended March 1977, agreements were signed for the establishment of a further eight industries with an investment of about R3,3 million and the other seven were being negotiated.

The report says it is encouraged by the increasing interest in the Ciskei in spite of the present economic climate.

"In this regard, investigation is being undertaken into the viability of 16 new industries with a total investment value of about R30 million, including applications received from abroad."

The report says to make provision for this industrial interest, the industrial area at Dimbaza is being extended to a total of 150 hectares.

Four industries at Sada were transferred to the Ciskei National Development Corporation and these, according to the CNDC annual report, are being continued in spite of substantial losses because employment is being provided for more than 1 000 Ciskeians.

Both the XDC and the CNDC, which, along with the Transkei Development Corporation, were split up in 1976, are highly involved in training.

The CNDC is to contribute R15 000 a year for three years towards the establishment of an institute in the Ciskei for the training of black

businessmen with the help of the University of Stellenbosch and the University of Fort Hare.

The net revenue of the XDC dropped from R1,3 million in 1976 to R453 257 in 1977, but this was because of the split in which R75,2 million of net assets were transferred to the TDC and assets valued at R4,9 million were transferred to the CNDC which left the XDC with net assets valued at R12,9 million.

The CNDC made a net loss of R586 973 on a gross income of R837 858.

The CNDC report says although the loss appears substantial, the main contributing factors, apart from inflation and the depressed economy, have been identified and steps taken to rectify the position.

The report blames the continued losses from the Sada factories, the establishment of the Mdantsane brewery including interest on capital and depreciation of machinery and the provision of proper and acceptable facilities at its beer gardens and the reduction of citrus income caused by bad weather.

The XDC still runs the Mdantsane to East London bus services which has an investment of R9,5 million mostly in its 232 buses and 22 auxiliary vehicles.

During the financial year, about 34,5 million passengers were transported over 42 different routes and the buses covered an average distance of 39 000 kilometres a day.

The last fare increase was in 1976 and the report warns that as a result of rapidly increasing costs, it will become necessary to apply for increased bus fares. — DDR.

†The ~~MINISTER OF COLOURED RELATIONS:~~

1,386 posts as on 31 December 1977.

**Establishment of township at Glenmore**

\*22. Mr. R. A. F. SWART asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) Whether negotiations with the Ciskeian Government on the establishment of a township at Glenmore have been finalized; if so, with what result;
- (2) whether the township will be transferred to another government; if so, to what government.

(1) 105

(2) ~~SWART~~

†The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) Glenmore is a South African Bantu Trust farm situated outside the Ciskei. The Chief Minister of the Ciskei is, however, aware of it being developed as a township for Ciskeian citizens and two officials from his government service are serving on the committee controlling the development of the township.

(2) No.

16/2/78  
M  
105

# Drift plan to go ahead

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY —  
The South African Government is to go ahead with plans to build a township for Ciskeian citizens at Glenmore — Committees Drift near Grahamstown.

But the township will not be transferred to the Ciskei Government, the Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr. Mulder, said yesterday.

And although the Government's decision has been strongly criticised by the Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Sebe, the homeland government has two of its officials serving on the committee controlling the development of the township.

Answering a question tabled by Mr. Ray Swart (PFP, Musgrave), the Minister said the controversial new township would not be transferred to another government.

Asked whether negotiations with the Ciskeian Government on the establishment of a township at Glenmore had been finalised, Dr. Mulder said: "Glenmore is a South African Bantu Trust farm situated outside the Ciskei."

"The Chief Minister of the Ciskei is, however, aware of it being developed as a township for Ciskeian citizens and two officials from his government service are serving on the committee controlling the development of the township."

The remote Glenmore — Committees Drift area has been planned for more than 10 years as a resettlement township for black people living in Grahamstown.

Dr. Mulder's reply yesterday indicated that the Government was going ahead with a permanent settlement for Ciskeian citizens although the Glenmore township will not become part of the Ciskei. — PC



(105) B  
17/2/78  
M

# Mabandla annoyed by bans

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The Leader of the Opposition, Ciskei National Party, Chief J. T. Mabandla, finds the banning of some of the combined opposition's election campaign meetings "annoying".

Last weekend the three opposition parties under Chief Mabandla (CNP), Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe (CNUP) and Mr. L. F. Siyo (National Labour Party) were scheduled to hold a combined election rally at Gugulethu and Langa, but the meetings were banned on Friday.

He and several other leading members of the three parties were already in Cape Town to supervise arrangements when the ban was announced.

Chief Mabandla had contacted Mr. Roering, the Wynberg magistrate for a permit to hold the rally. Mr. Roering advised him to contact the Security Police on whose recommendations permits were issued.

A certain Col. Van Niekerk was pointed out to me as the man responsible for the matter, but when I eventually contacted him, he said he had nothing to do with the issue of permits.

"During the dilly-dallying that followed, the ban of the meeting was announced and no reasons were given," Chief Mabandla said. — DDR.

# Top CNP man held

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN  
— A leading executive member in Chief J. T. Mabandla's opposition Ciskei National Party has been detained by Ciskei Security Police.

Mr R. Matakane, 58, was taken from his Gqumahashe home at Alice on Saturday night by three black security policemen. His younger brother, Mr D. Matakane, 49, was also collected from his house at Gqumahashe.

Both are being detained at Mdantsane in terms of emergency Proclamation R252.

Chief Mabandla contacted Chief P. Siwani, Ciskei Minister of Justice, about the detentions, but was told to return on Monday to be able to see the detainees.

Chief Mabandla said yesterday he had asked Chief Siwani to allow him also to see Chief F. Mpangele, who has been detained since late last year.

"I am particularly concerned for Chief Mpangele whose health I understand has deteriorated following an operation during his detention," Chief Mabandla said.

Chief Inkie Hoyi, of Mdantsane, a leading member of Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe's Ciskei National Unionist Party, tried in vain to see Chief Mpangele at his Mdantsane police cell.

Chief Hoyi subsequently received a letter refusing him permission to visit the detained chief.

Chief Hoyi and Chief Mpangele belong to the houses of Hleke and Dange which are twin houses under the Sandile house, which has had a difference of opinion with the Ciskei Government on the Rarabe paramountcy.

Mr R. Matakane has been connected with the Ciskei's political development since the early days of community authorities. He represented Tyumie with Chief Mabandla in the Ciskei Territorial Authority and was one of the most articulate members of the CTAM.

His younger brother is not actively involved in the overall political scene in the Ciskei. He is, however, involved in the community affairs at Gqumahashe. — DDR

DD 21/2/78 (105)

## Another factory for Dimbaza

### KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, announced yesterday that the development of Dimbaza had been given added impetus with the signing of an agency agreement between Ciskei Metal Industries and the Ciskeian National Development Corporation.

The managing director of the new company, Mr A. Menashe, who is an ex-mayor of Bulawayo, was recently in the Ciskei to sign the agreement.

This project, which involves a total investment of R440 000, will be geared to produce ground flat stock steel for the tool-making industry.

When in full production, it will provide jobs for 26 Ciskeians who will have the opportunity of being trained to operate sophisticated machinery used in the industry.

Ciskei Metal Industries will be the only factory in South Africa to produce this product. Production is expected to start in May 1978. — DDC.

# Transkei<sup>05</sup> 3/19/78 DD conference

## starts

UMTATA — The Transkei and Ciskei Research Society — a multi-disciplinary body — begins its annual three-day conference here today.

The conference will be opened by the Transkei Minister of Health and Welfare, Rev Gladwin Vika.

One of the main organisers of the conference, Dr Guy Daynes, Medical Superintendent at Umzimkulu Hospital, said one of the aims of the society was to stimulate new research and because of its diverse nature, it enabled such people as doctors and agriculturists to talk about related problems.

One of the panel discussions will be on alcoholism and the behaviour of young people in Transkei and Ciskei. It will be chaired by Prof Noel Manganyi, head of the psychology department at the University of Transkei.

A paper on fish farming as an economic proposition will be presented and Mrs Margaret Smith of the Rhodes University Ichthyology Department will discuss technological advice and research that can be offered by Rhodes.

—DDR

# CHIEF GERT GETS HIS LEOPARD SKIN

(105) 5/3/78

Tribune Reporter

EAST LONDON: The big white chief is now a big Ciskei chief — even if the title's only a honorary one.

The chief in this instance is South Africa's Chief of Police, General Gert Prinsloo, who has just been made an honorary Ciskei chief, courtesy of the homeland's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe.

Explaining the move, Chief Sebe said it was the highest honour that could be bestowed on a man who was not a hereditary chief.

He added: "In order to qualify, a man must distinguish himself by rare deeds and wisdom that has saved mankind.

"We believe General Prinsloo has met these criteria."

With the honour comes all the ritual accoutrements of office, including the little skins of a calf, indicating the honorary chief cannot be bought because, according to Xhosa custom, a poor man can never be trusted, the skins of a leopard, which show he could be accepted into the upper hierarchy of chiefs; white buttons, which indicate God's power to fight against evil spirits and the powers of darkness; a bag to accommodate his tobacco and a pipe indicative of wisdom.

6/3/28 (105) NA  
**Sebe to see**

## **Cruywagen**

**PORT ELIZABETH** — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, told a political meeting yesterday there would be changes in the Bantu Education system and he urged people to take part in the community council elections.

He was speaking at a rally of the Ciskeian Nationalist Independence Party at Themthonjeni Higher Primary School, Kwa-Nobuhle, Uitenhage. He said he was going to Cape Town this week for talks with the Government.

Addressing more than 500 people from Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and Uitenhage, he said the community councils would take over from Bantu Affairs Administration Boards.

"People must grab this opportunity to ensure community councils are managed properly in the interest of the residents."

Mr Sebe said that on January 23 a meeting had been held at Zwelitsha where he met the top Government and Cape Midlands Administration

Board officials to discuss the problems which affected the Port Elizabeth black community.

Some of the items discussed were demands by black pupils which included improved school conditions and the abolition of beerhalls in the township.

Also discussed were the disqualification of unqualified teachers in high and junior secondary schools and the abolition of Bantu education.

Mr Sebe said he had told the Government officials that pupils were prepared to go back to school if the Government met their demands. The officials promised that the demands would be considered and asked for patience from the pupils.

In Cape Town this week, he would discuss examination problems with the Minister of Education and Training, Mr Cruywagen.

— DDC.

# Ciskei pays all doctors the same

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN  
— Black doctors employed by the Ciskei Government are receiving salaries which are on a par with salaries paid to their white counterparts in the homelands.

The Ciskei Government decided last December to upgrade the salaries involving nine doctors. Two of the doctors, Dr L. Piliso and Dr M. Pemba, are permanently employed at Mount Coke and Celha Mkiwane hospitals.

The Medical Superintendent at Mount Coke, Dr L. Mzimba, was not affected by the upgrading as his salary from the outset was not affected by racial considerations.

Chief A. N. Mqalö, Ciskei's Minister of Health, said yesterday he was worried by the few black doctors in the Ciskei and the homeland had made available to some

students' scholarships for medical studies

"We have 15 students at medical school this year and we hope we shall keep on sending more to medical school, depending on the availability of funds for such an undertaking."

It was also announced yesterday by the chairman of the Ciskei Public Service Commission, Rev J. P. Ncaca, that salaries of public servants in the homeland had been raised with effect from January 1, 1978.

He said the 20 per cent allowance which the public servants have been receiving since July 1, 1976, would partly be consolidated in the revised salary structure.

Salaries for Ciskeian teachers, however, would not be raised for some time. — DDR

11/3/78 DDC 105

# Joint committee probe Alice as Ciskei capital

THE ASSEMBLY — A joint committee of inquiry has been appointed by the South African and Ciskei Governments to investigate the future development of Alice as capital of the Ciskei.

This was announced in a statement yesterday by the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, and the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Sebe.

They said that with due regard to the development of a capital for the Ciskei, the Government of Ciskei was in favour of Alice as the homeland's capital. Personnel at the University of Fort Hare, needed housing, residences and other facilities would be needed for seconded officials of the Ciskei Government, and as housing and other facilities would be necessary for whites employed in industries at Middeldrift they had decided to appoint the committee to investigate the matter.

They also took regard of the considerable financial implications involved for both Governments in the provision of housing facilities for whites which in time will be taken over by blacks and for the

need of a housing complex for the Commissioner-General "and possible later ambassador," to be erected.

The committee would investigate the most suitable locality for the capital, the order of priority for completion of

the facilities; the co-ordination of requirements; the financial provisions; and other matters of importance.

Anyone who wanted to give evidence to the committee could do so in writing on or before May 1, 1978. — DDC.

Questionnaire to farmers

Farm number: \_\_\_\_\_

District: \_\_\_\_\_

Distance from nearest town (kilometres): \_\_\_\_\_

Size of farm (hectares): \_\_\_\_\_

Kind of farming (if possible, percentage of farm income due to each kind of activity): \_\_\_\_\_

Number of sheep \_\_\_\_\_ wool: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of permanent workers employed: \_\_\_\_\_

casual \_\_\_\_\_

contractworkers employed \_\_\_\_\_

men \_\_\_\_\_ women \_\_\_\_\_



# Now it's Alice in wonder land

*Sunday Star*

Will it get the nod as Ciskei capital

12/2/78 (105)

A COMMITTEE of six is to probe the feasibility of Alice becoming the capital of Ciskei. Evidence must be given to the committee before May.

The statement announcing the appointment said it had become necessary to develop a capital for the homeland and the Ciskei Government was keen on making it Alice.

Housing for personnel of the university and the Ciskei administration will have to be built soon at the capital and additional services for this development need to be planned.

A housing complex for the Commissioner General — which could later be a diplomatic area — must soon be established within the Ciskei and in reach of the capital.



Alice won't be a one-horse town much longer if it becomes capital of the Ciskei



Alice teacher Mr Mathewson Mboya with his R30 000 wedding present — one of the town's newer houses

THE tiny Eastern Cape town of Alice is getting ready for the big time now that a Government committee has been appointed to decide whether it will become the capital of the Ciskei.

There are those who say things can only get better for Alice. Years of uncertainty on whether the town was to be incorporated into the Ciskei have robbed it of half its white population.

By  
**MARIAN SHINN**

Those who have stayed had little option. Most of them have their life's investments tied up in properties there.

They cannot sell them even if they want to — until they are released for sale by the South African Bantu Trust.

The townspeople are split on the issue of Alice becoming the capital. Some believe it will. Others say they won't credit the idea until they see it in writing from the South African Government.

## Shattered

They have reason to be wary.

The Mayor of the town, Mr Ian Terwin, invested his money in properties there when the farm that had been in his family for 100 years was incorporated into the Ciskei.

He felt he could grow old in the security of Alice because the last Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, had assured the town it would never be included in the Ciskei — the same assurance he gave the whites of Port St Johns in Transkei.

This security was shattered in January last year when Alice was declared a black town. Within a year 800 whites left leaving businesses depressed and spirits at a low ebb.

Since Alice became black 64 properties — houses, erven and businesses — have been bought by blacks.

While Alice probably will become the administrative and educational capital of the Ciskei, its industrial growth will be 14 km to the east at Middledrift.

## Doubts

Alice has insufficient water to support industrial growth on a large scale.

There are some doubts about Alice being the best place for the capital. The Ciskei Government wants it there because it is the traditional seat of culture and learning.

Fort Hare University, which has produced many of South Africa's black leaders such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, is there.

In fact that is considered to be a point against having Alice as the capital. It is felt that the first target of

demonstrating students anywhere is usually Government buildings and it would not be a good idea to have them close to each other.

Most of the whites are resigned to staying in Alice and are prepared to stay there.

Mr Terwin would like to serve on the town council if his properties have not been bought out when Alice.

"I think it would be my responsibility to have some say in the governing of the town in view of my commitments here," he said.

Mr Terwin has black neighbours as does the town's new police commanding officer, Lieutenant Johan van Wyk, who moved into his new house a few weeks ago.

"He is a professor at the university. We will meet one day," said the young officer who has no reservations about his children growing up with black children. "They played with black kids in Dundee (where he was before). They are quite used to that sort of thing."

## Prestige

He has not noticed any animosity between the races since he moved to the town in January. There have been a few cases of bag-snatching and Lieutenant van Wyk is concerned about the liberties the townsfolk take because there are no traffic cops.

Draper and furniture store owner Mr Gilbert Klaas is pleased with his two shops in town.

He feels trading in town carries more prestige than trading in the Dyamala township and he also has the opportunity to attract white trade.

He has felt no ill will from white businessmen in the town or from his white neighbours.

Fort Hare graduate and teacher at Jabavu High School Mr Matthewson Mobyø was given his new house in a posh white area of Alice by his father-in-law as a wedding present. The house cost about R30 000.

Shortly after he moved in last year he gave a house-warming party to which his white neighbours were invited.



Town Clerk, Mr Frederick Manthe . . . more "titled" people in Alice than anywhere else



Mr Gilbert Klaas, lives and trades among whites



Mayor Ian Trewin . . . assured it would not become part of the Ciskei



Lieutenant Johan van Wyk . . . starting to train black police.

# R9 000 Ciskei aid <sup>(105) DD</sup>

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The Ciskei Government yesterday received a R9 000 financial boost from an oil company. A cheque for this amount was presented to Chief Minister Lennox Sebe by Mr S. N. Surrurier, the company's representative.

The money is to be used to employ a fulltime cartographer for the completion of an agricultural and ecological survey of

Ciskei.

15/8/78  
Mr Surrurier said the company would, depending on progress and results, contribute a total of R45 000 over a period of five years.

He said the Ciskei had through its leaders, its civil service and its people demonstrated it was capable of both intelligent planning and effective application of that planning. — DDR.

Werkkerbe

16/3/78 M 105  
**Siyo supporter  
detained**

15. Aantal afhanklikes  
wie werker moe so

EAST LONDON — An  
Mdantsane green-produce  
hawker, Mrs Lindiwe  
Jamela, once an ardent  
supporter of Chief Sebe's  
Ciskei National  
Independence Party and  
now a staunch supporter  
of Mr L. F. Siyo's National  
Labour Party of South  
Africa, was detained un-  
der the Ciskei emergency  
regulations on Tuesday  
morning.

aas of êrens anders vir

3 4 5 6

- (a) Name (eerste name  
alleenlik)
- (b) Verwantskap aan werke
- (c) Ouderdom
- (d) Geslag
- (e) Woonplek
- (f) Skooljare voltooi
- (g) Nou op skool?
- (h) Skool (naam, soort,  
distrik en afstand  
van plaas)
- (i) Werk wat vir boer  
gedoen word (b.v.  
gedurende skool  
vakansies)
- (j) Jaarlikse tydperk  
gewerk (dae of weke)
- (k) Jaarlikse betaling:  
kontant

A friend said Mrs  
Jamela was picked up by  
two members of the  
security police at the Pon-  
toon Road bus terminal,  
here. — DDR

ander

DD 17/3/78

# R795 000 this year <sup>(105)</sup> for Glenmore scheme

**THE ASSEMBLY** — The Government is to spend R795 000 on the controversial Glenmore township for Ciskeian citizens during the 1977-8 financial year.

The Glenmore resettlement area, which the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, said earlier this year was outside the Ciskei homeland, has been strongly opposed by the Ciskei Cabinet.

A controversy has been taking place for years ever since the Government announced its intention to move black people in the Grahamstown area to the Committees Drift — Glenmore area about 50 km

away.

In reply to a question yesterday, Dr Mulder said because water and other services still had to be provided, an exact indication of when the first houses will be available cannot be given at this stage.

The Minister said provision had been made for approximately 5 000 residential erven which will be available for the erection of houses by self-builders and the South African Bantu Trust.

Dr Mulder also said the total cost of the township could not be determined as it is not known to what

extent houses will be erected by Ciskeians themselves.

Mr Rupert Lorimer (PFP, Orange Grove) who tabled the question, said afterwards that the only thing to do was to stop this silly scheme and improve conditions in Grahamstown.

He said he would like to know what the Government was going to spend R795 000 on.

"When they talk of water supplies, I wonder where that water is going to come from because my understanding is that the provision of water will be a very expensive operation," he said. — PC.



STAATSKOERANT  
VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

105

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PRETORIA, 17 MAART 1978  
17 MARCH

INo 5935

PROKLAMASIES

van die Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 56, 1978

VERKIESING VAN LEDE VAN DIE DERDE CISKEISE WETGEWENDE VERGADERING

Nademaal die Kabinet van die Ciskei besluit het dat 'n algemene verkiesing gehou word vir die verkiesing van die verkose lede van die Derde Ciskeise Wetgewende Vergadering;

So is dit dat ek kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 9 van Proklamasie R. 187 van 1972 en artikel 23 van Proklamasie R. 194 van 1972, hierby—

(a) die Tweede Ciskeise Wetgewende Vergadering met ingang van 12 Mei 1978 ontbind;

(b) Woensdag, 12 April 1978, bepaal as die dag waarop nominasiehowe sal sit om nominasies van kandidate vir verkiesing as lede van die Derde Ciskeise Wetgewende Vergadering te ontvang;

(c) bepaal dat nominasiehowe by die plekke in kolom 2 van Bylae I hiervan aangedui sal sit;

(d) indien 'n stemming ooreenkomstig die bepalings van artikel 27 (c) van genoemde Proklamasie R. 194 van 1972 moet plaasvind, die tydperk bepaal soos uiteengesit in Bylae II hiervan waartydens die stemming moet plaasvind en die ure bepaal soos in genoemde Bylae II uiteengesit wanneer die stemming op elke stemdag moet begin en eindig; en

(e) aandui dat die Kabinet van die Ciskei bepaal het dat die getal lede wat ten opsigte van elke kiesafdeling verkies moet word is soos in kolom 3 van Bylae I hiervan uiteengesit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Dertiende dag van Maart Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-sewentig.

N. DIEDERICHS, Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-rade:

C. P. MULDER.

69177—1

PROCLAMATIONS

by the State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. 56, 1978

ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF THE THIRD CISKEIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Whereas the Cabinet of the Ciskei has resolved that a general election be held for the election of the members of the Third Ciskeian Legislative Assembly;

Now, therefore, under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by section 9 of Proclamation R. 187 of 1972 and section 23 of Proclamation R. 194 of 1972, I hereby—

(a) dissolve the Second Ciskeian Legislative Assembly with effect from 12 May 1978;

(b) fix Wednesday, 12 April 1978, as the day which nomination courts shall sit to receive nominations for candidates for election as members of the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly;

(c) determine that nomination courts shall sit at the places indicated in column 2 of Schedule I hereto;

(d) if in accordance with the provisions of section 27 (c) of the said Proclamation R. 194 of 1972 it is to take place, fix the period as set out in Schedule II hereto during which poll shall take place and the hours as set out in the said Schedule II at which the poll shall commence and close on each polling day; and

(e) state that the Cabinet of the Ciskei has determined that the number of members to be elected in each electoral division shall be as set out in column 3 of Schedule I hereto.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Thirteenth day of March One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-eight.

N. DIEDERICHS, State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Council:

C. P. MULDER.

5935—1

BYLAE I

Kiesafdeling	Waar nominasiehof sal sit	4. tel kandidaate wat verkies moet word
Hewu.....	Kantoor van die Superintendent, Sada-dorp, distrik Hewu	1
Keiskammahock...	Kantoor van die Keiskammahock-Noord-stamowerheid, Tshoxa-lokasie, distrik Keiskammahock	1
Mdantsane.....	Kantoor van die Magistraat, Mdantsane, distrik Mdantsane	4
Middeldrift.....	Kantoor van die ou Streeksowerheid, Annshaw-lokasie, distrik Middeldrift	2
Ntabethemba. ...	Kantoor van die beampte wat aangetel is om die gebied te administreer, geleë langs die kerkgebou op die plaas Thornhill, in die Queenstown distrik	1
Peddie.....	Hoërskool Nathaniel Pamela, Durban-sending, Ngwekazi-lokasie, distrik Peddie	2
Victoria-Oos.....	Hoërskool Jabavu, Mavuso-lokasie, distrik Victoria-Oos	5
Zweledinga.....	'n Voormalvervaardigde gebou geleë langs die woning van mev. A. N. Dastile op die plaas Oxton, distrik Queenstown	1
Zwelitsha.....	Kantoor van die Magistraat, Zwelitsha, distrik Zwelitsha	5

BYLAE II

Stemburo's	Tydperk waartydens stemming sal plaasvind	Ure wanneer stemming op elke stemburo moet -	
		begin	eiindig
(a) Binne die Ciskei.....	21 Junie 1978. ....	07h00	21h00
(b) Buite 'n gebied in (a) hierbo genoem by alle stemburo's in die distrik Port Elizabeth	19 Junie tot en met 23 Junie 1978	07h00	21h00
(c) Buite 'n gebied in (a) en (b) hierbo genoem by stemburo's by die setels van kiesbeamptes	19 Junie tot en met 23 Junie 1978	08h00	13h00
(d) Buite 'n gebied in (a) hierbo genoem by stemburo's uitgesonderd daardie stemburo's in (b) en (c) hierbo genoem	21 Junie 1978. ....	07h00	21h00

(R.203/7/3)

SCHEDULE I

Electoral Division	Where nomination court shall sit	Number of candidates to be elected
Hewu.....	Office of the Superintendent, Sada Township, District of Hewu	1
Keiskammahock...	Keiskammahock North Tribal Authority Office, Tshoxa Location, District of Keiskammahock	1
Mdantsane. ....	Magistrate's Office, Mdantsane, District of Mdantsane	4
Middeldrift.....	Old Regional Authority Office, Annshaw Location, District of Middeldrift	2
Ntabethemba.....	Office of the officer appointed to administer the area, situated next to the church building on the farm Thornhill, in the District of Queenstown	1
Peddie.....	Nathaniel Pamela High School, Durban Mission, Ngwekazi Location, District of Peddie	2
Victoria East.....	Jabavu High School, Mavuso Location, District of Victoria East	5
Zweledinga.....	A prefabricated structure situated next to the residence of Mrs A. N. Dastile on the farm Oxton, District of Queenstown	1
Zwelitsha.....	Magistrate's Office, Zwelitsha, District of Zwelitsha	5

SCHEDULE II

Polling stations	Period during which poll shall take place	Hours at which on each polling day poll shall—	
		commence	close
(a) Within the Ciskei.....	21 June 1978.....	07h00	21h00
(b) Outside an area referred to in (a) above at all polling stations in the District of Port Elizabeth	19 June to 23 June 1978 inclusive	07h00	21h00
(c) Outside an area referred to in (a) and (b) above at polling stations at the seats of returning officers	19 June to 23 June 1978 inclusive	08h00	13h00
(d) Outside an area referred to in (a) above at polling stations other than those polling stations referred to in (b) and (c) above	21 June 1978.....	07h00	21h00

(R.203/7/3)

# Mtoba says poll won't be fair

105

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
—The Ciskei opposition alliance's participation in the general election was still unresolved yesterday.

A senior executive member of the Ciskei National Party, Mr L. S. Mtoba, said the issue revolved around the emergency regulation, Proclamation R252.

"The Proclamation has a tremendous bearing on the electorate and as long as it exists, there can never be fair elections," Mr Mtoba said.

He said the three opposition parties that formed the alliance had tried to get the Proclamation lifted by the Central Government, "but we have not yet received a clear answer on the matter from the authorities."

"Meanwhile people are being detained daily and the electorate is witnessing all this harassment."

It would take an extremely courageous citizen to want to be identified with a group that was being harassed by the authorities.

He said people were aware Chief Dumalithona Mpangele was still in jail and knew he was put there by the

Ciskei Government

"They are also aware of the other detainees, some of whom are high-ranking officials of the opposition. They know the Ciskei Government put them there."

"We are expected to plunge into an election that is going to be decided by the electorate's response to the threat of prison."

Mr Mtoba said if the opposition alliance eventually decided to participate, there would be only 22 candidates representing the alliance.

The Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, said it was a sign of political immaturity by the alliance to allow each of the three parties to have its own candidates.

Mr Mtoba said there was no logic in admitting there was an election pact, and yet suggest they would contest the election as individuals.

"Where five nominees are needed we shall have five, agreed upon by the three parties and where one is needed, we shall have one who will have been decided upon by the three parties."

"If anybody has shown political immaturity it is

the Chief Minister," Mr Mtoba said.

Meanwhile, Chief Sebe's ruling Ciskei National Independence Party may announce its 22 candidates for the nine electoral divisions on March 26.

The CNIP Secretary-General, Mr S. M. Tanana, said they would meet at Ntabakandoda on the Amatola Mountain range.

It is not clear why the CNIP has chosen Ntabakandoda as the venue for their meeting which will be attended by all regional representatives and the entire parliamentary caucus.

Ntabakandoda has great national significance to blacks and Chief Sebe reminded his supporters at a function recently: "many of you may not know how significant Ntabakandoda is to the black man who is committed to the fight for the freedom of his people."

"There is a spring there completely obscured by luxuriant shrubs which Chief Maqoma drank from while he fought colonial armies."

"The colonial armies died of thirst, while Chief Maqoma had an eternal spring to drink from." — DDR.

a city?

er do - either

do?

5. If worker did not go to school: why didn't you go to school?

If worker began but did not complete schooling: Why didn't you finish your schooling?

## Problems

1.. What would you most like to see changed in your working conditions? (wage, payment in kind, hours, holidays)

In your living conditions? (housing, recreational facilities)



*Sunday Times*

SUNDAY TIMES, March 19, 1978. 17

# 10 lashes — then appeal succeeds

105

## Sunday Times Reporter

A MAN sentenced by a tribal court to eight cuts for ploughing on a Sunday has won his appeal, in the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, against the conviction — but he had already received the lashes, plus two more for running away.

Mr Kholisile Mahayiya, of Mdingi, near King William's Town, was sentenced by the tribal court on December 15, 1976. After he had received the lashes, he appealed to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's court at Zwelitsha but was found guilty and fined R15, or 20 days. The sentence was suspended.

Mr Justice Smalberger said the judgment did not mean it was not an offence in terms of Xhosa custom to plough on a Sunday. But the evidence had not established that it was an offence for members of the Aman-tinde tribe to plough on a Sunday.

Why/Why not?

for changes and been refused?

tails.

you have with your work?

to solve these problems?

these problems with workers on this or on

thought of joining together to get something

contract workers only

me back to this farm?

## People, not stones

IT'S ABOUT TIME Nationalists woke up to the fact that it is they, rather than their liberal critics, who have become the "cocktail-party theorists" divorced from reality. Particularly when it comes to theorising about race policy. Elaborate concepts are expounded, maps redrawn, population statistics juggled, often with little reference to the practicalities on the ground.

Thus the latest idea — or, rather, the latest elaboration upon an old idea — of demarcating the Western Cape as a white-coloured area with no blacks. It has taken a Bantustan leader, Mr Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei, to point out the practical implications.

In an interview with a Nationalist newspaper at the weekend Mr Sebe

105 2/4/78 RLM  
noted that there were insufficient employment opportunities in his area, so that if blacks were repatriated there from the Western Cape (where most blacks are Xhosas) he would be forced to demand that jobs be opened up for them by in turn removing the coloureds from the Port Elizabeth area and sending them to the Western Cape. And he warned that this, far from solving any racial problems, would create serious new tensions between blacks and coloureds as well as between blacks and whites.

To say nothing of the thousands of lives that would be disrupted. "You are dealing with people," Mr Sebe observed, "not stones to be loaded on and off lorries". Which is a little detail of reality these theorists so often seem to overlook.

DA (105) 3/4/78

# Ciskei factory takes over its distributors

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Microsteel Cycle Manufacturing (Pty) Limited, a company producing a wide range of cycles in its factory at Dimbaza, in the Ciskei, recently acquired the total equity of the L. K. Hurwitz group, according to an announcement by Chief L. L. Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei.

The L. K. Hurwitz group has been distributing the company's cycles throughout South Africa and South West Africa.

real benefits to the consumer, and would ensure the long term growth of the group.

Mr Stanley Hurwitz will be the managing director of the enlarged Microsteel

group. The other executive directors of Microsteel will be Mr Ronnie Kruger, who will be responsible for the Dimbaza factory, and Mr Rodney Kapelus, who will

be in charge of sales and marketing.

The group will also concentrate on exports, and has already received substantial orders from Europe. — DDC



**MR RONNIE KRUGER**

Mr. Ronnie Kruger, of Microsteel, and Mr Stanley Hurwitz, of L. K. Hurwitz and Son (Pty) Limited, said here at the weekend that the merger of interests of a large national distributor of cycles with a manufacturer was the fulfilment of a long-standing ambition.

Such close co-operation within the group, with its added depth of management and the further financial backing of the corporation for Economic Development, and the Ciskeian National Development Corporation, would produce

105-714178  
105

## Endorsed reference books vital to voters

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Ciskeians, whose reference books still indicate as places of origin areas in Transkei, will not be allowed to vote in the Ciskei election unless they have Ciskeian citizenship certificates.

Ciskei's Minister of Interior, Chief L. Maqoma, said yesterday only voters whose reference books showed they were registered on or before August 11, 1977, would be allowed to vote.

He added that those who were registered for Herschel and Glen Grey would not be eligible to vote if they did not have Ciskei citizenship certificates.

Chief Maqoma said if any voter was issued with a duplicate reference book after August 11, he would have to make certain the endorsement was effected in the duplicate reference book.

In another announcement yesterday, the Secretary for Interior, Mr J. P. Marais, said nomination courts for the receipt of nominations for the election would sit on April 12 from 9 am to noon.

Nominations for the Hewu electoral division would be received at the Sada superintendent's of-

— fice, while the Keiskammahoek North Tribal Authority office would be the nomination court for that constituency.

The other nomination courts would be the Magistrates' offices at Mdantsane and Zwelitsha, the old regional authority office at Annshaw for the Middledrift constituency, the Nathaniel Pamla High School for the Peddie division and Jabayu High School at Mavuso location for Victoria East.

The new constituency of Ntabethemba will be served at an office situated next to the church building at Thornhill farm.

A prefabricated structure will be put up near the residence of Mrs A. N. Dastile on the farm Oxtou to receive nominations for candidates in the Zweledinga constituency.

— DDR.

# Ciskei: who can vote

## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

The Ciskei Minister of the Interior, Chief E. Magoma, was incorrectly reported yesterday in his statement on who will be allowed to vote in the Ciskei elections.

Chief Magoma, in fact, said Ciskeian voters, whose reference books still indicated their district of origin was a district in Transkei, except the districts of Herschel and Cacadu (Glen Grey), would not be allowed to vote unless they had been issued with a Ciskeian citizenship certificate.

DDR

Tshakolo project In Israel the fish ponds are average. The project at Ts  
ere, about 4 hectares on ut 350 hectares altogether.

Pond Construction - soil I personally believe that almost any soil can be good for fish farming. If its partly clay, partly possible to make a clay core case after a year or two, be more watertight. In Israel advantage of a fish pond is for other agricultural activity. Chief Magoma, in fact, said Ciskeian voters, whose reference books still indicated their district of origin was a district in Transkei, except the districts of Herschel and Cacadu (Glen Grey), would not be allowed to vote unless they had been issued with a Ciskeian citizenship certificate. If it's very sandy it's not leaking. But in any matter, the ponds get ponds on the beach. The which is unsuitable

EDA: But surely in Israel the carp ponds get muddy? Yes, but not as much as here.

EDA: Don't carp make the water muddy themselves? Yes, they feed mainly on the bottom. They dig in the mud and make the water muddy. But even when you fill the pond the water is dirty.

Water conditions We start stocking the fish in about September and we finish from about the end of February to the middle of May. The water is very good compared with other places like Israel. The pH is good; it's nearly 7, a little bit higher. There's very little salt. In Israel you can find sometimes 800 - 1000 mg per litre. On the other hand, the water is usually quite muddy. But we still use it.

Here it's too cold for Tilapia. They won't get big enough in one season unless we put in quite big ones. There's also a problem with spawning. The temperature here is not optimum.

Now there is another species, silver carp, which was imported from Israel. It seems to have a good effect on the carp. Here we are using the principle of polyculture. The idea is to utilise all the natural food and so increase production. In this case production has increased nearly 20%. In Israel, in one pond you can find carp, Tilapia, mullet, silver carp, grass carp.

# How an academic sees Border and the Ciskei

At the recent annual congress of the Border Chambers of Commerce, the head of the department of geography at Rhodes University, Prof J. B. McL. Daniel, presented a paper, A bird's eye view of the Ciskei economy and the Border region, in which he did some straight talking on industrialisation. Here is that paper.

The fact that the Ciskei and the Border Region are differentiated between represents the dilemma of Southern Africa. How much better it would be if it could have considered the whole region as a whole and without artificial boundaries which fragment and confuse.

All Government thinking and planning takes place within the framework of homeland development and apartheid, and I would submit that this is an extensive process, as virtually all aspects of development have to be duplicated.

## Example

I don't want to get detracked into political issues, but let me give you an example which I may return to at a later stage.

For the last 15 years or so the City of East London has made every effort to develop its industries. At present it is not succeeding in keeping up the tempo of development that is really required in this task — a failure that has occurred in spite of the facilities which the City has to offer in the way of its harbour, water and electricity supplies to name a few.

At this very time of struggle there is talk of developing Middeldrift as an industrial area. Apart from the half dozen or so buildings that exist in

and generated 74,8 per cent. of the country's G.d.p." (p. 383).

The remaining three regions are centred on Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London. The weakness of the East London region is due largely to its peripheral location in relation to Cape Town and the principal region, which includes Johannesburg and Durban.

The marginal nature of East London is accentuated by the poverty of its hinterland, which lacks rich mining areas, and which incorporates the less developed regions of Ciskei and Transkei.

In the Ciskei, for example, the share of the subsistence sector varied from 19,5 per cent to 41,6 per cent of the gross domestic product during the period 1960-61 to 1971-72, while the income per capita for the de facto black inhabitants of Ciskei in 1973 was R90,50 (Benbo, p. 36).

## Peripheral

In the same way that the East London metropolitan region is peripheral to the principal region at the national level, Ciskei and Transkei are peripheral to East London at the regional level. At both levels one can recognise inequalities of economic development (Myrdal 1957, Friedmann 1966).

Away from the mainstream of development, and surrounded by poor homelands and not particularly rich white farming areas, it is not altogether surprising that the tempo of industrial

growth has not been maintained.

It is important to recognise the differences in income levels between regions. It is equally important to acknowledge that these spatial variations are not temporary features that will disappear in time due to the natural functioning of production and market forces. I trust the older equalisation theories are no longer accepted as valid.

Myrdal, applying his idea of cumulative causation, states that inequalities between regions are more likely to increase than decrease. The areas with inherent advantages will grow, because of those advantages, while those without special advantages will stagnate.

## Interaction

Nevertheless there is spatial interaction between the two types of regions. The developing region will attract flows of both capital and labour. The lagging areas may benefit from new demands for raw material (spread effects) or they may experience a net movement of population and even capital to the growing area.

In many cases it is the better educated and the younger people who leave first. (backwash effect). Education and other services decline, and lead to further stagnation. The upward and downward spirals of cumulative causation are likely to continue, unless spread effects are encouraged by Government actions.

## Labour

The principles outlined above can be applied to both the Ciskei and the Border region. The Ciskei, for example, has flows of

labour both to the East London Metropolitan Area and beyond to the Southern Transvaal. The Border Region, too, is peripheral to the principal region as defined by Board, Davies and Fair, and requires an outside stimulus to encourage development. The growth of industrial development illustrates this point.

Industrial development in East London during the first half of the century was slow. Referring to an upswing in industrial activity during the period 1947-1954, Watts and Agar-Hamilton (1970, p. 42) suggest the growth may have been greater. "... had the municipal authorities shown themselves less choosy regarding the industries they were prepared to encourage, more forward-looking in the provision of the necessary supplies of water and electric power ... and more concerned in instituting a locations policy which might have obviated the worst features of the riots of 1952."

In industry remained a neglected aspect of economic growth until the latter half of the 50s. One symptom of change in attitude was the decision to build a new township for blacks. Mdantsane (Gordon, 1977) was planned especially for industrial employees and the resettlement of the surplus population from the other locations of East London, particularly Duncan Village. Mdantsane was proclaimed a homeland township of the Ciskei in 1966.

In 1960 the Government's policy relating to industrial development in "border areas" was introduced. East London was one of the first border industrial areas to be declared, and

by 1962 the City Council was doing its best to encourage the establishment of industries in the municipal area.

The concept of border industries stems from the report of the Tomlinson Commission (1955) Consequently, border area development must be viewed as part of the general problem of industrial location in South Africa, as well as part of the programme of socio-economic development of the Homelands.

The locational disadvantages suffered by East London were offset to some extent by the inducements made to industrialists. A second Government measure, the Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act of 1967, further assisted the expansion of industry in East London.

Even with the help of legislation, East London's growth did not continue at an even pace. If one takes the value of industrial building plans passed as an index of growth, it becomes clear that the real period of growth spanned the years 1969-1971. In 1971 the value of building plans passed (industrial) were valued at R9,1m, but in 1972 and 1973 these declined to R3,2m and R2,0m respectively.

## Boundaries

The authorities extended the municipal boundary in 1970 to include the Berlin Flats, an area which covered some 54 square kilometres on the King William's Town road, approximately 40 km away from the centre of East London. Although this area qualifies for border area concessions, and has been supplied with municipal services

# An academic's viewpoint

Continued from Page 2

such as electricity, water and sewerage, only three industries had located there by 1973.

The slowdown in industrial expansion was evident before the oil crisis towards the end of 1973. The reasons for the down-turn must, therefore, be sought in other directions, and it is suggested that the encouragement of industries on an agency basis, as well as the marginal position of East London within the South African space economy, are important considerations in the explanation of this trend.

In terms of economic development, East London's marginal position must be taken into consideration in explaining the decline in industrial growth after a period in which it had been artificially stimulated by the concessions which formed an integral part of the Rondonia Policy. It is suggested that the maintenance of industrial growth in East London is dependent on further efforts to maintain and extend development are not continued in the East London area, especially as the Physical Development Plan, published in 1975, claims East London should be developed as a new metropolitan area.

## Why?

One wonders why Middledrift has been selected for special treatment. True, it is in a densely populated area, but on the other hand, as I have indicated earlier, it has no present basis for encouraging development.

One might ask why the stimulation in Mdantsane has been completely overlooked. According to a statement reported in a local newspaper, the population of Mdantsane now numbers 200 000 — whether this represents the official or unofficial estimate, it still represents a great many people and a large potential market.

Why Middledrift rather than Mdantsane? If industry is to develop in the Ciskei, the closer it can be located to markets and the port, the better.

Mdantsane, incorporated into the Ciskei by legislation, occupies an intermediate position in many respects — a giant in terms of population, but a dwarf in respect of commerce and industry; a political city, but an economic suburb (Gordon, 1976).

## Potential

It is worth asking why industries developed significantly in spite of Government assistance. Do they not lack an industry which employs large numbers of people, and an industry that has both forward and backward linkages? What industries could these areas really expect to attract?

In this respect the Ingula Basin in Natal holds valuable lessons for all prepared to learn them. The general tendency towards a growing concentration of industry in areas of optimum locations, especially in respect to markets, is well illustrated here.

The Basit was, and perhaps is, the best surveyed piece of territory in South Africa. The resources are well documented, the infrastructure is sound — railways, roads, power lines and water resources were good; small towns were in a position to provide centres of growth (Estcourt, Ladysmith), yet the basin failed to attract industries which, instead, located in the Southern Transvaal or Durban.

Decentralization only succeeded when the Government decided to start a third Iscor at Newcastle — an artificial industrial climate was induced before real development took place.

I would go so far as to say that unless something similar takes place either at Middledrift or East London, the future industrial development of the region as a whole — Ciskei and the Border Region — is bleak. I cannot believe such large investment can be justified in Middledrift, but I do believe that investment could be effective in East London, or Mdantsane, which already has the infrastructure to support it.

Development cannot be expected in peripheral areas — Ciskei and the Border Region in the periphery in geographical terms. If efforts are concentrated on minor growth points such as Middledrift, I believe the whole region could suffer.

Realistic. Let's take a realistic look at the Ciskei in terms of industrial development. The territory lacks raw materials, the purchasing power in the internal market is low, and few facilities outside Mdantsane are in existence.

Whereas Mdantsane has a high rate of population growth and, therefore, a problem of supplying numbers of children entering the age of economic activity (15-64), Middledrift has a rural population and may find that there is some inertia in the transfer of people from the country to town and factory. The people may, therefore, have to be encouraged to move on a permanent basis to the town.

In Mdantsane, the people have already made the decision to leave the rural areas. It is also necessary to appreciate that small scale industrial development does little to raise living standards. If industry on a large scale is envisaged, large industrial units in large towns will be required. This means large investment in buildings (homes, shops and factories). The problem of capital investment is therefore increased.

In addition, training must be provided, and skilled labour may have to be imported for a period of time. These considerations will affect the rate of industrialisation.

If industrialisation does succeed, and takes up the slack of under-employment, and if labour demands increase, a further problem is created. Workers, for the factories will be drawn from a fully-employed farming group, thus profoundly affecting agriculture, and causing a decline in production from the land.

A newly industrialising country cannot afford to permit agricultural output to decline. Not only does the population have to be fed, but a developing

country is seldom in a position to import food (e.g. India). Moreover, the export of primary agricultural produce may be the only means of repaying loans.

## Production

In any event, in the Ciskei farm production is very low and farming needs to be reorganised — a process which will involve labour and capital.

These requirements and improvements will reduce the total investment capacity devoted to industry, thus preventing the rate of industrialisation being maintained.

Before coming to the role of agriculture in the development of the Ciskei in particular, I would like to return to Mdantsane and discuss the findings of some recent research on the industrial labour force in East London.

Jooste (1964) draws attention to the selective nature of migration in Swaziland. In discussing the imbalance of the sexes, which was noticed during a sample survey undertaken in 1960, he states that differential ages is intensified by sex selective migration.

He suggests that the economically active age group, the economically active age group.

He suggests that the territory will create a more favourable sex-ratio, by discouraging emigration and encouraging immigration of a sex-selective kind. This trend may be applicable to the East London area.

While prior to the creation of Mdantsane there may have been a greater tendency for migration to have been of a sex-selective kind, with a predominance of males leaving the rural areas to seek work, the growth of industry, as well as the provision of family housing at Mdantsane, should have tended to improve

the sex-ratio during the last 10-15 years.

## Balance

From both the economic and social points of view, a balanced sex-ratio is desirable. Nevertheless, in the initial period, this restoration of the balance can create additional problems (Jooste, 1964).

If workers in the younger age-groups are attracted to the city on a permanent basis, an increase in fertility may result. If an increase in fertility is accompanied by a decrease in infant mortality, there could be a rapid increase in the number of mouths to feed, and a sharp increase in child dependency which, in turn, would have an adverse effect on economic growth.

Lewis (1974, p. 8) states that migration causes changes in the interactional system of the people involved. Such interactional changes involved a weakening of social and cultural attachments with the place of origin, and a creation of new ties and values in the place of destination.

## Research

From the research conducted among black industrial workers in East London, most of whom lived in Mdantsane, it appeared that:

(i) — the younger age-group had been attracted from the rural areas to the employment opportunities in the industrial sector;

(ii) — there was a high dependency ratio and this, in turn, indicates a rapid increase in population numbers can be anticipated from natural increase alone. A very high percentage of the children were under 15 years of age — 94 per cent whose parents were under 30, and 74 per cent whose

Continued on Page 4

# An academic's viewpoint <sup>Apr 1 1978</sup>

Continued from Page 3

parents were 30 years and over. Careful note of this urban population pattern is important, because it affects all facets of life — the cost of feeding, clothing, housing and schooling, as well as finding employment for those becoming economically active and expecting employment opportunities to be available. The high level of dependency could prevent or delay any real increase in the standard of living;

## Homelands

(iii)—a third aspect examined concerns the social and cultural attachments of the industrial employees to the homelands. All but 23 workers responded to the question relating to the existence of a country home. Of 416 who did respond, 76 per cent indicated they had a country home. If workers born in East London have adapted to an urban culture, they should be less strongly attached to a rural home, the very existence of which indicates a strong tie to the traditional culture. Nevertheless, approximately one quarter of the persons born in East London claimed a country home.

One is witnessing a period of transition, in which a percentage of the urban born and bred population still attach importance to the rural link. Most workers provided support for their country homes — 76 per cent provided groceries, 81 per cent clothing, and 91 per cent provided money regularly. This support underlines the fact that the majority of industrial workers are still people of two worlds.

## Link

The link with the homeland is especially strong for the in-migrant, but also strong for a number of persons born in East London.

Both Ciskei and East London are mutually dependent upon each other. The one cannot function successfully without the other.

On the available evidence, it may be hypothesised that the social and cultural links (Lewis, 1974) as well as the economic links between the industrial worker and his or her

rural home, are strong partly because of the poverty of the rural areas, but also because of the proximity of East London to the rural home.

## Importance

The importance of East London and its satellite city, Mdantsane, needs to be underlined when studying the Border Region and, indeed, the Ciskei. Weaken this core, and the periphery will also suffer. Government intervention should be directed, then, to East London and Mdantsane, not to new centres yet to be created.

Dealing with agriculture in the Ciskei, Prof Daniel said:

In addressing the 72nd annual congress of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science in 1974, Chief L. L. Sebe stated that the basis of the economy in all the Homelands for years to come will be agriculture and the industries springing from agriculture. It was refreshing to find this approach being adopted from the leader of the Ciskei.

Too often in developing countries the role of agriculture is overlooked. Nevertheless, it is important to strike the right balance between the effort in agriculture and the effort in industry.

## Crucial

It is often stated that agriculture is crucial because some 80 per cent of the population is presently engaged in agriculture, and that agriculture is regarded as the key to full employment and political stability.

The present economic recession in South Africa has certainly shown how vulnerable the people in the cities are to unemployment. On the other hand, it must be recognised that many school-leavers would rather do anything than work on the land. The result is that many leave the rural areas without any real hope of finding employment in the urban areas.

## Capital

There are two schools of thought. The one believes industry is the best means of accumulating capital and the only way of creating employment for those unwilling to stay on the land.

Opposing this point of view is the group which believes in agriculture as a pre-requisite for industrial development. They claim agricultural expansion is needed to meet the food demands of the urban population; that a prosperous agricultural community will provide a suitable market for industrial products; that agricultural exports are the best way of ac-

cumulating capital in exchange for capital investment; that agricultural development is less expensive than industrial development and employs more people.

## Emphasis

The arguments in favour of agricultural development are strong, but it would be wrong to neglect industrial development altogether. In this section the emphasis is on agriculture, so I would like to emphasise that agricultural development is no easy task.

I would like to discuss in a little more detail the low level of productivity; the problems related to the dualistic structure of the economy; the need to develop cash crop farming; the problems of land tenure, and the need for research to ascertain how the people perceive farming and agriculture in particular.

In 1973-4 the gross value of plant and animal production and forestry in the Ciskei was worth R4.7m, or under R11 per capita, compared with R7 per capita in 1970-71. Clearly the level of production is very low (based on Benbo data).

A survey of two Ciskeian rural communities in 1975 revealed that 40 per cent of the households failed to produce sufficient food for their own requirements.

In 1973, black workers away from their homes earned more than 70 per cent of the gross national income of the de facto black residents of the Ciskei. (Benbo, 1975). The dualistic nature of the economy is evident. The people have become increasingly involved in a money exchange economy, yet in the life of the person on the land (farmer) subsistence or semi-subsistence activities are of paramount importance.

The intrusive element of wage earning complicates the pattern of a population essentially dependent on the land. In fact, the incentive to produce more food and to produce cash crops is weakened, because the basic needs for food can be obtained from money earned away from the rural area.

Why toil in an inhospitable environment to produce a bag of maize, when a short spell in employment will enable you to purchase the food you require?

Agriculture cannot fulfill the role I have outlined unless land is considered as a productive agent, to be used primarily for the accumulation of material wealth. Here, then, the need for cash cropping becomes evident, as well as the question of land tenure and the part it plays in stimulating or encouraging higher levels of production.

It must be acknowledged that wage employment is a more ready source of cash than the cultivation

of the soil. I believe we need to earn money outside the sphere of traditional economic activity is firmly entrenched. Future agronomic policy must face the issue, and the question which it poses — can agriculture be made a reasonable alternative to wage earning?

In order to make agriculture more attractive, it would be necessary to develop an intensive system of farming, in which cash cropping played a role. What are the chances of achieving this aim? Two opportunities are not great — pineapples? vegetables? citrus?

Two significant facts must be appreciated in assessing commercial farming. The first is that the area on which irrigation farming is possible, is limited. Irrigable land in the Ciskei is only 0.1 per cent of the total area, or about 1 200ha. The majority of people would, therefore, have to continue farming under dry-land conditions.

The second fact is that the change of the favoured few to irrigation farming will involve technical changes as well as a more progressive attitude towards land use.

The success of cash cropping also revolves round the question of progressive farmers. It is claimed by many that no form of intensive farming system, capable of giving high productivity from the soil, can be introduced successfully where the farmer does not have security of tenure in the form either of a long lease or freehold title.

It becomes necessary, therefore, to examine the respective advantages and disadvantages of at least communal and individual tenure.

## Communal

Communal tenure has been criticised on the following grounds:

(i) — security of tenure is not absolute;

(ii) — communal grazing makes it impossible to improve the methods of animal husbandry;

(iii) — the chiefs are likely to be hostile to innovations which could lead to a class of wealthy farmer, as they could undermine the hereditary prerogatives for leadership;

(iv) — scattered fields lead to inefficient farming, as one's efforts and energies are dissipated over a wide area.

Conversely, it is widely held that individual tenure would lead to greater initiative on the part of the farmer, and provide a greater incentive to adopt better methods of cultivation. It is argued that substantial agricultural progress is possible only if the individual is free to develop his land without danger of interference or eviction, and if he is able to command a certain amount

Continued on Page 6



# An academic's viewpoint

Continued from Page 4  
credit, raised on the security of his land.

## Tenure

In reviewing the situation, the following considerations are pertinent to the question of land tenure:

(i) — although 78 per cent of the Ciskei has been planned physically, only about 10 per cent of the families in the Ciskei have been allocated economic holdings according to the Tomlinson Commission formula, which envisaged a class of full-time farmers capable of earning a gross income of R120 pa. a. The shortage of land means that, under present conditions, there is very little hope of providing families with viable economic units.

(ii) — communal land tenure has not hindered the introduction of soil conservation measures, or improved methods of crop husbandry. Rehabilitation schemes have also shown that consolidation of holdings is not incompatible with communal tenure. It is when the aspects of commercial agriculture appear that the conflict with the traditional outlook arises:

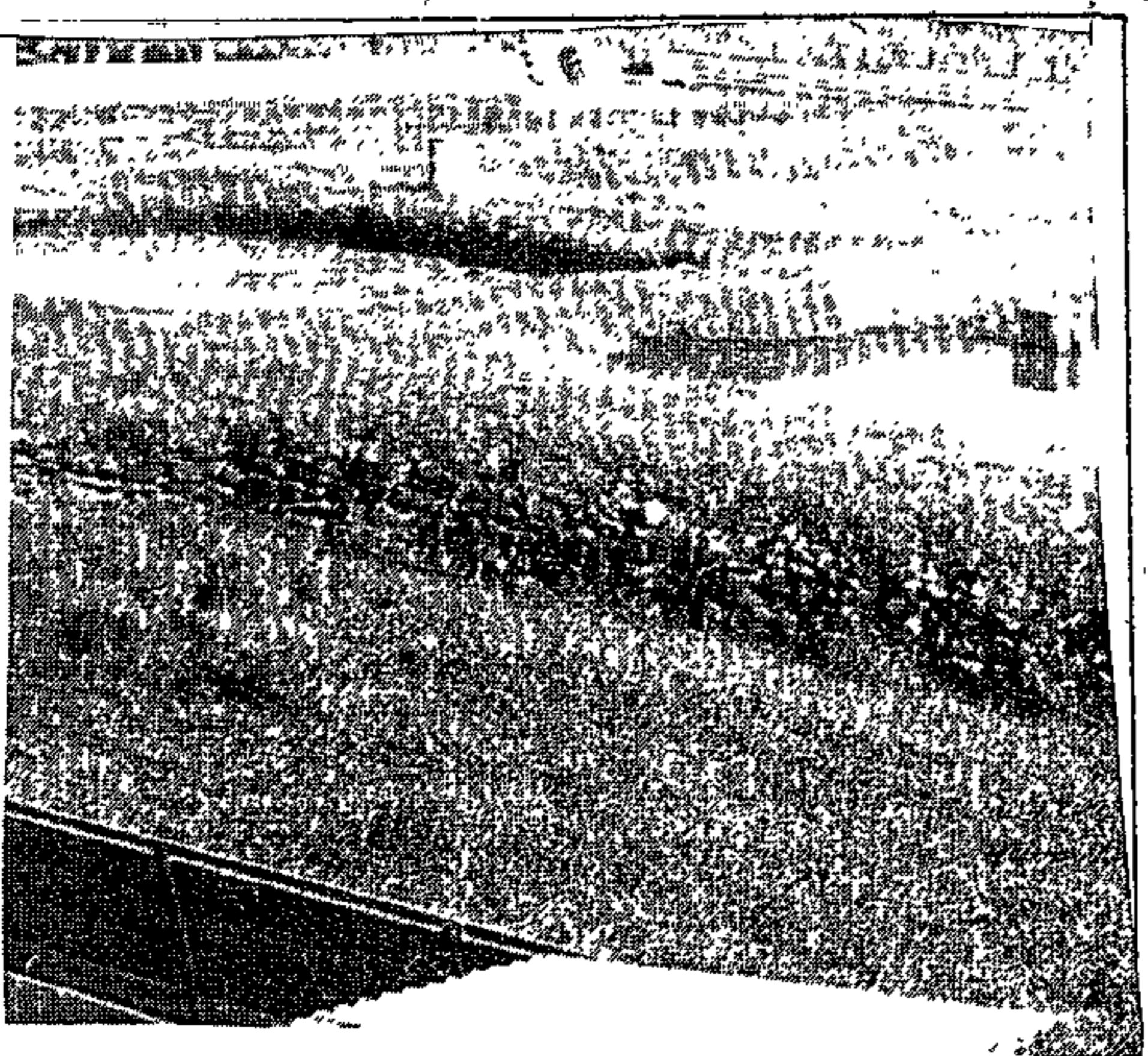
people to suit a policy" (Holleman, p. 338);  
(v) — agrarian indebtedness is characteristic of societies where individual tenure is found. It is possible that indebtedness is a greater threat to security of tenure than anything found in the existing system of communal tenure;  
(vi) — a change to individual tenure would lead to the emergence of a landless class — where would they find employment?  
**Complex**  
Provision should be made for the progressive farmer, but there is little to commend a wholesale change in the tenure arrangements. The problem of land tenure is far more complex than many believe, and the claim that low productivity is due to the system of communal tenure is underevaluating a very complex issue. Individual land tenure is not the panacea for all agricultural evils. Perhaps the main thrust of agricultural programmes should be the maintenance of soil fertility.

**Contrasts**  
The same study brought out the contrasts in attitude between two communities, thus underlining the folly of trying to have a single policy which is applied to all areas.  
Planning must take cognisance of these contrasts. This type of perception study has not been extensively used in South Africa, but it is one which holds promise, especially in the efforts to break existing bottlenecks in agricultural production. Its use would enable policies to be formulated which suit the people.  
Finally, in presenting this bird's-eye view, I would like to focus attention on the population of the Ciskei. If one looks at the structure of the black population, one finds that 48.5 per cent of the population is under the age of 15 years, and five per cent over the age of 65 years. This pattern has many implications.

**Structure**  
The first thing to note is the youthful structure of the population and, therefore, the large number of children who have to be fed, housed, clothed, educated and eventually employed. Can the rate of economic development be such that it will cater for these needs?  
Secondly, one has to note the relatively low percentage (46.5 per cent) of the population in the economically active age category of 15-64. The very high burden of dependency makes savings extremely difficult. If the people cannot contribute much by way of taxes to the development of the country, productivity will either remain low, or the Government will have to rely on foreign loans and grants.  
Thirdly, the high percentage of young people implies a large number in or about to enter the reproductive age groups. A marked increase in fertility can therefore be expected.  
There is evidence to suggest that the population in the Ciskei is in the process of demographic transition, which involves a change, over a period of time, from high birth and death rates to low birth and death rates.  
The decline in the death rate proceeds faster than that in the birth rate, and this leads to a very rapid population increase in the stages of mid-transition.

**Networks**  
When the European countries experienced this mid-transitional stage, they had reorganised their agriculture, started an era of industrialisation, and developed trade networks and world-wide trade links.  
The Ciskei enjoys none of these advantages. Rates of population increase are difficult to obtain for the Homeland, and are only estimates, as the registration of births and deaths is not compulsory.  
The Bureau of Statistics estimates that the annual increase among the black population in the Republic is 2.8 per cent p. a. Applying this rate to the Ciskei, it means the population will double in a generation — 25 years. In 1970 the de facto Xhosa population totalled 512 000. It is proving difficult to increase living standards for this total — how will the Ciskei cope with 1 024 000 in 1995?

Can environmental deterioration be prevented? Can sufficient income be generated, remembering that the faster the population grows, the greater the investments needed just to maintain the existing level of per capita income?  
Population growth could destroy all efforts to improve conditions in the Ciskei.  
I have endeavoured to give a factual account of the situation in the Border Region and the Ciskei. There has not been time to discuss all the major problems that can be identified, but by concentrating on industry, agriculture and population, I hope a reasonable bird's-eye view has been obtained. What has been seen does not give rise to optimism, but does present a challenge.



Ponds at the ce

EDA: What is the average size  
The average size is about  
EDA: Is that the average size  
bigger ponds there?

# Ciskei land cost R9,6m

THE ASSEMBLY — The Government has spent almost R9,6 million buying land for the Ciskei in the Peddie and Whittlesea districts over the last two years.

It has spent R3 509 000 in the Peddie area, where priority is being given to owners in the Peddie South area, and R6 067 000 in the Queenstown and Whittlesea areas, where there is also a priority system.

This was disclosed by the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, when he replied to a question tabled in the Assembly by Mr Rupert

Lorimer (PFP, Orange Grove). In both areas, Dr Mulder said no decisive indication could be given of when the land purchases would be completed "due to the fact that the acquisition of land is subject to various factors."

Commenting, Mr Lorimer said that with the sharp cutback in funds for

the purchase of land for the homelands this year to R30 million "I can't hold out much hope for the farmers living in these areas."

However, he urged the Government to find the funds necessary for the land purchases in these areas if this was at all possible. — PC.

HANSARD, 10  
10th APRIL, 1978.

QUESTION 416 COL 590 & 591.

Resettlement camp at Oxton

416. Dr. A. L. BORAINÉ asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

- (1) When was the resettlement camp at Oxton in the Queenstown district established;

① 105  
② ~~271~~

591

TUESDAY, 1

- (2) (a) how many men, women and children, respectively, are living in this camp and (b) from what areas were they moved;
- (3) what (a) health, (b) employment and (c) educational facilities are available in the camp;
- (4) whether the land on which the camp is situated was bought by his Department; if so, at what cost;
- (5) whether the camp is intended to be a permanent resettlement area; if not, when is it to be closed down.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT.

- (1) No such camp has been established but the Ciskeian Government has, however, settled people on the farm Oxton during 1976.
- (2), (3) and (5) Due to the fact that the area concerned falls under the jurisdiction of the Ciskeian Government and that the required information deals with matters which are now the function and responsibility of the said Government, the required information is not readily available in my Department and I had to approach the Ciskeian Government for the required particulars but they inform me that they do not wish to furnish the information.
- (4) The land concerned was bought on behalf of the South African Bantu Trust as part of the approved consolidation proposals for the Ciskei. Details of the various transactions are regarded as confidential and the particulars cannot be disclosed.

HANSARD. 10. 10th APRIL.

QUESTION 45 COL. 589 & 590.

Vraag van plaaswerkers (2)

①/05

~~②/71~~

Resettlement camp at Zwelendini \*

415. Dr. A. L. BORAINÉ asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

- (1) When was the resettlement camp at Zwelendini in the Queenstown district established;

probleme op te los?

for werkers op die plaas of op

Het n

met ander werkers saam te

22nd APRIL 1978

590

- (2) (a) how many men, women and children, respectively, are living in this camp and (b) from what areas were they moved;

aan toevall

- (3) what (a) health, (b) employment and (c) educational facilities are available in the camp;

enlik

1. Gaan u

- (4) whether the land on which the camp is situated was bought by his Department; if so, at what cost;

was te kom of nie?

Waarom?

- (5) whether the camp is intended to be a permanent resettlement area; if not, when is it to be closed down.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) No such camp has been established and I presume that the question refers to the Ciskeian Electoral Division of Zweledinga where people from Glen Grey settled.

- (2), (3) and (5) Due to the fact that the area concerned falls under the jurisdiction of the Ciskeian Government and that the required information deals with matters which are now the function and responsibility of the said Government, I had to approach the Ciskeian Government for the required particulars but they inform me that they do not wish to furnish the information.

- (4) The land concerned was bought on behalf of the South African Bantu Trust as part of the approved consolidation proposals for the Ciskei.

Details of the various transactions are regarded as confidential and the particulars cannot be disclosed.

# PATCH

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KING WILLIAM'S TOWN  
— South Africa's future would not be determined by events on the borders of Angola but by attitudes of South Africa's black masses, Ciskei's Chief Minister, Mr Lennox Sebe, said at the weekend.

He was one of the chief speakers at the ceremony at his Khambashe Great Place near here where Mr Geoffrey Serrurier, a representative of a major South African oil company, was installed as a counsellor of the Khambashe tribe.

The acting Rarabe Paramount Chief, Chief L. Maqoma, said the installation of Mr Serrurier as a counsellor was an eye-opener to the rest of South Africa.

## Ciskei tribe honours white

"The nations of this country should appreciate a man's colour does not make him an enemy of those with different skin pigmentation. It is rather his deeds which will make him an enemy or a friend. We are today honouring Mr Serrurier because of his deeds which have made him a friend."

Mr Serrurier was given the name of Dalubuhle (creator of beauty) whereupon Chief Sebe said it was not new that a white man who was associated with blacks in

some way or other had to be given a name.

"If he is a good man, he will be given a beautiful name but if he behaves scandalously towards my people he will be given a fitting name and could even be called 'dog'."

Mr Serrurier was one of the men who, because of their friendship with the black man, had defused the "highly inflammable situation in this country."

"Without men like Mr Serrurier, the homelands concept would be an empty dream and if we do not

10/4/78 DA 105  
realise everybody in this country must be assured of a meal and shelter, we shall be living in a fool's paradise.

He said talks about race relations and other well-meaning terms were meaningless to a man with an empty stomach.

Mr G. Maytham, secretary to the Chief Minister's Department, said that through Mr Serrurier's contact with the Ciskei, the homeland had benefited tremendously from the oil company he represented.

"In the Department of Health and Welfare, there is a mobile film unit consisting of a landrover and all the equipment necessary to show health educational films at remote centres."

Other projects undertaken with assistance from the oil company were the establishment of the chair of agriculture extension in the Faculty of Agriculture at Fort Hare as well as the employment of a specialist in the Department of Agriculture to do development work.

In his reply, Mr Serrurier said although his ancestors came to this country to teach Christianity to the black man, they should have stayed with them to be taught the quality of patient wait, loving care for the old and the young and hospitality, which were characteristic of the black man.

"I have always been moved by those qualities that I have seen every time I visited the Ciskei."

Mr Serrurier is the third white man to be made a counsellor in the Ciskei during Chief Sebe's reign.  
— DDR.

TO: BEAUTY LOIWANA

PROHIBITION ORDER : REGULATION 5(1) OF  
PROCLAMATION R.252 OF 1977.

By virtue of the powers vested in me by regulation 5(1) of  
Proclamation R.252 of 1977, I, ZIMLINDILE PAYMENT SIWANI  
Minister of Justice, acting on the  
authority of the Ciskeian Cabinet, hereby prohibit you  
BEAUTY LOIWANA

From entering into, being in or remaining in district of MdanTsane  
and all other areas of the Ciskei referred to in Proclamation  
R187/1972, as amended

which this order is delivered or tendered to you and expiring  
on a date when this order is revoked.

Given under my hand at Zwelitsha this 5th day  
of April 1978.

*Chief B. L. Luvani*  
MINISTER OF JUSTICE,  
CHIEF MINISTER.

The order presented to Mrs Lolwane.

I, (full names) MVULENI William HENNA  
address CISKEIAN POLICE  
ZWELITSHA  
hereby certify that I have served the original of this  
Prohibition Order on the within named at 11h25 (time)  
on this 14 day of April  
1978

*BN Lolwane*  
signature : No. : BN Lolwane  
Rank :

Certifying the order was served.

# Mother of 7 gets

## banish order

**EAST LONDON**  
— A mother of seven, Mrs Beauty Lolwane, of 4036 Zone Three, MdanTsane, has been served with an order prohibiting her from staying at MdanTsane or entering the district of MdanTsane and all other areas of the Ciskei.

The order was served in terms of regulations 5 (1) of Proclamation R252 of 1977.

The order stated the Minister of Justice, Chief Zimlindile Payment Siwani, said he was acting on the authority of the Ciskeian Cabinet.

The order was served on Mrs Lolwane at 11h25 on April 14. It was authorised by the Minister of Justice on April 5.

Det-Sgt Mvuleni William Henna, of Zwelitsha Police, served the order.

The order will remain in force until it is revoked.

The Minister of Justice, Chief Siwani, said by telephone, he was not prepared to make any comment.

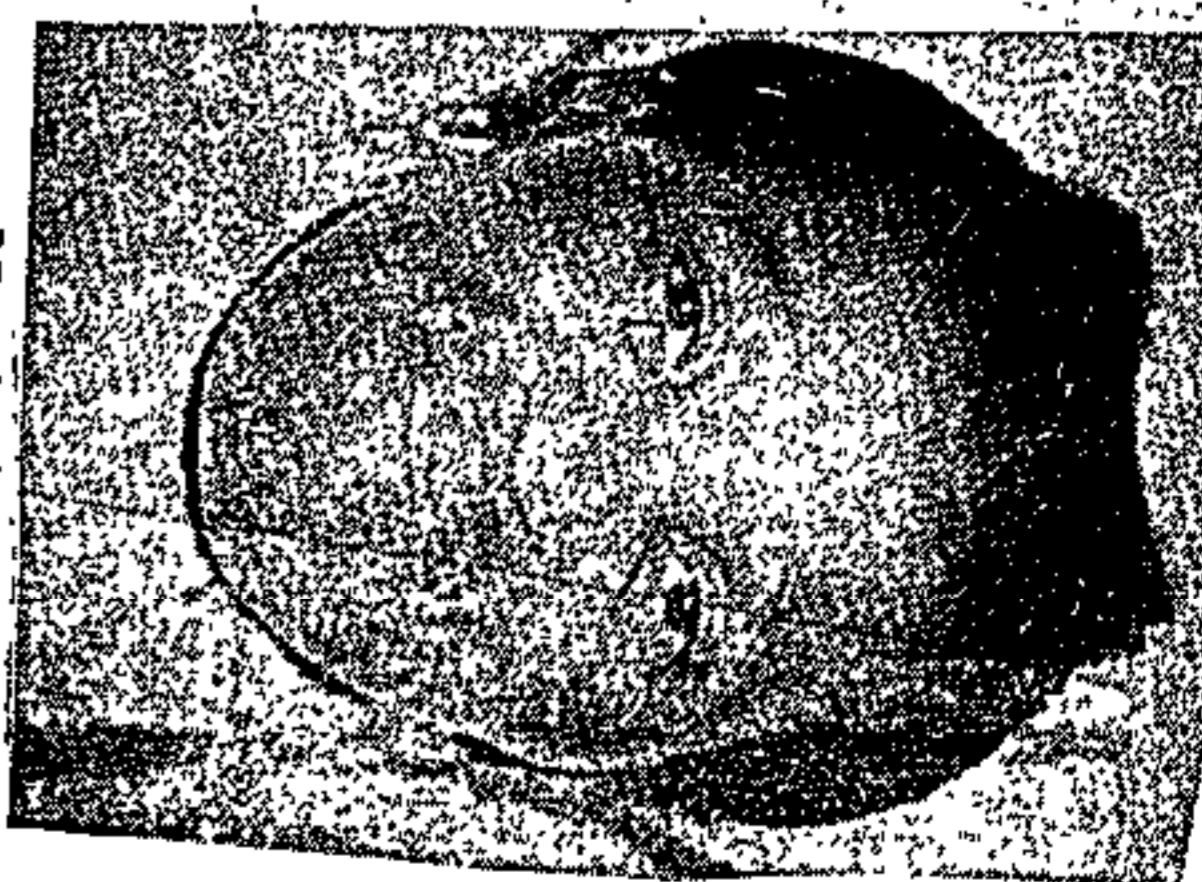
Mrs Lolwane, said she was surprised as she had not infringed any regulation in the township.

"The only thing I can think of is that I refused to pay R1 to the Ciskei National Independence Party committee in my area," Mrs Lolwane said.

"I am a registered member of the party. I suppose somebody does not want me at MdanTsane," Mrs Lolwane said.

"The order did not say where she should go to. I have seven children and they stay with me. Where am I going to stay with them?"

"I was born and brought up in Mngika Street, Duncan Village, and moved to MdanTsane when that part of Duncan Village was demolished, and residents moved to MdanTsane. I have no other home," Mrs Lolwane said as she sobbed.



Mrs Lolwane.

159  
105

# Ximiya attacks Chief



**CHIEF MABANDLA . . .**  
accused of encouraging tribalism.

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The Ciskei Opposition Leader, Chief J. T. Mabandla, was accused yesterday of having encouraged tribalism to ferment in the Ciskei.

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr W. F. Ximiya, said Chief Mabandla had influenced many Fingo chiefs to believe the 1978 general election was a revival of the Fingo-Xhosa misunderstanding of old.

Mr Ximiya was officially accepting Chief D. E. Mhali, who defected to Chief L. D. Sebe's ruling Ciskei National Independence Party, thus reducing to six the number of opposition chiefs in the Legislative Assembly.

Chief Mhali, from the Peddie district, has become the fourth chief this year to leave Chief Mabandla's party. The

first two were Chief L. D. Ngwekazi and Chief C. Msutu. They were later followed by acting Chief N. Ulana.

The latest defection has given Chief Sebe the support of all seven chiefs in the Peddie district.

"After Chief Mabandla had created the impression that the last general election meant the rallying of forces on tribal lines, no chief from the Fingo section was really expected not to respond to his clarion call," Mr Ximiya said.

"It was easy to get support on this basis as the new deal itself had created a strong platform for tribalism when its representation was on tribal lines with the Fingoes and Xhosas forming the main groups."

Because of that tribalism, the Ciskei had for the last five years

witnessed its nation divided into various groups. The opposition party did not help matters when they started opposing even when opposition was unnecessary.

"But we must thank Chief Njokweni, Minister of Roads and Works, for identifying with the Government from the

very outset to show tribalism was not going to benefit the Ciskei."

The Minister of Health, Chief A. N. Mqalo, said Chief Mhali's move indicated there was progress towards freedom in the Ciskei.

Chief Mabandla was not available for comment last night. — DDR.

(105) 12/4/78/80

# Ciskei alliance stall on names

## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

— By withholding the names of its candidates for the coming election until this morning, the opposition alliance has come out tops over Chief L. L. Sebe's ruling CNIP in the war of nerves associated with an election.

The alliance, comprising Mr L. F. Siyo's Labour Party, Chief Justice Mabandla's CNP and Chief Burns-Ncamashe's CNUP, had a rally at Hankey at the weekend and was expected to announce its candidates on Sunday.

But until yesterday, the names were withheld. They will be known this morning when all candidates go to the nomination courts at 9 am.

The Daily Dispatch's King office was inundated with calls from Monday morning from supporters of Chief Sebe's party who wanted the names of the opposition candidates.

Meanwhile, sources close to the opposition hierarchy said they were reluctant to publish the

names of the candidates.

"Despite the release of those detained in terms of the Ciskei's emergency regulations, we have no reason to throw caution to the winds and expose our men to a situation where they could possibly be nabbed by the police before nomination day," one source said.

Nominations will be received until 12 noon today. It is not expected any independents will participate in the election which will make it a straight fight between Chief Sebe's party and the opposition alliance.

The nomination courts for the various constituencies will be at the following places:

Hewu: superintendent's office; Sada: Kelskammahoek: north tribal authority office; Mdantsane: magistrate's office; Middeldrift: old regional authority office; Annshaw, Ntabhamba: office next to church building; Thornhill; Peddle: Nathaniel Pamla High School; Victoria East: Jabavu High School; Mavuso: Zwielinga: prefabricated office near Mrs A. N. Dastile's house; Oxton; Zwiitsha: magistrate's office. — DDR

(News by Charles Nqakula, Protea Building, Cathcart Street, King William's Town).



# Alliance voters put in a fix

DD  
14/4/78  
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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Opposition alliance supporters in the Victoria East constituency will return spoilt papers if they do not include two Sebe men on their ballot papers.

The electoral officer, Mr J. W. Griep, said a ballot paper would be spoilt if it did not have the number of candidates required in any particular division. Two few or too many candidates would constitute a spoilt paper.

The alliance has three candidates in the five-seat Victoria East division because two of its candidates arrived late at the nomination court and could not register.

The three alliance candidates are Mr A. Z. Lamani, Mr V. Qupe and Mr W. Mandla.

Commenting on the matter, Mr W. Ximiya, one of the Sebe candidates in Victoria East, said: "We were surprised to see Mr Lamani arrive at the nomination court late, which culminated in their failure to register all their candidates. It was unlike Mr Lamani who respects time."

"Of course he knew we would raise an objection if nominations were not closed at noon in terms of

the proclamation.

It has come as no surprise to students of Ciskei politics that Mr P. G. Stamper has not made himself available for re-election. The sitting member for Peddie and Opposition Chief Whip has been the most articulate opposition member in the CLA in condemning South Africa's race policies. He rejected the homelands concept and it was considered a matter of time before he withdrew from homeland politics.

Meanwhile, sources close to the Ciskei Government indicated yesterday the opposition would not be able to operate if they did not win a seat.

They said Chief Sebe would pilot a Bill through the CLA which would prevent any nominated members of the CLA from forming an opposition if they did not have an elected member among them.

"This has to be so because chiefs, who are government nominees, do not have any mandate from the electorate and therefore cannot form an opposition," the sources said. — DDR.

(News by Charles Ngakula, Protea Building, Cathcart Street, King William's Town)

Saldru Working Paper No. 18

In co-operation with the  
Environmental and Development Agency (EDA)

Tak



Mdantsane Councillor Mr B. Mashiyane set the Ciskei election scene with a Sebe T-shirt at the nomination court in Mdantsane yesterday. He was one of several Ciskei National Independence Party supporters wearing the T-shirts.

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# Ciskei alliance men too late to register

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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — There was drama at the Ciskei nomination courts yesterday when two opposition members were barred from registering because they arrived late. And a Government candidate also caused the ruling party anxious moments when it was found he was not a registered voter as the appropriate endorsement did not appear in his reference book. The Victoria East opposition alliance contingent led by Mr A. Z. Lamani, miscalculated the time and when nominations stopped at noon, only Mr Lamani, Mr V. Qupe and Mr W. Mandla had registered as candidates. The two other members to complete the opposition complement could not register.

Zwelitsha that the Rev J. T. Hermanus was not registered as a voter. His nomination had to be suspended until he could produce documentary evidence of his domicile and the fact he was a registered voter. In the interim, arrangements were made to substitute him if he failed to produce the required information. Records showed, however, he had been registered as a voter since 1976 and the necessary endorsement was made. He said he had lost his original reference book and had applied for a duplicate. Only the names of the candidates of some constituencies were available yesterday. The names of the others will be available today.

# Mtoba hits at Sebe men

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The ruling Ciskei National Independence Party was "drained of political brilliance" and the party leadership had to call on "political unknowns" as candidates.

This allegation was made by former cabinet minister, Mr L. S. Mtoba, who said the party's candidates in Zwelitsha illustrated the depth of internal strife in the party.

He was reacting to a statement by a ruling party candidate in the constituency, Dr B. R. Maku, who said the opposition candidates were "punch drunk" from the losses suffered in previous elections.

"Chief L. L. Sebe's change of candidates fully explains the internal strife in that party," Mr Mtoba said.

He said Dr Maku's interpretation of the opposition strategy showed him up as the unknown element he was politically.

"Chief Sebe was forced to appeal to unknown elements in Ciskei politics like Dr Maku and Rev J. T. Hermanus because his party has been drained of political brilliance in the wake of splits."

"However, I hope this will be a clean election after an incident-free campaign and I hope whatever will happen from now will not result in another court case."

He was referring to the 1973 election case at the Grahamstown Supreme Court, which culminated in the Chief Minister being deposed. Mr Mtoba was first applicant in the matter. — DDR.

(News by Charles Ngakula, Protea Building, Cathcart Street, King William's Town.)

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The Leader of the Opposition, Chief J. T. Mabandla, came to the nomination court at Jabavu High School near Alice at about 10.30 am. Mr Lamani followed at about 11.35 am and had a short chat with Chief Mabandla.

At noon, while Mr Mandla's registration was underway, Mr W. Ximiya and Mr L. Fanie, both sitting MPs in the constituency, brought the nomination court officials' attention to the time and after the registration had been duly processed, nominations closed.

The ruling party leadership discovered when they arrived at the nomination court at

Mdantsane: Dr Sivuyile Harris Kaqaza — medical practitioner, Mr Quick Jack Kewuti — farmer, Mr Garnett Manna Mpepo — trader, Mr Dinga David Nazo — general worker, Mr Winile Alfred Ntlebi — pensioner, Mr Leander-Starr Fikile Siyo — undertaker, Mr Lindile Ballantyne Williams — teacher and Mr Lala Matthews Yako — garage owner.

Kelskammahoek: Mr Cyril Ngxwana — pensioner, and Mr Khathazekile Goodwin. Cosa — salesman.

Middledrift: Mr W. S. M. Bashe — retired teacher, Mr A. N. Hoyana — retired teacher, Mr M. A. Tapa — teacher, and Mr Sicelo Zonke — trader.

Hewu: Mr P. L. M. Bandla — teacher, Mr Z. H. Madikane — trader, Mr Z. K. Mnweba — farmer and Mr R. B. D. Myataza — teacher.

Peddle: Mr Mzamo Njokweni — farmer, Mr Madidi Boqwana — information officer, and Mr Silence Ntanjana — farmer.

(News by Nqakulu, Protea Building, Cathcart Street, King William's Town and L. Xinwa, 33 Caxton Street, East London.)

# Zwelitsha candidates named

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN  
— The Ciskei Electoral Officer, Mr J. W. Griep, has not received all the lists of candidates for the general election from the various nomination courts.

He hopes all lists will be available by Monday.

The candidates for the Zwelitsha constituency are: Rev. J. T. Hermanus, principal of the youth rehabilitation centre, Dr B. R. Maku, medical practitioner, Mr W. M. Maku, public relations officer, Mr L. N. Mankayi, unemployed, Mr H. H. Mdledle, pensioner, Mr T. W. Moletsane, farmer, Mr L. S. Mtoba, personnel officer, Mr D. E. Nkontso, farmer, Mr M. T. Sam, Mr I. L. Sangotsha, farmer.

Rev. Hermanus, Dr Maku, Mr Maku, Mr Moletsane and Mr Nkontso are all Chief Sebe's candidates. The others belong to the opposition alliance of Chief Mabandla's CNP, Chief Ncamashe's CNUP and Mr Siyo's Labour Party. — DDR.

# Action on Mpangele cuts CLA opposition

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Opposition chiefs in the Ciskei Legislative Assembly have been reduced to five following the decision by the Ciskei Government to strip Chief Dumatshona Mpangele of his jurisdiction over the

Zibula tribe at Mgwali.

Chief Mpangele, one of the first victims of the Ciskei's emergency laws, was a regent for Prince Maxhoba at Mgwali. Prince Maxhoba has since thrown in his lot with Chief Minister L. L. Sebe's

party.

His father, the late Paramount Chief Mxolisi Sandile, was a member of Chief J. T. Mabandla's Opposition Ciskei National Party. His widow, Nolizwe, would be regent at Mgwali, Chief Sebe said at a rally at Tamara.

Without tribal authority, Chief Mpangele cannot enjoy membership of the CLA which will leave only Chief Mabandla, Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe, Chief J. N. Makinana, Chief C. M. Mhlambiso and Chief N. D. Mavuso, as the only chiefs in the opposition.

The majority of chiefs in the CLA in 1973 belonged to Chief Mabandla's party. In 1975, the opposition, as well as the ruling party, lost some chiefs following the excision from the Ciskei of Glen Grey and Herschel.

During the 1976 CLA session, the opposition had 13 chiefs although Chief J. Z. Matomela was ill during the entire session. When he died, Chieftainess Matomela became acting chief and joined Chief Sebe's party.

— DDR.

# Mtoba call to Sebe

## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

The further detention of people in terms of the Ciskei's emergency regulations was described by Mr L. S. Mtoba as an in-judicious act on the part of Chief Minister Sebe and called on him to withdraw the emergency proclamation.

Mr Mtoba, a candidate in the Zwelitsha constituency, was commenting on the detention of Mr. Mzukisi Sikweyiya and the continued detention of Mr Matakane and his brother.

He said the detention without trial and unnecessary harassment of people was enraging a certain section of the Ciskei's population and if this section suddenly assumes power, it may clamour for revenge.

He said it would be natural for the general membership of the opposition if that group came into power, to ask the leadership to give Chief Sebe "the same medicine" he dished out in terms of the emergency laws.

"We are going into an election which is going to be tough and whose result is unpredictable. It is therefore unwise to pump hatred into the hearts of the general membership of the opposition lest their party comes into power," Mr Mtoba said. — DDR

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# 'Ciskei won't talk on Thornhill'

Political Staff

**THE ASSEMBLY.** — The Ciskei Government has refused to give any details to the South African Government about the Zweledinga, formerly known as Thornhill, and Oxton resettlement areas in the homeland.

The Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Connie Mulder, approached the Ciskei Government for particulars about the

settlements, "but they inform me that they do not wish to furnish the information," he said.

This was disclosed when the Minister responded to two questions tabled in the Assembly by Dr Alex Boraine (PFP, Pinelands).

Dr Mulder said both Zweledinga, which is the settlement area of people from the Glen Grey and Herschel areas of Transkei on the farm "Thorn-

hill", and Oxton, now fell under the jurisdiction of the Ciskei Government and the information required by Dr Boraine dealt with matters "which are now the function and responsibility of the said government".

Zweledinga was widely publicised after Dr Barbara Seidler exposed conditions there. Oxton is a similar area nearby.

Dr Boraine wanted to

19/4/78 R.A.M. 908  
know how many men, women and children were living at camps, where they came from, what the health, employment and educational facilities were, and whether the camps were to be permanent.

In his reply, Dr Mulder said no resettlement camps had been established at either Oxton or Zweledinga. He gave no details in his reply. Later he said people had been "settled" on the farms in 1976.

# Election hitch explained

105 WC  
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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The Zwelitsha Chief Magistrate, Mr W. Crossman, cannot understand why there is suspicion about the nomination of the Rev J. T. Hermanus as a candidate in the Zwelitsha constituency. Mr Hermanus's nomination was suspended by Mr Crossman on nomination day because his reference book did not have the necessary endorsement.

His nomination was eventually accepted after he had apparently satisfied Mr Crossman's demand.

"All I required from Mr Hermanus was proof that he was a Ciskei voter and he furnished me with the proof," said Mr Crossman, who presided over the Zwelitsha nomination court.

The Opposition has not been happy with the closure of the Victoria East nomination court before two of its members could be nominated.

Mr L. F. Siyo, leader of the Labour Party, has threatened to go to the Supreme Court on the grounds that an additional hour should have been allowed for the nomination of the two members.

He was apparently basing his argument on the election proclamation of 1972.

The relevant stipulation states that if at the deadline "any person present has been proposed as a candidate and his nomination has not been completed, the returning officer shall continue the sitting for such period not exceeding one hour as may be necessary to enable such candidate to be duly nominated."

The nomination court was still processing Mr W. Mandla's nomination when time elapsed. He was the Opposition alliance's third nominee and his nomination was completed at about 12.10 pm. — DDR.

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# Ciskei chief detained

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The Ciskei Commissioner of Police, Col M. Saunders, has confirmed the detention in terms of the Ciskei's emergency regulations of Chief Dumalitsshona Mpangele of Mgwali.

Chief Mpangele was taken from his home by two policemen on Tuesday morning. His tribal authority secretary, Mr P. P. Nobobe, was also picked up by the police but was later released.

Mr Nobobe was first detained for questioning by police on Friday. He was picked up at 6.30 am from his home and was released about 5 pm.

This is the second time Chief Mpangele has been detained in terms of the emergency proclamation. He was first detained on December 21 and released on March 20.

The chief, who has been an opposition member since political parties in the Ciskei were formed in 1973, was on Monday stripped by the Ciskei Government of his jurisdiction over the Zibula Tribal Authority at Mgwali — DDR.

## BANTUSTAN DEVELOPMENT

### Sebe in the glebe (105)

FM 21/4/78.

Israeli-style kibbutzim just a short drive away from East London? It's not as far fetched as it sounds — indeed it's an option likely to be discussed at a conference next month on development in the Ciskei.

Starting on May 11, the conference will meet at Zwelitsha. It will be chaired by Anglo American gold division chairman Dennis Etheredge, and is backed by a wide number of companies and organisations, including Anglo, Barclays, Rembrandt, Mobil Oil, Siemens, the Corporation for Economic Development (formerly the BIC) and the Foreign Affairs Association. Its patron will be Ciskei chief minister Lennox Sebe.

Sebe adds that the idea for the conference stems from a meeting he attended in Tel Aviv, where "we were impressed by the Israeli approach of marrying social and physical planning."

The conference, he says, will focus on ways of boosting the self-sufficiency of Ciskei and other black rural areas — particularly through agricultural development programmes.

Certainly Ciskei needs these programmes. Its dependence on migrant labour is substantial.

The unemployment problem in the area, Sebe says, "is far worse than press reports on the issue have indicated." And it's worsened by repeated forced removals of people from "black spots" in the common area to Ciskei.

Says Sebe: "Recent removals from Humansdorp are a case in point. We were told that 189 families were going to be moved and we made provision for them. Ultimately, about 440 families were moved."

The need to generate jobs — both to meet existing needs and as an alternative to migrancy — is great. Sebe thus stresses the need for capital and for agricultural programmes. "With a given amount of money, four agricultural jobs can be created for every industrial job."

Another of the issues likely to be discussed, says conference organiser Richard Procter-Sims, is the border area system: "Many Ciskeians feel they get little benefit out of border industries because the taxes are simply ploughed back to the 'white' areas. They'd prefer investment in the area itself."

22/4/78 (105)

## Mdantsane mother is banished from Ciskei

EAST LONDON —The Ciskei Minister of Justice, acting on the authority of the Ciskeian Cabinet, has served an order on an Mdantsane woman, Mrs Beauty Lolwane, prohibiting her from staying at her house at Mdantsane or entering the dis-

trict of Mdantsane and all other areas of the Ciskei.

The order was served in terms of regulations 5 (1) of Proclamation R252 of 1977.

The order did not say where Mrs Lolwane must go to.

The Minister of Justice authorised the order on April 5 and it was served on Mrs Lolwane by Det Sgt William Henna, of the Zwelitsha Police, on April 14.

Mrs Lolwane was warned by Sgt Henna to be out of the house and out of Mdantsane within 24 hours after receiving her order.

A mother of seven, Mrs Lolwane was born and brought up in Duncan Village.

She said she had no place to go to.

She said she thought politics must have something to do with her banishment. She is a member of the Ciskei National Independence Party but has not fulfilled all her duties. —DDR

# Ciskei<sup>24/2/78</sup> expels<sup>(105)</sup> press man

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— A freelance press photographer, Mr George Luse, 31, has been banished from the Ciskei in terms of the homeland's Emergency Regulation R252. The banishment order was served on him on Friday.

Mr Luse, who has been working in the Ciskei since 1975, said in an interview he was picked up on Friday morning from his brother's home at Zwelitsha by a Lt Nel and a Sgt Fouche of the local security police.

"I was taken to the security police offices at about 6.30 am and was released at about 4 pm when I was taken to the Ciskei police headquarters at Zwelitsha."

The order was issued to him and he was told to be outside the Ciskei's boundaries by Saturday noon.

Mr Luse, who comes from Port Elizabeth, said the Security Police asked him at length about Port Elizabeth students who were allegedly roaming Zwelitsha.

Mr Luse worked for a weekly newspaper here from 1975 to December 1 last year. He was a member of the Union of Black Journalists from 1976 until its banning on October 19 last year.

# Sebe rejects West's system

By SIMON BARBER

EAST LONDON — Western-style democracy will not work in Africa, let alone in developing homelands.

That's the opinion of the Ciskei's Chief Minister, Mr Lennox Sebe.

In a long interview on Saturday, Mr Sebe spoke of his plans for independence and the discipline needed to achieve it.

He said he had learned from the mistakes of Bophuthatswana and Transkei and would not follow their example until he was convinced his people were secure economically and socially.

This could only be produced by a "strong government."

The Chief Minister assured me the state of emergency applied after the 1976 riots (to protect innocent people) had been lifted, and that all political detainees had been released "so that they may be crushed by the will of the people in the June election."

He expected to be returned by an overwhelming majority.

I questioned him about three recent cases which critics see as nullifying his claim on the emergency laws and political detainees.

These are:

- Chief Dumatlshona Mpangele is still in detention. When the Rarabe Paramount Chief Mxolisi Sandile died two years ago, the Sandilles wanted to instal his widow as his acting successor. This meant the head of the Rarabe tribe would still be opposed to Chief Sebe, who vetoed the widow's confirmation by the Xhosa King Xololswwe Sigcau and installed his own man, Chief Lent Magma instead.

Chief Mpangele violently opposed this and was detained on December 21 last year. Last week the Ciskei Government stripped him of his jurisdiction over the Zibula tribe at Mgwali.

- The South African featherweight champion, Mzukisi Sikweyiya was

detained last week for the second time, apparently under the emergency regulations which Chief Sebe says have been lifted.

- Mrs. Beauty Lolwane, a mother of seven from Mdantsane, has been banished from the Ciskei on grounds which Chief Sebe declines to specify.

She said she had failed to pay a R1 registration fee to the governing Ciskei National Independence Party, but Chief Sebe said his Cabinet had their own reasons for the banishment which he would not divulge.

The Chief Minister said he did not know the details of the boxer's arrest as he had been away at the time.

Chief Mpangele, however, was a factionalist and "there is no room in the Ciskei for faction fighting. It damages our external credibility and would frighten away potential investors."

Chief Sebe said he found strong methods unpleasant. "But I would rather eat the bread of lowliness with

my people in building a nation than be boosted up by one or two silly papers or opinions at the expense of a people who have chosen me to lead them to their destiny.

Furthermore, discipline was essential to the developing economy. "Recently some farmers in one area failed to look after their land properly and decided to let their cattle graze on their neighbour's better kept ground. There could have been a clash and I had to order the farmers to take their cattle back."

Similarly, he had forced boycotting students to take their exams last year "to prevent a generation of social problems." The pupils had thanked him for his tough line later.

Democracy on Western lines was: "not possible in Africa, he concluded. "It requires a responsible opposition which regards itself as a government in waiting."

"Here I have an opposition which admits that it can never win. All it can do is stir up trouble."



CHIEF SEBE . . . opposition stirs up trouble.

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— A senior executive member in Chief Mabandla's opposition Ciskei National Party, Mr L. S. Mtoba, has questioned Chief Minister Sebe's reasons for telling the Daily Dispatch in an interview published yesterday he had lifted the emergency regulations in the Ciskei.

Mr Mtoba, a candidate in the Zwelitsha constituency for the coming election, said that some time ago a weekly Xhosa newspaper had published a story that the emergency regulations had been lifted but came back later with a correction where they said the regulations were still in force.

"Somebody must have influenced the paper to make the correction and if Chief Sebe sincerely meant it when he said the regulations had been lifted, he should have corrected the paper concerned."

He also criticised Chief Sebe's comments regarding the detention of Mr Mzukisi Sikweyiya, the national bantamweight boxing champion, the detention of Chief Mpangele and the banishment of Mrs Beauty Lolwane.

He says he does not know the reasons for Mr

# MP attacks Sebe over detentions

Sikweyiya's detention because he was away when the boxer was detained. This is surprising, Chief Sebe is the head of the Cabinet and in terms of the proclamation the Minister of Justice issues the order on the advice of the Cabinet.

"It is unfortunate that Chief Sebe has made a statement which has such far reaching implications regarding a man's freedom because even if he was away at the time what stopped him from calling for a report on the matter? This shows how

insensitive he is to such matters."

Mr Mtoba said Mrs Lolwane's case also served to illustrate how the Ciskei Government did not care for the plight of its citizens and his reasons for Chief Mpangele's detention would be laughable if it did not hamper his freedom.

If the allegations against Chief Mpangele were true, Chief Sebe would have arrested, charged, tried and convicted him "along the normal processes of law." — DDR.

# Sebe: duty of all Ciskeians to improve their education

EAST LONDON — It was the duty of every Ciskeian, young and old, to improve his education, to seek opportunities to undergo specialised training and to demonstrate his ability to help Ciskei to grow and prosper, the Chief Minister of Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, said following a visit to the site of the R720 000 technical high school being built at Mdantsane

The project is being financed by the CS Barlow Foundation and construction work is well ahead of schedule.

Building contractors at the 33 ha site are confident that the school will be completed by the Christmas holidays

beginning in mid-December, and that the first pupils can be enrolled at the beginning of the 1979 school year.

The high school, which is the second major project of the CS Barlow Foundation, received a visit from Chief Sebe and a party of senior ministers and departmental secretaries from the Ciskei Government service.

In a short speech at a private luncheon immediately after the tour, Mr Rosholt paid tribute to the speed with which the school was progressing and congratulated all those involved with the project on the high standard of workmanship.

He added, "I am also very pleased at the degree of co-operation we have

received from the Ciskeian authorities. This augurs well for the future of the school."

Mr Rosholt concluded his address by presenting Chief Sebe with a full colour, framed artist's impression of the school as it will eventually look.

In his reply, Chief Sebe thanked the CS Barlow Foundation for the confidence and faith it had expressed in Ciskei. "This is not only a gift to Ciskei, but a fine example of goodwill in action... the haves helping the have nots... of black and white walking together along the path of progress."

Sited on a gentle slope, the school is close to the Mdantsane railway station and is reached by tarred road from the nearby main highway linking East London and King

William's Town. Modern in every respect it will offer courses in carpentry, metalwork, motor mechanics, electrics and fitting and turning.

The school is being built in three phases. The first phase, to accommodate 400 pupils, will provide an administration block, ten classrooms, three laboratories, six workshops, a library block, cafeteria and various other facilities.

The second phase will almost double the school's capacity and the third phase will see the building of a hostel to accommodate 120 pupils.

Included in the plans are a gymnasium, swimming pool, tennis courts and two rugby fields, one of which will be surrounded by an athletics track. — DDC.

27/4/78 D.D. (105)

# Consolidation main priority says Sebe

## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, says his Government will not accept independence until Ciskei's internal economy has been strengthened and the consolidation of the Ciskei completed.

Speaking to journalists from major South African newspapers, Chief Sebe was responding to a question on when the Ciskei intended opting for independence from South Africa.

First, we must strengthen the internal economy. In this regard we have a marketing board which is the father and mother of the farmer," Chief Sebe said.

"The marketing board, coupled with the Ciskei National Development Corporation has put us on a far better wicket than Malawi, which has the same marketing board system that we have.

Secondly, there is an urgent need for the consolidation of the Ciskei. The youth, who we cannot reject completely, demand it, and the youth is a force to be reckoned with.

"Some rude awakening needs to be done with the question of the land."

Turning to the question of urban Ciskeians living outside the Ciskei, Chief Sebe said: "People in the white areas who are Ciskeians still owe their allegiance to the Ciskei."

Asked to clarify his statement published in the Daily Dispatch on Monday that he rejects Western democracy, he said: "The best definition of an opposition that I know of is that an opposition is a government in waiting.

If it is a government in waiting, then you would expect it to be responsible on national issues which benefit the people.

"Here, we do not have a responsible opposition. They are 'spoilers.'"

As an example, Chief Sebe said in South Africa, both the Government and opposition parties denounced the rioting in 1976, whereas in the Ciskei, the opposition made no such mention in spite of the fact that "our people in Port Elizabeth were involved."

When accused that he was only interested in remaining in power, Chief Sebe said: "Remaining in power is not important."

— DDR.



# Western democracy failing, says Sebe

27/4/78 (105)



MR SEBE

The Western system of democracy is beginning to fail in the Ciskei, just as it has failed in the rest of Africa, says the Ciskei's Chief Minister, Mr Lennox Sebe.

Mr Sebe told a Press conference in King William's Town yesterday that democracy, Western style, had been rejected right through Africa. One of the reasons he gave for the system's failure was that it requires a responsible opposition.

"But every opposition, without exception, forgets

that there are people to be served," he said.

The Chief Minister believes there is too much emphasis on the opposition. "It makes one laugh, because you do not have an opposition where there is a chief. In the old days, if a man disagreed with the chief, he had to pack his bags and go — overnight."

"We have accepted your system, but it is beginning to fail," he said.

Asked why he intended to hold elections next

month if he rejected the Western system of democracy, Mr Sebe replied: "The people must eliminate the three opposition parties."

On the question of land consolidation, the Chief Minister said this was one of his Government's top priorities and an urgent problem. "When asked what your boundaries are . . . you look stupid," he said.

He is disappointed with the cut in the funds earmarked for buying land.

Mr Sebe said white landowners in the Ciskei would have to decide, once the boundaries were declared, whether or not they would pay allegiance to the Ciskeian Government. If they choose to stay in the country, they will be allowed to retain title to their land.

But Mr Sebe made it clear that anyone who lives on farmland — white or black — will have to be prepared to use that land to its fullest potential.

21/4/78 D.P. (105)

## Departments to merge

**THE ASSEMBLY** — The Cabinet has decided in principle to merge the Departments of the Interior and Immigration, the Minister of the Interior, Public Works and Immigration, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, announced yesterday.

The new department will be known as the Department of the Interior and Immigration.

The Minister said that during the debate on the Interior Vote last year the then Minister, Dr Mulder, had said the Public Ser-

vice Commission had been instructed to investigate the possibility of either reducing the number of Government departments or of merging some of them with the aim of creating a smaller more effective civil service.

During that debate it was suggested the Departments of Interior and Immigration be merged.

He was now able to announce that the departments would be merged. — SAPA.

# Woman will stand for CNIP in election

27/3/78 (105)

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — As was the case with the 1973 general election in the Ciskei, the Sebe group, known as the Ciskei National Independence Party, has nominated one woman to run for office in the forthcoming election.

Ms F. F. Ngwevela was nominated by the Western Cape branch as a candidate in the Victoria East constituency. Her father was a fiery trade unionist, who was once banned. Ms Ngwevela is a nursing sister.

In 1973, the Sebe group nominated Ms Mzazi as one of their candidates in the Glen Grey constituency, but she failed to win a seat.

Two interesting nominations in the ranks of Chief Sebe's party are Dr H. Hermanus and Dr B. R. Maku. Both could be earmarked for Cabinet positions.

Dr Hermanus, a former Robben Island inmate, originally trained as a social worker. He later joined the priesthood and while serving on Robben Island was able to acquire three degrees by private study. He obtained a doctorate in social science from an American univer-

sity.

Dr Maku, a former Mayor of Zwelitsha, will be remembered for his courageous stand with many black teachers when they decided to resign their teaching posts on a point of principle when Bantu Education was introduced.

A BSc graduate from Fort Hare, he was an able mathematics and science teacher at Langa High School at Cape Town. When he left his teaching post, he studied medicine.

Mr D. E. Nkontso is the only Zwelitsha constituency representative who has been retained by the party. The team he was in in the last election included Chief Sebe, who subsequently became a chief, Mr V. V. Ngezo of Peulton and Mr Sam of Mgwali.

Both Mr Ngezo and Mr Sam fell out of favour with the party. Mr Sam was expelled from the party together with Mr L. F. Siyo and others and subsequently helped in the establishment of Mr Siyo's National Labour Party of South Africa.

The party has nominated Mr L. T. Moletsane of Mgwali to fight for

the party at Mgwali, possibly against Mr Sam. The other CNIP candidate for Zwelitsha is Mr M. W. Maku, the party's organiser in Port Elizabeth.

Apart from Mr Q. J. Kewuti, the sitting MP for Mdantsane, others nominated are the mayor and his deputy on the township council. Mr G. M. Mpepo and Mr M. L. Yako. Both are businessmen. Mr B. Williams, the other nominee, is a school principal at Chabo.

The rest of the nominees are: Hewu — Dr Myataza, sitting MP; Keiskammahok — Mr C. Ngxwana, school principal; Middledrift — Mr A. Hoyana, sitting MP, Mr A. Tapa, school principal; Ntabethemba — Mr J. N. Mkrola; Peddie — Mr W. M. Njokweni, farmer and organiser; Mr D. Boqwana, former school principal and information officer; Victoria East — Mr W. F. Ximiya, sitting MP and Minister of Agriculture, Mr M. L. Fani, sitting MP, Mr M. Faku, CNIP regional chairman; Zweekoning — Mr S. M. Hebe, businessman. — DDR.

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depended entirely on income derived from wage-labour. 63% of families earned R12 or less per month and 82% earned R24 or less. The maximum subsistence income was R80 a month, a figure well below the PDL.

G. Westcott<sup>2</sup> conducted a survey of family incomes in the Tsolo area in March 1975. She estimated average incomes of 215 families from whatever source in money terms at prices prevailing in local stores. In each case the family unit was the extended family living in a group of huts and maintaining a common budget. She found that total family income from earnings from outside and inside the Transkei, pensions and grants, cultivation in a favourable year and livestock added up to R26,47 per month on average.

1. J. Graaff and J. Maree, African Workers in Cape Town, SALDRU Working Paper, UCT, 1977 (forthcoming).
2. G. Westcott, "Family Incomes in the Tsolo District", 1975 (mimeo), pp. 1-3.

# Fired doctor's case to be probed

EAST LONDON — Dr Rod McDade who was dismissed from the Mount Coke Hospital in January has had his case taken up by the South African Government.

According to Sunday newspaper reports, Dr McDade was asked by the Medical Association of South Africa to write a letter detailing the events up to his dismissal by the Ciskei Government.

The chairman of the federal council of the association, Professor J. de Klerk, has confirmed that the Government had taken the matter up with

the Ciskei Government after approaches made by the association.

Dr McDade had worked at Mount Coke Hospital near King William's Town for four years, and was appointed medical superintendent nearly two years ago.

He was quoted by the newspaper as saying: "My professional integrity has been questioned and I am very upset."

Dr McDade, who is now working at Grey Hospital in King William's Town, could not be contacted yesterday for comment. — DDR.



DR MCDADE

(b) Jaarlikse

Son.

Sat.

Maan-Vry

(a) Werkure:

10. Aan alle werkers

(e) Hoeveel keer roods op die plaas gewerk

(d) Bedrywigheid vir die res van die jaar

(c) Jaarlikse tydperk tuis

(b) Jaarlikse tydperk op die plaas

9(a) Permanente tuis

Aan toevallige/kontrakwerkers alleenlik:

8. Hoe lank op hierdie plaas gewerk het

Aan permanente werkers alleenlik:

7. Soort werk

(b) Skool (naam, soort, distrikt)

6(a) Skooljare voltooi

5. Ras

4. Geslag

3. Ouderdom

2. Naam (eerste naam alleenlik)

1. Nummer van plaas

Werkersondershede (1)

27/3/78 M  
105

# Sebe in ritual on mountain

16. Inkomste  
(sluit in  
afhankl

wat dieselfde

(a) Bron:  
(b) Totale jaar

17. Aan kontr

(a) Oppervlaktes  
besit)

(b) Deel wat ge

(c) Vee (as wer

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, held a secret meeting on the mystic mountain, Ntabakandoda, in the Amatolas at the weekend.  
I learnt that the leader of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party held the meeting to whip up a spirit of nationalism and loyalty among his followers to ensure success in the forthcoming general election.

added to the aura he wanted to create in his secret ceremony.

Before the ceremony, thousands of party followers who had attended a rally in the Amatola range, and pressmen who covered the rally, were asked to remain behind while chiefs and their counsellors went to the fountain for the secret ceremony.

The chiefs and counsellors went into a war dance reminiscent of the impis of old. A goat was slaughtered and its blood was poured into a new bowl. White beads and leaves of a rare herb were mixed in the blood.

The concoction was buried at an earmarked spot and a fire was made over the spot. The ceremony signified rejection of bloodshed.

The goat's head was roasted on the fire and its right ear was cut off by Mr Namba Sebe, the Chief Minister's younger brother, and was served to Rarabe acting Paramount Chief L. Maqoma. The rest of the head was left to burn to ashes.

Thereafter, the goat was divided into two portions for the chiefs and counsellors. A certain piece of meat was served to the chiefs from which all partook as a sign of unity.

Another piece was served in similar style to the counsellors to illustrate absolute loyalty.

After the feast, the fire was extinguished by pouring traditional beer over it as a sign of respect to the heroes of yore who died at the mountain in defence of their land.

As part of the ceremony, each chief was given three white beads which had to be handed over to Chief Maqoma to signify the rule of peace in the Ciskei. — DDR.

The particular spot he chose on the mountain, a fountain of clear water,

(d) Beraamde deel van jaar waarvoor  
lewe van die oes wat deur g

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(e) Beraamde jaarlikse bedrag ter

ker:

AD Indaba 25/4/78  
**Banished**

**woman**

228  
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**stays on**

EAST LONDON — Mrs Beauty Lolwane, who was served with a order prohibiting her from residing or entering Mdantsane and staying in any other area of the Ciskei, is still at Mdantsane.

The prohibition order was served on her 14 days ago. She was told by Det Sgt M. W. Henna, of Zwelitsha Police, who served the order, to pack her belongings and leave Mdantsane within 24 hours.

The Chief Minister of Ciskei, Chief L. L. Sebe, said they had reasons for her banishment. He refused to divulge the reasons. The leader of the National Labour Party of South Africa, Mr L. F. Siyo, said his party and the Ciskei National Party under Chief Justice Mabandla and the Ciskei Unionist Party under Chief Burns-Ncamashe were interested in Mrs Lolwane's case. They were holding a watching brief.

# Ciskei — where 1500 men queue for single job

STAR 28/4/78

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Anne Colley

When almost a quarter of a town's adult population applies for one advertised job, unemployment is clearly of monumental dimensions. And that's how it is in the Ciskei.

At Dimbaza, the main tenants' specifications and industrial town, 1500 people applied for an advertised job at the foundry. The total population is only 16 000, of which 9 700 are children. Every day men and women line the fences of the factory sites in the hopes of getting work.

The problem is not confined to Dimbaza. More than half the men aged 20 to 40 still have to find work outside the home-land. And it has been estimated that over R30m worth of capital must be invested every year before jobs can be provided for the 8 000 Ciskeians entering the labour market annually.

Chief Minister Lennox Sebe has stated "I am not content with the economic situation as it exists." And before applying for independence he wants to improve the quality of life.

## GREAT STRIDES

Great strides have been made over the past two years. In that period nearly all the 20 industries were established. The quality of life of 75 000 people has been improved through industrial development. Dimbaza, which was little more than a resettlement town two years ago, has been turned into a well-planned industrial centre. And R14m worth of capital has been invested in commerce and industry.

This progress is in no small way due to the Ciskeian National Development Corporation — an offshoot of the Corporation for Economic Development.

To encourage decentralisation and the establishment of black businesses, the CNDC offers tremendous concessions. It will lend up to 50 percent of the capital requirements at 3.75 percent a year. It will erect factories to the

● The cost of electricity which is double that paid on the Reef.

● The higher transport costs and lack of rail rebate on raw materials.

● The cost of technical repairs. One Ciskeian firm paid R35 an hour for an electronics technician — from the time he left East London airport to the time he returned.

Much more investment will be needed before the Ciskei's agricultural sector can feed the entire 600 000 resident population — not to mention the 400 000 Ciskeians living outside the homelands, should they decide to return.

Another advantage is the availability of cheap, reliable and easily trained labour.

But are these advantages enough to compensate for the problems involved in decentralising?

At least one industrialist doubts it.

The main areas of concentration are:

# CNP man slated for Sebe attacks (103)

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— A Ciskei school principal, Mr Frank Cindi, 61, has slammed Mr L. S. Mtoba, a candidate in the Zwelitsha constituency, for what he has described as "petty attacks" on Chief Minister Sebe.

Mr Cindi, a history teacher, said yesterday Mr Mtoba's "belittling" of Chief Sebe influenced schoolchildren "to ask embarrassing questions" during history lessons.

"There would be nothing wrong in Mr Mtoba attacking the policies of Chief Minister Sebe's party but when he becomes personal in his attacks, which is most of

the time, he encourages other elements to ridicule the Chief Minister.

Answering a question, he said among those who ridiculed the Chief Minister were schoolchildren "who took the cue from politicians like Mr Mtoba."

"At a time when we are trying to rebuild the necessary teacher-pupil-parent understanding which collapsed during the riots, statements such as those made by Mr Mtoba in a clear bid to make a laughing stock of the Ciskei leader, can hardly be conducive to our efforts."

Mr Cindi said Mr

Mtoba's attacks proved Chief Sebe was right in his contention that the opposition in the Ciskei was destructive.

In his reply, Mr Mtoba said Mr Cindi did not speak as a historian "and he is obviously out of touch with the current turn of events in the Ciskei. He should know the opposition was given no opportunity even to discuss the declaration of a state of emergency in the Ciskei, which was done arbitrarily."

Mr Mtoba added, if Mr Cindi wanted to be sincere to his students he was duty-bound to answer all questions, revolving

around any political situation of all the countries he was dealing with.

"There will always be embarrassing episodes in the history of any nation, but it would be a great disservice on the part of historians if they were to shirk their duty of recording such events for posterity."

He said he also wanted to make it known that the leader of the opposition, Ciskei National Party, Chief J. T. Mabandla, did clarify the attitude of the opposition towards the unrest. He was reacting to Chief Sebe's allegations that the opposition had not denounced the riots.

"He emphasised the opposition was opposed to violence and therefore condemned the burning down of schools and other acts of violence. This observation was published in the press but Chief Sebe chose to ignore it for his own expediency."

"What has also been surprising is the fact that Mr Cindi has made a political statement which is contrary to the policy of the Government he is defending. Could he have been requested to make the statement with the promise of immunity by the powers that be?"

DDR



## Lamani: councils not the answer

PORT ELIZABETH — The Ciskei Legislative Assembly member for Victoria East, Mr A. Z. Lamani, told a large gathering here that community councils were not the answer to urban black problems.

"I want to see the Minister of Plural Relations and Development, Dr. Connie Mulder," Mr Lamani said.

"I will not fail to tell him that the community councils are not what we want. We want equal rights and participation in town councils with whites. How can we become non-citizens in the country of our birth?"

"The people who created all this are white nationalists whose history is based in Holland.

"The South African government, in consultation with homeland leaders, has deprived urban blacks of their rights," Mr Lamani said.

He said the community council should be used to gain the privilege of meeting Government officials and express the aims and wishes of the blacks.

Mr Lamani urged the people to accept the 99-year home-ownership lease system although there were no title deeds.—DDC.

105

# Education is key to harmony says Sebe

MDANTSANE — "Individual attitudes of whites towards the blacks they deal with in their day to day lives are the main guides to what blacks think of whites as people".

This was said by Chief Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei, at the induction ceremony of the Mdantsane Township Council here last night.

He said white people were responsible for making black people form positive and negative attitudes and whenever there was a negative attitude the situation would be highly inflammable.

"Black people have the ability to identify their friends and enemies through telepathy."

He told students present that education was the best weapon to freedom and harmony and they had a duty to contribute to the development of the Ciskei.

Chief L. Maqoma, the Ciskei Minister of Interior, said the induction was a milestone in local government affairs in Mdantsane.

He hoped the councillors were alive to the responsibility of the work of the council. He said councillors should do their work and people would stop going to King

William's Town with their problems.

"A councillor is elected or nominated to serve the community and not to enrich himself in any way by virtue of the office he holds. It is important that every councillor should be thoroughly conversant with the functions, duties and powers of the council. It is equally important to appreciate that the council determines policies and makes decisions wherever administration as such is the responsibility of officials."

In the short time the council had been in office it had been instrumental in bringing about the development of the permanent main bus terminus at Highways and, of equal importance, the provision of the sorely needed open air market stalls for hawkers, Chief Maqoma said.

He said Ciskeian money must wherever practically possible contribute to the economic development of the Ciskei.

Mr I. Balk, manager of Mdantsane, said one must use opportunities that come one's way. He said there was an urgent need for the Ciskeian people to be economically involved in home ownership schemes because the State

could not afford to build a house for everybody. He said money had been made available by the Ciskei National Development Corporation to help people own homes.

Mr T. K. Hoogendyk, chairman of the board of directors, presented the mayoral chain. He said he hoped this present from the CNDC would be a bond between them and the people of Mdantsane and it would be a talisman to bring luck. — DDR.

# What's B. London doing outside?

**CISKEIAN chief minister Lennox Sebe is a moderate and bland fellow not much given to the verbal histrionics that characterise some emergent Black leaders.**

His manner of answering questions, leading as it does towards parables, suggests nonetheless that he is a skilled tribal politician; some say a better one than he ever was a schoolmaster.

But perhaps what distinguishes him most as a member of the new school of Black politicians is his realisation that to feed and provide adequately for his people requires their re-turning more productively to the land rather than relying on the creation of what in many other emergent territories have proved to be a mythical industrial base.

Of course, it is possible to argue that he has no other choice, for there is not a great deal more in the Cis-

kei than subsistence farming and here and there a cottage industry.

As Rhodes University economist Philip Black points out in a forthcoming book on the economy of the territory, it is "a land of extreme poverty... No less than 91 per cent of all households received an income that was less than the Poverty Datum Line."

In Mdantsane, the Cis-kei's largest town which is also the black dormitory of industrialised East London, there is both a high birth rate and unemployment rate which, estimated at 23 per cent, is way above the other comparable estimates of black urban unemployment in South Africa.

Clearly, Chief Sebe's task is as urgent as it is taxing and complicated, especially as there are hardly any precedents in Africa — or Europe for that matter — of an entirely successful industrial decentralisation policy. That he is pragmatic is clearly demonstrated by his

swinging the meagre resources of his government into the encouragement of agricultural development.

I say wisely, firstly, because the amount of capital investment needed to create one additional job in agriculture is far lower than in industry. This is even all though in the Ciskei the South African government's agency, the Ciskei National Development Corporation (CNDC), has managed to bring down dramatically in comparison to other areas the cost of creating an industrial job in the territory.

Its capital investment performance in recent years shows a R6 000 cost for every new industrial job created.

Secondly, statistics show that with modern farming methods the agricultural potential of the Ciskei could be considerable. One expert estimates that if R65-million were spent developing the potential of the Keiskama River valley alone over the next 20 years, the

return on capital employed would at that stage be as high as 17.5 per cent. Moreover, the yield would feed the whole of the Ciskei and leave a surplus for export.

About 18 months ago the Ciskei government began this task with a modest R2-million irrigation and re-settlement project at Keiskamahoek that will exploit only 9 per cent of the valley's total potential.

Another much smaller scheme on tribal land at Tyefu on the Great Fish River has also shown remarkable yields, but while justified on humanitarian grounds (this area is semi-desert and probably the most depressed in the territory) it is unlikely ever to

be commercially viable because of the high cost of irrigation.

The CNDC is partly involved in these agricultural schemes but its main task so far has been industrial development, armed with subsidies galore. This it has tackled with extraordinary enthusiasm and single-mindedness of purpose that appears to be winning the close co-operation of the Ciskeians themselves.

Although it has been in operation for only a few years it had by March established in the Ciskei 17 small factories owned and operated by whites on an agency basis involving a total investment of R14-million, of which the CNDC put

up R8-million, thus creating 2 300 new jobs when these factories are in full production. But the sustained commercial viability of most of these enterprises has as yet to be demonstrated.

If the CNDC's involvement with black Ciskeians is added, the total investment amounts to R25-million for the creation of 5 500 new jobs. But says the corporation's general manager Frans Meissenhol, the multiplying effect of this has improved the lot of 75 000.

He acknowledges, however, that, with the Ciskei's 600 000 stable population likely to have doubled by the end of the century, his task takes on a magnitude and complexity that at best suggests it will be difficult.

At worst, some might say it is impossible. And this is despite the substantial tax concessions (30 per cent of manufacturing plant and 50 per cent of wages for seven years), a 40 per cent rail-age rebate and a 5 per cent

price preference on government tenders offered by the South African government to new investors in the Ciskei.

Consequently, the question of swinging more of the CNDC's resources away from industry and into agriculture instead is under urgent consideration.

This, however, will exacerbate yet another problem, the spending of all but a small percentage of national income outside of the territory on consumables and services.

It stands to reason that the amount of total income spent in White areas would be more speedily reduced to the benefit of the Ciskeians if consumables and services were provided locally, either by:

- The establishment of subsidised business enterprises within the Ciskei, or
- The expansion of its borders to incorporate those already established and operating in White areas without subsidy or protection.

The first course of action would mean that the scarce resources of Southern Africa would be increasingly misappropriated (that is wasted) in the pursuit of the doubtful economic advantages of decentralisation in a developing country.

With business activity currently at its lowest ebb in 30 years and little prospect of an immediate revival,

this should not in my opinion be even a consideration. For the prosperity of the greater number has already been too much subordinated to the political expediency of temporarily uplifting a chosen few.

The second course involves the incorporation of East London into the Ciskei in belief that, as they form part of the same economic region, the combined incomes of the whole would be greater than that from the sum of the parts.

This is argued convincingly by Mr Black in his analysis of consumer potential in Mdantsane, which concludes "the income of such a region depends in part on the extent to which entrepreneurs are free to choose the optimum location of their enterprises."

It is also fair, however, to point out that Mr Black supports increased South African subsidies for the Ciskei in the belief that the market mechanism alone has not hitherto apportioned resources sufficiently to create the jobs needed in developing lands.

On Wednesday Chief Sebe told me: "We are able to see through the fallacy of the Ciskei — what is specifically intended to benefit the white man at the expense of the black." And he remarked a little later: "I doubt whether East London can exist without Mdantsane."

This suggests to me that, despite what he foolishly said about developing Ham-burg as a port, the attainment of a self-sufficient Ciskei is of more importance politically to Pretoria than it is economically to him. His task is to create jobs through the optimum use of resources unrestricted by political considerations.

And that with East London's main asset, its harbour, drastically underutilised, it must be only a matter of time before the reality and reasonableness of Mr Black's argument begins to find support within the drawing rooms of this beleaguered port.

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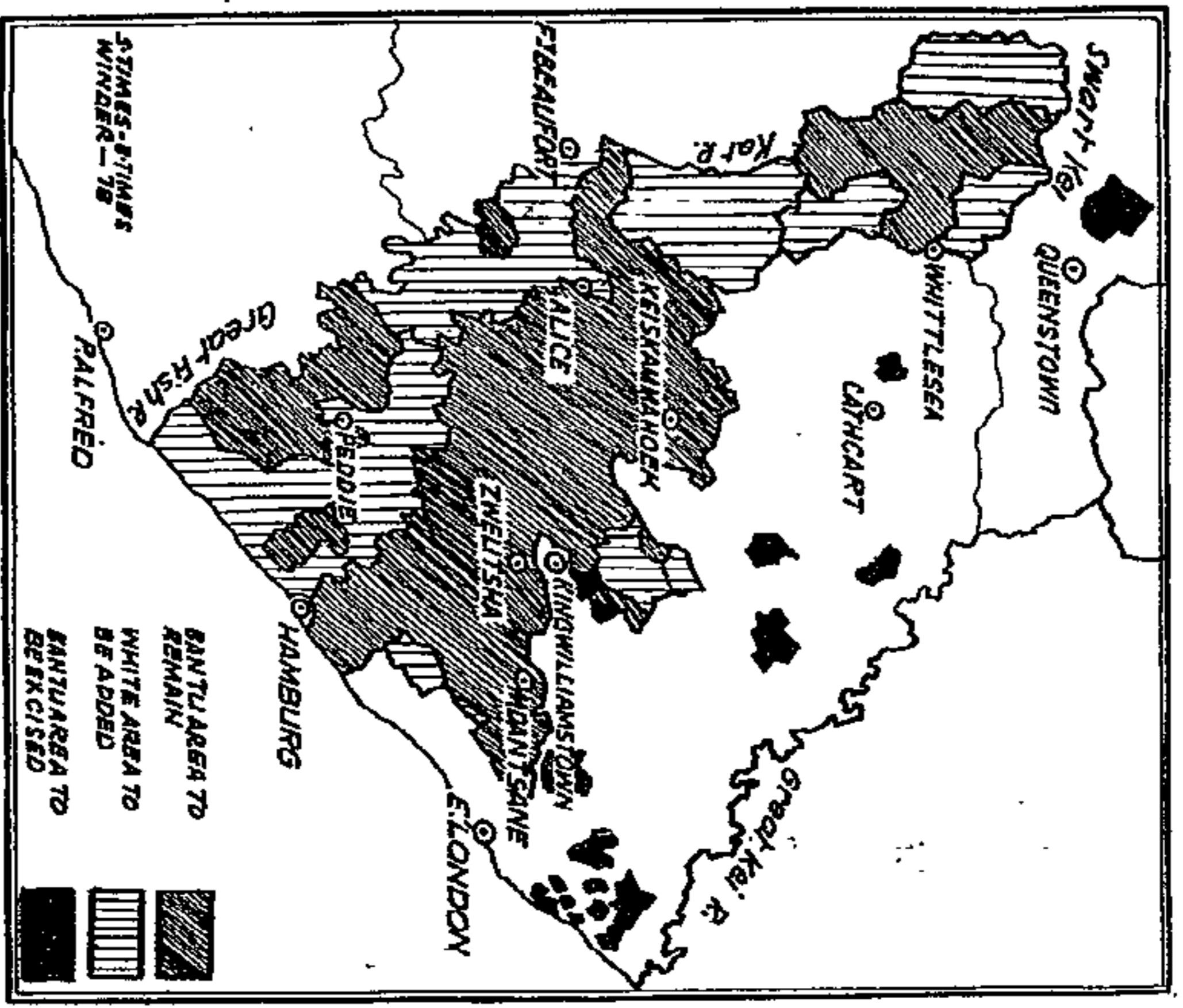
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# Sebe gives go-ahead for Glenmore scheme

CAPE TOWN — The Ciskei Cabinet has agreed to the development of the controversial Glenmore area in the Eastern Cape, but it has demanded and got three tough conditions from the South African Government.

The Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, said his Government had withdrawn its opposition to the scheme, adjacent to the strongly criticised Committee's Drift scheme, on the following conditions:

- That Glenmore be a model township;
  - That agricultural projects be established there before people are settled there; and
  - That water supply from the Orange River scheme be guaranteed.
- Earlier this year, the Minister of Plural

Relations, Dr Mulder, said in reply to a question in Parliament that the Government had decided to go ahead with the scheme and that a town for Ciskeian citizens would be established outside the homeland at Glenmore.

Now that the homeland's Cabinet had agreed to the plan on its conditions, the new town would be incorporated into the Ciskei, Chief Sebe

said.

"It must be a model residential area — not like Mdantsane and Zwelitsha," Chief Sebe said.

"One thing is quite certain about this scheme and that is that it cannot be like previous areas. We cannot live on the mistakes of the past."

"We have had enough of places like Dimbaza and Thornhill," Chief Sebe said. — PC

## Govt dishonest over Ciskei says Lorimer

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THE ASSEMBLY — The Government was pursuing "a dishonest policy" by forcing people into the Ciskei before buying land for them, Mr Rupert Lorimer (PFP, Orange Grove) said yesterday.

Mr Lorimer said an example was the position of Grahamstown blacks who, it was suggested, should go into the black dormitory town of Glenmore.

The move had been strongly resisted by the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Sebe. There was nothing wrong with

developing it as an agricultural project, but it was not the answer for blacks living and working in Grahamstown.

In any case, Glenmore was not even in the Ciskei. There was no transport planned to Grahamstown, no water supply, no planned industrial development and the water from the Great Fish River was brak.

The Ciskei had insisted on a model township. It did not want another Dimbaza or Thornhill, Mr Lorimer said. — PC.

# Sebe calls for fund source disclosure

105  
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CAPE TOWN — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, has challenged his homeland opposition to reveal the source of funds it uses to finance Supreme Court actions.

"Where do they get this money from? They must be getting it from somewhere and no one who is struggling will go to the Supreme Courts like they do.

"I challenge them to say where they are getting it. They must state chapter and verse," Chief Sebe said in an interview.

At the same time, Chief Sebe strongly denied the homeland's emergency regulations were being used to stifle the opposi-

tion in this year's elections.

"Unfortunately, the opposition has its back to the wall and they are doing everything to discredit the Government," he said.

The purpose of the regulations was to "prevent the incitement of children to burn houses and obstruct those who want to go to school."

Recent events had proved that the regulations were effective as a deterrent "because we are having 100 per cent attendance at our schools", he said.

Rather than limit activities in the elections, the government had managed to lift banning orders so people could

stand in the elections and a key opposition figure, Dr H. H. S. Kakaza, had been released from detention so he could participate in the elections.

"We let him out so that he could meet the will of the people," Chief Sebe said.

Disgruntled people would never win power and could never succeed in elections by going to the courts.

Chief Sebe also said he did not like to see people detained.

"A man who is in custody does not make me happy. I would much rather see a man unmasked by the will of the people," he said. — PC.

# Ciskei will oppose buying of Mooiplaas

**EAST LONDON** — The Ciskei Cabinet will oppose any move by the South African Government to buy the black-owned land at Mooiplaas, in the so-called white corridor between the Ciskei and Transkei.

"We will oppose the removal of the Mooiplaas land. They won't do it with our support," the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Sebe, said yesterday.

"After all, it is the cradle of the Xhosa culture," he said.

There were, however, certain black spots in the white corridor where the people would be better off if moved to the Ciskei, provided the removal was properly planned.

"It depends on whether the whole thing is properly planned. The planning must be done in the Ciskei. No one can do the planning in Pretoria for the Ciskei," Chief Sebe said.

tion that he would work for the removal of the black spots.

However, any suggestion that the land at Mooiplaas be bought out has been strongly attacked by the Ciskei Cabinet in the past and Chief Sebe has now confirmed his Government's opposition.

The disputed area, on the bank of the Ngxingolo river, a tributary of the Kwelera, is the place where the famous Xhosa chief, Gcaleka, was buried in 1792.

A Ciskei Minister, Chief D. Jongilanga, said the burial ground was one of the most important shrines in the history of the black man in the area and had to be retained for blacks at all costs.

In January this year, Chief Jongilanga said the Ciskei Government was negotiating with the South African Government for the incorporation of the area into the Ciskei. — PC.

He did not think the Minister of Plural Relations was in full possession of the facts about the Mooiplaas land.

In March, the MP for Griqualand East, Mr Jan Jordaan, announced after discussions with the Deputy Minister of Development, Dr Ferdie Hartzenburg, that the Government was proceeding with a plan to buy out the black spots, including Mooiplaas.

Mr Jordaan also pledged during last year's elec-

## Sebe wants Mooiplaas

**EAST LONDON** — The Ciskei Cabinet will oppose any move by the South African Government to buy the historic black-owned land at Mooiplaas which is situated in the so-called white corridor between the Ciskei and Transkei.

"We will oppose the removal of the Mooiplaas land. They won't do it with our support," the Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Sebe, said in an interview. — PC.

● Full story page 2.

# Ciskei alliance 20 allowed to stand

EAST LONDON — Two opposition candidates in the forthcoming Ciskei general election, who were not allowed to register because they allegedly registered late, will now be allowed to stand.

The two — both members of the opposition alliance — Mr M. Dingane of Ntselamanzi near Alice and Mr D. Ngcelwane of Fort Beaufort, were not allowed to register as candidates on nomination day.

An application on their behalf was to have been heard in the Grahamstown Supreme Court on May 11. As they have been allowed to stand the case has been dropped.

The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, said yesterday: "The case has been dropped and we are letting them stand. We have nothing to fear from those candidates."

Among those who were to have been summonsed to the Supreme Court were the Ciskei Minister of Agriculture, Mr W. F. Ximiya, and a sitting

member of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, Mr L. Fanie.

The other respondents were Mr J. Grieb, electoral officer, Mr B. Bester, who was the returning officer at the Victoria East nomination court on April 12, Mr W. Faku, the Rev W. Xaba and Mrs F. Matiyase.

The last three with Mr Ximiya and Mr Fanie are Chief Sebe's candidates in the Victoria East constituency in the election.

In 1973 Mr Ximiya was summonsed to the Supreme Court to appear as a respondent in a dispute over the Victoria East constituency.

That election was annulled in 1975 and Mr Ximiya and Mr A. Lamani had to fight for their seats again in a by-election.

DDR.  
(News by P. Kenny, 33 Caxton Street, East London.)



① 103  
② 105

Hansard 14 10 May 1978  
Question 6 Cols. 744

Agreement to transfer land from Ciskei to Transkei

\*6. Mr. W. M. SUTTON asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

What were the terms of the agreement to transfer land from Ciskei to Transkei before independence was granted to Transkei in 1976.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT:

No formal agreement was entered into between the parties concerned but the excision of the districts of Herschel and Glen Grey from the Ciskei was effected on the understanding that the Ciskei would receive compensatory land and that those persons resident in the two districts concerned who wished to retain their ties with the Ciskei would be resettled in the Ciskei and fully compensated by the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

# Homelands policy doubts

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The MP for Orange Grove, Mr Rupert Lorimer, has concluded that the government's land consolidation purchases were "nothing short of a confidence trick because they will never have that kind of money. They will never have the money to buy that quota land."

He has also concluded that the maps of the homeland being published by the government were "untruthful" because hundreds of thousands of hectares of quota land still had to be bought although they were included on the maps and that, at the current pace, it would take the government 30 to 40 years to complete the deals.

Recently, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, said publicly that all the homelands were "very bitter" about the consolidation programme.

He pointed out that the government's land offices were the direct cause of the break in relations between Transkei and South Africa and they had been strongly criticised by President Lucas Mangope when ophuthatswana gained its independence last year.

In short, there is every evidence that a fundamental aspect of Nationalist ideology — the granting of independence to the "black nations" — is with a viable, unified

territories — is collapsing.

Indeed, the amount of money set aside by the government in this year's budget has dropped by 40 per cent, from R50 million to R30 million in spite of escalating land costs.

It would seem, therefore, that a convincing case can be made for claiming that this cornerstone of Nationalist ideology is failing. In the circumstances, one might have expected the government to be concerned to answer the points made by Mr Lorimer, Chief Sebe and others.

The ideal person to give the government's point of view should, theoretically, be the chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission, Mr P. T. C. du Plessis, who is also the MP for Lydenburg.

The commission, which consists of three other MPs besides Mr Du Plessis, was, in its own words in its latest published report, able "to make an active contribution towards extending and expediting multinational development of the various black peoples of the Republic of South West Africa" through the "broader consolidation of the black homelands".

If the government has a

public representative who

should be regarded as its consolidation expert it is Mr Du Plessis. Besides the fact that he should be justifying the spending of R30 million to the people of South Africa through parliament, he should also be duty-bound to answer people like Mr Lorimer and Chief Sebe.

Instead, Mr Du Plessis avoided the issue in all three speeches he made during the Plural Relations Vote in the House of Assembly last week and in two of them, he turned prosecutor on the basis of his own judgment.

The learned Mr Du Plessis found the late Steve Biko guilty of undermining activities, pleading revolution and wanting to take over the country by violence.

The ever-diligent Security Police in King William's Town watched Steve Biko closely and they brought charges against him for a variety of offences, including one for not stopping at a stop street, but they were never able to convict him.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, released a copy of a pamphlet said to be found in the car in which Mr Biko and Mr Peter Jones were detained. The pamphlet



Political Correspondent  
BARRY STREEK  
reports

was then published in the official mouthpiece of the National Party in the Cape, Die Burger, under the headline "Corpses and blood demanded in Biko pamphlet".

Because this was not published under the privilege of Parliament, Die Burger was ordered by the Press Council to publish a correction after a complaint had been lodged by Mr Donald Woods.

The Council said the headline was misleading because Mr Biko had not been convicted, although the Minister had said he would be charged, and that the headline would be regarded by the reading public as an established fact.

And so Die Burger had

to publish a correction.

There were no such problems for Mr Du Plessis speaking under privilege. Not only did he convict Steve Biko, but he then tried to link the Progressive Federal Party's much-respected Mrs Helen Suzman to his conviction because she had once given Steve Biko R50 to help him with his studies.

It was an extraordinary performance, with remarkable logic. The only surprising omission is that Mr Du Plessis did not also convict Peter Jones for the same offences, although the Minister of Justice has publicly stated there was no intention to charge those being held under the prevention detention provisions of the Internal Security Act.

If there was such overwhelming evidence, one might have thought Peter Jones would have been charged.

The fact remains that Steve Biko was not found guilty of any offence, even in terms of our security legislation, and it is completely unjustifiable for anyone, let alone a senior MP to assume he was convicted after his death while in detention when he is unable to reply.

The Assembly chairman Dr Nak van der Merwe, ruled that pointed questions by Mr Du Plessis were not insinuating anything in spite of opposition rejections. As a result, there were interchanges like the following:

Mr Du Plessis: "If she gives money to anyone like Steve Biko who pleads revolution in this country — he did indeed plead revolution in this country. No one will deny that he pleaded revolution..."

Mr Tiaan van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point): "How can you say such a thing?" Mr Du Plessis: "I will show that he pleaded revolution. I would rather question the Hon Member of Houghton why do you identify yourself with people who plead revolution? Why do you give money and support people who want to take over this country through violent revolution? I want to know from the Hon Member for Houghton what road she is on. I ask her: Do you support black power in South Africa?"

It went on in a similar vein. Mrs Suzman asked him whether that pamphlet was ever proved to have been spread by Steve Biko and whether he was charged for having

committed an offence. The indefatigable Mr Du Plessis was not perturbed. "The Minister of Justice said the pamphlet was distributed by, among others, Steve Biko."

Mrs Suzman: "It is untrue."

And so the debate went on, with the MP-turned-judge-turned-prosecutor asking more and more questions.

Mr David Dalling (PFP, Sandton) responded with:

"Are you a liar?" Mr Lorimer asked a similar question, was ordered to withdraw it, withdrew the question, and then asked "Does he tell untruths?"

He was ordered to withdraw that but refused, saying, "I find myself unable to do so" and was ordered to leave the House.

Mrs Suzman responded, effectively, by saying: "I should like to ask the Hon Member whether he makes his living by stealing sheep. It is a fair question. I heard that from someone and I should like to know the truth."

Mr Du Plessis replied "No. I do not" but the point was made.

Homeland consolidation was ignored, and the crisis in the government's race policies forgotten. The people of colour must look on in horror at such behaviour and non-concern.

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MD

# Help for Ciskei pupils

**EAST LONDON —** There is growing concern over the shortage of science and maths students at schools in the Ciskei.

First Ciskeian Science Week will be held in Mdantsane from June 26 to June 30.

This is largely due to National Science Weeks and participation in International Youth Science Fortnights.

The president of the Border Chamber of Industries, Mr Max Phillips, said as a result of these activities regional interest had been considerably stimulated.

"Some of the larger firms, such as CDA are already sponsoring one or more international trips and the request is now for businesses and firms to raise R500 annually to keep the Ciskeian Science weeks going," he said. —  
DDR.

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# CLA dissolves tomorrow

EAST LONDON — The second Ciskei Legislative Assembly will be dissolved tomorrow to bring to an end a five-year period of both constructive development and controversial actions.

The leading constructive undertakings have been the sophisticated irrigation schemes at Keiskammahoek and Yeyu as well as the erection of an agricultural high school, teacher-training college and a technical high school.

There have been a number of other commendable actions on the part of the Ciskei government, including the upgrading of the homeland's health services. More than 70 clinics have been built as part of the project.

But the controversial issues have dwarfed some of the good deeds and a retrospective appraisal of the last five years shows up these issues. But in spite of these, all indications are that Mr Sebe and the CNIP will win the June 21 election.

Chief Minister L. L.

Sebe's government was a mere 18 months old when it banished to Herschel Mr L. L. Mshizana, a prominent member in Chief J. Mabandla's opposition CNP. Chief Sebe consequently lost some support over this action.

The most glaring action involving the Ciskei was the resettlement of people from the excised areas of Glen Grey and Herschel, resulting in the mushrooming of the Thornhill refugee camp.

A former cabinet minister of the Mabandla government, Mr L. Mtoba, made history when he became the first homeland politician to head a successful petition for the setting aside of an election.

As a result of the petition, Chief Sebe was deposed as Chief Minister in 1975 and had to fight a by-election to be returned to power.

Chief Sebe's ruling CNIP, however, had an edge over the opposition in the CLA debates and rose from a meagre two-member majority to a sub-

stantial complement at the end of the CLA's lifespan.

But the CNIP lost several key members as a result of internal strife over the party leadership. Among victims of the situation were Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe and Mr L. F. Siyo, who were axed from the cabinet and the party. Chief Sebe is the only survivor of the 1973 cabinet.

They are now among old Sebe men who are fighting their former leader under the auspices of the opposition alliance.

The last five years have also seen a lot of unfulfilled promises and shattered hopes.

Apart from Ciskeians, Paramount Chief K. D. Matanzima had vested interest in the 1973 Ciskei election, which was the first of its kind for the homeland.

The Transkei premier had an undertaking by Chief Sebe that he would agree to amalgamation of the Ciskei and the Transkei if Paramount chief Matanzima helped

him to win the election, which K. D. did.

Chief Sebe did not fulfil his promise. Instead, several pronouncements strained relations between the two states.

Before the 1973 election, Chief Mabandla, who was Chief Executive Councillor, expressed a hope in the CLA that there be no opposition party in the Ciskei.

"In our traditional courts there has never been such a thing as an opposition, but that does not imply that whosever speaks cannot be opposed."

He went on to become the homeland's shortest reigning chief minister, lost the election and formed the first opposition in the Ciskei.

In the same session he had made his speech, the Speaker of the CLA, Dr C. W. Mbete, said:

"We must forget about the aspect that we never wanted to be what we are. The position is that we want to be what we are. We must never say we never asked for separate

development. We must forget about that sort of talk."

He did not. He joined Chief Mabandla's opposition party and slammed separate development, when the two parties were divided into the supporters and non-supporters of the system.

But the forthcoming election is not going to be fought along those lines. There is an established pattern which overlooks policy and concentrates on character assassination.

Mr Mtoba was the Sebe group's victim in 1973. Attention switched to Chief Ncamashe in the 1975 by-election and during the coming campaign Mr Siyo will be earmarked for mudslinging.

The opposition will do what it has been doing all these years—a concerted attack on Sebe.

This type of politicking pays in the homelands, where the majority of voters are illiterate, with no understanding of policy matters.

— CHARLES NQAKULIA

# Top level talks on Ciskei today

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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— A top-level four-day conference on the development of the Ciskei begins here today.

The conference, convened as an "apolitical and non-academic forum," will discuss the impact of development on the society concerned — in this case the Ciskei — and the contribution that society can make to its own development.

The conference will start discussions going along new lines because, at present, much of the planning in southern Africa does not take sufficient account of the people affected.

Overseas participants include Mr Michael Ward,

fellow of the Institute for Development Studies, University of Sussex, and a consultant to the OECD. He has done budgeting work for a number of overseas countries.

From the United States, Prof Joseph Eaton, a sociologist at the University of Pittsburgh, and from Israel, Prof Dan Soen, from the Institute of Technological Forecasting, and Mr Yitzak Abt, the first an anthropologist and the second a sociologist, will be speakers.

The keynote speaker, responding to the Ciskei "problem statement," will be Sir Richard Luyt, principal of the University of Cape Town.

A number of other

specialists will make expert responses to the problem statement.

Conference delegates will also take a series of technical tours of specific development projects in the Ciskei.

These visits include the Keiskammahoek and Transkei irrigation schemes; Mdantsane and Dimbaza.

Highlight of the social programme is a four-hour orientation evening today.

Paramount Chief Magoma will give an address on Ciskei cultural history, and Mr A. N. Javu, secretary to the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, will outline the Ciskei's constitutional history and present status. — DDR

# Maqoma to look for grave on island

EAST LONDON — A seer in the Ciskei has used her extrasensory perception to help Acting Rarabe Paramount Chief Lent Maqoma in a quest started many years ago.

She has "seen" where the original Chief Maqoma's bones are buried on Robben Island. As a result, the acting paramount chief will go to the island on May 17 to see the grave.

Chief Maqoma was one of the first political prisoners on Robben Island, having been imprisoned there in the 19th century by the British Colonial Government.

He was drowned while trying to escape from the island. His great-grandson established recently the date of death.

It has been one of Chief Maqoma's fervent wishes to locate his great-grandfather's grave.

One of the vows he made when installed as a chief four years ago was that he would not rest until Chief Maqoma's bones had been exhumed for reburial in the Ciskei.

He communicated this wish to the South African Government but could not be helped as the concerned grave was unnumbered and therefore untraceable.

The seer, whose identity those close to her refuse to reveal, is closely associated with Chief Minister L. L. Sebe and his party. She has played a leading role in the rituals at Ntabakandoda.

She claims she has, by using her powers, seen where Chief Maqoma's grave is situated.

Apart from Chief Maqoma, the party to Robben Island will include the chief's chaplain, Rev M. Zantsi, Mr B. Nomoyi, his son-in-law and two counsellors, Mr L. Fanie and Mr A. Mali.

The bones will possibly be buried at Rwantsana (Blinkwater) near Fort Beaufort, where the late chief had his Great Place.

# Ciskeians motivated — mayor

ZWELITSHA — Ciskeians were a motivated nation who believed that their economic standards should be raised, the mayor of Zwelitsha, Mr R. R. Mali, said here last night.

Welcoming more than 250 delegates to the Ciskei Development Conference, Mr Mali said the people of the Ciskei had been tested under all situations.

"You will meet a motivated nation," he said.

The people believed in practical people and not

those full of theories.

"They want other factories and industries to come to the Ciskei. These people believe their economic standards must be strongly adhered to," he said.

He hoped the conference would be a fruitful one and that it could aid these aspirations.

The secretary of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, Mr A. N. Javu, outlined the constitutional development of the homeland.

He said very little had been done so far to com-

pensate the Ciskei for the transfer of Herschel and Glen Grey to Transkei, although it had been promised land in the Stockenström, Peddie and Victoria East districts.

"I, like many other Ciskeians, believe in the future of the Ciskei. We believe in the ability of our government to lead us to a better life and when you have seen a little of my country during your short visit you will come to appreciate the reasons for the love which we Ciskeians have for the beautiful country in which

we live," Mr Javu said.

The chairman of the conference, Mr D. A. Etheridge, an executive director of the Anglo American Corporation, introduced overseas delegates as well as representatives of other homelands, including the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi, and the Chief Minister of Venda, Chief Patrick Mpephu.

The Bophuthatswana Government has sent representatives but there were no delegates introduced from Transkei. — PC.

# Sebe's rule has outlived its usefulness — Siyo

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EAST LONDON — The Ciskei opposition alliance has claimed it will win the forthcoming election "because Sebe's government has outlived its usefulness".

Speaking on behalf of the alliance, Mr L. F. Siyo, leader of the National Labour Party, said here yesterday:

"Chief Sebe's actions and speeches in the past year, have eloquently explained his ineptitude as a leader and I am certain our voters appreciate it would be a disaster for the Ciskei if he were to be given another mandate to rule us."

He said the Chief Minister's group was already in a state of panic.

"About two weeks ago, Chief Siwani, addressing headmen at the Zwelitsha Hall, asked them to allow alliance candidates to hold meetings in their areas

but to dissuade people from attending them.

"He further asked them to go and fish for people because their party support had become thin."

On Chief Sebe's challenge to the opposition to reveal their source of funds to finance Supreme Court actions, Mr Siyo said:

"He must first also state chapter and verse, as he wants us to do, where he got money from to finance his defence at the Grahamstown Supreme Court in 1975 during the Ciskei election case.

"Now that the CLA has been dissolved without having been convened this year to consider estimates, we want to hear from Chief Sebe where he got the money from to run the Ciskei."

In the past four years, the CLA has been convened regularly at the beginning of each year to appropriate funds for the running of the homeland.

The tradition was dropped this year, the CLA having last met during the April-May session last year.

"Chief Sebe also wants to give the impression he allowed our two candidates in the Victoria East constituency to be nominated after refusal of their registration on nomination day because he is not scared," said Mr Siyo.

If that was the position, Chief Sebe would have stopped the matter from going to court by immediately withdrawing the objection against their registration by Mr W. Ximiya and Mr L. Fanie.

"Instead, he was jubilant and is on record as having stated publicly two of his candidates would be returned unopposed."

Another case was the

issue of independence of the Ciskei. "He has not come out clearly on the matter because he does not fully understand the concept of independence because he was never involved in the black man's struggle for freedom.

"Unfortunately for him, the people who would have given direction in the matter — those who have guided him in his political career — are no longer in his camp. They left him politically destitute." — DDR.

(News by Charles Nqakula, 33 Caxton Street, East London.)



MR SIYO . . . where did Sebe get cash?

## Rhodesia deaths

SALISBURY — Two members of the Rhodesian security forces have been killed in action and another nine terrorists killed. The security force members were Guard Gilbert Mangoyi, 22, and Guard Elias Munyani, 25. — DDC.

## New UK diplomat

JOHANNESBURG — The new British Consul-General here, Mr Alan Titchener, assumes duty on Monday. He succeeds Mr John Jardine. — SAPA.

## Chinese visit

PARIS — Chinese leader Hua Kuo-Feng has accepted an invitation from Pres Giscard d'Estaing to visit France at a date to be fixed later. — SAPA-RNS.

BOB THE ARMY HAD IT'S TALL

REVENUE OF THE ARMY'S BARRACKS

THE ARMY'S BARRACKS



# Maqoma lashes rape of Ciskei

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**ZWELITSHA** — A strong attack on white colonialists for their "rampant rape" and conquest of the Ciskei was made last night by a senior member of the Ciskei Cabinet, Chief Lent Maqoma.

He said the Ciskei was the spiritual heartland of the black fight for freedom and redemption and the warrior spirit for their forefathers' defence of their country pervaded the whole of the Ciskei today.

Addressing more than 250 delegates at the opening of the Ciskei development conference, Chief Maqoma, who is also the Acting Paramount Chief of the Rarabes, emphasised that independence for his country was nothing new.

Before his people had been conquered by the whites, they had freedom and all the essential ingredients of life.

When the Cape Colonial Government in the last century extended its boundaries and put white settlers on their land, "we defended ourselves but we were conquered."

"Those blatant blows were the rampant rape of the former national heritage of the Ciskeian people," Chief Maqoma said.

The great Chief Maqoma, who was his great-great grandfather, had

formed an effective defence, but after his capture he was sent to Robben Island where he died after 17 years' imprisonment.

"As long ago as all that, Robben Island was the prison of our forefathers who never stopped fighting for the independence of their country.

"It is vitally necessary to understand that the spirit of those warrior chiefs pervades the whole of the Ciskei today," Chief Maqoma said.

The defence by these warrior forefathers was without parallel in the history of the nation.

As a result, the Ciskei had "a certain symbolic value in the minds of the African nationalists.

"It is the spiritual heartland of the warrior fighting for freedom and redemption."

He said he had been making the delegates aware of the history of his people because it was part of the national consciousness of the Ciskei which wanted "to restore its full status, both politically and economically."

The Ciskeian people wanted the restoration of their freedom, he said.

When whites had been shipwrecked on the Ciskei coast in the 16th and 17th Centuries, they had been treated with great hospitality and friendliness by the black people in

the area

However, this had changed when his people met armed white people extending their territory at the Gamtoos River in 1772. As more and more land was taken away from them in conquest, they had to defend themselves and it was this that had led to the wars between black and white people.

"When whites arrived in 1772 in the vicinity of the Camtoos River as well as the Mossel Bay district with arms, with the intent to occupy our land with guns, the attitude changed," Chief Maqoma said.

The key speaker at the conference, Sir Richard Luyt, has had to withdraw for medical reasons and has been replaced by the former Principal of the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr G. R. Bozzoli.

Sir Richard, a former governor of Guyana and Principal of the University of Cape Town, had a throat operation recently.

— DPA



The Mayor and Mayoress of Zwelitsha, Mr and Mrs R. R. Mali, with the Mayor of King, Mr D. E. Wilson.

# Ciskei Development Conference

## Chief Minister: . . . we'll agree land is ours to federalism

ZWELITSHA — The Ciskei would not let go until it had regained its entire land, which included East London and the white corridor between Ciskei and Transkei, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, said yesterday.

In 1973, in committing my Government to working within the framework of separate development, I stipulated that the entire Ciskei was to be consolidated into a single territory stretching from the Fish to the Kei River and from the Indian Ocean to the Stormberg Mountains in the north.

"Today, we have our toe hold and we will not let go until we have regained our entire land."

The area claimed by the Chief Minister includes East London, King William's Town and Queenstown.

In the past, Chief Sebe and his Cabinet have claimed all the land between the Kei and Gamtoos Rivers. The Gamtoos, where black and white settlers met for the first time in 1772, is on the other side of Port Elizabeth.

ZWELITSHA — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, came out in full support yesterday of federal or confederal state in Southern Africa.

He said circumstances "should dictate a future unit taking the form of a federal or confederal state in Southern Africa."

"Such a structure would provide all homeland-based citizens, urban-based citizens and others with federal citizenship while retaining their separate identity cultures and traditional societies."

"Even at this moment, all South Africa's races are being called on to stand together and unite to withstand the onslaught of communistic aggression."

"If we are to share the burdens of defence and together, then surely we should equally share the benefits of peace together," Chief Sebe said.

He said physically the infrastructure of the respective territories were so inextricably linked together that it would be both ridiculous and physically impossible to dismember and divide facilities.

The South African Government has rejected the concept of federation or confederation, but it is advocated by both the Progressive Federal and New Republic Parties.

## Prof's prediction for year 2025

ZWELITSHA — A metropolitan area of just under a million people will have been established in the Middelrift-Alice area in the middle of the year 2025, a Stellenbosch University academic, Prof D. Page, predicted yesterday.

At the same time, the population of the East London complex, including Mdantsane - Zwelitsha - Potsdam - Berlin area, may have risen from 375 000 in 1970 to 1.5 million, of whom less than 10 per cent would be white, he said.

In a paper prepared for the conference, Prof Page said Middelrift stood out clearly as the national growth point for the Ciskei owing to "the relative advantages of road, rail, electricity, abundance of water, suitable terrain, mixed racial affinities and high population density."

Professor Page, who is in the charge of the population of the 1973 development plan for the Ciskei, added that although Middelrift is a logical choice for the national industrial centre

from the surveys of potential, no development has taken place yet in spite of urgent pleas to initiate development at this point.

But a guide plan had been prepared for Middelrift. It included an industrial layout and several residential neighbourhoods arranged in a cluster pattern. Most of the land was available and the next step should be to declare Middelrift a growth point.

One of the main setbacks to successful planning in the Ciskei had been the lack of full dialogue between the planners and the Government authorities in the Ciskei.

Prof Page also criticised the border industry policy in an appendix to his paper.

"The policy of border industries was opposed strongly by some planners who held the view that it would be more effective in the long run to establish new growth points within the emerging new states where they would activate their entire economies."

"This view has been proved correct. Instead of

activating growth with the homelands the border industries have merely strengthened the economies of the peripheral cities. The leakage of the earnings of the black workers into these cities has prevented domestic savings and the investment in development of the homelands," he said.

## Uniform Electric charges plea

ZWELITSHA — Two Ciskei Government economists yesterday called for an equalisation of electricity tariffs throughout Southern Africa.

In a paper presented to the conference, Mr D. Hart, the development manager of the Ciskei National Development Corporation, and Mr F. Jacobs, the economic adviser to the Ciskei Government, also pleaded for the closing of the income gap between blacks and whites.

They pointed out that industrialists in Dimbaza with a maximum demand of 1 300 kva electricity would pay 96.4 per cent more than his counterpart on the Reef.

They said: "Serious consideration should be given to the equalisation of electricity tariffs throughout the country. The present tariff structure does not favour decentralisation. A comparison between the rates applicable on the Reef and in Dimbaza clearly illustrates this point."

Earlier this week, the MP for East London North, Mr John Malcomess, made a similar plea in Parliament.

Mr Malcomess said Eskom electricity charges in the Border area were ludicrous and that the region was being penalised by the high charges.

In their paper, Mr Jacobs and MNR Hart also suggested that personal tax rebates be given to key white personnel who moved to decentralised areas.

They said that the CNDC should consider taking more risks in establishing industries, particularly in relation to the securities demanded, but they believed there was a problem with this suggestion as public funds were being used and there could be an outcry in Parliament if there were greater losses.

The income gap between black and white people in South Africa was the result of historical and economic reasons.

"Besides the Christian principles that are relevant, it is an economic fact that an uneven distribution of income leads to political instability. History confirms this."

"There is, however, an economic principle associated with redistribution of this kind," they said.

### Reports from BARRY STREEK

## Talk now or face disaster — Sebe

ZWELITSHA — Southern Africa faced disaster if the challenge of rapidly promoting homeland development was not met, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, said yesterday.

He also said his generation of black leadership was the only body still prepared to reason and struggle to find the formula for peaceful co-existence.

"Even our patience is being forced to walk the tightrope as middlemen, being designated stooges by the rising youthful urban communities, is coming to an end. After us you will find no one to talk to," Chief Sebe said.

He was officially opening the Ciskei Development Conference being attended by more than 250 delegates here.

He said existing levels

of development within the homelands "do not even come close to meeting the aspirations of the de facto population, let alone provide for the hopes and anticipations of those in temporary sojourn in Southern Africa."

"The key to the entire volatile situation lies in the rapid promotion of homeland development."

"Failure to meet this challenge now, positively, imaginatively, with great drive and energy, unstintingly, with great sacrifice and high capital investment, will mean disaster for Southern Africa."

"It is not for me to spell out the dangers of direct confrontation: if the cake is not fairly divided, in the ensuing fight the cake will be knocked aside, trampled on and lost, lost to all no matter who may be the stronger," Chief Sebe

said. Technical expertise abounded in the world and technical aid programmes could substitute until his people had acquired skilled workers.

But they were restrained by land, development of agricultural resources and capital finance.

He asked why nearly everything that had been achieved in rural development had done so in the face of considerable official opposition.

"Constraints such as credit, marketing and services are crippling and need to be removed."

"Capital finance we do not have and all our attempts to induce the Western nations to come to our aid as they have done for other third-world countries and for Israel itself have so far been in

vain. Similarly our attempts to obtain a fair share of the cake from local financial resources have been extremely disappointing and frustrating," he said.

The only reason the Ciskei was using the policy of separate development was because it provided a basic formula for regaining its formal national sovereignty.

"This should be clearly understood — we are not participating and cooperating in homeland development for any reason other than for restitution of our former national entity."

"In doing so we do not abandon our claim to sharing in the wealth of the greater regional South Africa, nor do we acknowledge any inferiority as black people," Chief Sebe said.



Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief L. L. Sebe, with Prof J. Eaton, University of Pittsburgh, United States (centre) and Mr J. P. Marais.

## Disagreement on Hamburg as port Hydro scheme to cost R35m

ZWELITSHA — A Stellenbosch University academic, Prof D. Page, suggested yesterday that a harbour be constructed on the Ciskei coast.

However, he ruled out the possibility of Hamburg being developed as harbour because the economic costs would be prohibitive because of silting problems.

Prof Page suggested there were other possible sites. A railway line would also have to be constructed to the new port.

There was talk that Hamburg could be developed some time ago, but more recently there have been suggestions

that it could be turned into a yachting harbour.

Dr Gavin Maasdorp of the University of Natal queried Prof Page's suggestion.

Dr Maasdorp asked what tonnage would the new port handle, what produce would be exported through it, what would the port export and import?

"Why can't East London be used?" he asked.

Dr Maasdorp also said that to justify a new railway, it would have to carry a minimum of 750 000 tons a year and new lines could not be constructed these days if it carried less. — DDR.

ZWELITSHA — Preliminary details of a scheme for a R35 million hydro-electric scheme in the Ciskei have been drawn up — and at present Eskom rates, it could earn R30 million a year.

This was disclosed yesterday by a consulting engineer, Mr S. M. Nicol, in a paper presented to the Ciskei Development Conference.

Mr Nicol said: "A good potential for at least one 300 mw pumped storage hydro-electric scheme exists in the Amatola mountains near Hogsback."

"The preliminary details for this scheme have been fully reported in the Keiskamma River

Basin Report where it is concluded that for a capital outlay of the order of R35 million, it would be possible to earn an annual income of approximately R30 million at present day Eskom tariffs," he said.

He also said the planning approach in the Ciskei was probably unique in southern Africa and could set a precedent for other parts of the sub-continent.

"There is no doubt that the multi-disciplinary approach which has been adopted should ensure that the future agricultural and water resources development of the Ciskei proceeds in an efficient, orderly manner with a minimum waste of resources or capital funds," Mr Nicol said.

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## DAILY DISPATCH CLASSIFIEDS

E.L. 25581/2/3/4/5



Paramount Chief L. W. Maqoma, Ciskei Minister of Interior, with Mr D. A. Etheredge, conference chairman (centre) and Mr A. Conradie, information officer Ciskei Government.

# Consultant slams rural policies

ZWELITSHA — The government's rural development policies were strongly attacked by an agricultural consultant, Mr A. C. Venn, here yesterday.

"No part of Africa has been so well developed physically as the rural areas of the homelands, yet homeland agriculture remains largely at the subsistence level.

"The drift to towns continues, the unemployment situation is alarming, rural communities remain immobilised. Is it possible that developmental resources are being in part misdirected?" he asked.

In a paper prepared for the Ciskei Development Conference, Mr Venn said there was no easy solution but in the past, there had

been too much emphasis on physical planning, insufficient on the development of man.

Various principles and policies had been adopted in the Ciskei and these were relevant to other homelands.

"Planning without the deep involvement of the homeland government is unacceptable.

"Due to limitations in resources, all problems cannot be tackled at once. If available resources for development are to be used to best advantage, selectivity must feature in the formulation of development programmes.

"Past implementation policy seriously inhibits further community development. In essence, in the past the govern-

ment took the easy road. It did too much without mobilising communities in their own development. Government put up fences, planted trees, installed water supplies, constructed conservation works. Community participation was minimal," Mr Venn said.

He said in the past, rural development had been financed by the public purse. In future, private grants, loans and credits should be mobilised.

Mr Venn also said "invidious and invalid comparisons of black and white agriculture are often made without regard to the constraints of the former. Constraints such as credit, services and markets are crippling and must be removed or ameliorated," Mr Venn said.



Mr S. D. Kaplan (left), consulting engineer on the steering committee, with Mrs Naomi Nevo, sociologist from Haifa University, and Prof Dan Soen, head of the Department of Sociology, Tel Aviv.

# Recognise role women play conference told

ZWELITSHA — A number of calls were made yesterday for greater recognition of the role played by black women in agriculture in the Ciskei.

An Israeli sociologist, Mrs Naomi Nevo, a university of Zululand sociology lecturer, Miss Dorothy Nene, and a United States academic, Prof James Eastern, all said the role of women in the rural areas should be given effective recognition by planners.

Mrs Nevo said the woman was the real figure in rural agriculture. This was the de facto situation in the subsistence

economy and it would have to be incorporated into effective planning.

Miss Nene said that Western ethno-cultural patterns did not have to be extended in labour.

"The tillers of the soil in Africa were women. This has clearly been shown in writings," she said.

This position should be retained. Women had to work all the time to keep their families and statistics had shown that husbands, sent little money back to their families when they were working as migratory labourers.

Prof Eastern said there were three key features of the Ciskei. It was a dormitory state in which a significant number of people worked, outside the country. It was also a donor state like the United States and Saudi Arabia because Ciskelans worked at a lower remuneration than others in South Africa and this meant they effectively gave money to South Africa.

"It is also to a significant extent a matriarchal state. A large segment of public responsibility are in the hands of women," he said.



At the conference: Above, Chief Sebe, Mr G. F. Godden (left) general manager Ciskei Marketing Board, and Mr Y. Abt, of Tel Aviv, Israel. Below, from left: F. Bozzoli, former principal and vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, with Dr R. F. Loxton and Mr A. C. Venn.



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# Academics back Sebe

**ZWELITSHA** — A number of academics yesterday supported a suggestion that the East London, King William's Town and Queenstown areas be incorporated into the Ciskei.

*They said at the Ciskei development conference that the two areas should be merged on economic and planning grounds.*

Earlier in the day, the homeland's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, reiterated his Government's determination to regain all the land between the Kei and Fish Rivers as far as the Stormberg Mountains.

A Rhodes University economics lecturer, Mr Philip Black, supported incorporation and said he did not think it would have any detrimental economic effects.

"If you look at Transkei for example, the financial concessions have had very considerable success. I can't see why East London and King William's Town will be any different," he said.

Dr Gavin Maasdorp of the University of Natal and a German academic, Prof Jurgen Blenk, also backed incorporation.

Dr Maasdorp said: "I am substantially in agreement that East London should be incorporated into the Ciskei."

From  
**BARRY STREEK**  
Political  
Correspondent

Prof Blenk said: "Independence and some development of Ciskei will only modernise the domination over blacks by whites."

From a planning point of view, the East London, Queenstown corridor dominated the region and he could not see natural growth of the Ciskei without the obvious capital and growth point, East London.

Prof Blenk warned that Ciskeians should be careful "of selling their birthright for a mess of pottage."

Prof D. Page, of Stellenbosch University, the architect of the 1973 development of the plan for the Ciskei, would not be drawn into the discussion when asked for his view by another delegate,

# claim to EL

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Prof Jeff Opland of Rhodes University.

Prof Opland asked how the planning could continue at its previous basis when both the Chief Minister and the Paramount Chief had demanded the area and when it was clear they were linked economically.

Prof Page said: "I am afraid it would be foolish of me to make predictions which are outside my brief. In any event I don't want to be embroiled in political issues."

A University of Port Elizabeth lecturer, Mr Bill Davies, opposed incorporation and although the economies of the two regions should be regarded as one, there were

possible drawbacks to the idea.

He was concerned about the economic implications of incorporating the white area into the Ciskei.

He wanted to know what would happen after incorporation and asked if it would lead to an exodus of whites and further resistance by industrialists in investing in the region.

He quoted from an article in the Daily Dispatch by its Business Editor in which a number of prominent East London citizens said they would leave the area if ever there was amalgamation.

Discussion on possible incorporation will continue on Monday.

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# What's it all about?



MEISENHOLL... Ciskei's guidelines.

From BARRY STREEK

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The managing director of the Ciskei National Development Corporation, Mr F. S. Meisenholl, averted a row at the Ciskei Development Conference yesterday when he made it clear that new planning ideas would be considered in the homeland.

He was responding to a speech at the end of yesterday's proceedings by a University of Port Elizabeth lecturer, Mr Bill Davies.

Mr Davies wanted to know what the purpose of the conference was. If the CNDC was merely going to follow the guidelines laid down in the 1973 Ciskei development plan, "why are we meeting?"

"Are we now to be told that this is the way it is going to be developed?" Mr Davies asked after the CNDC public relations officer, Mr R. R. Mali, said the development of the Middledrift area would go ahead.

Replying, Mr Meisenholl said Mr Davies was asking an interesting question.

"The CNDC is following the guidelines of the Ciskei Government as far as development is concerned. We are acting as the arm of the Ciskei Government.

"The purpose of this conference is to get new ideas. After all, no one in the world has all the answers to planning," he said.

It was for this reason that people had been brought from all over the world to confer.

After the conference had finished, the Ciskei Government, the CNDC and the Ciskei Marketing Board would be meeting to discuss the ideas and proposals suggested.

Attention was already being given to industrialisation at Mdantsane on the outskirts of East London, but the fact remained that only 12 per cent of the money earned by blacks in the homeland was being spent inside the territory.

"This is not a fair deal for the Ciskei. Something must be done to reverse that. That is why I personally support Middledrift and to get a different growth point," Mr Meisenholl said.

After he had spoken, there were no further queries about the purpose of the conference, but it seems likely that the value of differing ideas will be raised again when delegates reconvene for more discussions.

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## Impostor teases banished woman

EAST LONDON — A man purporting to be a detective took Mrs Beauty Lolwane from her home in Zone Three, Mdantsane, and said he was arresting her for defying a banishment order served on April 14 this year.

The man, who turned out to be an impostor, walked some distance with her and when nearing the police station told her to go home.

Mrs Lolwane was issued with a banishment order prohibiting her from staying at Mdantsane or in any area in the Ciskei.

The prohibition order was signed by the Ciskei Minister of Justice, Chief Payment Siwani.

On Friday last week Mrs Lolwane was visited by a uniformed policeman who asked her whether she was still residing at Mdantsane.

The policeman did not tell her what to do or that there was an action to be taken against her.

Speaking at her home yesterday, Mrs Lolwane said she had not received any other government instruction to vacate her house and the Ciskei. —  
DDR

**EDITORIAL OPINION**

## Claim to the corridor

For the second time in less than a year academics have spoken out strongly in support of incorporating the so-called white corridor between Ciskei and Transkei into the Ciskei.

This includes the three major urban areas, the seaport city of East London, King William's Town and Queenstown.

The academics' argument is based on the economic indivisibility of the region and on planning needs. Their conclusions cannot be faulted logically.

The claim by the Ciskei Government to the land and the towns takes into account these economic and planning considerations but also stems from the political direction black thinking has followed since the late Dr Verwoerd laid down the guidelines for grand apartheid on a geographic scale years ago.

Dr Verwoerd's design for a number of independent black states within South Africa seemed to many blacks an answer to some of their political and social frustrations. Here was an offer a slice of the cake, an opportunity to enjoy sovereignty in parts of the country historically regarded as black.

Thus a great number of blacks accepted the concept and political

groupings and leaders emerged who devoted themselves to roughly defining the areas, in consultation with the white government's planners, within which separate states would arise.

Right from the start there were arguments about boundaries but the overall idea was regarded as so important by the negotiators on either side that final determinations of these borders was mutually decided as being secondary to the main objective — the establishment of separate centres of authority for whites and blacks.

The main objective has now been realised to a large extent — fully in the case of Transkei and Bophuthatswana and irreversibly by most of the other "homeland" authorities. The other consideration of boundaries and consolidation of the areas of control to ensure economic viability, as well as to satisfy the historical territorial claims of the black people, has now come to the forefront.

We have no doubt that the Chief Minister of Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, speaks for most of his people when he says their minimum demand is for all the land between the Fish and the Kei Rivers. Nor do we doubt that he is in a strong position to pursue it.

# The Ciskei Problem Statement

(M/15/12/6/05)

**KING WILLIAMS TOWN** — The Ciskei as a homeland has been established and is here to stay, and no prosperous nation like South Africa could afford to have islands of poverty situated in a sea of wealth.

This is the crux of the "Ciskei Problem Statement" collated by the general manager of the Ciskei Marketing Board, Mr G. F. Godden, here today at the Ciskei Development conference.

In the statement Mr Godden says: "The homeland concept has encountered opposition and rejection from overseas governments as well as local opposition from sections of various urban populations of our black people. However, the policy has, and obtains, some support from some of the ethnic groups of southern Africa's indigenous peoples by virtue of its appeal to a strong sense of nationalism, which, throughout man's history, has remained a rallying force, a call to unity of purpose and power. Today the appeal is as strong as ever and no less to the people of the Ciskei.

"In any event, whether the homeland policy is found politically acceptable or not, or whether it is seen to offer a solution to the complex human relationships in southern Africa, it must be accepted that the homelands exist as a reality.

"The development of the homeland territories is an urgent and vital priority both to the South African Government and all sectors of the South African community. It is, therefore, necessary to identify as clearly and concisely as possible the 'problem areas' restricting or inhibiting the respective governments from achieving rapid, meaningful and acceptable development in the homeland territories.

"These are: (1) Consolidation of the territorial area of the Ciskei homeland. (2) The creation of a stable government. (3) Economic development. (4) National infrastructure and industry. (5) Human development. (6) Financial aid.

"The areas of land at present demarcated as comprising the Ciskei homeland are defined in the 1936 Bantu Land Act. The areas defined do not satisfy the national aspirations of the homeland government and on May 21 1973 the Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, said that his government would work in the framework of separate development.

single territory stretching from the Kei River in the east to the Fish River in the west, from the Indian Ocean to the Stormberg mountains in the north.

"The South African Government has reaffirmed that the boundaries of the Ciskei homeland will, however, conform to those laid down in the 1936 Land Act, amended as necessary to accommodate the compensatory ground to be purchased in the Stockenstruom-Seymour-Cathcart and Swart Kei areas in lieu of the excised districts of Herschel and Glen Grey which have been transferred to the Transkei.

"Notwithstanding these differences of opinion relating to the ultimate boundaries of the homeland, the Ciskei government should be to aim at creating a strong homeland government capable of providing the leadership qualities so essential to an emergent nation and people.

"The Ciskeian people have for many generations lived side by side with the white community in the Border area, and by virtue of this close and intimate contact have come to value and appreciate a democratic way of life.

"The problem here lies in not being our own self-governing state the homeland is still dependent on the South African government.

"In matters of land, staff, finance and development, control is exercised by the Department of Plural Relations and Development, and aspirations can be interpreted only within the limitations imposed by this South African government department.

"On occasions it is found, to the dismay and consequent loss of status and popularity of the homeland Government, that the Department of Plural Relations and Development has failed to accord the same degree of priority and support to the homeland government's plans and programmes, thereby exposing the government to loss of face and public criticism.

"In this context, therefore, it is necessary that clear lines of communication should be established between the homeland government and the Department of Plural Relations and Development and support should be given to the homeland government to promote its status in the eyes of the electorate.

"The problem in this section can be stated as follows: How can the present administrative procedure be amended or altered to ensure that the status of self-government accorded to the Ciskei government is not curtailed or impinged upon, but still permitting the Department of Plural Relations and Development to exercise some control over certain aspects of development?"

"A major contribution to the future national economy of the Ciskei will be made by carefully planned utilisation of the natural and human resources of the country. If the Ciskei is to attain the economic independence for which it is striving, the government must ensure that the resources are developed in the most efficient, beneficial manner.

"One of the first

should be placed on development of the agricultural sector of the economy to provide a firm basis on which subsequent industrialisation and infrastructure development can be founded.

"Agriculture is destined to play a major role in the Ciskeian economy: at present over 45 per cent of the population derives its income directly or indirectly from crop and livestock production or from associated activities and agricultural processing.

"Greatly increased expansion of large-scale agricultural production is vital, both from the creation of additional wage employment and for its potential contribution to government revenue and domestic savings against imports.

"Of even greater importance, however, is the progressive transformation of traditional small-scale agriculture on which so much of the population depends for its livelihood and in which incomes remain at present at a very low level.

"It is evident the government's most pressing priority is to promote increased investment, greater managerial skills and higher land and labour productivity in traditional tribal agriculture.

"This will have greater impact in improving the welfare of the majority of people who live in rural areas.

"Any country set on the path to political independence must seek to gain control of its economic affairs if political independence is to have any significance.

"No homeland government has any economic control and, by virtue of the geographical location and integrated physical infrastructure with the Republic of South Africa, most of the homeland governments will find it difficult to effect any alteration of these circumstances for many years.

"These remarks should not be construed to imply any wish for isolationist policy; on the contrary, each homeland will look forward to close economic links with South Africa as a giant economic trading partner. However, each homeland government will need to struggle for internal economic independence if it is to participate in meaningful government.

"In this respect, homeland governments would be well advised to oppose further expansion of the 'border industry' operation whereby industrialists are encouraged to establish

beneficial manner.



MR G. GODDEN

from South Africa and from overseas.

"Could international loan funds not be made available for financing homeland development directly through homeland governments or via homeland government controlled autonomous bodies?"

"In the development of the Ciskei the early location of a site for the capital city is of fundamental importance. Other factors, such as those relating to housing of expatriate officials and key industrial workers, are contentious issues on which clarification is urgently required.

"The location of industries and industrial growth centres needs to be examined in depth in relation to matters such as economic leakage, labour resources and associated socio-economic factors.

"The creation of job opportunities is an issue of vital significance and one which the Ciskeian government seeks to tackle through the medium of agricultural development.

"Against the background of the discussion on land consolidation and the uncertainty which exists in relation to the ultimate territorial boundaries, how can the obvious difficulties in relation to long-term planning objectives be resolved?"

"Obviously there should be the clearest possible lines of communication between the central and homeland governments and in dealing with matters of delicate and sensitive political context there should be the fullest possible consultations.

"That this does not occur and that issues have, in some instances, been inflamed unnecessarily because of poor communication and lack of elementary consultations is evident from the strong emotional outbursts made from time to time by homeland leaders.

"Where does the fault lie? Invariably these issues when brought to a head at ministerial level are in most cases resolved without much difficulty. What does this situation imply?"

"Whatever developments occur in the homeland and whatever developments take place in South Africa, there is bound to be an interaction.

"The industrial sectors of East London and Port Elizabeth are bound to grow and in turn make demands for more labour.



Dr Mulder, Minister of Plural Relations, and Chief Sebe

clear lines of communication needed.

Africa close to the borders of a homeland territory and from where it is able to draw its labour forces without incurring responsibility for the socio-economic issues so arising.

"This system of promoting employment opportuntly can be seen as condemning the homelands to the role of dormitory territories forever, and effectively promoting the South African industrial infrastructure while relegating the homelands to virtual non-participation in industrial development.

"Other disabilities also apply. While the border industries are based on the labour of the homelands they pay their taxes to the South African government. Then, too, the bulk of the wages paid to the employees filters back into the South African economy as a result of the lack of trading facilities in the homeland. This leakage makes it very difficult to promote commercialism in the homeland.

"At present, industrial and economically orientated development is placed in the hands of development corporations, directed and controlled by the South African Government; and the homeland government exercises no control over the development corporation in the Ciskei. Practically all development finance is channelled through these bodies.

"As a consequence, a homeland government fails to give effect to its own economic policies and has so far been unable to

"The housing problem is aggravated by factors such as the extremely high occupancy rate in popular housing, the over-populated rural environment, and the accession of economically active males. Research indicates that for the period 1975-85 the total demand for housing in the Ciskei homeland will be in excess of 290 000 household units.

"It could therefore be said that the Ciskei is confronted with a housing crisis, particularly in relation to the lower-income groups, which constitute the bulk of the population.

"Amid this urban crisis of a housing shortage, the enforcement of prescribed South African building regulations further hampers the provision of emergency housing designs and prototype alternatives.

"A national housing policy would, as in other third world countries, incorporate new standards which would be more compatible with the present situation.

"Financing the development programmes of the homeland governments requires vast amounts of capital. On present evidence the South African Government is unable to meet this commitment.

"Annual homeland budgets are mainly for statutory services and for the running of the civil service and for ongoing projects. Little provision is made for financing development and to date no loan funds have been made available for homeland governments.

"World governments would not be better served with two separate budgets, one financed on loan account specifically for development?

"The cost of financing economic agricultural development projects, such as the Keiskamma and Tyefu Irrigation scheme (costing R900 000 and R500 000 a year respectively) and undertaking natural resource studies and preparation of regional plans (R110 000 a year) is crippling to an annual agricultural budget of only about R6 500 000.

"These recurring commitments prevent other development projects from being tackled. Loan finances would greatly facilitate more effective and meaningful development. Should some of the resource surveys components not be financed from South African Government funds?"

"International development loans will need to be raised to finance homeland development and consideration should be given to ways and

from South Africa and from overseas.

"Could international loan funds not be made available for financing homeland development directly through homeland governments or via homeland government controlled autonomous bodies?"

"In the development of the Ciskei the early location of a site for the capital city is of fundamental importance. Other factors, such as those relating to housing of expatriate officials and key industrial workers, are contentious issues on which clarification is urgently required.

"The location of industries and industrial growth centres needs to be examined in depth in relation to matters such as economic leakage, labour resources and associated socio-economic factors.

"The creation of job opportunities is an issue of vital significance and one which the Ciskeian government seeks to tackle through the medium of agricultural development.

"Against the background of the discussion on land consolidation and the uncertainty which exists in relation to the ultimate territorial boundaries, how can the obvious difficulties in relation to long-term planning objectives be resolved?"

"Obviously there should be the clearest possible lines of communication between the central and homeland governments and in dealing with matters of delicate and sensitive political context there should be the fullest possible consultations.

"That this does not occur and that issues have, in some instances, been inflamed unnecessarily because of poor communication and lack of elementary consultations is evident from the strong emotional outbursts made from time to time by homeland leaders.

"Where does the fault lie? Invariably these issues when brought to a head at ministerial level are in most cases resolved without much difficulty. What does this situation imply?"

"Whatever developments occur in the homeland and whatever developments take place in South Africa, there is bound to be an interaction.

"The industrial sectors of East London and Port Elizabeth are bound to grow and in turn make demands for more labour.



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# Homeland policy under attack

ZWELITSHA — Several key aspects of the South African Government's implementation of its homeland policies have been sharply criticised in a "Problem Statement" prepared on behalf of the Ciskei Government.

The statement, which is to be discussed at the Ciskei development conference today, criticises the slow rate of land purchases for consolidation, the lack of consultation between the two Governments, the absence of control over important aspects of government and the shortage of capital.

The statement also says homeland governments could well be advised to oppose further expansion of the border industries policy through which industries were established in the white area and draw labour forces without incurring responsibility

for the socio-economic issues arising."

The development corporations responsible for industrial development were "directed and controlled by the South African Government, and the homeland government exercises no control over the development corporation in the Ciskei."

This criticism appears to conflict with the statement last week by the CNDC chairman, Mr F. S. Meisenholl, that the corporation was the economic arm of the Ciskei Government.

The sharp criticisms in the statement may well lead to policy clashes at today's session of the conference, but the Ciskei authorities hope the discussions will lead to clarity on development and provide a basis for future development. — DDR.

See also page 6.

# Ciskei-Border links in economy stressed

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1973  
DD

ZWELITSHA — The total annual income for Mdantsane was R45.6 million in 1973 and this represented some 40 to 50 per cent of the total consumption expenditure in East London, according to a Rhodes University lecturer, Mr Philip Black.

In a paper delivered to the Ciskei Development Conference, Mr Black said: "The combined income of East London and the Ciskei would be higher if East London were to form part of the Ciskei, or, what amounts to the same thing, the Ciskei were abolished."

In another paper, a University of Port Elizabeth lecturer, Mr Bill Davies, said it was necessary that "a combined Ciskei-Border region perspective of development requirements be adopted."

Mr Davies also criticised the 1973 Ciskei development plan for advocating the development of

Middledrift as a counter to growth at Mdantsane and Zwelitsha which it believed only served as dormitories to East London and King William's Town.

Both papers stressed the economic links between the white-owned Border corridor and the Ciskei.

Mr Black said that "available evidence seems to suggest that the East London-King William's Town region has been lagging behind the other metropolitan regions of South Africa and that levels of per capita income increased more slowly in the region than in other metropolitan areas."

The East London-King William's Town region appeared to have comparative advantage in the production of basic consumer goods because there was an increasing demand locally, it depended on local materials for production and was able to use a plentiful supply of

unskilled labour.

Turning to whether future investment should take place in the Ciskei or in the white area, Mr Black said investment in the homeland would lower the import content of goods services consumed in the Ciskei and this would lead to increased income for local businessmen and the homeland.

"On the other hand, it is possible that the net return on investment is higher in East London than in Mdantsane or the interior of the Ciskei, for the reason that East London businesses are more likely to reap the benefits of internal and external economies of scale.

"Of more importance is the fact that East London and the Ciskei form part of the same economic region. The income of such a region depends in part on the extent to which entrepreneurs are

free to choose the optimal localisation of their enterprises," Mr Black said.

Mr Davies said although the 1973 plan envisaged Middledrift as a counter to other developments, an alternative plan should be considered which recognised interdependence with the Border region.

The first development priority must be allocated to the integrated and interacting metropolitan region consisting of East London, Mdantsane, King William's Town, Zwelitsha and Berlin, where population growth was bound to be substantial.

"By virtually disregarding Mdantsane and Zwelitsha, the Ciskeian development proposals effectively exclude a substantial proportion of the ablest population from sharing in the development effort," Mr Davies said. — DDR

# All-race hotel bid supported

EAST LONDON — The Divisional Council of Kaffraria has approved an application by the Ciskei National Development Corporation for the hotel at Hamburg to have international status.

In a letter to the Divisional Council on May 2 the CNDC said the hotel could be used by whites only at present. It is situated in a released area which will later be incorporated into the Ciskei.

The CNDC had been approached on a number of occasions by both the Ciskeian Government and homeland entrepreneurs to accommodate black dignitaries at the hotel.

Owing to the nature of

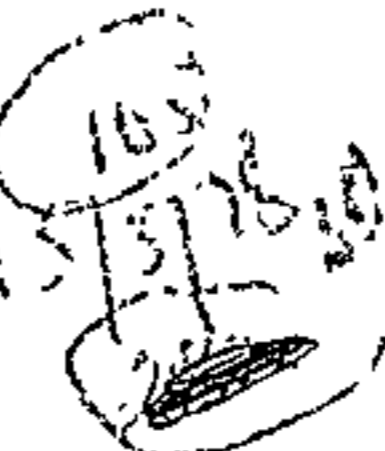
the existing licence which requires special permission to admit Ciskeians, the delay in obtaining this permission has often placed these people in an invidious position.

"Being a development corporation with a multi-racial directorate it is embarrassing not to be able to readily admit prominent Ciskeians," the CNDC letter said.

The CNDC said an international status licence would ease this embarrassment and fill a definite need.

There were no objections to the CNDC application when it was raised at the Divisional Council meeting on Friday.

DDR.



Surname: (block letters) \_\_\_\_\_ Sex: \_\_\_\_\_

Christian names: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of parent/guardian: \_\_\_\_\_ Address of parent/guardian: \_\_\_\_\_

Relationship of guardian to applicant: \_\_\_\_\_ (e.g. father; mother; aunt; uncle; brother)

Are both parents living? YES/NO \_\_\_\_\_

Name and address of school \_\_\_\_\_

What standard/Form do you hope to be in next year? \_\_\_\_\_

Name and address of school where you hope to study: \_\_\_\_\_

Intended future occupation (if decided): \_\_\_\_\_

SIGNATURE OF PARISHIONER: \_\_\_\_\_ DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

PART III. This part is to be completed by the Parent or Guardian

Nature of employment of- \_\_\_\_\_

a. Father: \_\_\_\_\_ Earnings per month: \_\_\_\_\_

b. Mother: \_\_\_\_\_ Earnings per month: \_\_\_\_\_

c. Other members of family: \_\_\_\_\_ NYANGA. Earnings per month: \_\_\_\_\_

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS & PAYMENTS

Earnings per month: \_\_\_\_\_

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31.12.1977

Number of children in the family: Boys: \_\_\_\_\_ Girls: \_\_\_\_\_

Ages: \_\_\_\_\_

State briefly Parent's or Guardian's REASONS for not being able to pay for applicant's schooling: \_\_\_\_\_

Are parents or guardians in receipt of any other financial assistance \_\_\_\_\_

If so, please specify \_\_\_\_\_

Please estimate what \_\_\_\_\_

(books; boarding; \_\_\_\_\_)

# Ciskei hits at 'slow' SA action

EAST LONDON. — Several key aspects of the South African Government's implementation of its homeland policies have been sharply criticised in a "problem statement" prepared on behalf of the Ciskei Government.

The statement, discussed at the Ciskei Development Conference in East London yesterday, criticised the slow rate of land purchases for consolidation, the lack of consultation between the two governments, the absence of control over important aspects of government and the shortage of capital.

It also says the Ciskei is facing a housing crisis. "The Ciskei Government is seriously concerned and deeply frustrated by the painfully slow progress made towards consolidation by land purchases and transfer to land to the control of the homeland Government," the statement says. — Sapa.

# Sebe clash over corporation role

ZWELITSHA — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, yesterday publicly rejected the views of the head of the Corporation for Economic Development, Dr J. Adendorff, over the role of homeland development corporations.

Chief Sebe said although Dr Adendorff was his friend "I will be selling my people for a pot of porridge if I don't react."

The two men clashed at the Ciskei Development Conference after Dr Adendorff had reacted to a statement in the Ciskei problem statement that "the homeland government exercises no control over the development corporation in the Ciskei".

Both Dr Adendorff and Prof E. H. Graven of the University of Fort Hare, who is a member of the board of the Transkei Development Corporation, stressed that the corporations worked within the goals and framework of the national plans of the homeland governments.

Dr Adendorff said that one had to differentiate between the South African Government and the corporations whose only aim was the economic development of the homelands.

"As long as the boards work within their charters there is no interference by the South African Government whatsoever. In 18 years I can't refer to any

interference whatsoever. The boards take the decisions," he said.

The corporations had to undertake every development in consultation with the homeland governments and every change, such as the recent tripartite system, had to be approved by the homeland governments.

"It is strange to me that this old relic of the past still exists. I can't understand that the government, which does not interfere on a board level, can be blamed for pushing on a certain level," Dr Adendorff said.

Referring to the problem statement, Dr Adendorff said: "I don't think that is a misunderstanding. I think it goes further than that."

Chief Sebe said that from the intellectuals to the man-in-the-street, the feeling was that the corporation directors were compromised.

If the corporation did not read the signs, it would fall.

Whatever gentlemen's agreements had been reached with the Republican Government it would not be seen as anything else but as carrying out government policies, Chief Sebe said.

Prof Graven said: "It is lamentable indeed that the development corporations in their present form apparently do not have the credibility of the people they serve." — DDR.

See also page 14.

guardians in receipt of any other financial assistance

of their children? YES/NO.....

ify.....

what is needed for schooling next year

(school fund; etc)

TOTAL:

105 WJ

# Ciskei alliance man Mankayi arrested

## KING WILLIAMS TOWN

A leading opposition alliance candidate in the Ciskei, Mr N. L. Mankayi, has been arrested and is expected to appear in court soon.

His arrest was confirmed yesterday by the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe.

Mr Mankayi, who is standing in the Zwelitsha constituency in this year's election and who is a

former branch chairman on Chief Sebe's ruling Ciskei National Independence Party, was detained by Ciskei police at 2am yesterday morning at his Zwelitsha home.

Chief Sebe said: "He will be tried before the courts. The police are working round the clock.

"I do not know what the charges are, but I think they are connected with the disturbances at Dimbaza," he said when approached.

Mr Mankayi had not been detained in terms of the emergency proclamation but he, and the others who had been detained, had been arrested for an offence, the Chief Minister said.

According to his wife, Mrs B. Mankayi, he asked the police where they were taking him and they said the Ciskei's Commissioner of Police, Col M.

Saunders, wanted to speak to him.

Col Saunders was not available yesterday for confirmation of the detention. Other police spokesmen refused to comment and referred inquiries to Col Saunders.

Before Mr Mankayi's detention, the police picked up from their Dimbaza homes Mr Mongameli Mahayiya and a Mr Manyela, both staunch supporters of the alliance. It could not be established yesterday under which law the three men had been detained.

Mr Mahayiya was a leading organiser in Chief Sebe's party and virtually won over Ginsberg for Chief Sebe in the 1973 election. He was subsequently subpoenaed as a chief witness for Chief Sebe's group in the Ciskei election case at the Grahamstown Supreme

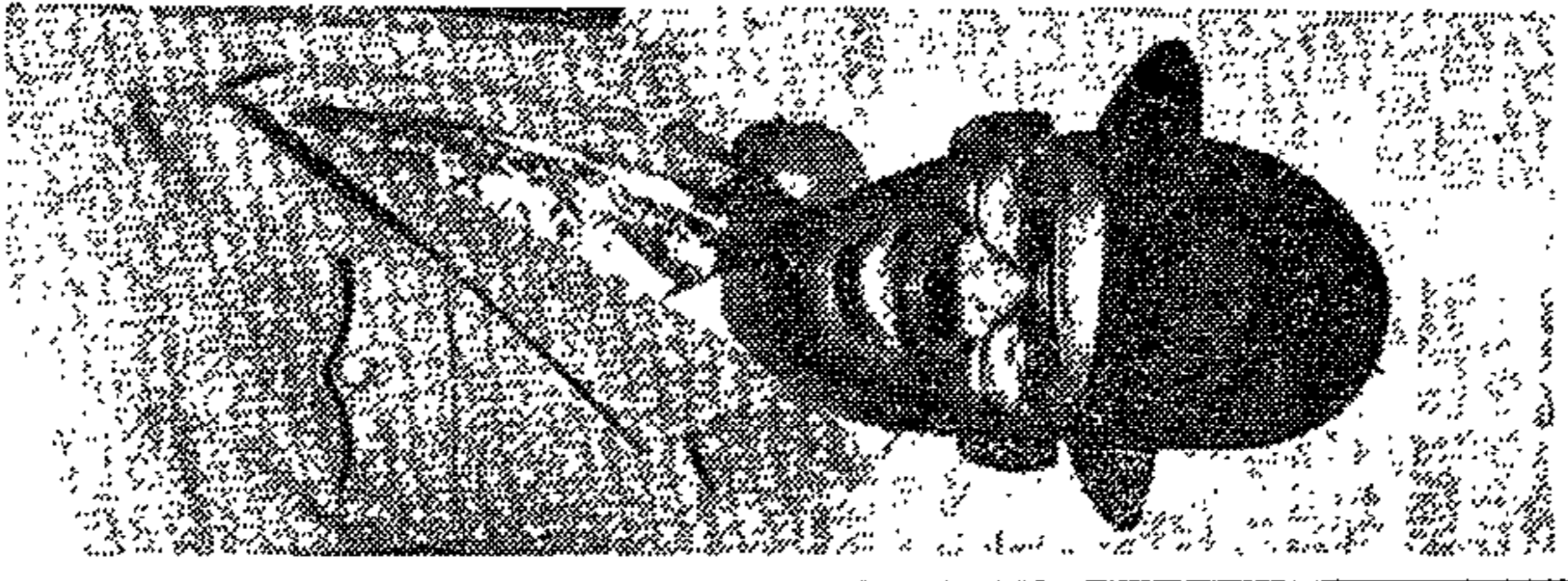
## Court.

Before nomination day on April 12, Mr Mankayi fled to Port Elizabeth together with the leaders of the opposition alliance because they allegedly feared they might be detained before they were nominated to prevent them from participating in the June election.

Mr Mankayi was first seen after his flight when he presented himself for nomination at the Zwelitsha nomination court.

The detentions followed a successful rally on Sunday at Dimbaza by the alliance. A big convoy drove from the venue of the rally to Zwelitsha where, for the first time, the opposition was openly encouraged.

(News by Charles Ngakula, Prolea Buildings, Alexandra Road, King Williams Town and Barry Street, 33 Caxton Street, East London)



CHIEF SEBE... police working flat out.

(21/11/78) (105) 11/5/78

# Siyo challenge on detainee

EAST LONDON — A call to Ciskei Chief Minister Lennox Sebe to have the detained leading opposition alliance candidate in the election, Mr N. R. Mankayi, charged and brought before a court of law was made by the leader of the National Labour Party of South Africa, Mr L. F. Siyo, yesterday.

"The Chief Minister says Mr Mankayi is to be charged," Mr Siyo said.

"I want to remind him that when detainees were released the Matakane brothers were not released. We were told they were to be charged. They were never charged and were only released on Thursday last week," Mr Siyo said.

"It is strange that Mr Mankayi had seven successful meetings last week and early on Monday morning he was detained.

"Under what law is he detained or is he going to be charged and what is the charge?" Mr Siyo asked.

"If the charge is still unknown to the Chief Minister why detain a candidate if he is not afraid of the opposition?"

He said it was clear the Chief Minister was losing his followers and to save face he had to detain some people. If Mr Mankayi was to be charged he had to appear in court for formal remand.

Mr Siyo said the Chief Minister had said he would give the opposition a chance to contest the election so that they should not have excuses when they lost.

"We demand that the Chief Minister tells the public the truth or we will assume all this is intimidation," Mr Siyo said.

(News by Gordon Qumza, 33 Caxton Street, East London)

17/5/78 A-9

# UK aiding Transkei?

MASEBU — The leader of Lesotho's opposition United Democratic Party, Mr Charles Mofeli, says the British were the first to undermine United Nations resolutions on Transkei.

Mr Mofeli told the National Assembly yesterday the British had invested over R150 million in Transkei after its cut in diplomatic relations with South Africa.

He said Scandinavian countries were making secret moves to persuade the United States and Britain to recognise Transkei. He said East Germans were already in Transkei and Norwegians were helping build harbours.

Two officials of Transkei secretly visited Lesotho last weekend, on an official visit, Mr Mofeli said — DDC.

18/5/78 105

# Don't exploit Ciskeians pleads Chief Sebe

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN —** The difference between salaries earned by blacks and whites in South Africa was what the blacks were donating to the country's economy, Chief Minister L. L. Sebe said at the official opening of the Dimbaza foundries yesterday.

"The irony of the matter is that my people are donating to an already developed economic situation," he said yesterday. The question is: How can we be expected, poor as we are, to make this kind of donation?"

He criticised people who argued that Border industries were a benefit to blacks in South Africa.

"Anybody who thinks along those lines is 20 years behind times. Border industries are not beneficial to my people as they do not give them the training and skill they need.

"Instead of giving them this training, these industries have relegated them to the old position of being looked on as just numbers. The stage is long past where people

are regarded as mere numbers."

The people who criticised the establishment of factories at Dimbaza were politically naive. He asked his supporters at the function to protect the foundries.

"Regard this building as a holy temple and protect it against those who would like to destroy it."

He was amazed that the enormous 'human capital' in the Ciskei was not being utilised. The human material could be used on the South African mines.

"But there should be a new system of recruiting and remuneration with my people getting as much as they donate to the South African economy."

His people should not be used as a labour pool and wickedly exploited.

"Such a situation cannot be tolerated and, for the mutual understanding of all, there should be new arrangements."

Addressing himself specifically to Mr A. Holmes and Mr K. Scott of an American manufacturing firm based in Vereeniging, he said:

"We invite you to invest in the Ciskei. Despite what some politicians and newspapers are saying, we have a government more stable than the independent African states which receive millions of dollars in aid.

"We are stable because we have learnt from the mistakes of Africa and other countries in the world. We shall never fall because our credo is proper development and is designed to ensure a

meal every day for the ordinary man in the street."

He was glad the two visitors attended the function 'as I would like you to determine whether the film, Last Grave at Dimbaza, does justice to this situation fully depicted by the smiling faces around you. These are living people and not ghosts from that last grave.'

The people who clamoured for disinvestment in South Africa were irresponsible armchair philosophers who were to be ignored.

He said Western countries were prepared to pump thousands of dollars into unstable governments, "but the Ciskei is not going to ask for aid over 1 000 dead bodies as the case was in Angola." — DDR.

307 Amount in hand 1.1.1977

59-53

## VARIOUS PURPOSES

Amount in hand 1.1.1977 not paid over

Lent savings 1976	119-02	
Sikiti Pension	103-40	222-42
Receipts 1977-Sikiti Pension		129-08
Sick & Aged		9-81
U.S.P.G./SPCK		18-48
Cathedral bldg. fund		2-56
Lent Savings 1977		102-88
		<u>485-23</u>
		15281-38



105/RS/5/78

# Alliance members on bail

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Four men detained by police after disturbances at a political meeting at Dimbaza on Sunday appeared at a special regional court at Zwelitsha before Mr S. A. Du Preez.

The accused, including Mr N. L. Mankayi, a candidate in the Zwelitsha constituency, are all opposition alliance members.

Mr Mankayi, who was remanded to July 17, faced charges under the Ciskei's emergency Proclamation R252 for allegedly holding a meeting at Dimbaza without a permit from a magistrate.

The other men, Mr Daniel Molayi, Mr Solomon Manyela and Mr Mongameli Mahayiya, were charged with assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. They were all not asked to plead and no evidence was led.

All were allowed out on bail of R50 each.

The four men were detained after an alliance meeting at Dimbaza where fighting broke out between alliance men and Sebe supporters. — DDK.

(Report by Charles Ngakula, Alexander Road, King William's Town)

There was a strange atmosphere of reality and unreality at the Ciskei Development Conference which ended at Zwelitsha on Monday.

But, in the end, if the Ciskei Government is able to extract the many good points and suggestions made at the conference, the people in the area should benefit because overall it could well stimulate development.

Indeed, after the recent national press, four and the conference, the Ciskei has gained an incredible amount of press, radio and television publicity throughout the country. To a considerable extent, the Ciskei has managed in the past few weeks to distinguish itself from the other South African homelands.

This favourable attention has been won through hard work and at some expense. The critical question, now, is: will the people of the Ciskei-Border region benefit?

If the South African Government attitude is any indication, the prospects do not look good. The conference was ignored by the effective Nationalist policy-makers: not a single Nationalist MP, not a member of the Joint Anti-Affairs Com-

mission, not the Minister of Plural Relations (who, I understand, was invited to speak at the conference), not even one of his three deputy ministers, bothered to attend.

With the South African Government representative in the Ciskei, Mr J. Engelbrecht, the Commissioner-General, ill in bed (and I hope he has a speedy recovery), one would have expected that the people responsible for the policy of separate development would have been there to at least take note of the discussions and criticisms.

However, in spite of the fact that Nationalist politicians keep telling us that their policy of separation is the answer to the problems in South Africa, they were conspicuous by their absence.

Only the head of the Corporation for Economic Development, Dr J. Adendorff, came down to answer criticisms about the role of the Ciskei National Development Corporation. In sharp contrast to the other decision-makers, one can only ad-

mise him for doing so even if he appeared to have been unsuccessful in his brave defence.

And the downplaying of the conference by the South African Government emphasised some of the realities brought home in the discussions: the lack of money, the slow rate of land purchases for consolidation and the failure to effectively transfer some of those functions which one might have thought were necessary for an apparently self-governed state.

Without clear answers to these and other issues by the people who should have been at the conference, the development of the Ciskei and future planning will be severely restricted.

The other reality brought home by numerous speakers was the complete interdependence of the Ciskei and the "white corridor" between East London and Queenstown.

A paper by Rhodes University's Mr Philip

# Ciskei: Critical questions



Political Correspondent BARRY STREEK reports

part of the Ciskei or, what amounts to the same thing, if the Ciskei were abolished.

Numerous speakers made the same point: what amounts to, at the very least, is that the economic planning and development of the area must be undertaken by a joint effective authority of both areas. Everyone will suffer if the Ciskei and the various Border authorities continue to operate in isolation of each other, and often in competition with each other.

With the massive unemployment problem in the entire region and the less than startling development in all areas, urgent action to form some joint authority and to begin consultation must be undertaken. An encouraging sign that this might occur was indicated by the fact that one of the sponsors of the conference was the East London Municipality.

One hopes, though, that the proceedings will spur all authorities into immediate action although, for whatever short-term action is taken, the formal amalgamation of the Ciskei and the white corridor is inevitable.

There was, however, much unreality at the conference, underlined by Professor Page's talk of a harbour on the Ciskei coast linked by railway with the rest of the Ciskei. With an under-utilised East London harbour and Elizabeth harbour, this talk was the ultimate of nonsense.

Then, too, Chief Sebe was rightly confident that East London and King William's Town would eventually link with the Ciskei. But it was not a confidence carried through to the Ciskei problem statement which talked about "leakages" of money from the homeland and sharply criticised the Border industry concept on the grounds that it turned both Mdantsane and Zwelitsha into dormitory towns.

But, logically, if the East London-King William's Town complex is going to become part of the Ciskei, the Border industries will also, become part of the Ciskei and therefore will be vitally necessary for the territory. And any talk of leakages, which is a very popular concept among the apartheid ideologues these days, is totally irrelevant when the white corridor is discussed. The real "leakages" should be those out of the Ciskei-Border region.

Indeed, whatever reservations there are about the policies of separation — and its substantial limitations are as pertinent as ever — isn't it time that the Ciskei started developing goals as if the region were already reunited? After all, Chief Sebe is confident that it will be an increasing number of whites in the Border region are thinking similarly.

If the Ciskei, if possible together with other authorities in the region, started thinking in those terms, much of the unreality which did emerge at the conference, would begin to disappear. Someone should take the lead and who better, at this stage, than the Ciskei Government?

12/1/78  
105 M

# Chief warns on vote cheats

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The Ciskei's Minister of Interior, Chief L. Magoma, has reacted strongly to what he calls misinformation of people about registration of voters for the Ciskei general election

He said yesterday it had come to his attention certain politicians and other people were telling some Ciskeians suspension of registration had been withdrawn and that they should register as voters.

He said the misled people included youths who had just turned 18. Some of the misled people were even registered in some cases.

"I must make it quite clear the registration of voters will remain suspended until June 24, the day after the general election, and any registrations done in the meantime are done illegally."

He said both the registered person and the one who registered them would be prosecuted when found out.

"I must emphasise only those people who were registered as voters on August 11, 1977, will be allowed to vote."

He warned the Ciskeian Government would act "ruthlessly against those people who are misleading and misguiding our citizens."

(News by Charles Nqakula, Protea Building, Alexandra Road, King William's Town.)

e. 17/8 105

# Mtoba claims alliance is being hindered

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The Ciskei election was going to be the most unusual in the history of the homeland, placing obstacles before political parties other than the ruling party, Mr L. S. Mtoba, a candidate in the Zwelitsha constituency, said here yesterday.

He was reacting to the stopping by Ciskei police of an opposition alliance meeting at Mount Coke.

The police, who were commended by Mr Mtoba for their politeness, were led by a Lt Botha who said the meeting was illegal in terms of the Ciskei's emergency proclamation R252. The organisers had not procured from the district's magistrate the necessary permit.

Lt Botha, using the

stipulations of the proclamation, ordered people at the meeting to disperse, which was done orderly.

The organisers of the meeting had approached Chief B. Jali, under whose jurisdiction Mount Coke falls, and asked him for a permit to hold the meeting.

The chief issued the permit and on the strength of the document the organisers went ahead with the meeting.

Lt Botha explained, however, in terms of the relevant proclamation, that when 10 or more people come together to conduct a meeting they need a written permit from the magistrate of the district where the meeting is to be

held.

Mr Mtoba said: "It has become abundantly clear proclamation R252 is going to make the Ciskei election the most unusual in the history of the homeland, placing obstacles before political parties other than the ruling party."

Reacting to a similar observation by Mr Mtoba some time back, Chief Minister Lennox Sebe said the proclamation affected all the parties.

"My party must also apply for a permit in terms of the law to be able to hold meetings, which we always do to be on the safe side of the law." — DDR.

(News by Charles Ngakula, Protea Building, Alexandra Road, King William's Town.)



**MR MTOBA . . . "unusual election."**

# Seer 'finds' bones of great Chief

N.M. 20/5/78

105

CAPE TOWN — Chief Lent Maqoma from the Ciskei this week discovered the bones of his great-great-grandfather in an unmarked stony grave on Robben Island with the aid of a 63-year-old Xhosa seer from Transkei.

Now he is to demand that the British Government send a warship to South Africa to return the exhumed remains of Chief Maqoma, the right-hand son of the famous King Ngqika, because it was responsible for his imprisonment on the island.

The discovery of the bones on Thursday ended a four-year search by the Chief, who is a member of the Ciskei Cabinet and is acting Paramount Chief of the Karabes.

At a Press conference yesterday, Chief Maqoma said that the seer, Miss Charity Sonandi, who comes from Tsolo, had predicted beforehand that:

They would find two pieces of metal in the grave;

That the grave would be unmarked and away from most of the other graves on the island; and

That it would rain shortly after they had discovered it.

All these predictions had proved correct.

The pieces of metal turned out to be a form of shackle and shortly after midday on Thursday it began to rain in Cape Town.

As Miss Sonandi stood over the grave site, she shivered and said: "This is the Chief. Take him home."

Although she has been crippled in a car accident and had to be carried by two men to enter the Press conference, Miss Sonandi jumped and walked away from the grave.

Chief Maqoma, whose Jingqi tribe is named after his ancestor's favourite ox, said his great-great-grandfather was a great general who had been captured by the British in 1857.

He had died on Robben Island on September 9, 1873.

It is believed that he had been shot while trying to escape with the ox, Jingqi, and had been buried on the island.

"In those days, the aim of the conquerors was to destroy chieftainship. I believe that was why my great-great-grandfather was buried in an unnumbered grave so that he wasn't traceable," Chief Maqoma said.

After the body was exhumed, they discovered a hole in his left shoulder and he was convinced that this was the bullet hole that caused his death.

## Tribal chief's bones found

CAPE TOWN — Chief Lent Maqoma of the Ciskei discovered the bones of his great-great-grandfather in an unmarked stony grave on Robben Island this week with the aid of a 63-year-old Xhosa seer from Transkei.

Now the chief is to demand that the British Government send a warship to South Africa to return the exhumed remains of Chief Maqoma, the right-hand son of the famous King Ngqika, because it was responsible for his imprisonment on the island.

The discovery of the bones on Thursday ended a four-year search by Chief Maqoma, who is a member of the Ciskei Cabinet and is acting Paramount Chief of the Rarabes.

At a press conference yesterday, Chief Maqoma said the seer, Miss Charity Sonandi, of Tsolo, had predicted beforehand that they would find two pieces of metal in the grave, that the grave would be unmarked and away from most of the graves on the island and that it would rain shortly after they had discovered it.

All these predictions had proved correct. The pieces of metal turned out to be a form of shackle, and shortly after 12.25 pm on Thursday it began to rain in Cape Town.

As Miss Sonandi stood over the grave site, she shivered and said: "This is the chief. Take him home."

Although she is crippled from a car accident and had to be carried by two men to enter the press conference, Miss Sonandi had jumped up and walked away from the grave.

Chief Maqoma, whose Jingqi tribe is named after his ancestor's favourite ox, said his great-great-grandfather was a great general who had been captured by the British in 1857 during the Frontier Wars — "what used to be called the Kaffir Wars" — and had died on Robben Island on September 1873.

One school of thought believed he had been drowned and buried on Table Mountain, but he could find no trace of a grave there. The other school of thought, which had now been proved true, was that he had been shot while trying to escape with the ox, Jingqi, and had been buried on the island.

"In those days, the aim of the conquerors was to destroy chieftainship. I believe that was why my great-great-grandfather was buried in an unmarked grave so that he wasn't traceable," Chief Maqoma said.

After the body was exhumed, they discovered a hole in his left shoulder and he was convinced this was the bullet hole that caused his death.

After the grave had been discovered, Chief Maqoma said, he stood and prayed and cried "like a small child."

"It was such a precious day for me — it was more precious than gold," he said.

He would approach the British Government for a warship to transport the remains of the famous general because "they were responsible for his banishment and he died in their days" and they had decided to bury him in an unmarked grave.

"I want them to provide him with a warship to take these bones back to Maqoma's Kraal.

"Maqoma was a great general. I would like him to receive full military honours — something he was deprived of when he was buried. It is never too late to mend," he said.

The chief would approach the British ambassador as soon as he had reported back to his nation.

Last night, the Ambassador, Sir David Scott, said he would not make any comment until he had met the chief.

Meanwhile the bones have been stored in a traditional funeral blanket — called an mbalo — and covered with a white sheet. They have been placed in a funeral parlour "somewhere in Cape Town" — the venue is secret.

Chief Maqoma said Maqoma's Kraal, where the bones would be reburied with honour, was in the Balfour district in the Eastern Cape mountains. The district was scheduled to become part of the Ciskei, but it had "not yet" been transferred to the homeland and "there still have to be negotiations" about its consolidation into the Ciskei.

Chief Maqoma, who will return to the Ciskei by air tomorrow, said: "I will report to the chiefs and the Cabinet about all that has transpired. After that we will report to the nation at a big meeting in Zwelitsha."

Among the 16-member group that visited Robben Island were the Ciskei's Minister of Justice, Chief P. Z. Ziwani, Chief Hanana and the editor of the new Ciskei Government newspaper, Umthombo, Mr Ben Nomoyi.

In Cape Town today a thanksgiving service will be held at the Anglican church in Langa.

Chief Maqoma said some Rarabes had been settled in Transkei after the war of the axe during the last century, but they would be notified because "they are still our blood brothers." — DDR.



Acting Paramount Chief Lent Maqoma thanks the Minister of Plural Relations and Development Dr Connie Mulder, following the successful transfer of Chief Maqoma's great-great-grandfather's remains from Robben Island to Cape Town.

# Siyo: townships resented

105

PORT ELIZABETH — South African whites build a township and give it a beautiful name, yet inside people sleep on cement and at night they count the stars, Mr L. F. Siyo, told a large crowd at a Ciskei opposition alliance rally at Uitenhage.

He said many people cursed the present township, longing to go back to their old houses that were warm of love. "It's a different story with the Coloureds, they get the best of things compared to blacks."

Mr Siyo said black schoolchildren had boycotted Bantu Education and burnt down

houses and buildings. Some had died. Our honourable Ciskei leader said nothing.

When members of African Teachers' Association of South Africa met Mr M. C. Botha, then Minister of Bantu Affairs Administration and Development, Chief Sebe asked them why they had ignored him.

"Now he comes up with something unasked for. There will no longer be a Bantu Education certificate."

Mr Siyo also said Chief Sebe was the pioneer of the homeland citizen because as soon as Ciskei opted for independence there would no longer be

dual citizenship. 20/5/78

Mr A. Z. Lamani, the Victoria East candidate for the election, said citizenship was an act forced on people against their will.

"I will never carry a citizenship card. I am in Ciskei politics without being a citizen. This thing deprives your rights as South African citizens. I still want to be part of South Africa."

Mr Lamani said Chief Sebe had brought from his Pretoria home "the detestable detention act of Mr Kruger." — DDR.

News by George Lusc, 92 Maduka Street, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth).

'I crawled on my knees before she finally consented' Sun. Fr. b.

21/5/78

# SEER CRACKS RIDDLE OF OLD CHIEF'S BONES

(105)

Tribune Reporter

A WITCHDOCTOR ended a four-year search when she found the bones of a Ciskei Paramount Chief on Robben Island this week.

Now Chief Maqoma's bones may be taken to his final resting place in the homeland by a British warship.

The hunt was started by the chief's great-great-grandson Chief Lent Maqoma, who this week said that his ancestor was banished to Robben Island in 1857 where he was later shot by the British and buried in an unmarked grave.

Now he plans to ask the British Government for a battleship to transport the bones, which were exhumed and are now lying in state in the Cape Town area.

A spokesman for the British Embassy said that they were awaiting a meeting with Chief Maqoma before making arrangements to transport the remains.

But first Chief Maqoma will report to the Ciskei nation about his find and then make his formal request to the Embassy in South Africa.

He added that his ancestor was shot while trying to escape with his favourite ox, Jingqi.

Chief Maqoma said: "Maqoma was a great general. I would like him to receive military honours — something he was deprived of when he was buried. The wrong that was done then can still be put right."

Chief Maqoma said the British Government was responsible for Maqoma's banishment and he died as a political prisoner in British hands.

"But it is never too late to make amends," he said.

The seer who led Chief Maqoma to his ancestor's grave, was carried into the conference room in the H. F. Verwoerd building in Cape Town by two men.

She is a 63-year-old woman from Tsolo in Transkei who claims extraordinary powers in the detection of ancestral graves and the diagnosis of cancer and other diseases.

Chief Maqoma said that when he was installed as Paramount Chief of the Jingqi tribe — named after Maqoma's favourite ox — in 1974, he vowed he would not rest until he had found his ancestor's bones.

## Drowned

"We Xhosas believe that our ancestors become active when they are dead and watch over the family. I felt my chieftainship was baseless without his bones," Chief Maqoma said.

He said he had unsuccessfully followed a lead that Maqoma had drowned and his body buried somewhere on the mainland near the Table Mountain cable station.

Then he had been introduced to the seer, Miss Charity Sonandi, who had at first refused to help him.

"I then crawled on my knees before her and she finally consented," he said.

On Thursday, Chief Maqoma and his party were taken to Robben Island by officials of the Department of Plural Relations and Development after liaison with the Department of Prisons.

After finding that Maqoma's name did not

appear on any of the tombstones, the seer led them to an area where there were many graves marked only by piles of stones.

"At a certain place she told her driver to stop and asked to be taken to a certain grave. She removed her shoes and stood on the grave and after a few seconds moved to the next grave," Chief Maqoma said.

"Suddenly she jumped about two feet in the air and exclaimed: 'This is the chief — take him home' and she returned unaided to the car," he said.

"Then I went to stand at the grave myself and something happened which made me cry like a small child and my body trembled. I had no doubt at all that we had found Maqoma's bones."

"We then exhumed his bones and found with his body two pieces of iron which the seer had referred to earlier. We also found a small hole in his left shoulder blade. Gentlemen, I will leave you to draw your own conclusions."

Chief Maqoma said the seer had told him that after the bones were discovered rain would begin to fall. "And indeed the rain came," Chief Maqoma said.

The seer said that her powers to detect the dead had been recognised at the age of 10. She had been involved in the discovery of several other ancestral graves in Transkei and it was en route to one of these that she was involved in a serious car accident which leaves her disabled today.



Chief Lent Maqoma, Ciskeian Minister of the Interior, with seer, Miss Charity Sinandi of Tsolo

GENERAL FUND 1976  
Balance in hand - Jan 1277  
Church Dues 1351



# Involves blacks Siyo tells SA

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

— The Ciskei Opposition Alliance would not rest until South Africa became a common homeland for all her citizens in a non-racial situation, the party's leadership vowed yesterday.

"Time has come that Mr Vorster must convene a national convention to discuss the future of all South Africa's citizens," Mr L. F. Siyo, leader of the Labour Party, told a capacity crowd at the Zwelitsha hall.

"Time has come for the black man to be involved in the discussions about his future and time has come for him to be given opportunity to share in the wealth of this country."

"What we want now is equal opportunity in all facets of life in this country and equal share in what South Africa offers," he said.

He said the alliance rejected independence "because this concept does not fit in the black man's new ideology and modern thinking generally."

Mr L. S. Mtoba, an executive member of Chief J. T. Mabandla's Ciskei National Party, said a new era in the political history of South Africa had dawned, "a time which does not endorse discrimination on the basis of colour, race or creed".

"The establishment of the alliance was based on this new thinking, which makes our ideals sublime," he said.

Speakers slammed the Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, for not expediting consolidation of the Ciskei and for detaining people in terms of emergency regulations.

"Chief Sebe has lost huge tracts of land and gained nothing in compensation and has, instead, decided to detain innocent people," said Mr G. Cosa, a candidate in the Keiskammahoek constituency.

Mr Siyo said voters should not be afraid of Chief Sebe's group "as they are no longer the Government. The Government died on May 12," he said.

(News by C. Ngakula, Protea Buildings, Alexandra Road, King William's Town)

# H

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22/5/84 (65)  
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## Sebe wants UK to bury tribal chief

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — It would be a shameful act which would speak against her membership of the United Nations if Britain did not accede to the Ciskei Government request for a military funeral for Chief Maqoma, Chief Minister Lennox Sebe said last night.

He was speaking at a reception for Chief L. Maqoma, whose trip to Cape Town last week culminated in the exhumation from a Robben Island grave of the bones of his great-great-grandfather.

Chief Sebe said the Cabinet was going to meet this morning to launch negotiations with the British Government for the military funeral of Chief Maqoma, who died while under custody of the British Government.

"If justice and fair play still exist, Britain will have to accede to our request. They owe it to the Ciskei, their one time territory, which they called British Kaffraria.

"They raped our land and brought in settlers, and ever since we have been battling to undo the result of their unjustifiable actions, which robbed us not only of land but also of our freedom by

introducing restrictions like the carrying of passes," Chief Sebe said.

If Britain did not help in the matter "by transporting in a military ship the remains of our beloved ancestor for military reburial in the Ciskei, then they must keep quiet for ever." The Ciskei would seek an appropriate alternative, he added.

Chief Maqoma, who sounded emotionally strained, said he would give a full report at a meeting at the Zwelitsha hall on Wednesday on his discovery of his great-great-grandfather's grave. The meeting would start at 10 am.

"I want us to give thanks to the Lord, the God of the Ciskei for whom my soul is full of praise," he said, adding that the "gold" which had eluded his grasp for years was now available.

Chief Maqoma discovered the grave last week with the assistance of a seer who has played a major role in Chief Sebe's efforts of instilling nationalism in the Ciskei.

The seer, Ms Charity Sonandi of Tsolo, will also attend the Wednesday report back meeting. — DDP

# Independent Ciskei

STAR

## 'just won't work'

22/5/78

105

With talk that the Transkei lesson has shocked the Nationalist Government into seeking alternatives to its homeland policy, it should take a close look at the ideas which emerged at the recent Ciskei development conference.

In planners' jargon the delegates were a "multi-disciplinary" lot — academics of all persuasions, architects, industrialists, economists, planners, politicians, sociolo-

gists, civil servants and farmers.

From abroad the Israeli delegates brought to the conference their experiences in making deserts productive and helping developing African countries do the same. There were also economists from America, Britain and Germany.

It is beyond the scope of this article to even begin to summarise all that came out of the conference but the overriding conclusion was quite clear.

The Ciskei national unit, as envisaged by Nationalist policy, is totally inadequate and unworkable and could never stand on its own. It is inextricably bound to the economies of the white corridor from East London to Queenstown.

At the same time, the white corridor which is trapped between the Ciskei and Transkei cannot do without this homeland.

Thus the national development plan for the Ciskei as formulated by the Stellenbosch planning team under Professor Daniel Page was found by many to be hopelessly inadequate, short-sighted and outdated. Its most glaring weakness was that its planners were restricted to the narrow limits of separate development policy.

As one economist remarked afterwards: "Their problem is that they are obsessed with rationalising racial domination — they have to find economic theories and economic planning."

Ciskei's largest township, Mdantsane, which has a population of more than 200,000, cannot sustain itself. It is dependent on East London with a population of nearly 60,000 for employment and for its shopping requirements. It is a dormitory town.

Ciskei is inextricably bound up economically with the white corridor between East London and Queenstown, and needs them as much as they need Ciskei. The Star's Untata correspondent reports on a recent Ciskei development think-in.

East London, meanwhile, is totally dependent on Mdantsane. If Mdantsane were to become self-sustaining, East London's commercial and industrial sectors would grind to a halt.

In the words of an Afrikaans-speaking East London businessman, Mr J. Steyn, "we could endeavour to stay white and become ghost towns or we could join the Ciskei."

The amalgamation of the Ciskei with the white corridor would require a far-reaching change to Nationalist policy. The entire white corridor could hardly be declared black because in terms of policy all whites would have to be given the option of being bought out by the Government.

The South African Government would have

to buy out the 60,000 whites in East London, plus their businesses and industries, as well as those in King William's Town, Stutterheim, Queenstown, Komga and all the hundreds of farms in between. The obvious alternative is to amalgamate the two areas into some sort of federal or confederal state. Many delegates and the chief ministers of the Ciskei and Gazankulu, Chief Lennox Sebe and Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, made a strong plea for this type of solution.

This proposed solution to the Ciskei-border issue could go a long way toward solving the area's problems. For instance, the economy of East London, the hub of the whole area, has been in the doldrums for years and is getting worse.

The city has spent millions of rands to build an industrial complex infrastructure at Berlin, most of which still stands forlornly empty after six years.

The kiss of death, although not realised at the time, came when East London was identified with the border industries plan. The plan flopped hopelessly, and industries are now decentralising directly into the homelands.

So East London lost out but if it merged with the Ciskei, it could again become a prime attraction for decentralising industrialists.

## Background

THE Ciskei national unit, as envisaged by Nationalist policy, is totally inadequate and unworkable, and could never stand on its own.

This was one of the submissions made at the recent Ciskei development conference, attended by more than 200 delegates.

If the Transkei lesson has shocked the Government into seeking alternatives to its homeland policy, it should take a close look at the ideas which emerged at the conference.

In planners' jargon the delegates were a multi-disciplinary lot — academics of all persuasions, architects, industrialists, economists, planners, politicians, sociologists, civil servants and farmers. You name it, they were there.

From abroad the Israeli delegates brought to the conference their experience in making deserts productive and helping developing African countries do the same. There were also economists from America, Britain and Germany.

Ideas which emerged from the prepared papers and the off the cuff contributions from the floor were thought-provoking.

The overriding conclusion was quite clear.

The Ciskei national unit, as envisaged by Nationalist policy is totally inadequate and unworkable and could never stand on its own. It is inextricably bound to the economies of the white corridor from East London to Queenstown. At the same time the white corridor which is trapped between the Ciskei and Transkei cannot do without this homeland.

The plan's most glaring weakness was that its planners were restricted to the narrow limits of separate development policy.

Ciskei's largest township, Mdantsane, has a population of over 200 000. As large as it is, Mdantsane cannot sustain itself. It is dependent on East London with a population of nearly 60 000 for em-

# Ciskei plan won't work

ARGUS  
22/5/78  
105

BY THE ARGUS CORRESPONDENT  
IN UMTATA

ployment and for its shopping requirements. It is a dormitory town.

East London, meanwhile, is totally dependent on Mdantsane. If Mdantsane were to become self-sustaining East London's commercial and industrial sectors would grind to a halt.

In the words of one of the speakers, an Afrikaans-speaking East London businessman, Mr J Steyn: 'We could endeavour to stay white and become ghost towns or we could join the Ciskei.'

The amalgamation of the Ciskei with the white corridor would require a far-reaching change to Nationalist policy. The entire white corridor could hardly be declared black because in terms of policy all whites would have to be given the option of being bought out by the Government.

In the first place the South African Government could not afford it. As it is, it is having a tough time paying out the farmers whose land has been taken to consolidate the Ciskei, and there are still many more farms to be bought out before the Ciskei is consolidated, as promised by the Central Government.

The South African Government would have

to buy out the 60 000 whites in East London plus their businesses and industries, as well as those in King William's Town, Stutterheim, Queenstown, Komga and all the hundreds of farms in between.

The obvious alternative is to amalgamate the two areas into some sort of federal or confederal state as many delegates, both the Chief Minister of the Ciskei and Gazankulu, Chief Lennox Sebe and Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi made a strong plea for this type of solution.

This proposed solution to the Ciskei-Border issue could go a long way toward solving the area's problems. For instance the economy of East London, the hub of the whole area, has been in the doldrums for years and is getting worse.

The kiss of death, although not realised at the time, came when East London was identified with the border industries plan. This plan flopped hopelessly and industries are now decentralising directly into the homelands.

So East London lost out but if it merged with the Ciskei it could again become a prime attraction for decentralising industrialists.

House 16 24 May 1978.  
 Question 7. Col. 810.

105

Claim to additional areas of land to be incorporated into Ciskei

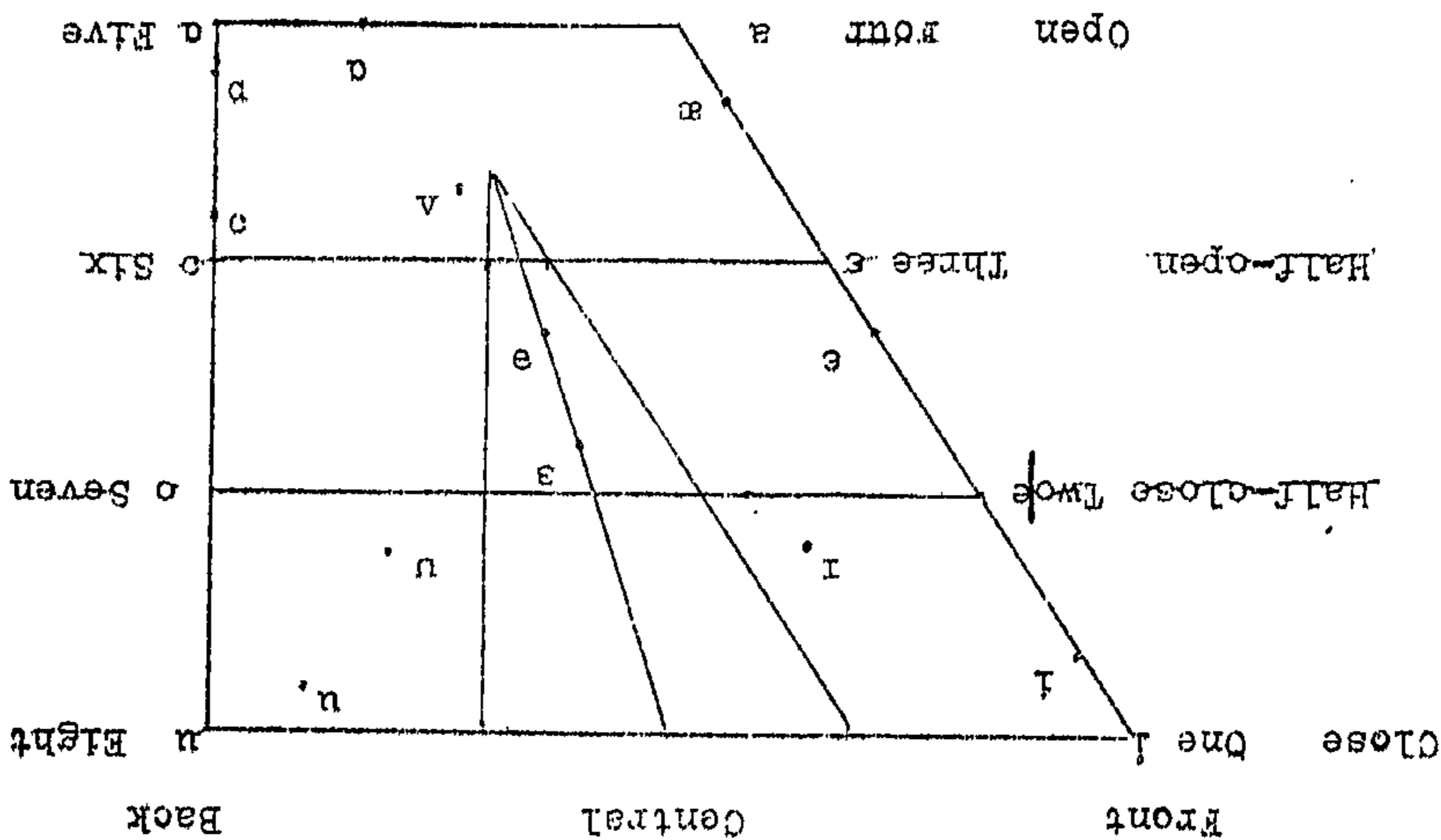
\*7 Mr R. A. F. SWART asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development

Whether the Chief Minister of the Ciskei has at any time laid claim to additional areas of land to be incorporated into the Ciskei; if so, (a) what are the areas to which claim is laid and (b) what was the reply to these claims.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.



A diagrammatic representation of the approximate tongue positions of average Standard English vowels compared with the tongue positions of the cardinal vowels.

PHONETICS

24/5/78 M (105)

**EAST LONDON —** The most important factor in the public's image of a policeman was his performance, the Commissioner of Police, Gen Prinsloo, said yesterday.

Gen Prinsloo, who retires on May 31, was speaking at his last public function when he handed over the Mdantsane police station to the Ciskei Government yesterday.

Present at the ceremony were the Ciskeian Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, Ciskeian Cabinet ministers, the mayors of

# Final function for police chief

Mdantsane, East London and Zwelitsha and high ranking police officers.

"I have so much faith and trust in the Government, people and police of Ciskei, I have no doubt we were doing the right thing," said Gen Prinsloo.

He said the stability of a country in modern times

depended to a large extent on the quality of its police force.

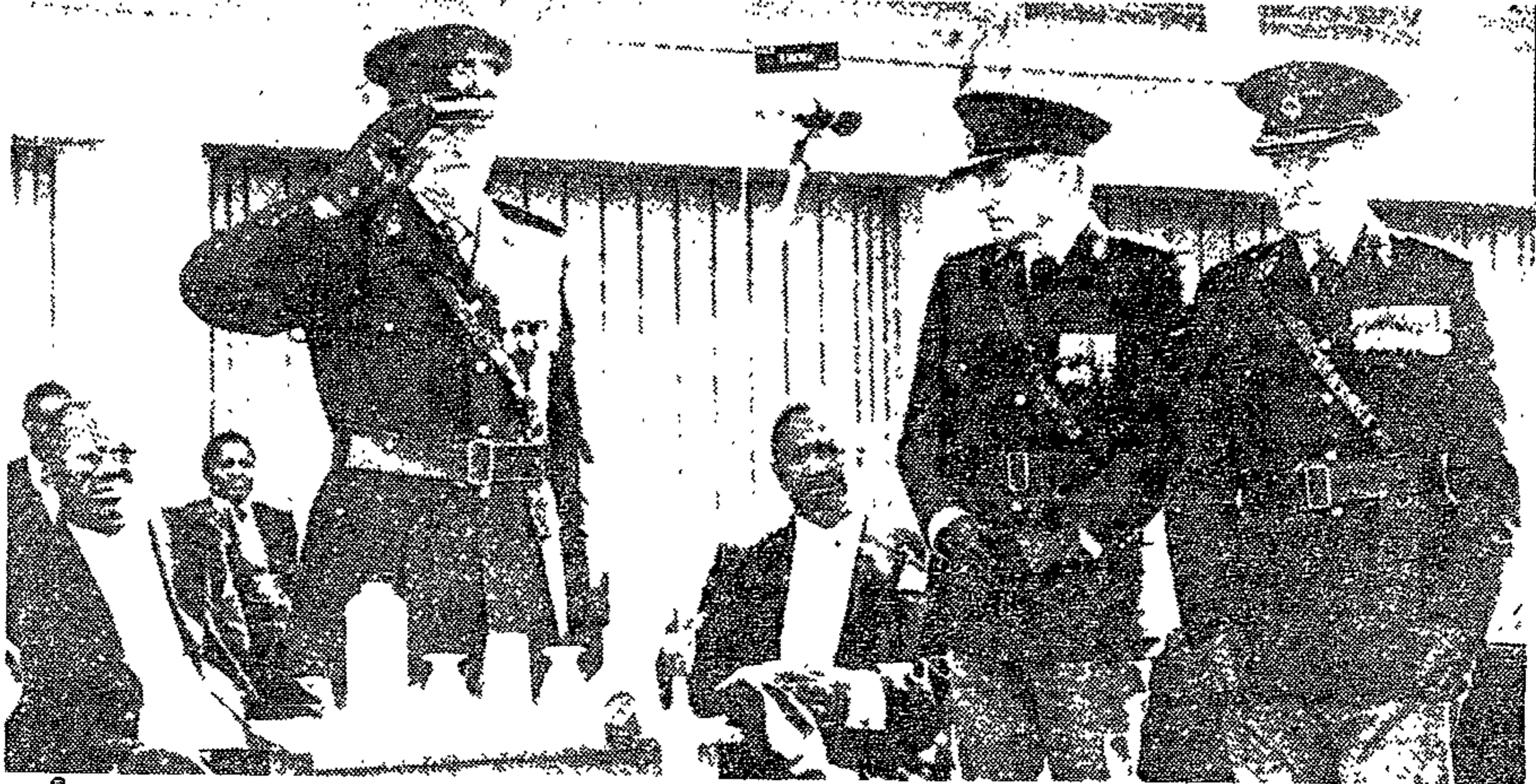
Not only did the police have to carry out their task properly but it was imperative the public appreciated the role the police had to play.

Chief Sebe paid tribute to Gen Prinsloo saying he had already been appointed a chief councillor

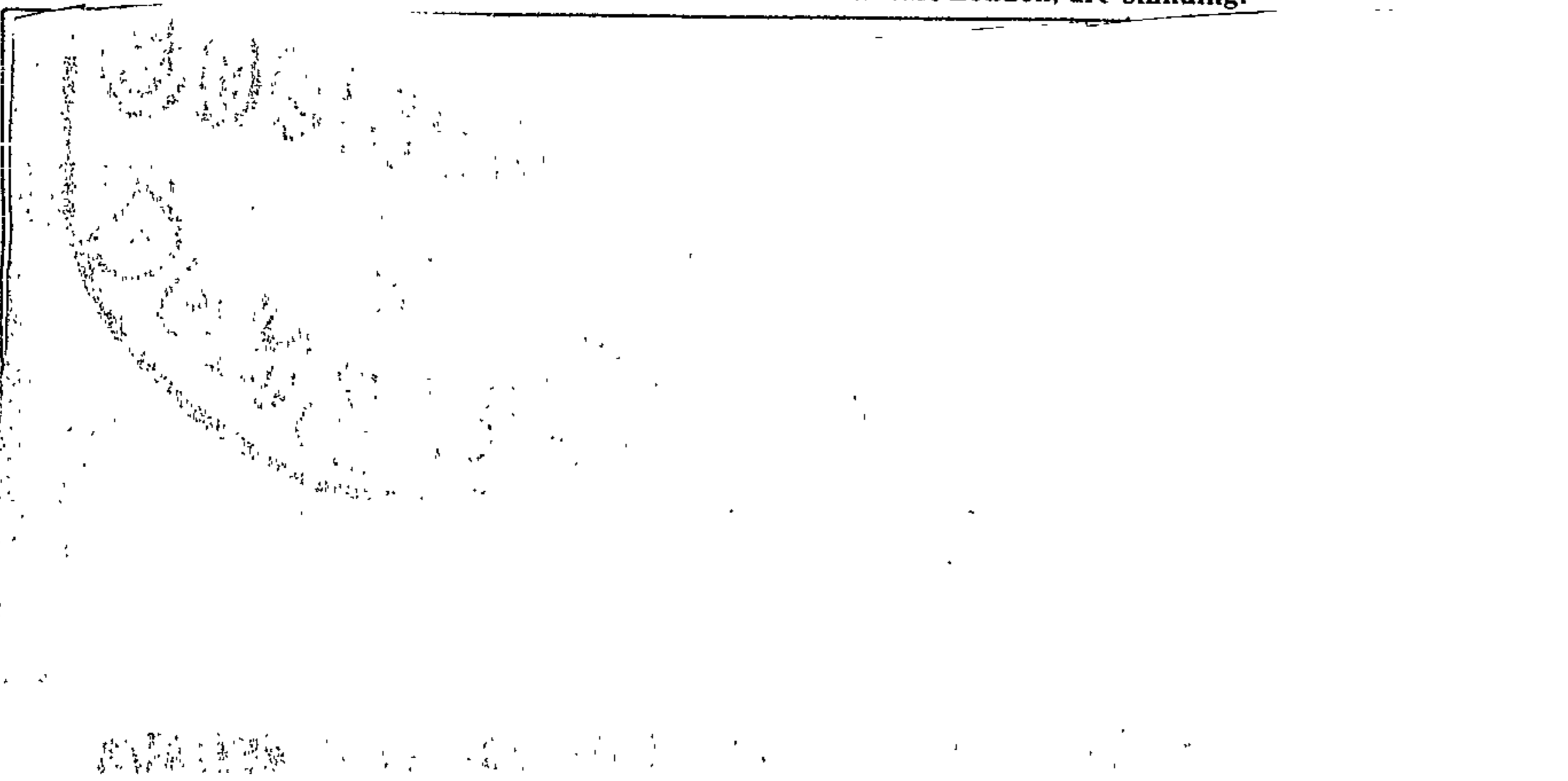
of the Ciskei and it was largely due to the general's efforts that the Mdantsane station had been handed over to the Ciskei.

"When schools were burning and riots were the order of the day, we knew who to go to.

"We knew the man who could shoulder the type of burden which we were going to place upon him, and the peace and order which reigns in the Ciskei today can be directly attributed to the actions of this man," Chief Sebe said of Gen Prinsloo. — DDR.



The Commissioner of Police, Gen Prinsloo, takes his last salute at a public function — he retires on May 31. He is seen at the handing over of Mdantsane police station to the Ciskei. Flanking him are the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, left, and the Minister of the Interior, Acting Paramount Chief L. Magoma, Gen F. L. C. Engels and Brig P. J. Smal, the Divisional Commissioner in East London, are standing.



# Foil critics — Sebe

**EAST LONDON** — The success of the Ciskei police in Mdantsane depended not on the station building but on the men in the force, the Ciskeian Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, said yesterday.

Speaking at the handing over of the Mdantsane police station to the Ciskei Government, he said whenever a black government took over a responsibility there were those who watched with a critical eye.

"There are many people who do not believe a black man can execute a task as efficiently as a white man can and those

critics would rejoice if they saw us fail.

"As a result, a great responsibility rests on every policeman at this station to prove those critics wrong," Chief Sebe said.

There was only one way this could be done and this was if every man approached his responsibilities with self-discipline, he said.

The men at Mdantsane were pioneers. "If they fail, we all fail." But Chief Sebe said he saw no reason why the men should not rise to the challenges before them. — DDR.

# Sebe lashes Saso, BPC

**MDANTSANE** — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, yesterday delivered a blistering attack on black consciousness in South Africa, accusing its followers of racism and arson.

It was the deeds, and not words, of the now-banned South African Students' Organisation and Black Peoples' Convention that would be judged by Ciskeians, he said.

He also warned whites seconded to the Ciskei Government to avoid racialism and treat blacks as equals.

Speaking at the official handing over of the Mdantsane police station to the Ciskei Government, Chief Sebe said problems in Mdantsane were mainly caused by the black consciousness movement and would not be solved overnight.

"Many of the elements which support that organisation are still abroad and would like to see the last school at Mdantsane burnt to the ground," Chief Sebe said.

He claimed there was a substantial swing away from the movement and said he relied on the "good sense" of the Ciskeian people to condemn it because of its deeds.

"The only fruits which

Saso has to show are several hundred burnt schools, several hundred dead school children and many, many homeless people.

"I ask you, this organisation which calls itself black consciousness, what is it in fact consciousness of? Is it consciousness of my peoples' needs for schooling? If so does it solve that problem by burning schools?" asked Chief Sebe.

He also asked if the black consciousness movement knew about the injustices inflicted on his people by the white man.

"If so does it solve those problems by pushing tiny children into the firing-line to be slaughtered while it safely skulks in a corner somewhere else."

His Government had done more to cure racial injustices than Saso would ever do, Chief Sebe said.

"I do not believe that freedom is worth having if it must be bought at the cost of thousands of slaughtered and trampled bodies of dead schoolchildren and burnt

school buildings.

"But believe me, I will achieve that freedom and will fight the fight as it has to be fought in a way which will bring about less bitterness and more meaningful change," he said.

Chief Sebe said black consciousness was nothing more than "apartheid in reverse."

He said it did not seek to achieve equality between black and white, but separation in that it stressed no white man could ever become a part of that organisation.

"My aspirations are to achieve a home, respect and dignity for the black man in his own traditional homeland, the Ciskei.

"If there are white men who have something to contribute and eventually wish to join us and if they are prepared to become Xhosas and Ciskeians, we will welcome them," said Chief Sebe.

He said he expected whites allocated to Ciskei to throw in their lot with Ciskei. — DDR

24/5/78 DD (105)

# Row looms over water for Ciskei

**CAPE TOWN — South Africa first. That's the message to the Ciskei over water from the Orange River scheme.**

The Minister of Water Affairs, Mr Braam Raubenheimer, made it clear yesterday that the South African Government would have to look at South Africa's needs for water from the Orange River scheme before it could make any available for the development of the Ciskei.

And last night the Chief Minister of Ciskei, Chief Sebe, said his Government would not accept the controversial proposed town at Glenmore unless Orange River water was forthcoming.

"No water no Glenmore. It's as simple as that.

"I won't have my people dumped there without water. It would be another Dimbaza," Chief Sebe said.

Speaking in Parliament during the standing com-

mittee debate on his vote, Mr Raubenheimer did not specifically rule out the possibility of Orange River water being used in the Ciskei, but his remarks made it unlikely.

If no water was available, the Ciskei's much praised agricultural development scheme at Tyefu on the Fish River could not go into its second phase, Chief Sebe said last night.

This phase would provide an answer to much of the unemployment in that area.

Mr Raubenheimer's comments were in answer to a question from the chief opposition spokesman on water affairs, Mr Rupert Lorimer, who asked whether it could be possible for the Government to supply the Ciskei with water from the Orange River scheme.

He pointed out that the Ciskei had said it would be "impossible to carry out any meaningful agricultural development in that area unless they have water from the scheme."

Mr Lorimer said he wanted to make a plea: "If we are earnest about developing the potential of our homelands — I think we are all well aware of the inefficiency of much of the peasant farming we see in many of our homeland areas — the department should give the necessary encouragement to schemes of this nature which are praiseworthy and which are designed to get away from incompetent peasant farming operations."

He had not seen the Tyefu scheme, but had visited the Keiskammahoek irrigation scheme which he found impressive in that homeland farming land was being used effectively.

Mr Raubenheimer said he preferred not to give a detailed reply, but the position was that it was Orange River water and that the Ciskei didn't border on the Orange River.

"The farmers in that

area are now trying to get a scheme together with the Ciskei so that they can get the benefits, but we will have to review this whole situation to see where the water can be used most advantageously," he said.

He agreed with Mr Lorimer that the homelands had to be developed, but said he would not like to express a view on whether the Orange River water could be effectively used there.

"I can tell him today that this is expensive water. We have no much use for that water and the Ciskei has its own water.

"We will have to look to our own needs before we can make our Orange River water available for the development of the Ciskei. The water will then be so expensive it will probably have to be used for industrial or other development," Mr Raubenheimer said.

If the Ciskei does not get water from the Orange River scheme it will be a severe blow to the homeland government's plans for development and it could exacerbate its relations with the South African Government.

DDR-PC



No move

on tribal

bones

CAPE TOWN — Acting Paramount Chief Lent Maqoma, the Ciskeian Cabinet Minister who wants a British warship to carry the remains of an ancestor from his grave on Robben Island to the Ciskei, has not yet made an official approach to the British Ambassador yet.

This was confirmed here yesterday by a spokesman for the British Embassy.

The remains, those of Chief Maqoma's great-great-grandfather who was a tribal general during the frontier wars and died as a prisoner on Robben Island in 1873, were discovered last week after a four-year search.

The grave was pinpointed by a woman seer. Chief Maqoma told reporters.

He wants Britain to provide a warship to take the old warrior's bones back to Maqoma's Kraal for a military burial.

Chief Maqoma was not available for comment yesterday. — DDC.

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Answered 16 26 May 1978  
Question 12 Col. 830

International Conference on Ciskei  
Development

\*12 Mr. R. J. LORIMER asked the  
Minister of Plural Relations and Develop-  
ment:

Whether the recent International Confer-  
ence on Ciskei Development was attended  
by him or the Secretary for his Department;  
if not, why not.

THE MINISTER OF PLURAL RELA-  
TIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

No. As the Secretary of my Department  
and I had other commitments neither of us  
could attend the conference and competent  
officials of my Department were delegated  
to represent us.

Mr R. J. LORIMER: Mr. Speaker, arising  
out of the reply given by the hon. the  
Minister, does he not regard the conference as  
important enough at least to delegate one of  
his Deputy Ministers to attend it?

THE MINISTER: Mr. Speaker, I have  
already replied to the question.

Mr. R. J. LORIMER: That is no reply at  
all!

105

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26/5/78

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# Bones that tell a story

If I had read it from a fairy-tale book it would have made fascinating reading.

But it was more interesting because it was being told by a living person and there were others to bear witness to what was being said.

The scene was the Zweitssha Communal Hall on Wednesday night.

Hundreds of people, mainly women sang revival songs and the man on the stage was recalling the heroic deeds of "our forefathers", interspersing his talk with some fine anecdotes from the Bible.

Occasionally another man would sing: "Joyinani, Joyinani maddodana, ixesha lifikile." Women and men joined in and the speaker

joined in the singing.

It was hard to say whether the song was sung the way I heard it in the old days of the ANC and PAC. The atmosphere was almost electric.

I went backstage and found five priests from the Anglican, Methodist, Order of Ethiopia and Assemblies of God churches getting ready for the communion service which was part of the thanksgiving service for the finding of the bones of Chief Jong'umsobomvu Magoma on Robben Island. History tells he died on the island 105

years ago.

Key people in the service were a seer from Tsolo, Transkei, Miss Charity Sonandi, the Ciskei Cabinet, Mr L. M. Fani, Member for Victoria East in the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, and Rev M. B. Zanisi, Chaplain to the Acting Paramount Chief of the Karabes, Chief L. W. Magoma, who has worked hard for four years trying to find the bones.

We were told by Mr Fani that the search had ended its first course at Sea Point in 1976.

There had been two stories about the death of



The Leslie Xinwa column

Chief Jong'umsobomvu, right hand son of Chief Ngqika, and the first child he got.

One was that he had been drowned while trying to escape from Robben Island and his body had been found at Sea Point and buried there. Chief

Magoma had been there in 1976 and established all the old graves there either belonged to Indians or Moslems.

The second theory was that Magoma had tried to escape from Robben Island with his ox, Jhngqi, after whom his tribe amaJingqi, has been named. How the ox got to the island when Magoma was imprisoned no one seems to have bothered to find out but knowing the British they could have allowed him one luxury as a political prisoner.

It was on this theory that the seer was taken and found what those who

worked on this mission are certain are the bones of Magoma.

But taking all other aspects aside, from a historical or even archaeological view, the find is fascinating and could lead to the start of the rewriting of South African history (which in many instances needs to be rewritten anyway to get matters in perspective) and should be a fine starting point to retracing some of the theories that are accepted as "facts" on what happened in the Cape during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Even if one did not believe the seer one was faced with several questions of how she could have predicted so many things to have

happened the way they did.

There is the question of having found the grave where there was nothing to indicate there were any graves. She said there would be shackles on the chief's wrists and ankles and they were found. She said there would be a shower as soon as they got to the right spot and there was a slight shower which stopped a few minutes later.

But apart from her abilities as a seer I was more than impressed with her as a speaker and I thought she could have made a lasting impression in the theatre world with her clipped and clear speaking — not to mention how she seemed to cut off any loose ends in what she said.

(105) 3/5/78

# Mabandla: Sebe riot remark reckless

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
 — The leader of the opposition Ciskei National Party, Chief J. T. Mabandla, has described allegations by Chief Minister L. L. Sebe, that the opposition was irresponsible and inciting children to riot, as careless and reckless.

"Nothing can be further from the truth than this allegation," said Chief Mabandla.

Chief Sebe recently described the opposition in the Ciskei as irresponsible saying the best definition of an opposition he knew was that it was a government-in-waiting.

"If it is a government-in-waiting you would then expect it to be responsible on national issues which benefit the people. But here, we do not have a responsible opposition. They are spoilers," he said.

Chief Mabandla said: "These are careless and reckless utterances which are not going to help Chief Sebe, but destroy him and his lot."

Members of the opposition were parents of school-going children and had, on occasion, gone out of their way to protect property and schools from destruction and arson.

"The simple truth is that our children are intelligent enough to know what is right and what is wrong, what is good and what is bad. They know the difference between fair and unfair," Chief Mabandla said.

He said children did not like banishments and detentions, whether by the South African whites "or by the black Ciskei Government."

"Our children do not want Bantu Education and the Ciskei Opposition

Alliance, as their parents, rejects this system of education and if Chief Sebe merely assures them of the change of name, they are not impressed. Instead they feel cheated and so do we."

Children did not want reference books, which the alliance also rejected, and could not be impressed when Chief Sebe said the documents were to be replaced with travelling documents "which are another set of papers to be carried and produced on demand."

He said the allegations by Chief Sebe were natural and he expected them of a man who had his back against the wall.

"But, we have a message for him. The Ciskei will have another Chief Minister after the election," he said.

(News by Charles Nqakula, Protea Building, Alexandra Road, King William's Town).

# Ciskei children barred

31/5/78 (105) AL

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Children below the age of 18 will not be allowed to

attend public meetings at Mdantsane, according to a statement yesterday by the Mdantsane Chief Magistrate.

"School children and juveniles below the age of 18 will be debarred from attending meetings or actively participating in the organising or advertising of intended meetings," he said in a statement.

The magistrate said the conditions had been laid down because certain factors connected with the holding of public meetings at Mdantsane were considered not conducive to the preservation of law

and order.

The factors were not explained but applications for permits to hold meetings will have to contain the names of the speakers and only they would legally be entitled to address the meetings.

The use of public address systems to advertise meetings has also been prohibited.

People who violated the conditions would in future not be given permits to hold further meetings, the statement added.

(News by Charles Ngakula, Protea Building, Alexandra Road, King William's Town).

# Ciskei gets new paper

DD  
31/5/78  
105

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — A Ciskei newspaper, which was budgeted for in 1976 but never got off the ground, will be on sale on Tuesday.

The editor of Umthombo (meaning fountain), Mr. Ben Nomoyi, 38, of Port Elizabeth will hand over the first copy off the presses to Chief Minister L. L. Sebe at a cocktail party to launch the paper on Monday evening.

Several journalists have been invited to the party, which will also be attended by the Ciskei Cabinet.

The paper will be a 12-page tabloid and will be published monthly.

Chief Sebe said yesterday it would give the factual situation of the Ciskei.

"The paper has been established because we feel the Government has an obligation to keep its people informed about developments and give them an opportunity to assess and evaluate standards attained," he said.

Lack of communication had led to many difficulties elsewhere in the world and he did not want the Ciskei to be caught in

the same situation.

"We would also like people to give us their own views on what is happening in the Ciskei."

The paper would lay much emphasis on development "in its widest sense" as well as culture "which are a strong base on which the Ciskei stands."

"I also hope the paper will spread out and comment on national issues bound to affect the Ciskei as it is dove-tailed into the perimeter of the international situation," Chief Sebe said.

Mr. Nomoyi was educated at Newell High School, New Brighton. Inspired by Alan Paton's Sponono, a dramatic production, in 1963, he took to the theatre and wrote his successful Zenzile, a musical play which had a two-year run in Johannesburg.

He wrote the script for the film, Inkedama. He has also done work as a film director.

He is married to a nursing sister, Ntutu, who is Chief L. Magoma's daughter. They have one child, 18-month-old Vuyiswa. — DDR.

9/5/28 AS  
105

# Candidate wants poll scrapped

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A leading member of the Ciskei opposition alliance has called on the Ciskei Government to call off the coming elections.**

Mr H. H. Mledle, who is also a candidate in the Zwelitsha constituency, said here yesterday: "The incidents preceding the election do not bode well for a healthy election contest."

He said the alliance could ill afford to be involved in an election when one of their best campaigners, Mr A. Z. Lamani, was in detention.

"How can an election be conducted under such conditions? It must rather be called off."

The Acting Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Acting Paramount Chief L. W. Magoma, has denied the Ciskei Government intends detaining Mr L. F. Siyo, who has gone into hiding, in terms of the Government's emergency regulations.

"This is all a big lie

designed to discredit the Government," he said. "We want Mr Siyo free because we would like to crush him at the polls. To us, he is a small fry politically."

He reiterated Chief Minister L. L. Sebe's remarks that the emergency proclamation was intended to keep check on lawless elements who wanted to disrupt law and order in the homeland.

"Opposition politicians should not fear these regulations. There is nothing we fear from them and lies will not improve their chances with the electorate."

"You must also remember if we were to put Mr Siyo or any of his colleagues in jail, we would be making them big. They are not big and

are definitely no threat to us in terms of the election."

Chief Magoma said the Ciskei Government had nothing to do with Mr Lamani's detention.

"But if the Ciskei Government had wanted at any time to detain him in terms of the emergency regulations, it would have done so because he visits the Ciskei often and addresses meetings. But we want him free to contest this election so that we can let the power of the people crush him at the polls."

Uncorroborated information yesterday said Mr Siyo was either on his way to Cape Town, or had already reached his destination.

(News by Charles Nqakula, Protea Building, Alexandra Road, King William's Town.)

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X FM 12/5/78  
LEYLAND MERGER

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# Within three months?

At last the silence surrounding Leyland's future in SA has been broken. The company is negotiating with three manufacturers, MD Peter Murrough tells the *FM*.

He won't name them, but both Leyland and Sigma have admitted that they're talking. Who the others are is anybody's guess.

An agreement in principle could be out within three months "but time is not critical," Murrough adds. Changes arising from any rationalisation agreement, however, should be completed by the time Phase V of the local content programme becomes operative on January 1, 1980. "This in itself is a fairly limited time, bearing in mind the complexities of the motor industry," says Murrough.

British Leyland disclosed last Friday in its annual report that £17.1m (R27.1m) has been provided as an extraordinary item for the estimated losses which could arise if direct involvement in car manufacture is discontinued in SA.

### Shrewd accounting

"By doing so," explains Murrough, "the parent company has taken the worst possible view - that is, the closing down of our plant at Blackheath. The provision is the value of current and fixed assets. It's simply shrewd accounting."

There is no provision for closing the Elsie's River plant, the centre of Leyland's profitable truck and bus and tractor operation.

Murrough stresses that there is no definite plan to close Blackheath. It is one of a number of possibilities borne in mind by British Leyland in view of the past profit performance of its SA car operations. "Trucks and buses have been very profitable, but cars have been a burden."

The current negotiations with the three manufacturers differ:

- It's possible that one might take over Leyland's car operations altogether, moving manufacture and assembly to its own plant.
- Another might negotiate a franchise to make Leyland's car range - even part of the range.
- On the other hand, one can't rule out the possibility that one of the negotiating manufacturers might want the entire Leyland operation, including trucks and buses. Murrough admits: "There's a possibility that trucks and buses might be included, but that's low down the list of priorities."

Murrough points out that the car division's performance has been radically

improved by the launch of the new Rover. "We've now got a car selling extremely well. The order book is a third higher than our most optimistic forecasts."

This could help take British Leyland's corporate mind off taking a "worst possible view" - but it's more likely to simply strengthen Leyland SA's negotiating position.

Murrough has written to dealers and



Leyland MD Peter Murrough... steering an uncharted course

staff saying that in all negotiations there are two paramount factors: The position of staff and that of the dealer body.

As far as dealers are concerned, however, he admits that some may end up with a "different mix" - and some may even fall by the wayside.

In general, Murrough reckons that a considerable number of rationalisation moves could take place in the motor industry this year and he is a little chagrined that so much attention has been focussed on Leyland.

"This year you're going to see some remarkable moves - some that are quite unexpected!" is his cryptic conclusion. ✓

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DD 26/5/78

# Sebe defines his own black consciousness

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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Ciskei Chief Minister  
Lennox Sebe said last  
night his concept of black  
consciousness did not in-  
clude the killing of people,  
burning of buildings or  
terrorising of school-  
children.

Speaking at the roof-  
wetting ceremony of the  
Khambashe Community  
Centre at Welcomewood,  
he said:

"I am aware of the fact  
that my people have black  
skins and am conscious of  
the fact that because of  
their blackness they tend  
to be regarded as second  
class citizens.

"I object to this treat-  
ment as much as any black  
consciousness leader  
does."

His consciousness as a  
black man, however, went  
beyond those things by  
looking at the suffering of  
his people and seeking  
means by which such suf-  
ferings could be relieved.

"My concept of black  
consciousness is a con-  
sciousness of the things  
that need doing and a con-  
sciousness of the ways in  
which these things can be  
done.

"It does not include the  
burning of buildings and  
the terrorising of school-  
children. It rather in-  
cludes the erection of  
buildings and the im-  
provement of school  
facilities in the Ciskei."

His concept of black  
consciousness did not in-  
clude the killing of people,  
but the taking of positive  
steps to uplift them and  
encourage them to uplift  
themselves.

The building of the  
Khambashe Community  
Centre has been financed  
by the Anglo American  
Corporation at a cost of  
R80 000.

The Madlankomo family  
have donated a portion of  
their farm, adjacent to the  
plot where the centre is

being built, to the Ciskei  
for erection of a guest  
house and a clinic.

The Government has  
already made plans for the  
building of the two in-  
stitutions.

The guest house will  
enable the Government to  
receive VIPs in the  
traditional Xhosa fashion.

Chief Sebe said the  
centre would be a venue  
for future adult education  
in agricultural and other  
fields as well as a meeting  
place for women's  
associations, agricultural  
societies and traditional  
councils.

He said the centre was a  
monument not only to  
black consciousness, but  
also to white con-  
sciousness — "a monu-  
ment to the consciousness  
of white and black and  
their feeling for the  
under-privileged people in  
the area." — DDC.

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# Mulder: Thornhill settlement final

CAPE TOWN — The settlement of Transkei refugees at Thornhill and adjacent areas in the Ciskei has, as far as the Department of Plural Relations is concerned, been finalised.

This was disclosed yesterday by the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, when he replied to a question tabled by Mr Rupert Lorimer (FFP, Orange Grove).

The Minister refused to

give any other details because the area concerned fell under the control of the Ciskei Government which did not want to furnish the information required by Mr Lorimer.

Mr Lorimer wanted to know whether Transkeians were still being settled in Thornhill and adjoining areas, and if this was the case, he wanted to know how many had settled there.

Dr Mulder said: "As far as my department is concerned the settlement action has been finalised."

However, Mr Lorimer said afterwards he found the Minister's answer "extraordinary" because he could not believe that "the matter of immigration to what is still South Africa fell under the control of the Ciskei Government."

He said he would go into the issue personally with the Ciskei Government and would raise it again in Parliament. — PC.

HOMELAND CISKEI

1 JUNE 78 — 29 NOV 78

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Natal Mercury 1/6/78

# Sebe's threat to White town

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Whites could have King William's Town but the Ciskei Government could, at any given moment, strangle the town to death economically by influencing the withdrawal of the buying power of the Ciskeians.

This was made clear by Chief Minister L. L. Sebe, who was addressing about 3,000 followers at the Zwellitsha Hall.

He was commenting on the statement this week by the King William's Town municipality that Dr. F. Hartzenberg, deputy minister of Plural Relations and Development, had pledged the town would remain White.

Dr. Hartzenberg said the Government was not considering the incorporation of the town into the Ciskei or acceding to Chief Sebe's claims by abolishing the White corridor and including the land in question into the Ciskei.

"I am not impressed by Dr. Hartzenberg's assurances to the King William's Town Whites. They can have King William's Town, but the Ciskei Government can at any given moment influence the withdrawal of the Ciskeians' buying power from the area and strangle it to death economically," said Chief Sebe.

He added the Ciskei Government alone was spending about R144 million annually in the town in purchases which included building materials and other items.

# NEWS

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
 The removal of blacks from the "black spots" around Moomplias would not be effected during their lifetime, the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, remonstrated.

He told a large gathering of his followers at Zwelitsha near here he was keenly watching the South African Government's next step in its programme regarding the Moomplias area.

"But, whatever that Government does will not include the removal of our people from their land. Their removal will never be effected during our lifetime," he said.

He said claims by South African white politicians were political stunts. His Government's stand on the Moomplias issue was motivated by nationalist sentiment.

"That area is dear to us. It is our shrine which we will never ever give up no matter what the consequences."

The Minister of Plural

relations, Mr. Stutterheim, recently told Parliament the South African Government would not allow the "black spots" around Moomplias to be incorporated into the Ciskei.

His remarks were supported by Mr. J. Jordaan, MP for Gqomatama East, who said in March the Government was proceeding with a plan to buy the spots, including Moomplias.

Mr. Jordaan said at an election meeting last year he would work for the removal of the black spots.

The head of the Ciskeians, around Kwelera, Chief D. M. Jongilanga, Ciskei's Education Minister, is one of the most militant opponents of the removal of blacks from the area.

He has said the sacred burial grounds of Chief Gaaleka on the banks of the Ngyingxolo, a tributary of the Kwelera River, was one of the most important shrines in the

history of the black man in the area and had to be retained at all costs.

In January this year, he told a meeting of both Rarabe and Gaaleka representatives the Ciskei Government was negotiating with the South African Government of the incorporation of the area into the Ciskei.

The Gaaleka and Rarabe houses were planning to hold a ceremony for Chief Gaaleka, who was drowned at the Ngyingxolo in 1792. Chief Jongilanga told the gathering the specific spot where the ceremony would have to be held was on a white farmer's property.

But the Ciskei Government is negotiating with the South African Government to incorporate the area into the Ciskei.

The projected ceremony has been shelved pending the incorporation of the area. - DDR

(News by Charles Ngakulu, reported from Alexandria Road, King William's Town)

## Meeting told of white distrust

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
 The intention of the South African Government not to abolish the white corridor between the Ciskei and Transkei served to illustrate the Government's distrust of its fellow black South Africans, Chief Minister L. L. Sebe said at a meeting at Zwelitsha near here.

He said the very word "corridor" was wicked and depicted vividly the ulterior motive behind its existence.

"The corridor is designed as a neutral area along the lines of the infamous no-man's land in the last century and we reject it as did our forefathers when no-man's land was declared," he said.

The South African Government distrusts its fellow black South Africans and therefore must have an area where it can accommodate spies to report on the activities

of problems in that kind of neutral zone as was the case with no-man's land and consequences will be disastrous for all concerned when history starts repeating itself on this matter.

According to the Ciskei's consolidation plans, the homeland is going to lose thousands of hectares of land to the white corridor and be involved in the mass removal of thousands of Ciskeians from the affected areas.

The areas to be lost include the contentious Moomplias area, Kwelera, Kwenzura, Nwenkala and Nyoni (all in the Kwelera area), Isaba and Peellou near King William's Town and Newlands near East London.

The other areas are Lessyton near Queenstown and Warburg and Mgwali near Stutterheim.

# King gets economic death threat

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Whites could have King William's Town, but at any time the Ciskei Government could strangle the town economically.**

That warning was spelled out here by Chief Lennox Sebe when he addressed about 3 000 followers at the Zwelitsha Hall.

The Ciskeian Chief Minister was reacting to a statement by the King William's Town municipality earlier this week that Dr F. Hartzenberg, Deputy Minister of Plural Relations, had pledged King William's Town would remain white.

Dr Hartzenberg gave the assurance to the Mayor of King William's Town, Mr D. E. Wilson, during a recent interview in Cape Town.

Dr Hartzenberg said the South African Government was not considering incorporating King William's Town into the Ciskei or acceding to Chief Sebe's claim by abolishing the white corridor between the Ciskei and Transkei and including that land in the Ciskei.

Chief Sebe said: "I am not impressed by Dr Hartzenberg's assurances to the whites of King William's Town. They can have King William's Town, but at any time the Ciskeian Government can influence the withdrawal of the buying power of Ciskeians from the area and strangle it to death economically."

He added the Ciskeian Government alone was spending about R144 million annually in King William's Town for

purchases which included building materials and other items.

"Throw in the money that is used in King William's Town by our civil servants and see how much financial support our people have been giving King William's Town. All we would have to do to strangle the town would be to withdraw all that financial support."

However, Chief Sebe did not spell out in clear terms how he would ensure the buying power of Ciskeians could be successfully withdrawn, except to hint that the Government would resettle its people at Alice and develop that area to cater for all their needs.

One of the first things he would do, he said, would be to establish a roller mill at Alice, which is to be the capital of the Ciskei, to be able to divert Ciskeians from buying at roller mills in King William's Town.

"The entire programme would be processed by our Marketing Board, which would correctly channel our buying power and constrict King William's Town to death."

Reaction of prominent local businessmen to Chief Sebe's remarks focussed on the idea that the Ciskei

Government could not afford to isolate itself economically from King.

"Personally I think King is dependent on him and he is dependent on us," Mr J. D. Beacham, Deputy Mayor said. He added he did not think the Ciskeian Government spent the amount of money quoted by Chief Sebe.

"I would query the R144 million. I don't think the Ciskei is responsible for that much income into King annually."

The president of the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce, Mr R. Stanford, said the costs of implementing such a move by Chief Sebe would be enormous for him.

"It would be completely unrealistic and unfeasible. Buyers will always go to where they will get the best goods and the best value for money and in this area, this is obviously King."

He added he didn't think Chief Sebe could do anything that could adversely affect those economic facts.

"I personally think a scheme will be worked out by the authorities and Chief Sebe where King's economic vitality as the main centre of the Ciskei

economy will be developed, but the political centre may move elsewhere. However, that would not affect the economic viability of King."

Chief Sebe's intention to establish a roller mill at Alice would not greatly affect the local mill, said Mr B. A. Radue, whose family owns the mill, because the mill sold a large amount of its products outside the Ciskei.

"We market our products all over the country and the move would not affect us that much."

Chief Sebe's remarks are seen here as the start of a new phase in the Ciskei's battle to get King William's Town.

Chief Sebe told delegates at the Ciskei's development conference last month he was confident he would get both King William's Town and East London.

"East London is going to be part of the Ciskei. King William's Town is going to be part of the Ciskei. The wagon must go on," he said then.

An Afrikaans-speaking East London company director, Mr J. Steyn, said at the conference both East London and King William's Town would become ghost towns unless they became part of the Ciskei.

• Moolplaas is ours — page 6.

From CHARLES NQAKULA  
Daily Dispatch man in King

1/6/78 (105)  
AD

105 D.D. 2/6/79

# Sebe warned of possible legal action

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Allegations by Chief Minister Lennox Sebe that the opposition was inciting children to riot, were rejected here yesterday by Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe, leader of the Ciskei National Unionist Party.

Chief Sebe's remarks, made at Zwelitsha recently, were also criticised by the Leader of the Opposition Ciskei National Party, Chief J. T. Mabandla, whose party has formed an alliance with Chief Ncamashe's CNUP and Mr L. F. Siyo's Labour Party to fight Chief Sebe in the coming election.

He described Chief Sebe's remarks as reckless and said such remarks would destroy the Chief Minister and his lot.

Chief Ncamashe said: "Chief Sebe has the knack of making some of the most irresponsible statements in a way that hardly befits a man in his position."

In his opposition to the alliance, he had made serious allegations which might see him answer in the Grahamstown Supreme Court.

He challenged the Chief Minister to give the names

of the people who were said to have incited youths, the places where such incitement occurred and the people who had given him such details.

"The position of Chief Minister does not entitle this honourable gentleman to call anyone names, he said. He at one time called the leaders of the alliance three frogs."

Chief Ncamashe said the alliance would never deceive Ciskeians into expecting R19 million from America as Mr Sebe had done. — DDR.

(News by Charles Nqakula, Protea Building, Alexandra Road, King William's Town).



Chief Burns Ncamashe

Is the Ciskei closing the rift that has existed between it and the Transkei Government since 1974?

Although there have been no firm indications from Transkei that this might be the case several statements from the Ciskei Chief Minister have shown the two governments are not as far apart as most people in either areas seem to believe.

First indications of this changed approach on the part of the Ciskei came after the first moves by the Transkei Government to outlaw the Methodist Church of South Africa.

Speaking at a funeral in Dimbaza the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, said he fully agreed with the action threatened by the Transkei Prime Minister because the church must realise it should owe allegiance to the State.

Chief Kaiser Matanzima claimed later he had not received a telegram which Chief Sebe said he had sent congratulating the Transkei Government on its stand and indicating his support for the move.

Then when Chief Sebe spoke at the Civic Hall, Mdantsane, when the Mdantsane Township Council was being sworn

In on April 28 Chief Sebe remarked about Transkei's move to sever diplomatic relations with South Africa.

He said: "My brother has felt the pinch and decided to take this far-reaching step and I am surprised anyone has been surprised at the move by the Transkei Government."

The sentence was part of a hard-tongue-lashing of the Chief Minister gave whites on race relations. He was more hard-hitting

# Is Sebe closing the gap?



The Leslie Xinwa column

on civil servants who he claimed, though serving in the homelands, still thought they were superior to blacks.

Then came his speech this week in the Zwellitsha Communal Hall when he is reported to have said: "The corridor is designed as a neutral area along the lines of the infamous no man's land in the last century and we reject it as did our forefathers when no man's land was declared."

Chief Sebe was talking about the South African Government's decision to take the land around Mooiplaas and Kwelela and maintain it as a buffer between Transkei and

Ciskei.

Apart from the consideration of thousands of Ciskeians who would have to be moved from the area if the move were implemented as decided, there is the question of the possible motive of wanting to divide black from black which came out clearly in his speech.

If relations between Transkei and Ciskei were that bad Chief Sebe might have been expected to want a buffer to separate Ciskei from Transkei.

There has also been the question of Ciskei Rarabes who have maintained close ties with their brothers in Gcalekaland, Transkei.

The House of Ngqika has seen at least one meeting of its descendants lately and the move to get together to revive the claim on the burial grounds of King Gcaleka on the banks of the Nqungolo points to a clear bringing together of relatives from the two areas in matters of common interest.

Relations between Rarabes and Gcalekas reached their lowest

point during and soon after the burial of Paramount Chief Mxolisi Sandile. This followed a move by the King of the Xhosas, King Xolilizwe Sigcau, to point out who was to be regent for young Maxhobayakhawuleza Sandile after the death of his father. The decision had been taken without the knowledge of Chief Lent Magqoma, who raised the issue at the funeral.

Now things have changed completely and it is certain Gcalekas and Rarabes will work together when Maxhobais to ascend to the Rarabes paramountcy.



# Ciskei tribal

MA 6/6/78  
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## dispute over land settled

GRAHAMSTOWN — A tribal dispute over land in the Healdtown area near Fort Beaufort has been settled in the Grahamstown Supreme Court in favour of the present Ciskei Government and the Ama-Jingqi Tribal Authority.

The dispute had its origin in land rights granted to the Fingo tribe in 1834 by the then Governor of the Cape, Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

Mr John M. Ndlazi, traditional chief of the Fingo tribe and chairman of the now defunct Healdtown Community Authority since 1973, had applied for a court order declaring the provisions of a Ciskeian Government notice of December 1976 to be ultra vires and the powers of the Ciskei Government to be null and void.

He maintained that the community authority, established in terms of a Government notice in 1966, continued to exist and asked for an order restraining the Ama-Jingqi Tribal Authority exercising any powers, authority or functions over the Healdtown authority in respect of seven locations in the

area.

But Mr Justice Smalberger held that the Cabinet of the Ciskei Government was empowered by a 1971 Act to abolish the Healdtown authority and to extend the area of the Ama-Jingqi Tribal Authority, assuming that all necessary prerequisites of such notice had been complied with.

In an affidavit, Mr Ndlazi had said that there were fundamental differences in laws and customs between the Fingo and Rarabe tribes which did not permit them to be subject to a non-Fingo in areas which were traditionally occupied by Fingoes.

At the time of the establishment of the Healdtown Community Authority in 1966, he said, the residents of the seven locations were almost 100 per cent members of the Fingo tribe.

During 1974, Mr L. W. Maqoma, a Ciskei Cabinet Minister from Port Elizabeth, was appointed chief of the Jingqi tribe with headquarters in the Fingo area, which he alleges came as a surprise and a shock to the Healdtown residents. —DDR

DD 5/6/78  
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# Council plea for talks on hospital turned down

EAST LONDON — A request by the East London City Council for an urgent meeting with various bodies concerned in implementing the controversial closure of the Frere Hospital's black paediatric section has been turned down flat by all concerned.

Instead, council representatives were offered the opportunity of addressing a meeting of the Mdantsane Implementation Committee, where they were "treated with contempt", according to a council spokesman on health, Mrs Ruth Belonsky.

The representatives, Mrs Belonsky, Mr Ivan Zulman, and the Medical Officer of Health, Dr J. R. van Heerden, were first invited to attend the meeting of the committee, but when they arrived they were told they could address members before the meeting commenced. They were not allowed to be present at the meeting itself.

Mrs Belonsky added that until invited to address the meeting of the committee, the council had been kept so ill-informed on the whole issue they hadn't known of the committee's existence for the two years since it was formed.

In February, the council unanimously agreed to seek an urgent meeting between the Director of Hospital Services, Dr Kotze, State Health, the Ciskei Department of Health, the Medical Superintendent at Frere Hospital and the Medical Association.

Dr Kotze replied to the council's request by disclosing the existence of the implementation committee, which he said consisted of representatives of State Health, the Medical Association, the University of Cape Town and the Ciskei Government.

He said he was satisfied the committee could satisfy any questions on

the issue of phasing out black services at the Frere Hospital.

He pointed out that the council had a representative on the Frere Hospital Board, Mr R. L. de Lange (Sr), and he saw no reason why he, Dr Kotze, should attend a meeting with the council.

He suggested the council contact the implementation committee with the object of sitting in on one of their meetings.

The Medical Superintendent at Frere, Dr F. Visser, said policy decisions of this nature were made by the Hospitals Department. He was not prepared to comment to the council.

The Department of Health in Pretoria suggested council representatives and the Medical Officer of Health attend a meeting of the implementation committee where matters of "mutual interest" could be discussed.

They said it was their intention to suggest to council the MOH become a member of the committee.

The Medical Association said any discussions on the matter should be held with State Health.

Mrs Belonsky said the council's request to the Ciskei Health Department had also come to nothing.

The representatives of the council were then invited to attend a meeting of the committee, where they found they were only to be allowed to address its members.

"When we put our case we were literally treated with contempt. They were decidedly rude to us."

"But what distressed me most is that the committee's chairman, Dr Field, who is also the Secretary for State Health, Dr Kotze, and the chairman of the Frere Hospital Board, Mr D. Lazarus, showed more concern about statements made in the press and about the Daily Dispatch leader that morning than about the question of the withdrawal of paediatric services which will affect human lives," Mrs Belonsky said.

The issue is to be discussed again at a meeting of the city council's action committee tonight.

Hansard 18 June 1978

Question Ciskei Transfer of land.

Cols. 881 - ~~882~~.

Ciskei: Transfer of land

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT replied to Question 1, by Mr R. J. Lorimer

Question:

- (1) Whether he has received representations from the Ciskei Government for the transfer of land, purchased for the consolidation of Ciskei, to a body other than the Ciskei National Development Corporation; if so, (a) to which body, (b) when were such representations received and (c) what was their outcome;
- (2) what is the policy of his Department in this regard

Reply:

- (1) Yes
  - (a) Department of Agriculture of Ciskei.
  - (b) 8 May 1978.
  - (c) The matter is still under consideration.

Properties of the South African Bantu Land are often sold transferred to the Government concerned

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DD 8/6/88

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# Siyoo, fearns arrest, hides

## EAST LONDON — Mr L. F. Siyo, leader of the Ciskei's National Labour Party, has gone into hiding because he fears arrest.



MR SIYO . . . last seen in court.

And the former chief whip of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party, Mr A. Z. Lamani, was detained on Monday in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. This was confirmed yesterday by the deputy chief of the Security Police in Pretoria, Brig J. Coetzee.

The deputy leader of the Ciskei National Party, Mr L. S. Mtoha, a member of the opposition alliance for the June 21 Ciskei general election, said yesterday Mr Siyo had fled when he received information he would be detained in terms of Ciskei's Proclamation 252.

Mr Siyo was last seen in court on Tuesday when he gave evidence in an assault case in which some

of his supporters were charged with assaulting Sebe supporters at a meeting in Mdantsane on June 13 last year.

A former right-hand man of the Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, Mr Siyo was sacked from the Ciskei Cabinet last year.

Mr Mtoha, also a former Ciskeian cabinet minister, said the threat of detentions was making the whole election campaign unfair.

"We can't do anything without these arrests. Detentions are worrying us and disorganising the election campaign."

Mrs Eunice Siyo, Mr Siyo's wife, said last night her husband was away for at least a week.

Asked whether it was true her husband had gone into hiding she replied: "Could be. Like all politicians, when they are in difficulties they go into hiding. I'm sure you understand."

Opposition alliance supporters said they believed Mr Siyo and other opposition members had gone into hiding following the detention of Mr Lamani.

Last week Mr Lamani's son, Mr Duma Lamani, 22, was detained with Mr Sipo Pitvana, younger brother of another detainee, Mr Barney Pitvana.

Mr Lamani senior was master of ceremonies at a weekend meeting of the opposition alliance in the Centenary Hall at New Brighton in Port Elizabeth. The rally was

addressed by an alliance leader, Chief Justice Mabandla.

According to people at the meeting, Mr Lamani — an election candidate for the Victoria East constituency — was seen distributing pamphlets at the meeting. Some of the pamphlets concerned homeland citizenship and homeland citizens' rights.

Mr Mtoha said yesterday he did not know if Mr Lamani's detention was connected with the use of the Ciskei's Proclamation 252.

Neither the Ciskeian Chief Minister nor his Minister of Justice could be contacted for comment last night. — DDR.

(News by Peter Kenny and Leslie Kinwa, both of 33 Caxton Street, East London.)



MR LAMANI . . . detained.

One really wonders sometimes if the South African Government is serious about the implementation of its very own policies of separate development.

This was the policy first propounded by the likes of Sir Theophilus Shepstone in Natal and the 1903-5 South African Native Affairs Commission as the white answer to an integrated political system in which, inevitably, would lead to black majority rule.

It was later turned into a practical policy by the Nationalist Government, particularly the late Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, and the concept of independent homelands in which black people would have complete control was developed, while the white people would keep control of the so-called "traditionally white South Africa".

The theory of separation was — and still is — fraught with major problems, particularly as the boundaries were decided by the white parliament without any degree of acceptance by black people, and it decid

# Ciskei shows Nats' lack of will

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ed the black majority would get just over 13 per cent of the land.

But even if one accepts the Nationalist rationale, serious doubts must be raised about the determination of the government to make its own policies succeed — and there is no more perfect example of Nationalist lack of will than the Ciskei.

In this homeland, the very effort to promote real development, particularly in the rural areas, is being hampered by official intransigence.

This approach was made perfectly clear by the Minister of Water Affairs, Mr Braam Raubenheimer, in parliament the other day when he was asked by the Progressive Federal Party's Mr Rupert Lorimer whether the Ciskei's exciting Tyefu development scheme and the controversial development of Glenmore would be able to get water from the Orange River scheme. "We will have to look to

our own needs before we can make our Orange River water available for the development of the Ciskei," Mr Raubenheimer said.

In spite of the fact that the agricultural development of the Fish River basin is impossible unless it gets water from the Orange River scheme, the South African Government can still mess around trying to decide what can be done with the underutilised Orange River Scheme.

Without agricultural development in the Ciskei, specially for individual farmers, it seems pretty obvious that the Ciskei will not be able to develop a viable economy. As the entire Third World has shown, rural development projects are not easy to get off the ground, but at Tyefu it seems the Ciskei's planners may have found a solution to these problems. One would have thought the South African Government would have been so



Political Correspondent BARRY STREEK reports

delighted that it would have made every effort to ensure that suitable water was available there for the scheme to expand.

The South African Government is also determined to establish Glenmore, but Chief Lennox Sebe has made it quite clear, publicly, that without Orange River water his government would never agree to its establishment. Both the Tyefu and

Kesikammahoe schemes need money badly, but there is little evidence of it forthcoming. Further north, the very survival of the people in Thornhill-Nababemba depends on water from the Swartkel and on the necessary infrastructure to establish a rural development scheme.

Again, it seems, that even if they do get water there it will take years, too many years.

This year the government slashed the amount to be spent on land consolidation by R15 million, reducing the amount available for the whole country to R35 million, in spite of the frustrations of all homeland leaders as well as the property owners concerned at the slow rate of purchases.

The low priority afforded the development problems in the Ciskei was again underlined recently by the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Connie Mulder, when he explain-

ed why neither he nor any of his three deputy ministers, nor the secretary of his department — the five people who had the authority to explain the South African Government's difficulties with the implementation of its policies — were able to attend the recent Ciskei Development Conference.

Dr Mulder explained that he and the other government officials had "other commitments" and that competent officials had been at the conference in their place.

Mr Lorimer, who taxed the minister for not attending, described this attitude as "insulting".

In real terms — those that matter to the people living in the Ciskei — this approach seems to indicate a lack of interest in the actual implementation of government policies.

For sure, the Government is always keen to publicise the symbols of separate development — opening Legislative

Assemblies, and lunches for Chief Ministers, attacks by homeland politicians on Russia, and Cuba, and so on. But those are merely symbols.

The real meat of its policies, if one is to believe it wants to implement its theories, can only really be judged by the amount of effort it puts into development.

A large number of academics and others have urged that the prime purpose of the government's policies is to create labour reservoirs for able-bodied men to come and work in the "white" areas of South Africa and leave the women, children and elderly, people in what they call the reserves and what the government calls the homelands.

On recent evidence, it would seem that the overall effect on the government's approach to development of the Ciskei is to ensure a labour supply rather than promote real progress.

One hopes one is wrong, but no other conclusion is possible on the available evidence.

# Sebe: why we support separate development

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## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

The spirit of former great warrior chiefs of the Ciskei pervaded the whole homeland and restlessly sought retribution and restoration of the area's national sovereignty, Chief Minister, L. L. Sebe said last night at a meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg.

"Prior to the advent of the white man, my people enjoyed their freedom and their land. They may not have had the wealth and material possessions of the white nations overseas, but they were a viable community with their own form of government, laws and customs.

That was what Ciskeians lost and was what they were seeking to regain as a nation, and to us the homeland policy of separate development provides a basic formula for regaining our former national sovereignty.

We are not participating and co-operating in homeland development for any other reason than for restitution of our former national entity."

But, in doing so, the Ciskei was not abandoning its claim to sharing in the

wealth of the greater regional Southern Africa, nor did it acknowledge any inferiority as black people, he said.

"Nor do we intend to go back to tribal sectionalism or loin cloth, assegais or knobkieries, although these primitive weapons will retain a certain pride of place on ceremonial occasions as we have no desire to discard our own identity and become black white men, simulating Western ways and customs."

But that did not imply the Ciskei would forsake the benefits of modern technology, intellectualism, economic standards and pride of achievement.

"Like the Jews, with whom we have strong affinity, we will become a traditional society of people seeking, as they do, to establish a national identity in the land of our forefathers," he said.

Chief Sebe said the independent nations of Africa had received aid from most of the Western nations, but his country's "progressive and constitutional advancement towards meaningful independence" had largely been ignored or represented as a master

ploy on the part of the white government of South Africa to solve the racialistically explosive situation in southern Africa.

Reference to the documented legislative Acts of the South African Parliament, enacted long before the Nationalist Party came to power, clearly showed the master plan for self-determination was laid more than half a century ago with the passing of the 1913 and 1936 Bantu Land Acts.

"What I am saying is that the South African Government appears to be seeking restitution and as we desire to re-establish our national sovereignty in the land of our forefathers, so be it.

"We are for homeland development, notwithstanding the assault on human dignity by the philosophy of apartheid," he said.

"Operating under these privations how incredulous it is for us now to find the American Government, epitomised throughout the world as the champions of freedom and liberty, now set themselves up as our adversaries, denying us the right to self-determination according to our own dictates."

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# Siyo's duck a publicity stunt says CNIP man

EAST LONDON — Mr L. F. Siyo, leader of Ciskei's National Labour Party, has gone into hiding because he fears defeat at the polls — not arrest.

This was said yesterday by the Mdantsane regional secretary of the Ciskei National Independence Party, Mr Caweni Sothyllelwa.

According to supporters of the Ciskei opposition alliance, Siyo went into hiding this week because he fears arrest under Ciskei's Proclamation 252.

Another member of the opposition alliance, Mr A. Z. Lamani, was detained in Port Elizabeth on Monday in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

"Siyo's move is a pure publicity stunt."

"He knew he was losing the election so he decided he would go into hiding. There is no danger he will be arrested. We wouldn't lock him up. As far as we are concerned Siyo is an underdog and nothing else politically," said Mr Sothyllelwa.

He said the detention of Mr Lamani was in no way connected with the Ciskei Government.

"He was detained under South Africa's regulations. This has nothing to do with us."

Mr Sothyllelwa dismissed a call yesterday by a leading member of the

alliance, Mr H. H. Mdledle, for the scrapping of the June 21 general election in Ciskei.

"Mr Siyo calls his party the National Labour Party of South Africa. If he wants the election called off he should call on Pretoria to do so," Mr Sothyllelwa said.

Both the CNIP and the opposition alliance have political rallies planned for Sunday in Mdantsane.

The CNIP are to have a meeting at the NU 6 stadium starting at 9 am.

The opposition alliance have booked the Civic Hall in Mdantsane for a meeting on the same day.

(News by Peter Kenny, 33 Caxton Street, East London.)

# Ciskei vote may go to court

cases where some voters who wished to endorse their new reference books were turned away, thus denying them their fundamental right to vote," he said.

In terms of an announcement earlier this year by Chief L. Magoma, Ciskei's Minister of the Interior, all registered voters with reference books issued after the suspension of registration of voters, were allowed to have their new books endorsed to enable them to cast their votes.

Chief Ncamashe also said there was unfairness in the distribution of ballot papers in the Karoo.

"In areas where the ruling party has substantial support, you find

there is an abundance of ballot papers, but very few where the alliance has a bigger following."

A "glaring anomaly" was the absence of a copy of the voters' roll at the magistrates offices, he said.

Mr. J. W. Grueb, the electoral officer, has denied, however, there was an uneven distribution of ballot papers.

"We distribute ballot papers in accordance with the number of registered voters in each area and we make it a point to supply a substantial number in excess of the number of voters in these areas," he said.

"The Ciskei had never sent copies of the voters' roll to the various areas and Chief Ncamashe

knows this".

The question of insufficient ballot papers in the 1973 election played a major role in setting aside the election in Zwelitsha.

The Supreme Court ruled a good number of Ciskeians were not given an opportunity to exercise their fundamental right to vote.

Chief Ncamashe said the emergency proclamation had been used by the Ciskei Government to interfere with the holding of meetings by the alliance.

Both he and Mr Sangotsha claimed the Government had issued instructions to certain headmen not to allow the alliance to hold meetings in their areas.

He said intimidation of voters to stay away from alliance meetings had "very serious legal implications."

The voters had an inalienable right to hear all the candidates "and any effort on the part of any party to rob them of this right is contrary to the spirit of the election proclamation".

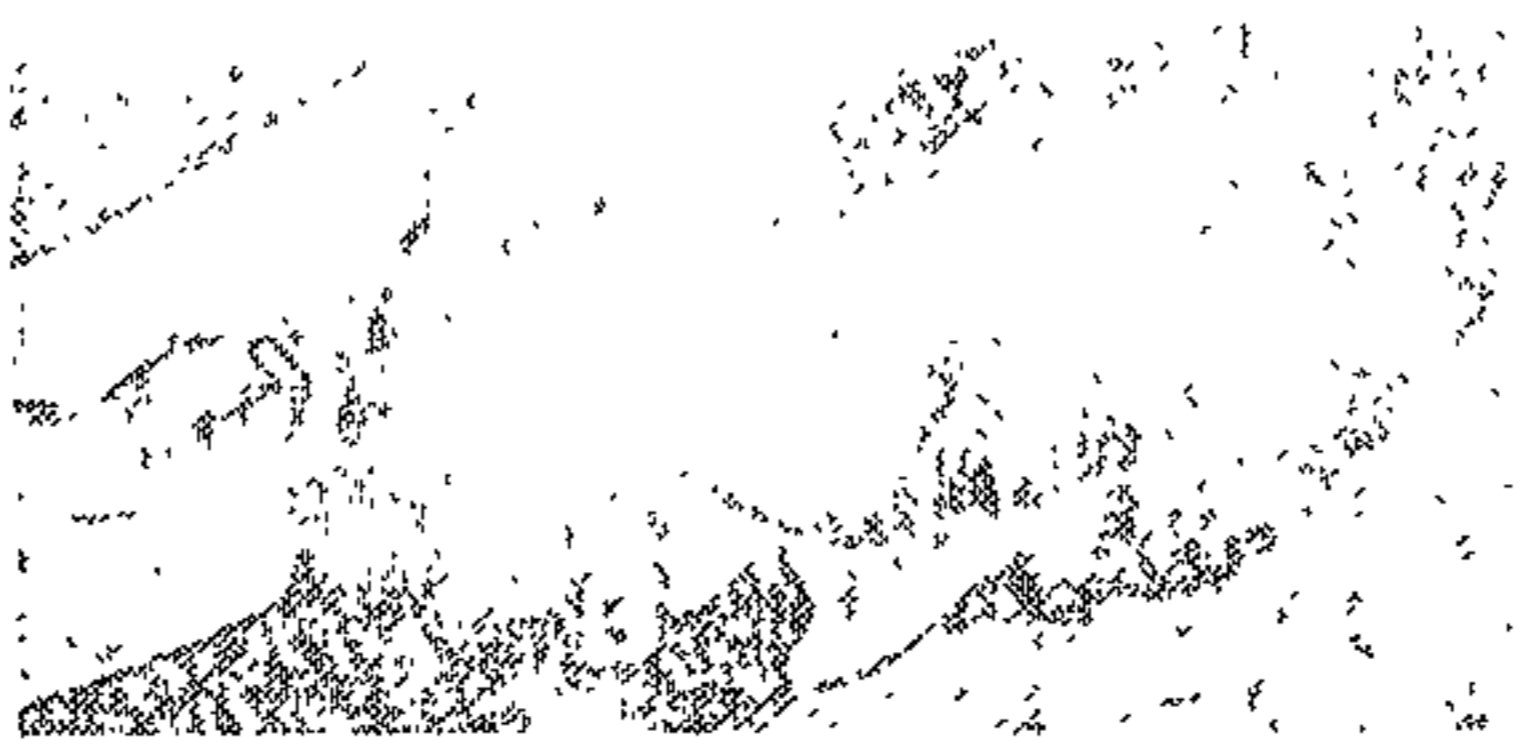
Both Chief Ncamashe and Mr Sangotsha warned the result of the election was going to be challenged in the Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, the alliance has made a tremendous breakthrough in the Karoo and will hold a mass meeting on Sunday at Steynsburg.

None of the leaders of the ruling party were available for comment last night. — DDF.

(News by Charles Ngakula, Proteas Building, Alexandra Road, Klag Williams's Tower).

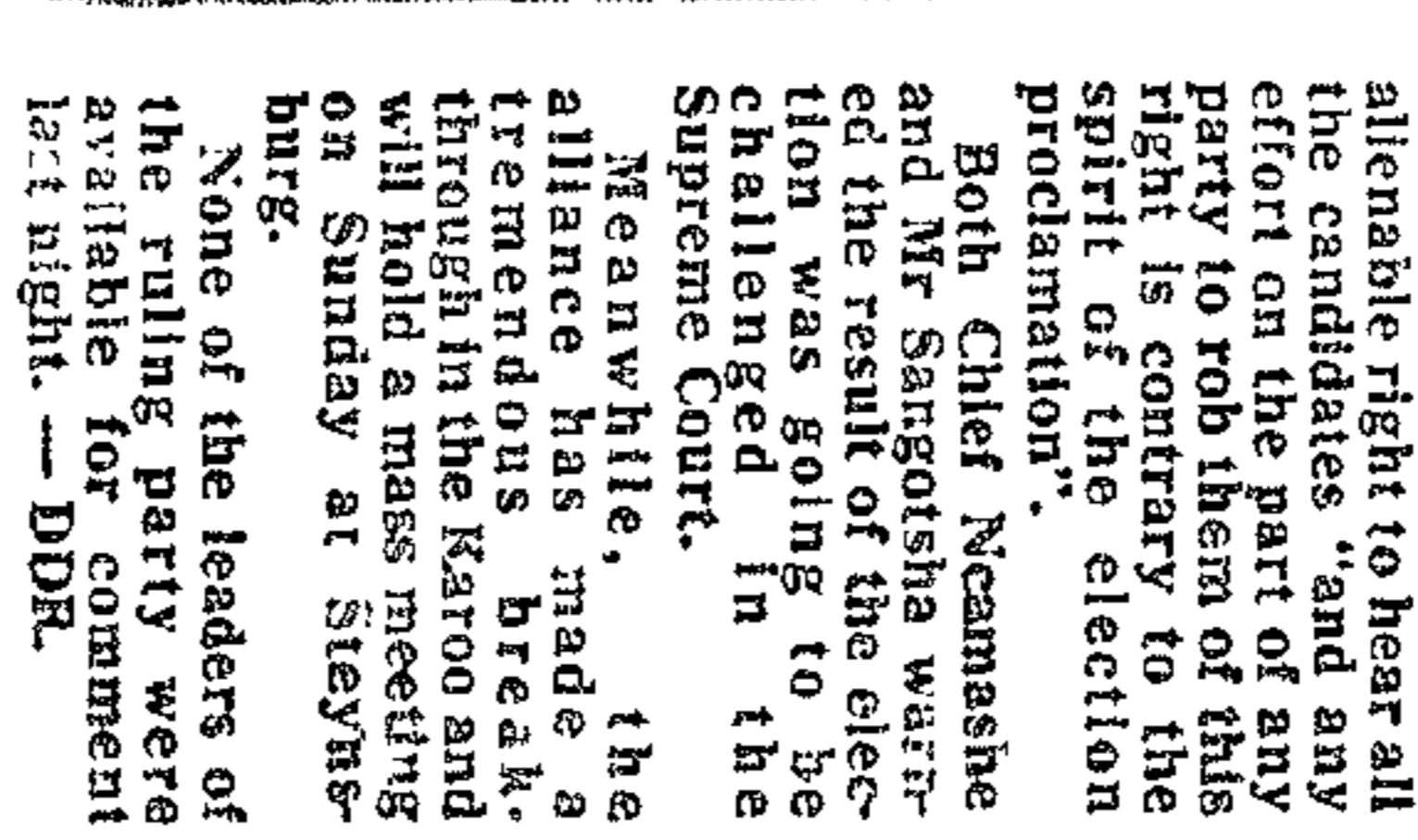
SANGOTSHA . . . faces intimidation of voters.



CHIEF NCAMASHE . . . distribution of ballots.



BURNS . . . unfair





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# Sebe under fire

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— All Chief Minister Sebe needed to do to gain the full support of the opposition in the Ciskei in the land claims he was making was to show his bona fides. Mr I. Sangotsha, an opposition alliance candidate in Zwellitsna, said yesterday.

But the opposition did not trust him as he vacillated on the claims.

"We indicated our willingness to support him on this matter as far back as 1974, but when we asked him to tell us how far he had gone with negotiations, he answered the matter was under discussion.

The recent disclosure by the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, proved, however, that what Chief Sebe had told the Ciskei Legislative Assembly was incorrect.

Mr Sangotsha said when Chief Sebe explained his concept of the Ciskei when he came to power in 1973, he had said East London, King William's Town and Stutterheim fell outside the boundaries of the homeland.

"Today he says these areas fall under the Ciskei and has even threatened economic strangulation of King if he does not get the town. We could support him on all that if he were to be trusted but how do you trust a man who thrives so much on double-talk?" Mr Sangotsha said.

"He was originally against the removal of people from Fingo Village in Grahamstown to Committees Drift. He has now given the area a new name, Glenmore, and agrees to the removal, which he had said would be effected over his dead body.

"We have a similar situation at Moolplaas and again he says the removal of people there will not be done in his lifetime. Must we believe him?

(News by Charles Nqakula, Protea Building, Alexandra Road, King William's Town).

(Sebe: answer by youth, page

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# Sebe: black youth hold the key

**JOHANNESBURG —** South Africa's political future — including the homeland aspect — lay in the hands of the black youth.

And whether it crumbled or was saved would depend on whether a meaningful solution was found to satisfy the aspirations of the black youth and allay their fears for the future, the Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, warned yesterday.

He was addressing members of the United States South African Leadership Exchange Programmes.

The rebellion of the American youth had influenced Government foreign policy on the Vietnam War, he said.

In Germany and other countries, it had spawned urban terrorism, bombings and hijackings.

Chief Sebe said it should come as no surprise to realise that South Africa's black youth were being subjected to similar pressures and asking similar questions "notwithstanding their

Christian education and are turning to similar rebellious and unruly behaviour.

"In their case, as distinct from overseas youth, they are labouring under additional constraints, striking at the very fundamental core of their existence as human beings. They soon grow to realise the stigma attached to the colour of their skins and the penalties the black skin exacts."

For years young blacks had heard about change in South Africa, but when they left their parents' homes on attainment of manhood, they found the system they had inherited still failed to offer them work opportunities.

They found it still regarded them as inferior citizens and still discriminated against them, leaving no hope or the means to live a satisfying, more constructive way of life.

It was no wonder, under the circumstances, that young blacks should become instruments of rebellious and riotous behaviour.

"Only after and because of their irresponsible conduct in boycotting classes, burning schools and other institutional buildings are concessions made and some reform or change instituted."

They therefore regarded change as something brought about by violent confrontation, something which needed to be fought for.

"It is my firm conviction the youth must be given new values in life and must be re-orientated to a national consciousness and be filled with a sense of patriotic pride because the problems of the future are centred on them," Chief Sebe said.

(News by Charles Nqakula Protea Building, Alexandra Road King William's Town)

# Jongilanga tours operational area

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PRETORIA — The Ciskei Minister of Education, Chief D. M. Jongilanga, was among representatives of six homelands and four black universities who paid a three-day visit to the operational area as guests of the Chief of the Defence Force, Gen Magnus Malan.

The visit included informal meetings with members of the cabinets of Owambo, Kavango and Caprivi. The group also visited various bases.

After the visit, Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu said on behalf of the tour party:

"We were impressed by the endeavours of the SADF which, in addition to its military mission, is attending to the physical and human infrastruc-

ture, economic development and health services.

"Listening to the black South African soldiers in the operational area, it became clear to us that given a stake in this country, the black man will be only too ready to take his rightful place in the defence of our country.

"In the dangerous times in which we live, this visit has left us more than ever convinced that the survival of both black and white in South Africa will depend primarily on the measure of co-operation and understanding between different racial groups and the recognition of the homelands and the black man as integral elements and citizens of South Africa."

SAPA.

Hansard. 19 16 June 1978  
Question #7 Col. 961.

961 FRIDAY, 15

Water from Swartkops River for  
Nabatumba-Thornhill area of Ciskei

17 Mr. R. J. FORMER asked the Minister of Water Affairs:

(a) Whether provision is being made for water from the Swartkops River to be applied to the Nabatumba-Thornhill area of the Ciskei; if so, (a) what provision and (b) when will the water become available; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS:

No.

(a) and (b) fall away.

A request for investigating the feasibility of such a scheme has only just been received by my Department of Water Affairs.

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Hansard 19 June 1978.  
Question 742  
C-969 & 1970.

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Ciskei National Development Corporation:  
Hotel at Hamburg

742. Mr R. J. LOFFLER asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

- (1) Whether the Ciskei National Development Corporation owns an hotel at Hamburg, if so, since what date;
- (2) whether the hotel is to be transferred to Ciskei citizenship, if so, when;
- (3) whether Ciskei citizens are allowed to use the hotel, if not, why not, if so, since what date;
- (4) whether the hotel is to remain at a profit.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) No.
- (2) The hotel at Hamburg is under the management of the Ciskei National Development Corporation since 8 October 1977 and because of that the hotel is not yet situated in an area under jurisdiction of the Ciskei Government. The ownership of the hotel should be transferred to the Ciskei Government.

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(3) No. Application for international citizenship has been submitted and the result of the application is being awaited.

(4) No.

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# Talking over as Ciskei polls open



CHIEF SEBE not precise?



CHIEF MABANDLA confused opposition?

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The two groups competing in the Ciskei election, the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party and the Opposition Alliance, have put the finishing touches to their campaigns to influence the voters who go to the polls from today to elect members for the third Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

Leader of the CNIP, Chief L. Sebe, has used nationalism as an election issue. But he has not explained precisely what he means by nationalism in the election context, and has not spoken explicitly on Ciskeian independence.

He has recently spoken strongly on the land issue, but has kept quiet on the South African government's consolidation plans.

The Opposition Alliance has caused further confusion among the voters by preaching a policy that does not accommodate homelands, yet it is fighting an election to become the next government of the Ciskei.

The opposition has said nothing about the Ciskei's future and has remained silent on how it would go about implementing its policy of non-racialism.

It talks about black rights throughout South

Africa and has tried to dissuade voters from taking out Ciskei citizenship certificates.

Some of the party's candidates have said that taking out such documents would mean giving up one's birthright of a stake in South Africa.

But the party has failed to explain the other side of the issue, that in terms of the Status of Transkei Act of 1976, all Xhosa-speaking persons in South Africa are Transkeian unless they are accredited citizens of another homeland.

(News by Charles Ngakula, Protea Building, Alexandra Road, King William's Town.)

# Siyo out of hiding

EAST LONDON — The leader of the Ciskei's National Labour Party, Mr L. F. Siyo, who went into hiding because he feared arrest, has come out of hiding.

Opposition alliance supporters said he went to ground after the arrest of another alliance candidate, Mr A. Z. Lamani, who was detained in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act in Port Elizabeth two weeks ago.

Mr Siyo was seen at the Hill Street polling station in East London on Monday and yesterday.

The Mdantsane regional secretary of the Ciskei National Independence Party, Mr Cewani Sothylelwa, described Mr Siyo's move as a publicity stunt at the time.

He said Mr Siyo had gone into hiding because he feared defeat at the polls — not arrest.

Mr Sothylelwa said he was glad Mr Siyo had honoured his call to come out of hiding.

"A true leader does not run away. He should know he has to suffer the consequences of events," said Mr Sothylelwa.

The opposition alliance was made up of three leaders who could not

stand their ground as they had personal grudges against one another according to Mr Sothylelwa.

He said they had only managed to put out a manifesto on Sunday after being challenged by the CNIP.

"I am convinced they are confused. All the promises they made such as wooden floors for schools have already been met by the present Ciskei government," Mr Sothylelwa said.

The alliance slogan of "imbumba" or "unity" with the clenched fist as a salute was not a black power salute but a Transkei independence slogan, he said.

"They have shown they are in favour of amalgamation of the Ciskei and Transkei."

The CNIP, unlike certain member of the opposition, said Mr Sothylelwa, was not trying to claim the support of members of the banned organisations.

"The young members of those banned organisations did not fall for that trick. They are a very principled lot and would not get involved in our politics," Mr Sothylelwa said.

(News by Peter Kenny, 33 Caxton Street, East London)

# Mtoba denies reports

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A Zwelitsha constituency candidate, Mr L. S. Mtoba, has denied reports that he had claimed police interfered with the elections.

"The only time I mentioned police in my address at Uitenhage was when I referred to our attendance as compared to attendance at Chief Sebe's meeting in Port Elizabeth."

He had told his audience that while the venue of the alliance meeting was surrounded by well-wishers and voters, Chief Sebe's meeting had a laager of police and riot control vehicles.

"I never mentioned anything about dispersal of our supporters by police near the Centenary Hall and did not hear of any incident," he said.

He denied hitting at black consciousness followers for refusing to get involved in homeland politics.

"I was merely exhorting all kinds of people to vote in the election," he said.

He said Chief Sebe had misrepresented the people he was supposed to negotiate for with Pretoria.

"It was because of that I called on them to vote for the alliance against him," he said. — DDR.

(News by Charles Nqakula, Protea Building, Alexander Street, King William's Town.)

# Arson, shooting as Ciskeians clash

EAST LONDON — An opposition alliance supporter's shop was burnt and looted when opposing parties clashed during the Ciskei elections in Fort Beaufort, forcing police to open fire, on Monday night.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Eastern Cape, Brig P. J. Roelofse, said yesterday four or five people had been arrested and two or three injured — none seriously — in the skirmish.

Police arrived after members of opposing parties attacked each other, damaging property, in the Tiris location.

Brig Roelofse said police were forced to open fire when a man drove his car at policemen trying to stop the fighting.

The driver of the car was among those wounded.

In East London, Port Elizabeth and King William's Town, there was

again a steady stream of voters

The electoral officer in East London, Mr H. C. Scholtz, said about 2 000 people yesterday cast their votes.

Singing and dancing members of both parties who livened up voting on Monday had run out of steam yesterday and voters lined in orderly queues.

In Port Elizabeth, the Plural Relations Commissioner, Mr A. L. Basson, said 8 000 people had polled by lunchtime. He said this did not include the districts around Port Elizabeth.

Compared to the last two elections, Mr Basson said, this was the busiest.

In King William's Town, support for the opposition alliance appeared to thin out yesterday afternoon. Ruling party supporters triumphantly sang songs which at times bordered on denigration

of some opposition alliance candidates

Today voters throughout the Ciskei go to the polls

Polling stations at 391 centres will be open from 7 am to 9 pm at townships and rural areas of the homeland.

Voting in the urban areas, which began on Monday, will continue till Friday.

In the Cape Peninsula, about 700 votes had already been recorded by yesterday afternoon.

A senior official of the Plural Relations Commissioner's office said the bulk of Ciskei voters in the Peninsula were migrant workers. There were no voters' rolls. There were, however, an estimated total of 20 000 possible voters. — DDR-DDC.

(News by P. Kenny, 33 Caxton Street, East London, Charles Nqakula, Protea Building, King William's Town and George Luse, 82 Maduku Street, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth)



**DEPARTMENT OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND  
DEVELOPMENT**

No R 1260

23 June 1978

**TRANSFER OF MOTOR CARRIER TRANSPORTA-  
TION TO THE CISKEI**

Under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by item 25A of Schedule 1 of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971) I, Cornelius Petrus Mulder, Minister of Plural Relations and Development, hereby determine that the provisions of the said item shall come into operation on 1 July 1978 in respect of the area of the Ciskei as defined in section 2 of Proclamation R. 187 of 1972.

C. P. MULDER, Minister of Plural Relations and  
Development

(File R203/21)

**DEPARTEMENT VAN PLURALE BETREKKINGE  
EN ONTWIKKELING**

No R 1260

23 Junie 1978

**OORDRAG VAN MOTORTRANSPORT AAN DIE  
CISKEI**

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by item 25A van Bylae 1 van die Grondwet van die Bantoetuislande, 1971 (Wet 21 van 1971), bepaal ek, Cornelius Petrus Mulder, Minister van Plurale Betrekkinge en Ontwikkeling, hierby dat die bepalinge van genoemde item op 1 Julie 1978 in werking trede ten opsigte van die gebied van die Ciskei soos omskryf in artikel 2 (2) van Proklamasie R. 187 van 1972.

C. P. MULDER, Minister van Plurale Betrekkinge en  
Ontwikkeling.

(Lêer R203/21)

# SA Navy will return Maqoma bones

23/6/78  
MS (105)

**PORT ELIZABETH** — The bones of Chief Maqoma, who was buried on Robben Island in 1873, and whose remains were exhumed in May this year, will be brought here by a South African Navy warship in August.

From Port Elizabeth, they will be transported in a "fitting manner" back to the Ciskei for reburial.

The chief, an ancestor of Chief Lent Maqoma, the Ciskei's Minister of the Interior and acting Paramount Chief of the Rarabes, was one of the first political prisoners on Robben Island, having been imprisoned there in the 19th Century by the British colonial government.

The Secretary of the Interior for the Ciskei, Mr J. B. Marais, said yesterday the South African Navy had offered to bring back Chief Maqoma's bones after the British Government refused to do so.

"We have not yet finalised all the arrangements with the navy, but at the moment it looks as though the bones will be brought to Port Elizabeth between August 6 and 19. A navy warship will be used," he said.

From there, they will be transported back to the Ciskei where the old chief's great-great-

grandson, Chief Lent Maqoma, hopes to bury them at Maqoma's kraal.

The bones were discovered on May 18 after a four-year search, and are at present at an undisclosed address in Cape Town.

Chief Maqoma found his great-great-grandfather's grave after following instructions from a 63-year-old Xhosa seer from Transkei, Miss Charity Sonandi.

Miss Sonandi had predicted before the discovery of the grave that it would be unmarked, they would find two pieces of metal with the bones and it would rain shortly after the discovery.

All these things occurred.

Although she is a cripple, when the bones were uncovered she jumped up and walked away from the grave, while Chief Maqoma "cried like a child."

The right shoulder blade of the skeleton indicated that a bullet had been fired at the chief. — DDC.

CAPES TIMES 24/6/78

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Part of a chanting, dancing Ciskeian crowd outside the offices of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Standard House, Observatory, yesterday when they went to cast their votes on the last day of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly elections, in Cape Town. According to an official, provision was made for 20 000 Ciskeian voters, but only about 5 000 had voted. Nearly 200 offices throughout the country have been open since Monday to receive votes. The votes will be sent to Zwelitsha, seat of the Ciskeian Government.

# Ciskei alliance official arrested

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**EAST LONDON** — A senior member of the opposition alliance in the Ciskei election, Mr Albert Bokuva, was arrested an hour before polling closed here yesterday for allegedly being in possession of stolen property.

last night confirmed Mr Bokuva's arrest.

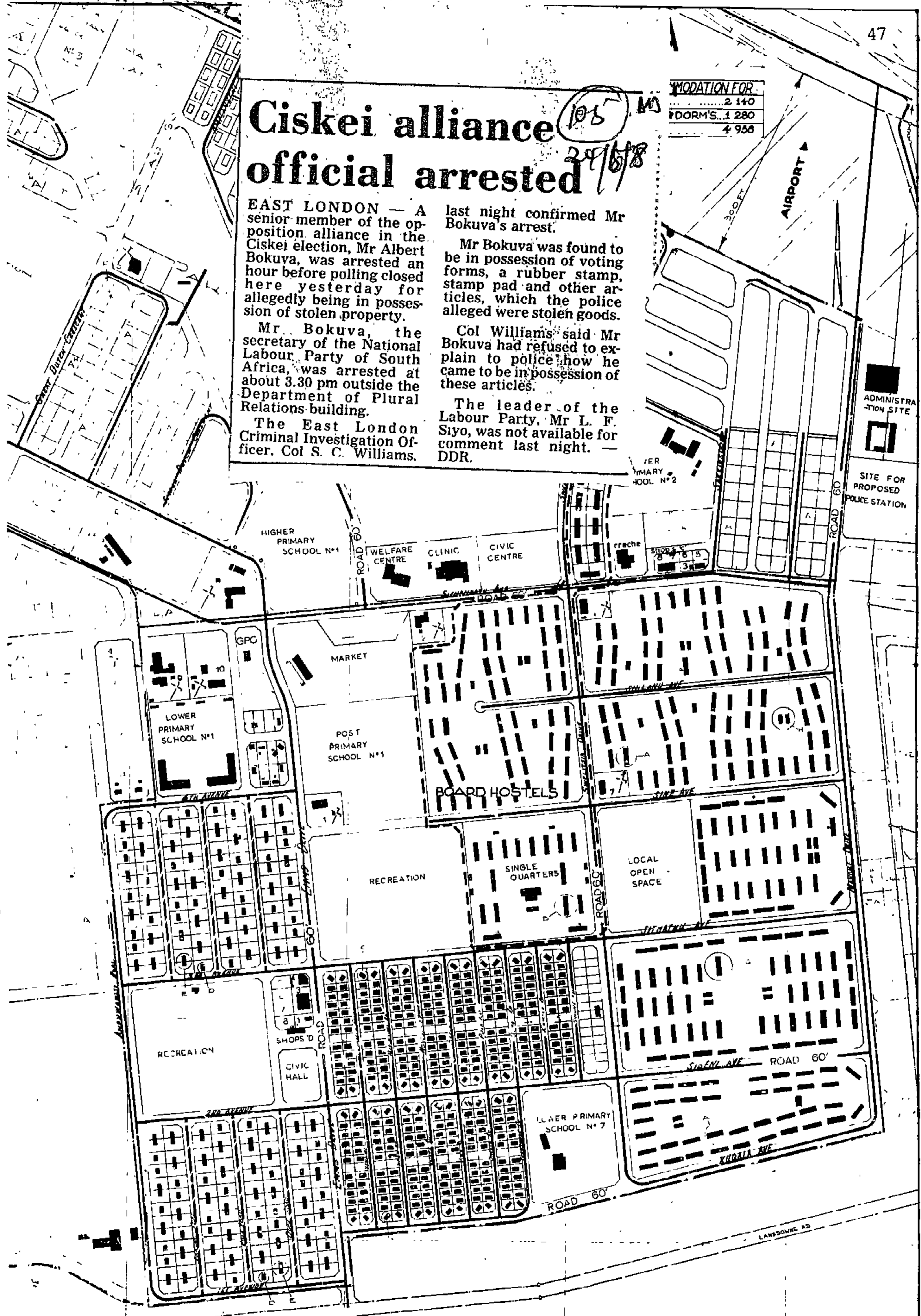
Mr Bokuva was found to be in possession of voting forms, a rubber stamp, stamp pad and other articles, which the police alleged were stolen goods.

Mr Bokuva, the secretary of the National Labour Party of South Africa, was arrested at about 3.30 pm outside the Department of Plural Relations building.

Col Williams said Mr Bokuva had refused to explain to police how he came to be in possession of these articles.

The East London Criminal Investigation Officer, Col S. C. Williams,

The leader of the Labour Party, Mr L. F. Siyo, was not available for comment last night. DDR.



27/6/78 (105)

# Sebe threatens rebel youths

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

— Ciskei's Chief Minister Lennox Sebe has threatened ruthless action against people he described as instigators of rebellious youths.

He said here yesterday that during the recent election campaign his Government's patience was tried to the limit by "unscrupulous" actions of many people who he claimed used gangs of youths to intimidate old people at meetings and at polling booths.

"These youths, most of whom are not yet even of voting age, are still to be seen on the backs of vans and cars driven by people who allege they are political party organisers.

"I trust that the insti-

gators of these rebellious youths have noted these youths are no longer singing innocent political songs, but are now singing songs which have not been heard since the riotous times at the close of last year."

Irresponsible people had set a chain of events in motion which could lead to a new wave of unrest in Ciskei schools, he said.

"I want it noted very clearly that whereas my government was prepared to tolerate certain activities because of an impending election, that election is now over and it will deal ruthlessly if necessary with any action of any person associated with an action which will or could cause unrest."

DDR

BEPALING IN AFSUNDERING VAN 'N DORP  
BEKEND AS PHAKAMISA, CISKEI

Ek, Wilhelm Laubscher Vosloo, Adjunk-minister van Plurale Betrekkinge en Ontwikkeling, bepaal en sonder hierby af, namens die Minister van Plurale Betrekkinge en Ontwikkeling kragtens die bevoegdheid hom verleen by regulasie 4 (1) (a) in Hoofstuk 1 van die Regulasies vir die Administrasie en Bestuur van Dorpe in Bantoegebiede, afgekondig by Proklamasie R. 293 van 1962,

DEFINITION AND SETTING APART OF A TOWNSHIP  
KNOWN AS PHAKAMISA, CISKEI

I, Wilhelm Laubscher Vosloo, Deputy Minister of Plural Relations and Development, do hereby, on behalf of the Minister of Plural Relations and Development under the powers vested in him by regulation 4 (1) (a) of Chapter 1 of the Regulations for the Administration and Control of Townships in Bantu Areas, published under Proclamation R. 293 of 1962, define and set apart,

onder die naam Phakamisa, die grondgebied beskryf in die Bylae hiervan as 'n dorp vir die okkupasie, bewoning en ander redelike behoeftes van Bantoes.

W. L. VOSLOO, Adjunk-minister van Plurale Betrekkinge en Ontwikkeling.

(Lêer T60/4/1331/2)

BYLAE

'n Sekere stuk grond, groot 14,8011 hektaar, geleë op Gedeelte A en die Restant van Plaas 135, distrik Zwelitsha, Ciskei, soos aangedui op Algemene Plan BA 141/1977 wat deur die Sekretaris van Plurale Betrekkinge en Ontwikkeling goedgekeur is en in sy kantoor bewaar word en waarvan 'n afskrif beskikbaar is in die kantoor van die superintendent van die betrokke dorp.

under the name of Phakamisa, the area of land described in the Schedule hereto as a township for the occupation, residence and other reasonable requirements of Bantu.

W. L. VOSLOO, Deputy Minister of Plural Relations and Development.

(File T60/4/1331/2)

SCHEDULE

A certain area of land, in extent 14,8011 hectares, situate on Portion A and the Remainder of Farm 135, District of Zwelitsha, Ciskei, as shown on General Plan BA 141/1977 approved by the Secretary for Plural Relations and Development and filed in his office, a copy of which is available in the office of the superintendent of the township concerned.

# Teacher: Why was I sacked?

*Edubala Gubhaya* 28/1/78 (105) 225



Sindiswa ... would not buy party card from principal.

**EAST LONDON** — A schoolteacher claimed she was sacked for political reasons. She was pregnant at the time and has since had a baby.

But an educational official said it was because she did not comply with regulations on resignation.

Ms Sindiswa Nondwangu, 22, of Mdartane, who was teaching at Jonglianga Junior Secondary School, Kwelela, resigned at the end of May and took up a new post at Ngwenyathi Secondary School, Newlands.

After teaching for two days at Ngwenyathi, an inspector of school, Mr J. Yakobi, arrived and told her, her services had been terminated.

The Ciskei Secretary for Education, Mr K. B. Tabata, said Ms Nondwangu had to pay the penalty for resigning at short notice at Jonglianga.

She did not hold a professional teacher's certificate and had been employed on a temporary basis.

By resigning at Jonglianga where she had been given a temporary post she had let down the school.

Mr Tabata said a teacher could leave at short notice only if there was an agreement between her and the school committee.

"Ms Nondwangu must discuss the matter with me because as long as she is not professionally qualified she will be tossed from pillar to post," Mr Tabata said.

Ms Nondwangu claimed she was told to resign by her principal, Mr N. Ntonga, at Jonglianga, because she was expectant.

"I told him I would have the baby during the holidays," she said.

"I also asked him why he wanted me to resign because no action had been taken against other pregnant teachers."

Ms Nondwangu said before this her principal had asked her to buy a CNIP card and to attend rallies at weekends.

"I told him that according to the regulations, teachers were not to take part in politics. I refused to buy the card and to attend the rallies," Ms Nondwangu said.

"He told me that as a civil servant I had to support the government," Ms Nondwangu said.

Mr Yakobi removed her from Ngwenyathi and asked her to phone him later. When she did so he referred her to his secretary, Mr D. Wasa.

"Mr Wasa told me that according to a letter received from King William's Town I would not be employed for three months," she said.

"At the end of the three months, I must apologise to the department.

"I was shocked because I did not know what I have to apologise for," Ms Nondwangu said.

INDABA

DD Supplement

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28/7/78

INDABA

# POLICE WHO DO NOT JOIN CISKEI TO BE EVICTED

Indaba Reporter

**EAST LONDON** — Thirty-eight policemen who did not continue to serve under the Ciskei Police Force at Mdantsane have been ordered to vacate their houses on July 31.

Notices informing them about the orders have been sent to them or to their families.

The Mdantsane police station was handed over to the Ciskei Government on May 23.

The policemen affected are those who remained in the South African Police Force. Some are stationed outside East London and other centres in the Republic. Notices warning them that they should vacate their houses were given to their wives last week.

It was learnt this week that the policemen who bought their houses in the township are not affected. They may remain in their houses.

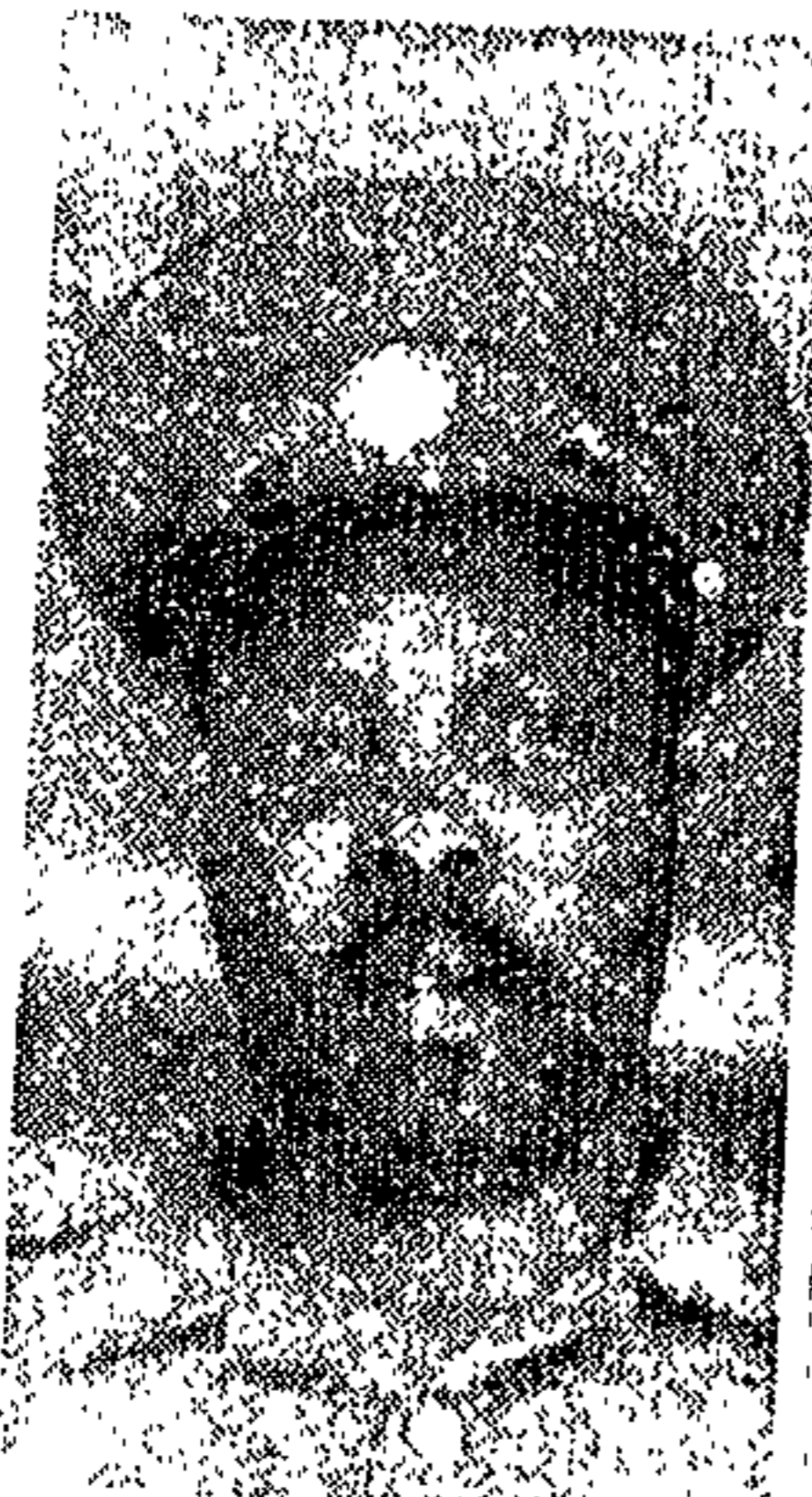
Explaining the reasons why these policemen have to vacate their houses, Lieutenant D.I.N. Mlandu, said 23 policemen who came from Port Elizabeth and district had no places to stay.

He said these policemen had to be temporarily accommodated at the police station.

He said the matter was taken up with the Mdantsane Township Council

and the Manager, Mr I. Balk.

Lieutenant Mlandu said the orders to those policemen who did not join with the Ciskei Police Force was that they vacate their houses. It was a directive from the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief L.L. Sebe.



Lt Mlandu .. directive came from the Ciskei Chief Minister.

Policemen who are from other centres have to be housed in Mdantsane. So far there were only nine houses available.

This was through the efforts of Mr L.M. Yako a member of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly for Mdantsane and Deputy Chairman of the Township Council.

Lieutenant Mlandu said these policemen had to be out of their houses on July 31. This is because they were no longer employed by the Ciskei Police.

Policemen affected said they had taken the matter to the Commissioner of Police for the Border, Brigadier P.J. Smal.

They had passed the notices to their respective station commandants.

Brigadier Smal said the matter was receiving his attention. Accommodation had to be found for these policemen, he said.



# System keeps blacks from teaching conference told

DD 28/6/78  
105

24.

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Under the present system of black education, no one could persuade the best black youths to go into teaching, a Ciskei academic told the South African Teachers' Association conference which ended here yesterday.

To solve the problem, said Mr D. P. Matebese, president of the Ciskei Teachers' Union, it was necessary to phase out separate education for blacks and eventually abolish the Bantu Education Act "which stigmatises black education."

Black educationists and the authorities should come together to devise a better educational system.

Mr Matebese, the principal of the W. B. Rubusama Training School at Mdantsane, said there was a great need to

improve teachers' qualifications in the Ciskei.

Mr K. B. Tabata, Ciskei's Secretary for Education, said of the 4 478 teachers in the Ciskei, only 154 were graduates.

He also spoke of problems of black students in trade and industrial schools who did not find apprenticeship easy because of the attitude of trade unions in the Cape.

Mr J. Pogesta, vice principal of the Lennox Sebe Training College at Zwelitsha, spoke of Ciskei's efforts to improve teachers' qualifications.

He suggested white teachers should help their black colleagues, either in the preparation of their teaching, or by assisting black primary teachers to matriculate.

Delegates at the Sata conference, whose theme

was contact and communication, generally agreed there was a need to keep contact and communication alive between the various races in South Africa.

A call was also made for teachers of all races to get together to discuss teaching methods while students were to be given the opportunity to meet each other across the colour line — not so much on the sporting level but in discussion, debates and drama. — DDR.

## 9 soldiers killed

**WUERZBURG (West Germany)** — Nine American soldiers were killed yesterday when their helicopter crashed about 15 km south-west of here. Among the dead were three crew members and six passengers. — SAPA-AP.

the

daedalus -a -um	a.	1	last
tellus telluris (fem.)	-		earth
summitto -ere	-		send up
aequor aequoris (neut.)	-		level plain; the sea
pontus -i (masc.)	-		sea.

(a) Now break this sentence up into the simple sentences of which it consists and write them in the spaces below. In one sentence you will have to supply a verb from the context. Indicate in each case whether the verb of the sentence is transitive or intransitive.

1. \_\_\_\_\_ (trans. or intrans.)
2. \_\_\_\_\_ " "
3. \_\_\_\_\_ " "
4. \_\_\_\_\_ " "

(b) Explain the case of te: \_\_\_\_\_

(c) Explain the case of tibi: \_\_\_\_\_

(d) Write down the adjectives that agree with the following nouns:

adventum \_\_\_\_\_ flores \_\_\_\_\_ tellus \_\_\_\_\_

## 25. The Genitive

The standard definition of the Genitive is that it indicates possession. That this definition falls short of the truth, should be obvious from the

105

# CISKEI



The Way Ahead

# Why we chose the road we did

In its original concept, the South African homeland master plan might well have been conceived with selfish motives, but no matter, I for one am prepared to give the Republican Government the benefit of

the doubt and will concede that their intentions were honourable and in the interests of the black people of Southern Africa.

While the issue will yet be put to the test, there is, however, no doubt that when the homeland con-

cept was first promoted, the homeland architects did not have a very clear idea of where the policy would lead or what the consequences of the plan would be!

Not only were the objectives somewhat obscure, but the methods and means of obtaining them were also ill-defined. In many respects they remain so even today.

Some people might be puzzled as to why the black man is divided on the homeland question and why some, such as ourselves in the Ciskei, have chosen to travel the narrow and torturous homeland road while others, urban-based in the towns of Soweto, Langa, Gugulethu, etc, have chosen a different path and spurn their origins and ridicule the homeland concept as a solution to the problems of Southern Africa.

It is important that we should try to gain a good understanding of the philosophy of the differing view points, which can only be described in very broad terms here.

Firstly, the homeland concept...

We see the people of the

Ciskei as a 'nation of people'. We are here today as the descendants of our courageous and heroic forefathers who, by their determination and tenacity, helped to fashion the history of Southern Africa by diverting Boer and Britain from their eastward advance, turning them to the north via the historic Great Trek of 1834.

The mantle and spirit of those great warriors is alive today, restlessly seeking the re-unification of the Ciskei nation in the former national homeland.

Prior to the advent of the white man, my people enjoyed their freedom and their land; in their own way they were rich, in cattle, enjoyed good grazing, good water and mighty forests.

They might not have had the wealth and material possessions of the white nations, overseas, but they were a viable community with their own form of government, laws and customs.

It is this that we have lost and it is this we seek to regain and to us the homeland policy of

separate development provides a basic formula for regaining our former national sovereignty.

This matter should be clearly understood — we are not participating and co-operating in home development, for any other reason, other than the restitution of our former national entity.

In doing so we do not abandon our claim to sharing in the wealth of the greater regional Southern Africa, nor do we acknowledge any inferiority as black people.

Nor do we intend to go back to tribal sectionalism or to loincloth, assegai and knobkerries — although these primitive weapons will retain a certain pride of place on ceremonial occasions.

Make no mistake, we value and cherish our traditions and have no desire to discard our own identity and become black "white men" emulating Western ways and customs — like some of our kind in urbanisation.

achievement.

Not at all, but like the Jews with whom we have a strong affinity, we will become a traditional society seeking, as they do, to re-establish a national identity in the land of our forefathers.

Following the national suicide of my people, motivated by their utter despair at losing their land to the white man, the then administrator of the Cape Colony set out to destroy the national powers of our hereditary chiefs and the cohesion of the nation was broken.

Having lost all, my people came face to face with starvation, and to survive, dispersed throughout Southern Africa seeking a means of livelihood.

For this reason nearly half of our people now live in urbanised settlement adjacent to the great cities of white South Africa, where they live a very poor imitation of the white man's way of life. They contribute the skills they have acquired and their energy for unequal wages to increase the great wealth, prosperity and affluence of white South Africa.

Regarding urban communities, who in their de-tribalised (I use this term to denote their apparent severance with the homelands) transitory-type existence seek to find and promote their own solution to the human relations problems of Southern Africa; those who are my people, who originate from the great houses of the Ciskei, I contend these people, existing in the third class townships of Soweto, New Brighton and elsewhere, will find no satisfaction in a life of this nature.

The environment is unnatural to them. There is no social structure, no traditional code by which their children can be guided, moulded, disciplined. Where is national pride based on knowledge of the history of the land and its leaders? It is any wonder that parents in these circumstances are unable to discipline their children?

Whether concessions are made for them to have leasehold title homes, whether they govern their community affairs, whether they receive street lights will make no difference to the ultimate outcome.



They will always be conscious of their status, living in their lowly townships in direct contrast with the prosperous white cities and they will never become viable communities.

They are the most unstable communities in South Africa, rife and ripe for the attention of agitators as has already been so forcefully demonstrated.

It is good that meanwhile, these communities should establish their own community councils and make positive efforts to improve their daily circumstances, let us not imagine that these innovations will lead to stable communities.

The homeland concept may have greater significance for the rurally-based Ciskeian than for those who have migrated into the cities, farms and industries of South Africa. However divorced this section of our population may be to the homeland — if the homeland concept is to offer a solution to our racial problems — then I say now that the homeland concept will need to win — and win convincingly — the support and active participation of urban Ciskeians.



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THE KING  
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THE QUEEN  
750ml





# ROYAL OAK

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**From page 2**

The only way in which this can be achieved is to create a stimulating developmental environment offering attractive opportunities to these people.

The homeland architects insist that the political home for all our migrant urbanised people is in the homeland. In their present localities they are but transitory and eventually are destined to return to their homelands.

In their present circumstances, lowly as they are, they could perhaps be forgiven for comparing the homelands to perhaps the wastelands of the Negev Desert in Israel — as far as opportunities for providing them with a more satisfying way of life are concerned.

Existing levels of development within the homelands do not even come close to meeting the aspirations of the de facto population, let alone provide for the hopes and anticipations of those in temporary sojourn in Southern Africa.

The key to the entire volatile situation obviously lies in the rapid promotion of homeland development. Failure to meet this challenge now — positively, imaginatively, with great drive and energy, unstintingly, with great sacrifice and high capital investment — will mean disaster for Southern Africa.

It is not for me to spell out the dangers of direct confrontation. If the cake is not fairly divided, in the ensuing fight the cake will be knocked aside, trampled on and lost — lost to all no matter who might be the stronger!

During a recent visit to Israeli I perceived a miracle in homeland development. It is an example of the greatest significance for all the people of Southern Africa and it provides a blue-

print for the successful rebirth of a nation in the land of their forefathers.

But without the massive financial aid that they have received from world-wide sources, they would not have been able to make their 'deserts bloom' or build their wonderful cities — there are no Sowetos in Israel.

I will concede the Jews are a nation of people of exceptional qualities enjoying a vast cross-section of professionally skilled scientists, engineers, architects, economists, etc.

Never mind, technical expertise abounds in the world today and until my people have acquired all these skills, technical aid programmes can substitute.

**"I am not content with the economic position as it exists in the Ciskei at the moment, however favourable it may be. I will not rest and I will not let my people rest until such time as we have striven towards and achieved a higher standard of living. Every Ciskeian has a duty to play in the development of the Ciskei. It is everyone's duty, young and old, to improve his education, to seek opportunities, to undergo specialised training, to work harder and to demonstrate his ability."**

In our own circumstances, the constraints are land, development of our agricultural resources and capital finance. My people are ready to play their part, including those suburban-based presently devoting their skills to South Africa's industry.

In 1973, in committing my government to working within the framework of separate development, I stipulated that the entire Ciskei was to be consolidated into a single territory, stretching from the Fish to the Kei River and from the Indian Ocean to the Stormberg Mountains in the north.

Today we have our toe-hold and we will not let go until we have regained our entire land.

Our natural resources

far exceed those of Israel and we have the potential firmly to establish our own economic foundations on an agricultural base.

The evidence is clearly to be seen in the Keiskamma and Tyefu irrigation schemes — covered elsewhere in this supplement.

But while on this subject, I would like to pose a question relative to our efforts in agricultural developments "Why is it that nearly everything we have achieved in rural development in recent years has been achieved in the face of considerable official opposition?"

In-service training courses are urgently needed. Constraints such as credit, marketing, ser-

VICES etc, are crippling and need to be removed. In the Ciskei we have chosen to make a broad frontal attack on these problems through a newly-established Marketing Board, which will boost both the co-operative movements and economic agricultural development.

We do not have capital finance and all our attempts to induce the Western nations to come to our aid — as they have done for other Third World countries and for Israel itself — have so far been in vain.

Similarly our attempts to obtain a fair share of the 'cake' from local financial resources have been extremely disappointing and frustrating.

How are we to overcome this problem and supply this vital missing component for the successful development of the homeland?

For those who hold back their money because of opposition to the homeland concept (and here I am directing my words mainly to the Western nations), I would issue this challenge: "Show me Third World countries to which you so willingly extend your aid, in millions of dollars each year; show me Third World countries more stable than ours, where true democracy prevails, where communism has no foothold and never will prevail."

Few, if any, of these countries have solved their economic problems or, for that matter, even their political ones, judging from the need for the 'law of the gun' prevalent in most Southern Africa today is at the crossroads. There is complete pre-occupation with events in South West Africa and Rhodesia and insufficient attention is being paid to formulating a meaningful structure for the solution of our most pressing internal problems.

In 1910, with the formation of the Union of South Africa, the national slogan adopted, symbolising 'unity', was "Unity is Strength" or "Eendrag maak Mag".

Through the homeland concept it is our intention to continue to preserve this ideal. The physical infrastructure of our respective territories, is inextricably linked together and it would be both ridiculous and physically impossible to attempt to dismember and divide these facilities.

Surely these circumstances should dictate a future unity, taking the form of a federal or confederal state of Southern Africa?

Such a structure would provide for all —

homeland-based citizens, urban-based citizens and other with federal citizenship, while retaining their separate identity, cultures and traditional societies.

Even at this moment all South Africa's races are being called on to stand together and unite to withstand the onslaught of communistic aggression. If we are to share the burdens of defence and war together, then surely we should equally share the benefits and peace together.

My generation is the only body of black leadership opinion that is prepared to reason and struggle to find the formula for peaceful co-existence.



**The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, the Honourable Chief Lennox Sebe, author of the article on this page and page 2.**

Even our patience in being forced to walk the tightrope as middlemen, being designated stooges by the rising youthful urban communities, is coming to an end.

After us you will find no one to talk to.

If South Africa in general is yet unable to read the writing on the wall, or perceive the threat of advancing communism that is threatening to engulf Southern Africa entirely — marching to the battle cry of inequality and racial prejudice — then there is little more that I or my staunch ministerial colleagues can do to assist to mould a future enjoying peaceful co-existence with the nation of the Ciskei.

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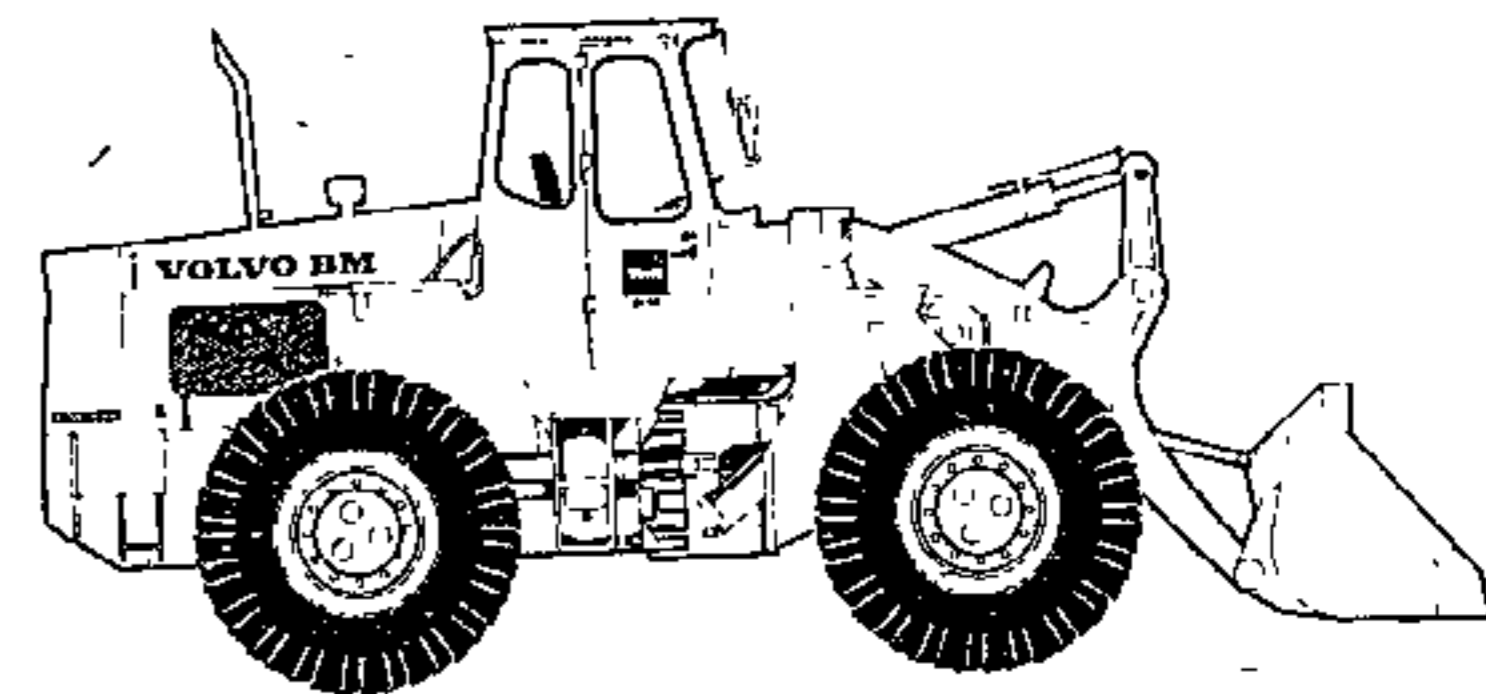


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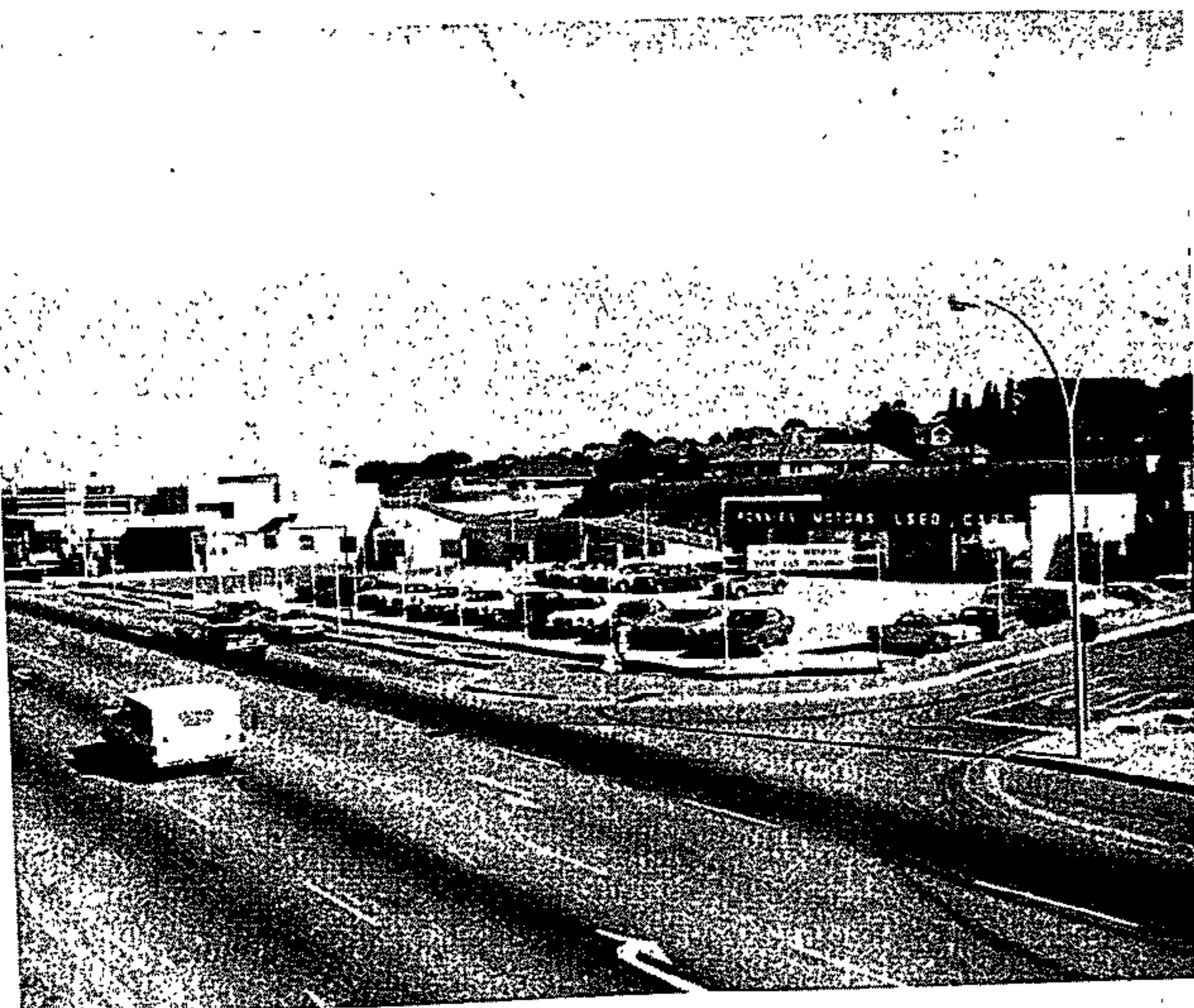


 Trucks



**HEAD OFFICE** in Old Transkei Road, Nagoon which houses administration, new car and commercial vehicles sales and car workshop.

The new complex housing the **COMMERCIAL VEHICLE WORKSHOP** and **CENTRAL PARTS DEPOT** in Napier Street, West Bank.



The illuminated open air **USED CAR DIVISION** adjoining the head office which has become a focal point in the Nagoon area.

# Mighty Mdantsane

Mdantsane was first established in 1962 and proclaimed on April 7, 1966. It is located in the Ciskei.

The ground on which it stands was previously White-owned farms which were bought by the South African Trust. The prime object in establishing Mdantsane was to provide housing facilities to urban blacks in East London and its environs who were living under slum conditions.

In conforming with policy, housing facilities have been provided in a black homeland.

The development of Mdantsane to date is over R45 million.

In addition, private individuals are encouraged to develop businesses and homes with their own funds.

Mdantsane was planned in two phases — the first phase being the development of approximately 20 000 homes. The second phase will consist of approximately 30 000 homes. When completely developed, Mdantsane will cover some 8 000 ha.

Modern town planning methods and practices are applied, in the planning and layout of the town. In terms of this formula, broadly speaking every 1 800 houses comprises a self-contained unit with its own administration office, shopping centre, medical clinic, educational and recreational facilities.

Development is taking place at the rate of about 700 houses a year, plus appropriate facilities.

Various schemes are available to Ciskeians to obtain their own homes, including:

#### GOVERNMENT

The conventional house provided by the government is a four-roomed house with inside toilet and ablution facilities.

The erven on which these houses are built are between 300 and 600 square metres. The houses may be rented or purchased.

Houses erected by the government sell for R820. The site fee ranges from R13 - R26 depending on size and a further R2 is payable to register the title deeds. No cash out lay other than the site and registration fees is required.

The repayment period is 40 years at 4.5 per cent. The actual amount involved is R3,70 a month, plus a service fee of R2,85, making a total monthly instalment of R6,55.

The price of these houses was determined many years ago and has no bearing on the current cost of erecting a house which, in fact is R2 100.

In order to qualify to purchase a government house the prospective buyer must be a Ciskeian and actually already have occupation of the house. Persons wishing to install electricity in their own homes may do so.

#### OWNER FINANCED

It was apparent for a long time that a desperate need existed among Ciskeians to become economically involved in acquiring their own homes. This need was perhaps accentuated by the fact it was becoming more and more apparent that the State could not be expected to build a house for every family in the country.

With due regard to the economic considerations involved, a housing scheme was evolved and implemented whereby the MSO, the agents of the Government, will on request, build standard and improved versions of approved government houses at a cost price for Ciskeian citizens and employers.

This scheme forms part and, in fact, supplements the official annual building programme.

The question of financing the scheme by way of loans to prospective home owners was a prerequisite and the Ciskei National Development Corporation has helpfully filled the breach by providing loan facilities up to 80 per cent, repayable over a period of 20 years, against the registration of a bond against the property involved.

Any prospective home-owner, who must be a Ciskeian citizen, can either pay a cash deposit or negotiate a loan from the CNDC.

The same site fee, title deeds registration fee and service fee as with the government scheme presently apply. No rates or taxes are levied at present.

In addition many employers have spontaneously given employees a home as a gift for services rendered and many employers also assist employees with the necessary deposit to enable them to obtain loans.

Other employers assist employees by subsidising their monthly loan repayments and in all respects a wealth of goodwill is being displayed.

#### OWNER BUILDER

In the overall plan of the town, areas have been set aside for Ciskeians who want to buy sites and build their own homes. These sites are larger than the standard building sites and are sold for R20 to R40 each. All private building plans are subject to approval by the Town Engineer.

Essential services provided include roads, street lighting, water points in the house and on the erf, and water-borne sewerage.

To date 18 000 houses have been built in Mdantsane, which has a population of 120 000 plus 30 000 in lodging.

In the master plan of the township, business sites have been set aside in each unit.

In many instances the CNDC is involved with the development of business complexes, as well as financing business enterprises.

About 60 businesses are operating and a further 40 are in various stages of development, including an hotel, Zola Fashions, pharmacy, dry cleaners, garages, butchers, supermarkets, bottlestores, restaurants, steak houses.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The Mdantsane Town Council consists of 18 members —

ten elected and eight designated by the Ciskeian Government. Councillors serve for three years and are eligible for reelection. The Council elects its own mayor and deputy mayor.

The council is responsible for the management and control of the township, the maintenance of good order, and the allocation of sites for church, school, business and accommodation.

In line with the policy of phasing out white employees as and when they can be replaced by suitably qualified Ciskeian citizens, it should be noted there are only two white officers involved in management.

A substantial nursery is maintained for the development of parks and beautifying the township. Any resident may obtain whatever the nursery has in stock free of charge, provided he requires to improve the beauty of his own home.

A fire-fighting unit is maintained and the officers have been thoroughly trained by East London municipal firemen.

Transport services are heavily subsidised by the South African Government.

In addition to 50 ordinary schools, Mdantsane also boasts a commercial and technical high school, two technical colleges and an industrial school offering crash courses teaching basic skills

in specific industrial techniques.

Social welfare services are well catered for and locally controlled welfare bodies make a very worthy contribution to the community. Their activities include an orphanage, creche, child welfare foster homes, welfare homes for the aged, mental health, Cripple Care institution, clinic for deaf and dumb, Zenzele Women's Organisation and a school and home for handicapped children.

Mdantsane has many excellent sports facilities, including a magnificent rugby stadium which has been the venue of matches between the South African Leopards and British and French touring teams.

The stadium is also the venue for major boxing promotions — a sport which has a particularly strong following in Mdantsane.

The township also boasts 11 all-weather tennis courts and a public swimming bath which is very popular and well patronised, particularly by the young.

Adequate cricket and soccer facilities exist — and Mdantsane hosted the 1975 Charles Passmore Schools Cricket Week which was highly successful and very popular.

Junior athletics is another popular sport in Mdantsane and all schools hold domestic and annual inter-school

athletics meetings.

The facilities provided by the Mdantsane Civic Centre are in constant demand for live theatre, music festivals, beauty contests — and other recreational functions, while a modern luxury cinema in the city centre is also very popular.

Current developments involving the Mdantsane Town Council and township administration, which form part of the town council's three-year plan for the overall improvement of Mdantsane were outlined by the township manager, Mr I Balk.

These include:

(1) The development of a permanent bus terminus in the city centre. Building has already started.

(2) The provision of open air market facilities for hawkers at the main bus terminus. The first two units providing 96 attractive covered market stalls are virtually completed. They will go a long way towards eliminating the current health hazard created by uncontrolled hawking.

(3) The provision of civic buildings which will include council chambers, library and recreation centre. It is hoped planning will start in the near future.

(4) The alteration of school buildings to include recreational and community

facilities on a suburban basis, thereby eliminating the necessity of separate buildings. We hope that providing this type of facility will enable us to launch community projects involving both adults and children and will help to bridge the fast growing generation gap.

(5) The provision of suburban creches, which will be run by the existing Mdantsane Creche Committee. We hope to have the first creche built during the next financial year.

(6) The establishment of a service organisation, which will provide the fund-raising arm of the council to enable it to make a material contribution towards the provision of community facilities. The constitution is already being prepared to register such an organisation as a non-profit making organisation and the two major fund-raising projects we envisage are:


(a) The provision of off-course tote facilities;


(b) a permanent lottery whereby houses built by the service organisation will be raffled. Obviously we will comply with the provisions of the Gambling Act.

I think the council has a heavy programme, but that at the end of its term of office significant improvements will have taken place, Mr Balk said.


## 'Thanks to Colgate, my family has really fresh breath and strong white teeth,'

says Social Worker Shimane Kumalo.







My wife and I use Colgate MFP Fluoride Dental Cream. It removes food particles between teeth that cause decay and bad breath. And fresh breath confidence is important to Zola when she entertains friends and to me at work.




**1. Regular brushing with MFP Fluoride forms a tough barrier with tooth enamel against decay and cavities.**



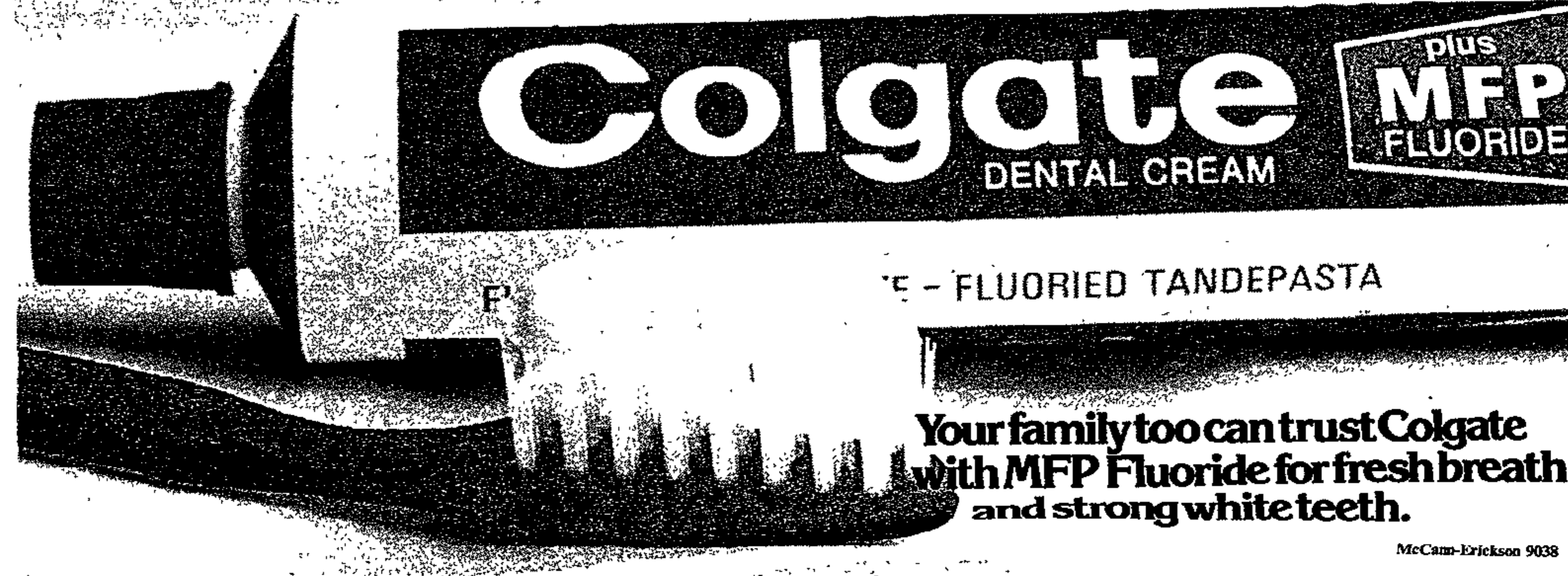
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"My youngest, Tumelo and Kgomo, use Colgate and have no holes in their teeth to hurt them. This is because the MFP Fluoride in Colgate makes a tough barrier on the teeth against decay."



"Pumla and Thato are teenagers. And they both have strong, white teeth because they have always brushed with Colgate every day."



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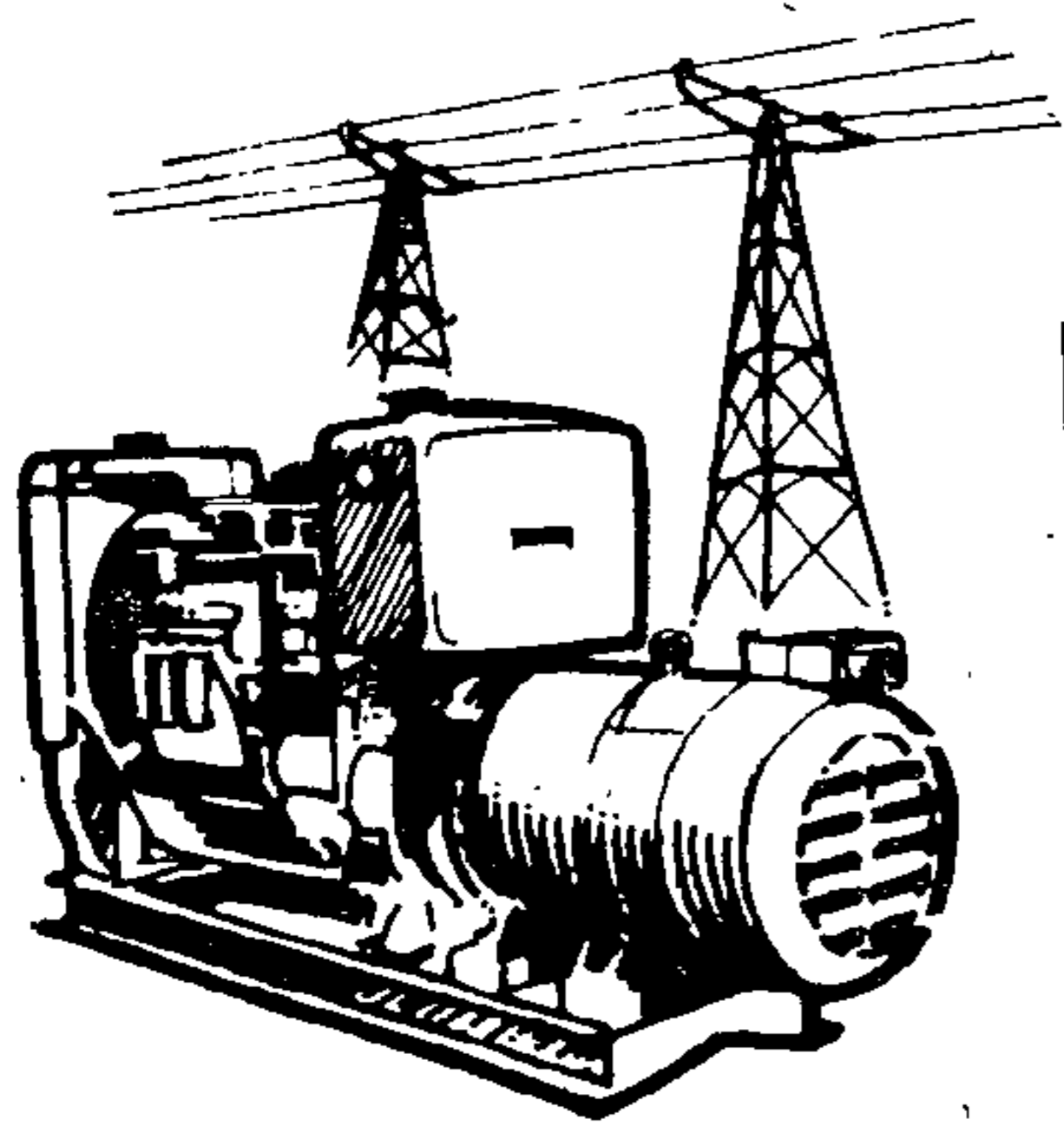
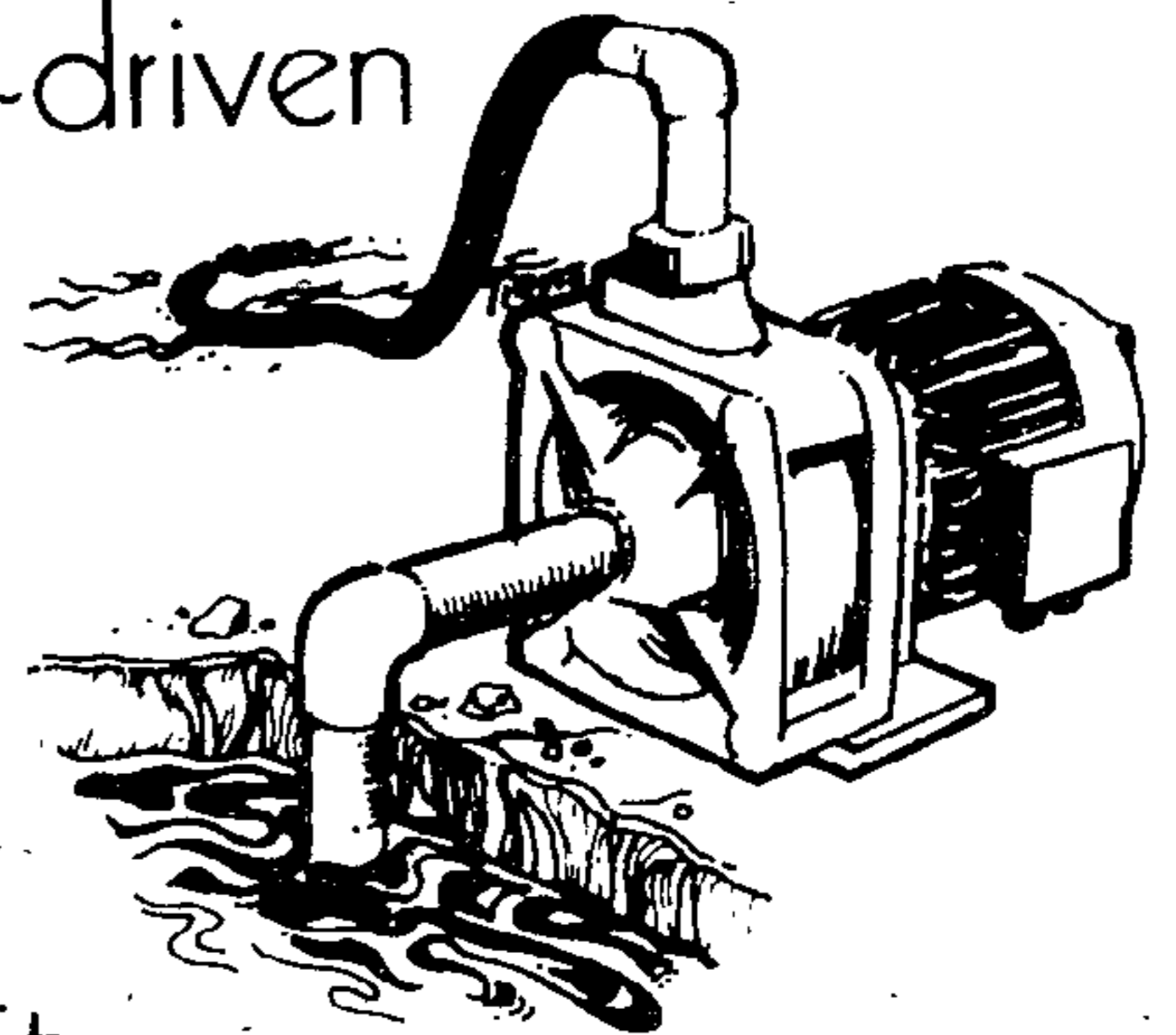


## Welding plant and equipment

from an electrode holder to electrical and engine-driven welding units.

## Pumps and pumping equipment

from a fountain pump to a high volume submersible and specialised industrial and contractor unit.

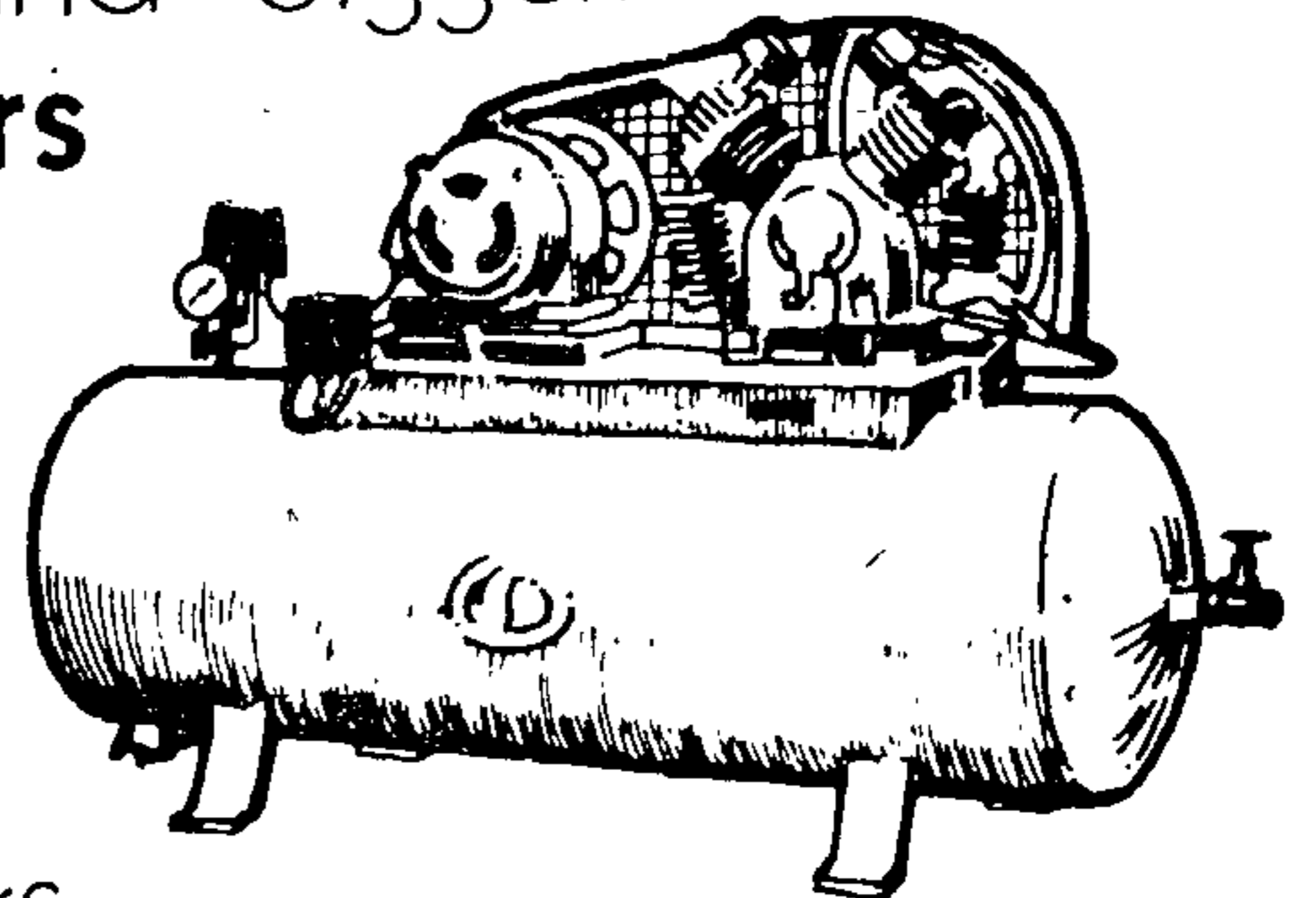


## Lighting and power plant

from a portable petrol engine lighting plant unit and alternators for farm lighting plants to city-sized diesel-driven power plants of 5000 KVA and bigger.

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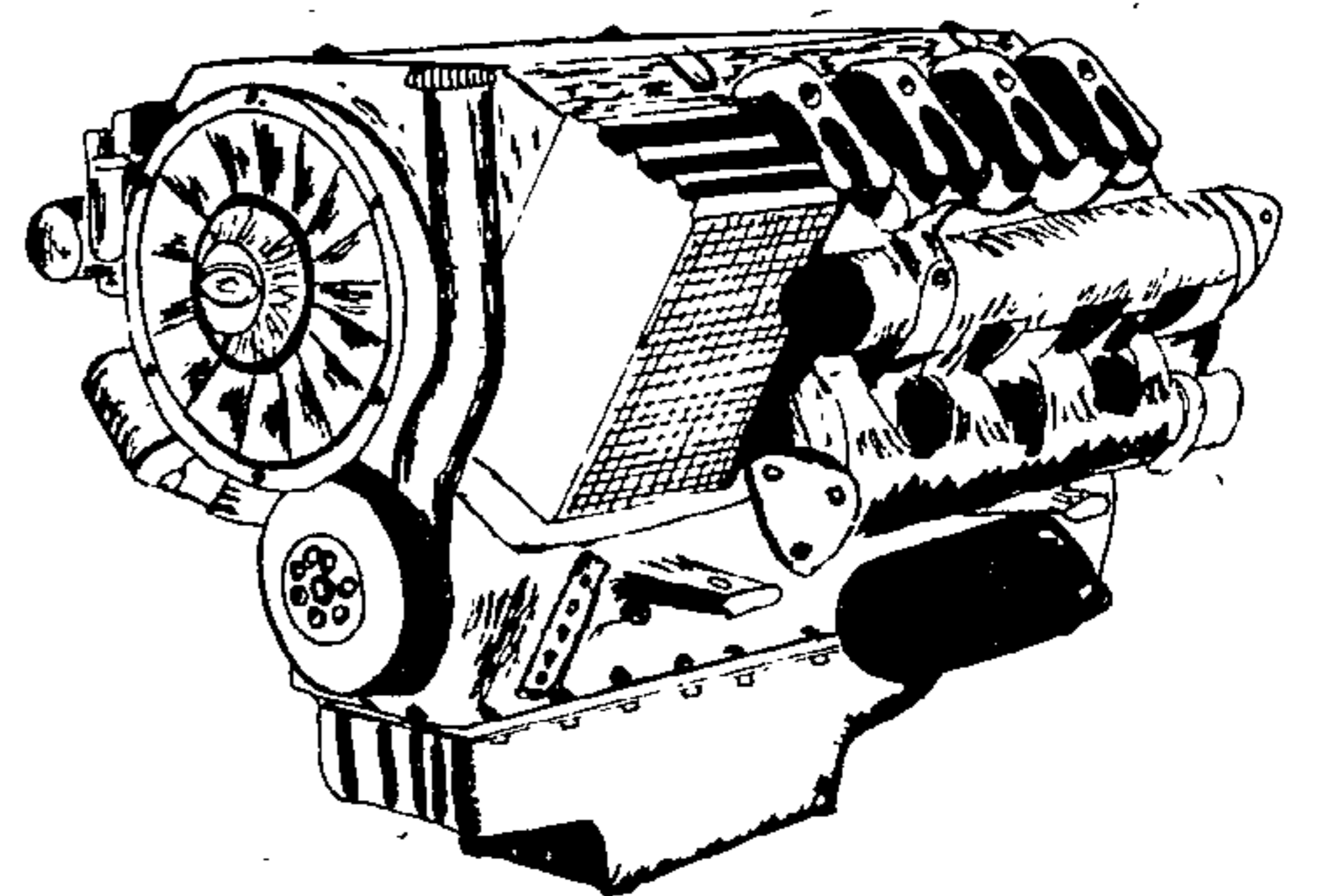
from home workshop spray painting units to garage and heavy industrial compressors.



**Plant hire** contractors and industrial plant hire specialists in welding plants, electrical or engine-driven portable lighting- and power plant compressors.

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# 50 000 passengers a day

Ciskei Transport Corporation through its integrated bus transport network has always sought to provide the maximum mobility to the ever-growing community of Mdantsane and other areas.

Each working day, some 50 000 individual passengers are conveyed on the Corporation's buses and the vast majority of these are employed in the commercial and industrial sectors of greater East London.

The Corporation presently operates 228 buses over 51 different routes and employs 750 black employees of all categories.

This route network includes internal feeder service to 11 residential zones within Mdantsane, as well as direct services from central Mdantsane to various important employment centres.

In addition, the internal Mdantsane routes provide rail feeder-services to Mount Ruth, Mdantsane and Fort Jackson railway stations.

Border industry, commerce and the Ciskeian work force in Mdantsane are fully interdependent and Ciskei Transport Corporation provides the vital link, the very life-line between employer and employee.

The socio-economic function of Ciskei Transport Corporation naturally extends far beyond the role of merely a worker-commuter service. Every day, thousands of people also make use of the Corporation's services for purposes of shopping, visiting friends and relatives, and many other social activities.

The Corporation therefore represents a fully integrated public transport network which caters for all spheres of social and economic activity of Mdantsane's growing population and also makes a direct and meaningful contribution to the economic development of the Ciskei.

Ciskei Transport Corporation has a distinctly urban nature. The main outer worker destinations are situated in urban or suburban areas of East

## Operational control

In order to control this intensive operation effectively, fast communication is essential and to ensure this the Corporation makes use of a sophisticated two-way radio network.

Patrol cars, fitted with two-way radios, traverse the bus routes and make regular reports on passenger demand to the central operating office.

In case of bus breakdowns, which are in-

service.

## Employment opportunities

Road passenger transportation is a labour intensive industry. At present, the Corporation employs 854 people of which some 750 are black.

At an average of at least five persons per family, this means that more than 3 800 people benefit directly as a result of the Corporation's activities.

The senior posts occupied by blacks include senior traffic officials, personnel officials, senior control operators, chief and senior inspectors, chief ticket office clerks and many others. All Ciskei Transport Corporation employees therefore have good prospects of advancement.

Training is naturally not only confined to preparing existing employees for executive positions. A modern training school at the Cor-

and service efficiency Ciskei Transport Corporation engineering staff have the unenviable task of keeping a fleet of 228 buses in tip-top condition at all times.

As passenger safety is of paramount importance, the Corporation maintains the highest possible standards of mechanical efficiency and safety.

Both the modern workshops at Brae Lynn and Reeston are manned by skilled personnel who are responsible, not only for day-to-day attention required by a large bus fleet, but also for the all important planned preventive maintenance programme.

The Corporation's maintenance department is divided into seven divisions—auto-electrical division, machine shop, body-building shop, heavy unit repair shop, tyre department, stores section and a servicing/maintenance section.

All these divisions play an essential role in providing the specialised back-up facilities needed to keep a large modern bus fleet operating reliably.

In order to maintain vehicle safety and reliability, the Corporation pursues a continuous vehicle replacement programme. During the past two years alone, 70 new buses were bought at a cost of R2,2 million and a further 20 new vehicles are on order.

Ciskei Transport Corporation is proud of its continuity role in the economic development of the Ciskei and its people.



London, while Mdantsane itself is developing a distinct city character with residential zones, community and shopping centre, a sports stadium, hospital and other social facilities.

The Corporation also provides scheduled bus services between East London and other such residential areas as Duncan Village, Kwelera, Igoda and others.

frequent, radio-equipped maintenance vehicles are located at strategic points. Should problems arise, the radio system enables these vehicles to get to a breakdown point with the minimum of delay.

At the same time, the operation section is enabled to despatch a replacement bus if required. These and other modern operating aids are essential in ensuring a convenient and reliable bus

In keeping with the Corporation's personnel policy, more and more senior positions are being filled by black personnel.

Whenever possible, senior vacancies are filled by means of internal promotion and further specialised training. A large number of administrative, inspectorate and senior positions are now occupied by black personnel.

Corporation's Reeston depot teaches new employees the skills necessary to become professional bus driver/conductors. The school possesses modern visual aids in order to help the trainee and instructor alike.

## Engineering expertise

Vehicle reliability has a direct influence on passenger convenience

# A 3,75%

## LOAN IS ONLY ONE OF THE INCENTIVES TO INVEST IN THE CISKEI.

The Ciskei offers everything the successful entrepreneur or investor is looking for — and more. Consider that it is the declared policy of the Ciskeian Government to fully support all industrial development at Dimbaza — a growth point that has a sophisticated infrastructure including purified water and Escom power as well as tarred roads, storm water drains, private rail sidings and street lighting.

Consider Ciskei's geographical location, on a direct road and rail link with the Cape, Free State Goldfields and Pretoria-Witwatersrand complex — and only 74 kilometres from the presently under-utilised East London Harbour.

within walking distance of the industrial area... and Ciskei's advantages of direct-dialling and telex systems.

And finally consider the generous incentives we're offering industrialists to establish industries in the Ciskei — among the most attractive of any decentralised area. Plus the fact that key personnel can live in King William's Town, only 20 kilometres from Dimbaza, with its excellent educational, cultural and social facilities.

It all adds up to an investment opportunity too good to ignore. And you can find out more by simply phoning or writing to:

The Manager: Industrial Liaison, Pvt Bag X463 King William's Town



CNDC

CISKEIAN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION LTD



If the Ciskei is a young David waiting to flex its muscles, then Dimbaza is Ciskei industry's Goliath.

*For Dimbaza is the crucible where the major industrial development in the Ciskei has so far taken place.*

Mr Frans Meisenholz, general manager of the CNDC, reports that to date 17 factories on an agency basis have been established or are being established in Dimbaza, the Ciskei's main growth centre, and six in the rest of the Ciskei.

He reports the total investment in these factories, when completed, will be almost R14 million, of which the Corporation will be funding R8 million. Employment will be provided for 2 300 Ciskeians.

Dimbaza is ideally situated for industrial growth. It lies equidistant from Cape Town and Johannesburg and is only 77 km by rail from the nearest port — East London.

There is an adequate labour pool available in the Ciskei. At Dimbaza, labour is housed within walking distance of the industrial sites. The population is well adapted to an industrial environment and many are trained, or partly trained, in various industrial disciplines.

Dimbaza will be developed to approximately 150ha and after that Middeldrift, 16 km from Alice and 44 km from King William's Town, will be the major industrial growth point of the Ciskei.

Mr Meisenholz anticipates Dimbaza will more than double in size during the next two to three years and he expects the first factories at Middeldrift will be in production by 1981.

Industries already established at Dimbaza include a modern and well-equipped ferromanganese foundry; cycle factory; small automotive components factory exporting Volkswagen parts to the United States and Germany; weaving factory; clock factory; a factory manufacturing metal spectacle cases and leather safety products; a metal industry manufacturing ground flat stock steel for the tool-making industry which started production last month (May); and a paint factory.

Projected development on the drawing board includes a factory producing structural steel for industry, which will also offer general engineering services and which is expected to go into production next month (July).

Let's take a closer look at some of the industries...

#### Sotho Weavers

• A comparatively new industry at Dimbaza is Sotho Weavers, the brainchild of Mr Wolfram Wiesspeiner, a young Cape Town entrepreneur of German extraction.

With the backing of the CNDC he has built a R125 000 factory at Dimbaza and when fully established it will provide work for 120 weavers, most of them women.

"Most of the wool we use is karakul, but merino is added for some of the more prestige products," Mr Wiesspeiner said.

"We use no artificial dyes and the designs are all traditional African ones, mostly from Lesotho."

The factory has already met overseas orders in Austria, Scandinavia, Switzerland, the United States and Australia and Mr Wiesspeiner anticipates 85 per cent of his output will be exported within two years.

He said there was a strong demand for indigenous hand-made products in the industrialised countries. He said he can produce carpets and wall hangings

# Dimbaza — Goliath of Ciskei industry

metre, a price almost half that traditionally charged for hand-woven woollen products in South Africa.

One of Mr Wiesspeiner's initial problems was to find a specific kind of loom on which he wanted the weaving done.

He was able to locate Mr A. Ludwig, a Sudeten German who is reputedly one of the few men who know how to build traditional hand looms in wood.

Mr Ludwig has now made and delivered R40 000 worth of these looms to Sotho Weavers' factory in Dimbaza.

Says an enthusiastic Mr Wiesspeiner: "We're doing three worthwhile things — we're making a profit; we're giving enjoyable work to people who had none; and we're turning out a product that is a pleasure to see, to touch and to have near you."

#### Clocks

• The Black Forest Clocks factory is the only company in South Africa which assembles complete watch movements.

These movements, imported from Switzerland and Germany, are used extensively in watches fitted with lever and pin-lever movements.

Rugged and attractive watch cases are imported from Hong Kong and Black Forest Clocks provide a one-year guarantee on almost all their quality products.

Black Forest and the Hang Ten organisation recently signed an agreement whereby the Hang Ten international trade mark will be incorporated into the design of the watch faces. The watches will be the digital type and may ultimately be solar powered.

Initially these watches will be distributed only in South Africa, although export possibilities are being investigated.

Black Forest Clocks' pin-lever watches are marketed under the trade name of "Teltime", while their present range of full-lever, 17-jewelled watches, incorporating shock protection, are marketed under a variety of trade names.

#### Zipha Nywerhede

• Zipha Nywerhede is possibly the only church-owned industry in South Africa.

The original agency agreement between the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk and the CNDC to establish the industry was signed late in 1973.

Zipha rejected cost-efficient machinery in favour of labour intensive equipment, which was especially designed for the company by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

In August, 1974, Zipha started manufacturing metal spectacle cases at its Dimbaza factory.

All profits from Zipha's R43 000-a-month turnover are ploughed back into the industry to increase its work force, which currently stands at 107 Ciskeians. The actual cost of creating a job is R1 700 — remarkably low for industry.

Zipha recently diversified its production and now also manufactures a variety of leather safety products, including three types of leather gloves. The company is currently producing an average of 5 000 pairs of gloves a week.

Besides safety gloves, Zipha manufactures split-leg aprons, welding

protectors and plan to produce a number of such small leather articles as tobacco pouches and purses.

#### Ciskei Metal Industries

• Ciskei Metal Industries are the only South African manufacturers of ground flat stock steel to high tolerances of accuracy. The product is used mainly in the toolmaking industry.

The company's first consignment of steel, worth some R5 000, was railed from Dimbaza at the end of last month.

The establishment of Ciskei Metal Industries involves an investment of R440 000. The steel itself is produced from a raw

material which meets the quality specifications demanded by local and overseas tool manufacturers.

Ground flat stock steel is precision ground die steel, oil-hardened and non-shrinking. It has many uses and is suitable for the manufacture of dies, punches, gauges, jigs, templates, stamps, machine parts and other tools.

The die steel is available in either oblong or square sections in a wide variety of thicknesses and widths.

When it is in full production the factory will provide jobs for 26 Ciskeians. During the first year of operation, three Ciskeians will be trained as specialist high preci-

sion grinders. By the beginning of the fourth year it is expected the factory will operate on a three-shift basis, which will require 10 specialist high precision grinders.

Mr A. Menashe, a former mayor and a named Alderman of the city of Bulawayo, is the managing director of Ciskei Metal Industries.

Mr Barry Asprey is presently managing the factory.

#### Paint

• One of the smaller factories at Dimbaza, a paint factory, has been operating in Dimbaza for 3½ years.

Mr A. A. Debs of Uitenhage, chairman of the company, has high

praise for what he termed the "remarkable degree by which Dimbaza workers have responded to intensive training and the exceptionally high standards they have set for themselves in industry."

Last year the company decided to allot shares to blacks "to give them an interest in industry in the homeland and share in the profits."

Mr Debs is on record as saying his company has no qualms about risking capital in the Ciskei.

#### Structural steel

• A new engineering industry at Dimbaza, involving nearly R275 000, is geared to go into production next month.

Ciskei Structures and Assemblies will produce structural steel for industry and will also offer general engineering services.

The company will direct its main marketing efforts at the agricultural sector in and around the Ciskei.

When it reaches full production the factory will provide jobs for 75 Ciskeians.



## The taste of

# is

# SABS mark for foundry

The pride of Dimbaza is its metal foundry — the first primary industry established there.

Brainchild of three young engineers, Mr Ian Duncan-Brown, Mr Neville Rosser and Mr Mike Mangold, the foundry has grown and developed considerably.

Mr Rosser, technical director, says the foundry was built at Dimbaza "to make use of the homeland development scheme," but he is highly critical of the cost of electricity, particularly as the foundry uses a 1 000 KVA electric arc furnace.

The company's chairman, Mr Duncan-Brown, says the foundry's success in penetrating a highly competitive and over-supplied local market is attributable to the high quality of the foundry's products at competitive price levels, backed by efficient service.

The R1 million complex, which came on stream 18 months ago, has just completed a R100 000 expansion programme which has doubled the size of the existing furnace hall and added 700 square metres to the complex.

The foundry's facilities include the electric arc furnace, modern moulding system, fettling facilities, sophisticated annealing system, vertical boring mill facilities, and a computer-controlled spectrometer for metallurgical analysis and control.

The foundry recently achieved a significant acknowledgment of its progress by being awarded the coveted South African Bureau of Standards Mark for the production of manganese steel castings.

The Mark is only awarded to foundries which satisfy SABS requirements covering plant,

equipment, laboratory facilities, personnel, management and procedures and is acknowledged by manganese casting buyers as a hallmark of the quality of the castings produced by the foundry.

Dimbaza Foundries are only the fourth South African foundry to receive the award and Mr J. Vester, director of chemical technology at the SABS, said he was impressed at the extremely high standard of quality and control reached after only one year of operation.

Mr Rosser said that was achieved by experienced plant design and selection and the employment of acknowledged technical specialists, who had made significant strides in training and moulding local Ciskeians into foundrymen.

He said management had put a great deal of effort into the recruitment and selection of staff and training would continue to be the key to further development and growth in the company.

Dimbaza Foundries are the only employers of black apprentice patternmakers and boring mill operators in South Africa.

Despite adverse market conditions, the foundry has secured substantial contracts with major South African consumers in the mining, construction, railway and transport industries and is presently engaged in developing an export market for their steel castings.

Mr Mangold, marketing director, said the award of the SABS Mark would assist with further market penetration and he hoped that would lead to the phase three expansion of production facilities within the next two years.



The huge 1 000 KVA electric arc furnace at Dimbaza Foundries.

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Gilbey's and Passion Fruit

The Ciskei's Minister of Education is Chief D. M. Jongilanga, a former inspector of schools.

All the top posts in this department are manned by Ciskeians.

Although education is not yet compulsory in the Ciskei, it can be said that most, if not all, children of seven years of age are at school.

For this reason the school population in primary schools now shows a normal growth rate. At the moment (1978) there are 449 primary schools with 155 145 pupils taught by 3 383 teachers — a pupil-teacher ration of 1:46.

Xhosa is taught from Sub A to Std 5 and English from Std 3 to Std 5.

The department places a high priority on secondary education. As a developing country the Ciskei urgently needs educated and well-trained people in all walks of life. With this in mind it has made available secondary education to all its people.

In the eight inspection circuits there are 78 junior secondary schools and 14 high schools. That an effort is being made to improve educational standards is reflected in the fact that in 1975 there were 2 366 pupils in Std 8 and in 1978 this number has increased to 8 157.

In 1975 the enrolment in post-primary schools (Std 6 to 10) was 15 013 and in 1978 it has increased to 32 708. The teacher-pupil ratio in secondary schools has been reduced to 1 to 36. To improve standards of education, in-service training courses for teachers are held regularly. The Department has its own In-Service Training Centre, Hlaziya, where experts in all subjects hold courses for teachers and also do research, study new teaching methods and pass on their knowledge to teachers.

The basic curriculum up to Std 7 comprises Xhosa, English, Afrikaans, Mathematics, Social Studies and General Science. Seven subjects have to be taken. The additional subjects must be in Agricultural Science, Home Economics, Needlework, Accountancy, Typewriting.

From Std 8 upwards only Xhosa, English and Afrikaans are compulsory. For the rest a choice of three or four subjects is made from a wide variety of subjects, which may be offered at either of two levels — standard grade or

# Trying to teach a nation

higher grade.

In their final examination, pupils sit for the Senior Certificate examination of the Department of National Education.

To counteract negative influences seeking to disrupt school activities, an intensive campaign — seeking Moral Orientation — has been started. The department deems this so important that an official has been appointed to start the campaign.

One of his tasks is to get parents involved in activities at schools. To do this, parents' days and founder's day functions are being organised at all schools.

### Technical, Trade and Vocational Education:

At Zwelethemba Trade School in Zwelitsha, boys are trained in motor mechanics, welding, wood work and sheetmetalwork. There is also a course for girls taking needlework. The school provides hostel accommodation for 240 boys.

The first technical high school in the Ciskei, Buchule, will open in January, 1979 at Mdantsane. This school was donated to the Ciskei by Barlow-Rand. It will accommodate 400 boys who will receive theoretical and practical training as electricians, motor mechanics and in woodwork.

The Mdantsane Textile School is a fully equipped textile factory in which textile workers are trained for the textile industry. Material produced here is sold to schools for needlework.

At the Mveliso Industrial School in Mdantsane, crash courses are given in brickwork, woodwork, welding, sheetmetalwork and plumbing and in training repair shop assistants for the motor trade. These intensive courses stretch over a period of 13 weeks.

Raw recruits are brought here where, through intensive training, they are turned into useful workmen able to earn a good living.

In Mdantsane the department has a commercial high school teaching accountancy, typing etc.

The Phandulwazi Agricultural High School near Alice, built on a farm (Pleasant View) in the picturesque Tyume Valley area near Hogsback, was donated to the Ciskei by the Anglo-American Corporation. It cost R2 million.

Phandulwazi is the Xhosa name of Mr Harry Oppenheimer and means research — one who is after knowledge. Here pupils are not only academically qualified to sit the Senior Certificate examination, but are also taught all aspects of farming.

Iziko Lolutsha Youth Centre for boys is a rehabilitation centre which also offers academic tuition. Practical agriculture is also taught.

The Vukuhambe school for crippled children is also in Mdantsane.

To cope with an ever demanding and growing school population, there are five teacher training schools in the Ciskei.

Junior secondary school teachers are trained at the Lennox Sebe Teachers' Training College in Zwelitsha. This is a two-year, post-matric professional course designed to equip teachers to teach Stds 6 and 7. Teachers specialise in different subjects in languages, sciences, social sciences, commercial subjects and agriculture.

Because there is an increasing demand for education among adults, the department has decided to establish centres for adult education throughout the Ciskei. The first centre was started in Zwelitsha and 429 adults have enrolled.

They receive tuition from literacy level to Std 10. As funds become available centres will be started at Mdantsane, Dimbaza and Sada.

The department's ultimate goal is to make education available to every one of the Ciskei's people.



A tractor unit spraying citrus at the Ciskei National Development Corporation's orchards at Tyume in the Alice district.

# Pedal power

The Microsteel manufacturing group of companies at Dimbaza is without doubt one of the fastest growing industries in the newly established industrial complex.

When the new industry was conceived two years ago to manufacture bicycles and auto components, it was anticipated some 80 Ciskeians would be employed by the end of 1978.

This figure has already been exceeded and 137 Ciskeians now make their living in the modern manufacturing complex.

The combined capital investment of more than R4 million in the venture is proof of the confidence this multi-national group has in the future of the Ciskei and its people.

Microsteel was born out of an international manufacturing and marketing agreement between Mr Helmut Heidemann, co-owner of a large cycle and auto component manufacturing concern in Western Germany, and Mr Ronnie Kruger, a Port Elizabeth businessman.

The venture started in Port Elizabeth in a small 300 sq metre factory with a total complement of three people and the production of auto parts started in 1976.

When the decision was taken in March that year

to produce bicycles in South Africa, negotiations started with the then Xhosa Development Corporation, which culminated in the establishment of the modern 3 900 sq metre complex at Dimbaza, which now employs 16 whites in addition to the 137 black Ciskeians.

The auto components manufactured in the factory are mainly engine parts for Volkswagens. These components are supplied to VW's plant at Uitenhage and also exported to Germany and the United States.

The cycle plant builds a range of cycles developed in Germany and adapted for South African conditions. These include sophisticated ten-speed sports cycles, semi-sports cycles, heavy duty road cycles as well as a range of children's cycles.

The complete range of frames and forks required for the 45-model cycle range, which comprises the Western Flyer range made by the company, are produced in the Dimbaza plant from steel produced by Iscor.

Many other components — as handlebars, saddle stems, handlebar stems, saddle bags, lamp brackets, chain guards, fork lugs, axle carriers and brake cables — are either manufactured at Dimbaza or are manufac-

tured for Microsteel under contract by other engineering concerns in the country.

Certain components not yet available in South Africa are imported from the four corners of the globe. These components include rims, fenders, axles, chainwheels and pedals.

The establishment of this new industry has resulted in some R160 000 a year in wages being pumped into the economy of the black township of Dimbaza.

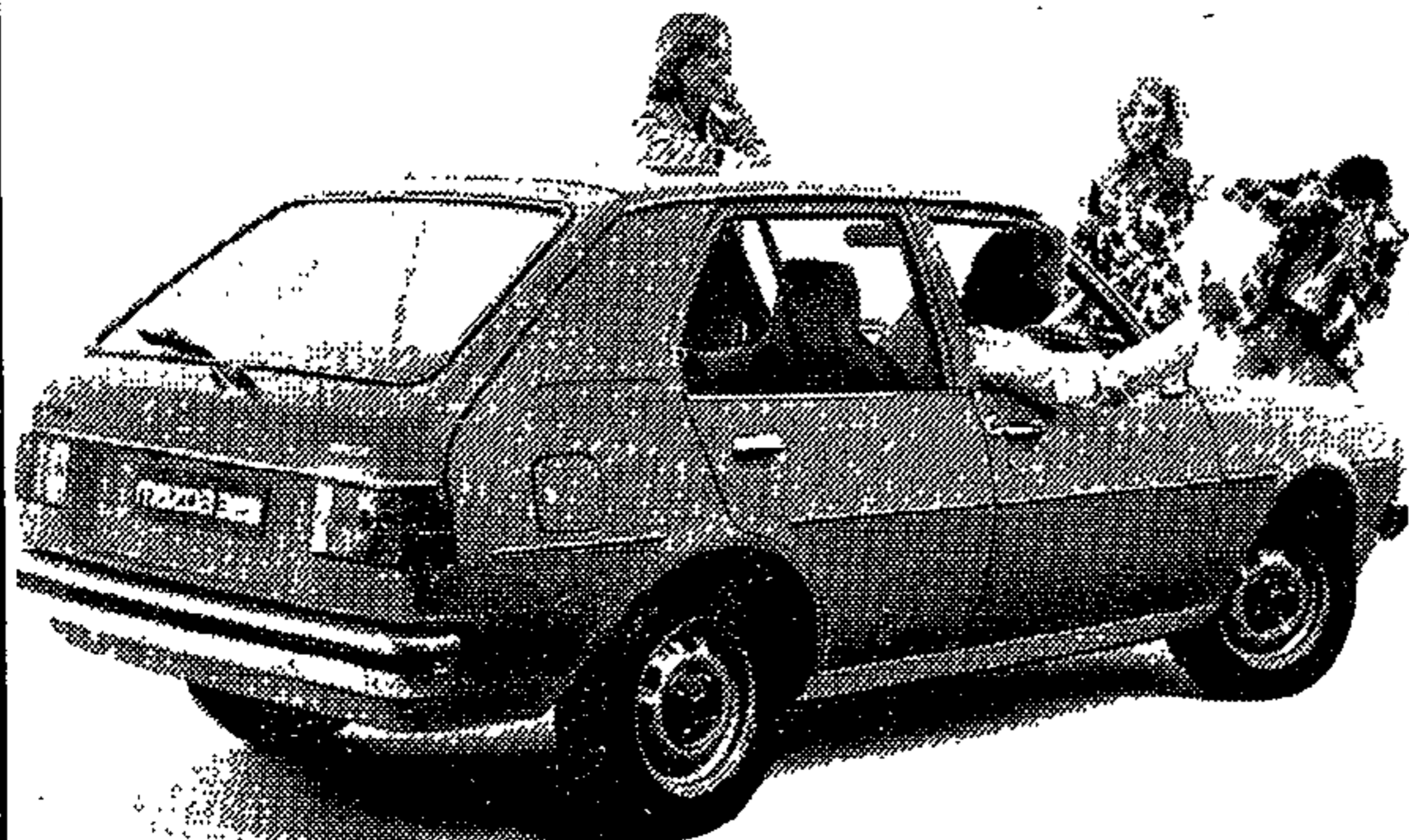
Mr Kruger, who is in charge of the manufacturing complex, says the production workers adapted themselves remarkably quickly to the new skills which the manufacturing process demanded, and several departments in the plant are already managed by black supervisors, including the assembly department, stores, despatch, employment and staff welfare.

The auto component manufacturing complex is also managed by a black foreman.

Microsteel has already captured 20 per cent of the South African cycle market and production this year will reach more than 30 000 bicycles. The plant has a capacity of 40 000 units in one shift and this could be doubled with an additional shift.

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# The Sada acorn

The industries at Sada near Whittlesea in the Ciskei exemplify the truism — that from little things — like acorns — big things grow.

What was started virtually as a cottage industry by two white farmers' wives in the Whittlesea area has grown into a complex that today accommodates four factories.

Xanda Fashions was actually formed in 1970 by the two women when they established a beadwork depot at Sada in an effort to create employment for the women in the township.

They started with the idea of making shirts, using the Xhosa "Batza" as a basic design. The Moravian Mission at Sada agreed to sew the skirts and provided a room to work in.

Once a week skirts and beads were issued to a number of selected women, who gradually perfected their art of beading — to the quality

and styling required for marketing as ethnic fashion garments

The industry grew slowly in response to increased demand and it soon became evident the two women would either have to expand the business themselves or sell out.

Today the complex is under the aegis of the CNDC and comprises four factories:

- Sada Clothing, still well known for its ethnic dresses, but which recently began diversifying into the production of school uniforms. Production is currently running at some 400 uniforms per day.

- Sada Knit manufacture a wide variety of knitwear.

- Sada Carpets produces natural-colour karakul carpets. In the past the carpets were exported mainly to America, but new markets, in Europe, are now being investigated.

- Sada Toys produces soft toys — made from material and foam rubber, as well as wallhangings from phormium tenax, a fibre similar to sisal.

As in the original project, the majority of the workers at Sada are women. The concept of providing work for Sada's residents still applies today and all the factories are labour intensive, providing permanent employment for some 480 Ciskeians.

Sada Clothing also employs about 400 black workers on a home industry basis.

The establishment of the Sada industrial complex has created job opportunities for over 800 people. Apart from having a steady income, and being trained in new skills, the psychological effects of being gainfully employed, creative and "busy", has made a significant contribution to the quality of life for the people in the township.

# I see a good future for the Ciskei

The Ciskei is a small country of 942 000 ha with a population of 526 000 in 1970. The estimated population today is almost 600 000. By the end of the century the population is expected to be close to one million. There are no, or little known mineral resources, ready to be tapped in the Ciskei. It has, however, large areas of fertile land eminently suitable for agricultural development.

Few areas in South Africa are more suitable for dairy farming than the Keiskammahoek and Tyumie valleys.

In the Keiskammahoek valley alone at least 2 000

ha can be brought under irrigation for the production of various crops, including maize, tobacco, cotton, groundnuts, vegetables and pastures.

The Fish River valley offers great potential and parts of the Stockenstrom and Seymour districts, still to be consolidated in the Ciskei, are known for their agricultural potential.

As in most homelands, farming in the Ciskei is still on a subsistence basis. With the right guidance and training and especially with sufficient money — and this is usually a problem — the standard of agriculture can be

improved tremendously in the Ciskei.

This will lift the standard of living of the Ciskeians and act as the backbone of economic development in the Ciskei. It is, however, a slow process, and a difficult process, but will be most rewarding.

The Ciskeian National Development Corporation has a citrus farm with some 42 000 navel and valencia trees under irrigation at Tyumie where it also runs a beef cattle project and a milk project with a dairy herd of 240 cows. Tobacco is also successfully grown.

The total permanent employment of Ciskeians on these CNDC farming projects is 120, plus a further 300 casual labourers during the citrus-picking season. Recently the CNDC also took over the management of some pineapple farms in the Peddie district.

The CNDC is a corporation specifically established for the Ciskei and operates under the close guidance of the Ciskeian Government. The Board of Directors consists of five black directors nominated by the Ciskeian Cabinet and five white directors appointed by the Minister of Plural Relations and Development.

The CNDC has a number of industrial and other projects which include, apart from the agricultural projects previously referred to, among others, the following:

- Sada Industries, a complex of four factories at the Sada settlement near Whittlesea, producing hand-knotted and woven carpets, traditional and other clothing, knitwear and toys. Total investment is approximately R1 million and 480

## INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE CISKEI AND THE

Ciskeians are employed on a permanent basis, plus a further 400 on a home-industry basis.

- Three hotels — one at Mdantsane, one at Frankfort and one at Hamburg. The Corporation recently applied for international status for the Hamburg Hotel, while the other two are for blacks.

- Empolweni Cinema — a luxury cinema seating 457 which was built in Mdantsane at a cost of R250 000.

- In August, 1977 the Ciskei Brewery in Mdantsane was officially opened. This is a sophisticated sorghum beer brewery erected to supply the needs of the Ciskeian people. The

per cent is owned by the Corporation for Economic Development.

This bus service represents an investment of more than R9 million today. The bus company utilises 232 buses as well as 22 auxiliary vehicles, all equipped with two-way radios.

Approximately 34,5 million passengers were conveyed over 42 routes during 1977. Our buses collectively cover on average a total distance of approximately 39 000 km a day.

- The Loans Division of the CNDC forms one of the most vital parts of the Corporation's development activities. It provides financial assistance to Ciskeian in-

Dimbaza.

Industrial development is often regarded as an expensive method of developing an underdeveloped country. Industrial development's most important contribution, however, is not found in the creation of direct job opportunities, although it is obviously important, but industrial development makes its greatest contribution towards the development of any region by its contribution to the area's wage income, which results again in an increased demand for goods and services, thus creating further job opportunities.

The multiplying factor, as this process is referred to, is as high as 1½ additional jobs for every job created in industry.

The XDC started its industrial development in the Ciskei in 1971 and today this is being continued by the CNDC, backed by the Corporation for Economic Development.

During the first five years, 10 factories have been established on an Agency basis in the Ciskei. During the past two years, agreements were signed to establish a further 13 industries. In addition to the new industries seven of the existing factories have undertaken substantial expansions.

The total assets of the CNDC extended to almost R20 million as at March 31, 1978.

The CNDC (including its transport operations) provides employment for approximately 220 whites and 2 500 Ciskeians.

If one adds to this the jobs created by the industries established on the Agency basis, as well as by Ciskeian businessmen, the whole development action resulted in new jobs being

Every South African has a duty to make a contribution

ultra-modern equipment produces an extremely high quality product. Total investment exceeds R2 million and there are job opportunities for more than 100 Ciskeians.

The Corporation is also busy erecting a series of modern, well-equipped and attractive recreation centres where blacks will be able to enjoy the product of the brewery in pleasant surroundings in the company of their friends. The object is to move away from the beer hall concept and replace it with recreation centres which blacks can be proud to visit.

- The CNDC owns 50 per cent of the Ciskei Transport Corporation, the bus service operating in the Mdantsane/East London area. The other 50

dustrialists, businessmen, and house owners. The Corporation's board has approved, to date, financial assistance amounting to R2,7 million to 271 Ciskeian businessmen and R1,6 million for 564 housing loans.

- A second shopping and offices complex of R750 000 is being erected at Mdantsane at present, as well as a wholesale organisation. The wholesale organisation is on a three-party basis between a well established wholesale group, the CNDC and black shareholders.

- One of the more spectacular development achievements in the Ciskei apart from agricultural development, is industrial development, mainly concentrated at

To Page 13

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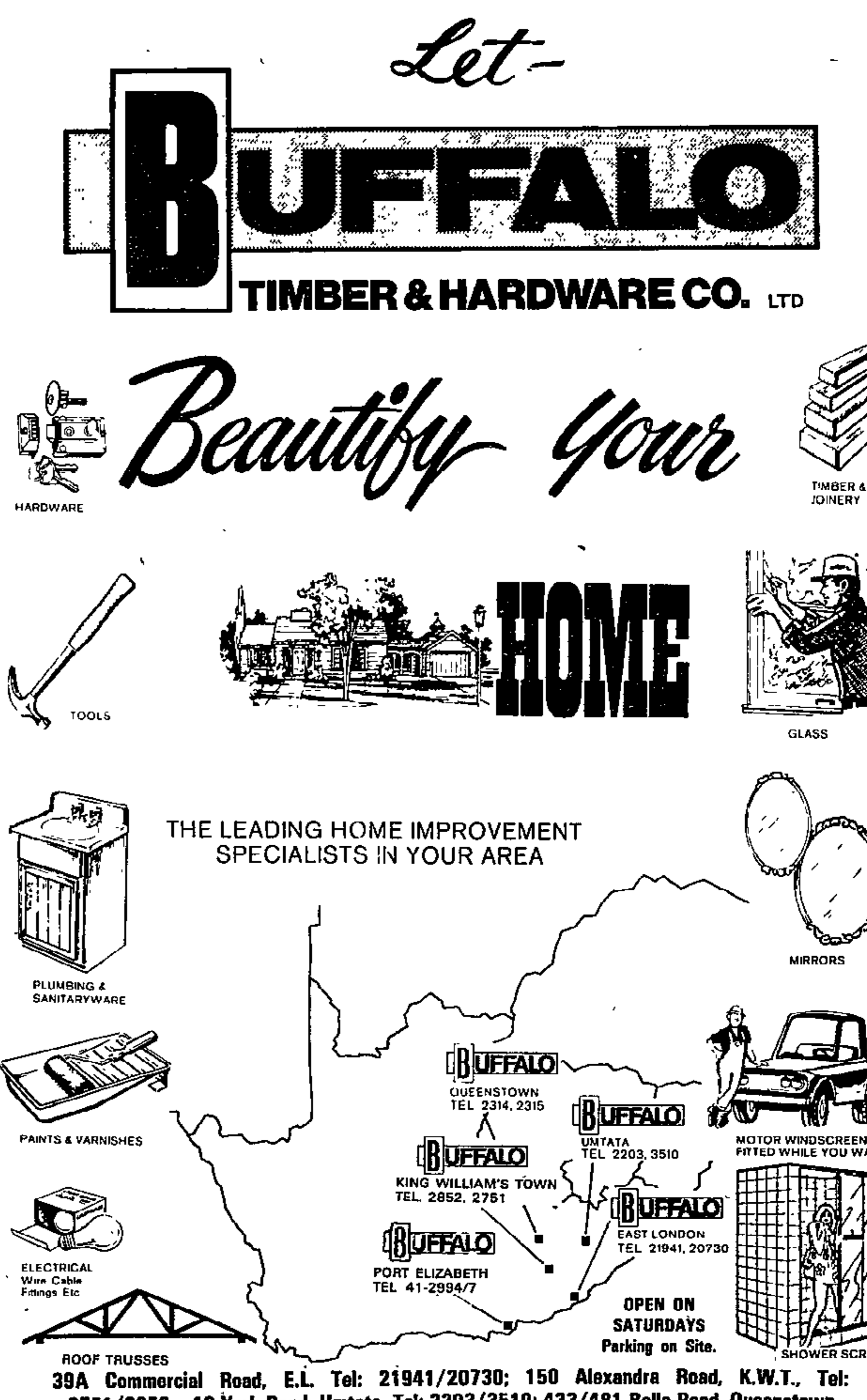
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**ROLE OF THE CNDC IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CISKEI**

From Page 12

created for approximately 5 500 Ciskeians in the Ciskei.

This does not seem to be much, but applying the multiplying factor and assuming that the average size of a Xhosa family is approximately six, or even more, one sees that better living opportunities have been provided for more than 75 000 people.

However, this is by far inadequate. I did mention earlier that the population of the Ciskei is expected to be almost one million by the year 2000. Approximately 8 000 Ciskeians enter the labour market annually in the Ciskei.

At the current capital investment for black opportunity, it will require more than R30 million a year to create employment for these Ciskeians in or near the homeland.

The GNP for the Ciskei was R54 per capita in 1973/74, which is higher than the average of R49 for all the homelands and also higher than for many African states, but far lower than the R110 for the Republic of South Africa.

The GNI per capita for Ciskei (R161 in 1973/74) is higher than for Malawi, Lesotho, Somalia, Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania, Zaire, Cameroon, Nigeria, Mali, Guinea and Sudan, to mention a few, but must still be raised substantially to achieve real development.

More than 50 per cent of all Ciskeian men between the ages of 20 and 40 still live outside the homeland.

The SA Government has established development corporations to assist in the promotion of economic development in the homelands. However, it is not the duty of only the Development Corporation and its staff, together

with the homeland Government and State departments, to develop the homelands, but also the duty of every South African to make his contribution.

Contributions can be made in many ways. The Government provides, through the Decentralisation Board and the development corporations, most attractive concessions to industrialists establishing factories in the homelands.

The Ciskei needs the know-how, expertise, finance, management and manpower of these industrialists in the homeland to create viable industries and businesses to develop the homelands.

establishment of the industry.

A railage rebate of 40 per cent is offered on goods manufactured in the Ciskei. All these and other concessions, such as a 5 per cent price preference on government tenders, will be of little value if not supported by adequate infrastructure. At Dimbaza we have a sophisticated industrial township with all the necessary services.

South African industrialists, as well as industrialists from abroad, can play an important role in the development of the Ciskei. The potential for investment is there. Investment in the Ciskei should, however, not be

spent inside the homelands.

I don't think that is a fair deal. Economists estimate that towards the end of the century the total expenditure by blacks in South Africa on consumable goods will be twice the total expenditure on consumables in South Africa today.

Commercial enterprises in the homelands must therefore be developed as a matter of urgency. The black man must, however, get his fair share.

In South Africa we find all companies are only too eager to market for the black — they will provide everything the black market requires.

The white South African must, however, also market WITH the black so that the black will also get his share of the wealth.

The formation of an economically sound middle class is vital to the development of any underdeveloped country.

To achieve this, the Ciskeian must not only be provided with a job, he must also be trained and developed to managerial levels, as well as into successful businessmen.

It is also therefore the policy of the CNDC not only to promote job opportunities for Ciskeians, but also the continual training and development of human resources.

It is important that as many jobs as possible be created for Ciskeians inside the Ciskei to ensure that each man, woman and child gets three good meals a day. The aim, however, is to develop a meaningful economy in the Ciskei with a self-generating power.

To achieve this, training people must get the highest priority.

The Ciskei is fortunate to have the well estab-

*Concessions offered in the Ciskei the best in the world*

The concessions offered to industrialists in the Ciskei are the best offered in any part of the world. Factory buildings built to the requirements of the industrialists are leased at the annual rental of 6,625 per cent of cost. Up to 50 per cent of capital required by the industry for plant, machinery and working capital is lent to industrialists at an interest rate of 3,625 per cent per annum.

Substantial tax concessions are offered by the Government. These concessions, which are tax deductible, are equal to:

(a) 30 per cent of manufacturing plant and equipment; and

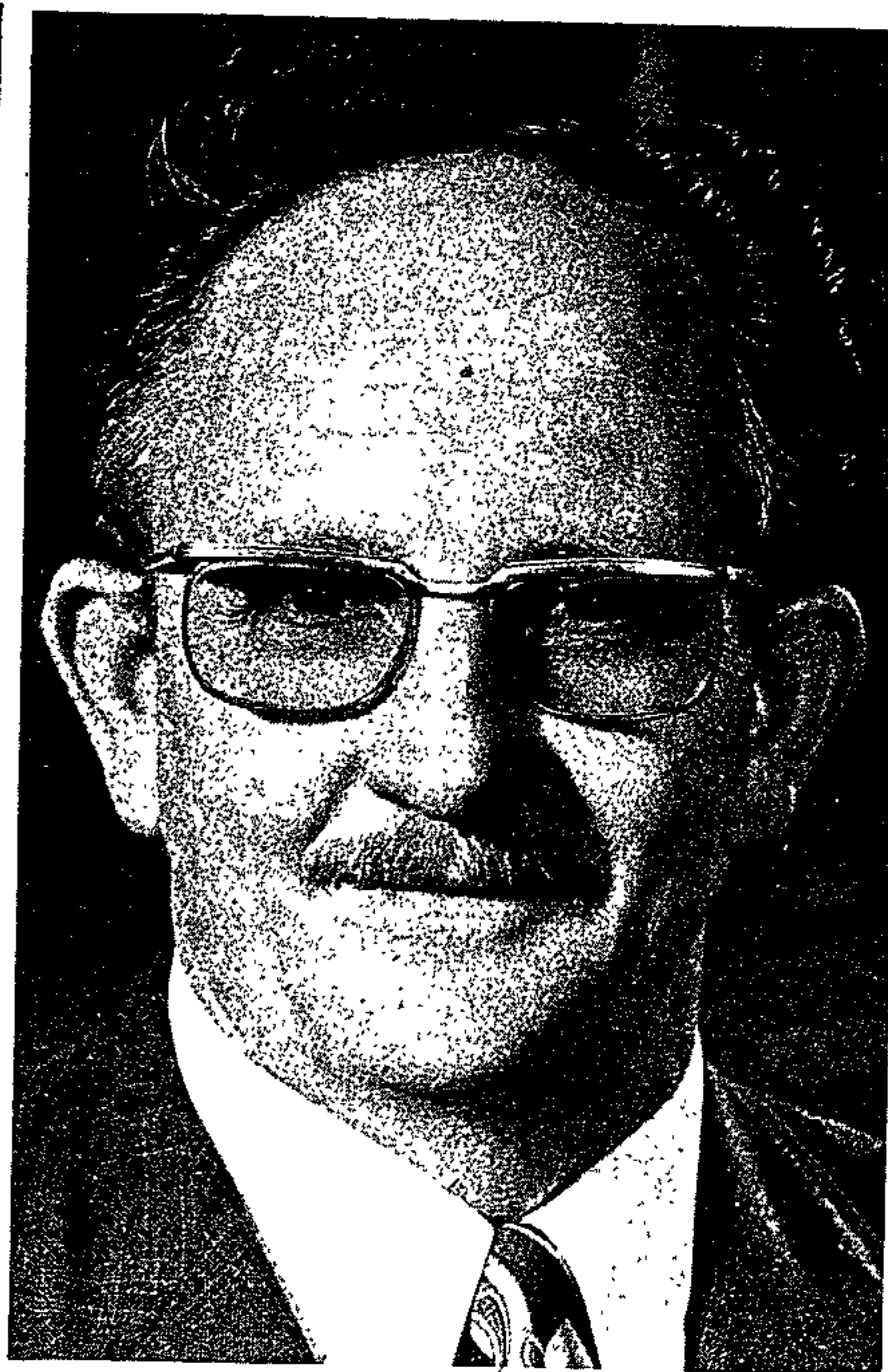
(b) 50 per cent of annual wages paid to black employees during the first seven years after the es-

considered as granting "foreign aid."

It is a case of making use of opportunities available to establish factories which will promote the economic development of the Ciskei and provide new job opportunities for blacks, but it will also ensure the continued growth of the companies concerned.

One of the major problems we have in the Ciskei — and this also applies to other homelands — is the serious leakage of money earned in the Ciskei to nearby white areas. It is essential that a realistic share of this money be kept inside the Ciskei to create further development.

Presently only about 12 per cent of the GNI of all the homelands is actually



MR FRANS MEISENHOLL, General Manager of the Ciskeian National Development Corporation, who wrote the article that appears on this page and on page 12.

lished University of Fort Hare, as well as technical and agricultural schools. More technical and agricultural colleges are needed for post-matric educations.

There is a dire need for technicians, agriculturalists and accountants, to name a few.

Training businessmen to acquire all the skills they need to become more efficient is of the utmost importance.

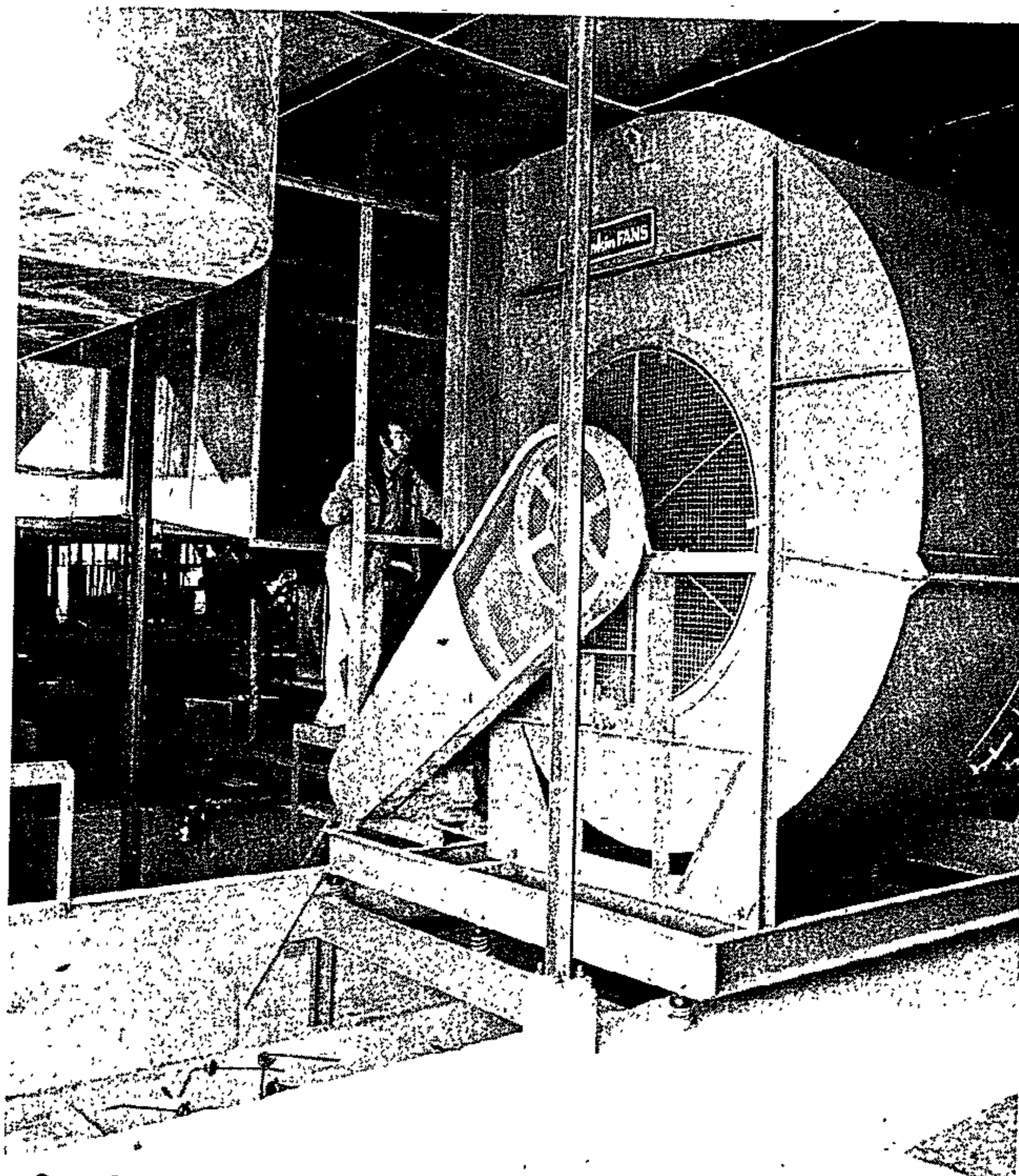
For this reason, the Ciskei Institute of Management was recently established. This institute, which operates un-

der the close guidance of the Graduate School of Business of the University of Stellenbosch and Fort Hare University, gives courses in business management to Ciskeian businessmen and is expected to render valuable services in the future.

I see a good future for the Ciskei. It has agricultural potential, which must form the backbone of the economical development of the country, supporting a viable industry.

Few homelands offer better conditions and opportunities for industrial development.

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# Irrigation in the Ciskei—a modern miracle

As in the case of most developing lands, agriculture plays a fundamental and vitally important role in the economy of the Ciskei.

In the 60s and early 70s the emphasis in agricultural policy was on reorganising land use and soil conservation. Most of the rural areas were then planned and resettled in terms of guidelines set out in the report of the Tomlinson Commission, but the impact on production and incomes was modest and agriculture still remained largely at a subsistence level.

In 1975 the Ciskeian Department of Agriculture and Forestry switched the emphasis in policy to development. One prerequisite to rationalising development strategy was an inventory of the available natural resources and an assessment of their productive potential for various forms of land use.

Accordingly, a programme of natural resources surveys was initiated, starting with the largest and most important river basin in the Ciskei — the Keiskamma River basin.

This study identified a number of feasible agricultural development projects, including 18 irrigation schemes, for each of which preliminary plans were prepared and costed. The study confirmed that the largest potential irrigation scheme is in the upper basin around the village of Keiskammahoe.

Consultants were commissioned to plan an irrigation scheme in the area under the direction of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry.

The scheme is being developed on a number of derelict farms bought in the 60s for homeland consolidation purposes. Here the Keiskamma River winds its way through hilly terrain lying below the Amatola Mountains. The climate is warm in summer, cool in winter and the mean annual rainfall is 630 mm.

Some 2 000 ha of good quality soil in the vicinity of Keiskammahoe can be brought under command, but for the present the project plan is confined to 900 ha.

Because of fairly steep slopes much of the

Probably far and away the most impressive development in the Ciskei since it gained "self-government" in 1968 — certainly in the agricultural sector if not the entire Ciskei — has been the establishment of two major Ciskei Government irrigation schemes.

These schemes are the Keiskamma and Tyefu irrigation schemes — two schemes that are tangible evidence of what can be achieved in an underdeveloped country given the right spirit of initiative, motivation, forethought, planning, the expertise born of many years "tilling the soil", the ability to circumvent bureaucracy and the intangible virtue of getting up and getting things done.

There are few men whose credentials can match those "specifications."

The Ciskei Government is indeed fortunate it has such a man — the modest, likeable GARY GODDEN, MBE, general manager of the Ciskei Marketing Board and a former agricultural adviser to the Governments of Swaziland and Malawi.

It is Mr Godden more than any other individual who is responsible for nurturing the two schemes that perhaps one day will be acclaimed as outstanding examples of irrigation schemes in underdeveloped countries.



irrigable land is better suited to pastures than annual row crops and accordingly it was decided that milk production from pastures should be the main farming enterprise on the scheme. Other considerations were the need for more milk in the Ciskei and production economics.

A fundamental policy decision taken before the scheme was planned was that it should be a settlement scheme, designed to enable selected Ciskeians to earn a reasonable living from intensive irrigation farming.

It was also decided that the fact the settlers would be men of modest educational standards and limited experience should not be a reason for adopting unsophisticated techniques or using second class livestock.

On the contrary, the settlers enjoy the benefits of the most modern agricultural science and technology. This implies management and training services of a high standard and these are incorporated in the scheme.

The eventual target net income for a hard-working settler has been set at around R2 400 a year.

The irrigable soils occur in scattered blocks along 9 km of the winding valley. These have been divided into 10 production units, one of which is the central

("mother") unit on which the headquarters of the scheme is being developed.

The central unit provides a comprehensive range of services to the other nine units, each of which is divided into 4 ha settlers' plots. A house is built on each plot. Each unit has its own "satellite" farm centre, including a modern milking parlour, to which the farmers take their cows for milking under supervision twice daily.

The central unit accommodates the central stores and workshops, the project offices and a training centre. It is the hub about which the whole scheme revolves and provides the settlers with an assured and organised market for their produce.

On each farmer's plot, 3 ha is devoted to highly fertilised irrigated pastures and 1 ha to cash crops, at present maize and potatoes. Once the farmers have settled down and gained experience, other crops may be introduced, as tobacco and essential oils and perishables for air freighting to Europe. Non-irrigable higher lying land will be used as veld grazing for dry stock.

By the end of 1977 the central unit and two production units were in operation.

When the 900 ha stage is

reached the scheme will carry more than 2 000 cows. Assuming the cropping is then still confined to maize and potatoes, production will amount to 9 000 bags of maize a year; 160 000 pockets of potatoes a year; 16 300 litres of milk a day; and 1 300 surplus animals a year; plus home-grown food for 175 families.

One of the unique features of the scheme is that the farmers rent in-milk cows from the central unit. When a cow dries up the farmer returns it to the pool and takes another. The livestock are good quality Frieslands.

The scheme has been planned to be flexible and it may well be that less milk and more crops may be produced on some of the units. Economic circumstances and profitability will be the deciding factors.

Irrigation is entirely by sprinklers under gravity pressure from two large dams higher up in the catchment. Sprinklers are moved at dawn and dusk every day and operate through the night. The scheme will use only 23 per cent of the mean annual run-off of the catchments above it.

There will be 175 settlers who will be Ciskeians who apply for plots on the scheme. They are selected by a board appointed by the Minister of Agriculture and after a probationary period they are leasedhold tenants the most widespread system of land tenure in Europe. Their tenancy is subject to their performance satisfying the Board.

Because the farmers have to cope with sophisticated systems and complex accounts, Std 4 is a minimum educational requirement.

In practice it may be found desirable for the

settlers to be organised as a co-operative. The structure of the scheme is such that this could readily be accomplished. Indeed it is conceivable that one day the management staff will work not for the Department of Agriculture and Forestry, but for a Keiskamma Farmers Co-operative.

The milk is marketed in towns and rural villages throughout the Ciskei to retailers and such institutions as hospitals and schools. The maize is mostly used for animal feed and the potatoes are marketed in the main urban centres.

The settlers lease their land and house and pay for all goods and services provided by the central unit, including in-milk cows, farm requisites, mechanisation services, irrigation water, etc. Credit is provided. The settlers derive their income from selling milk, crops, spare grazing and calves to the central unit.

Excluding the upper catchment dams and

pipelines (which have a multi-purpose function) the capital cost of the scheme will be about R2,2 million. Operating costs will rise during the five-year development period to about R1,5 million a year, at which stage gross income is estimated at R1,7 million a year.

The operating costs include payments made to the settlers for milk and produce which should give them each a profit of about R2 400 a year.

The surplus of income over costs for the scheme as a whole will be available to the Ciskei Government to use as it may decide.

The scheme has staff, facilities and services such as are rarely available in a rural area and it is intended that these be used not only for the benefit of the settlers, but also as a nucleus to stimulate rural development in the surrounding areas, some of which have high inherent agricultural potential.

From the intense interest already exhibited in the scheme, it is anticipated that this spin-off beneficial effect will soon become apparent.

Among the many benefits that the Keiskamma irrigation scheme will bring to the Ciskei, these are perhaps the most important:

- Efficient use of valuable natural resources
- 175 families deriving a reasonable living from modern agriculture
- Excluding the settlers, a further 200 new jobs
- A gross return of R2 300 per irrigated hectare and a large increase in local cash circulation.
- A gross return of 33c per cubic metre of water used
- A modest annual cash surplus for the Ciskei Government
- Development of a

Continued on page 15



Women picking tobacco at Tyefu — in an area that previously was barren and arid.

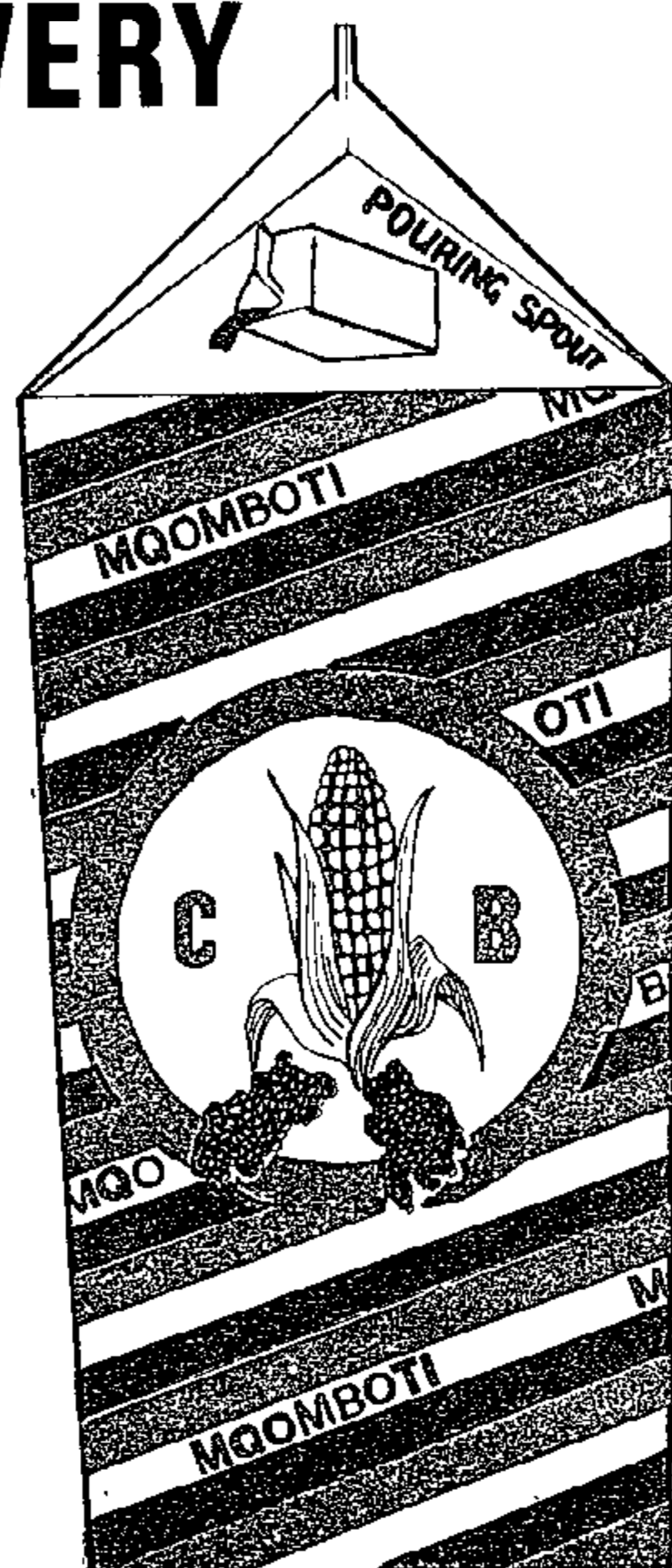
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# Food where there was starvation

From page 14

growth pole with beneficial multiplier effects

- Improved nutrition throughout the Ciskei
- Human advancement

The Tyefu tribal area near Peddie in the Ciskei is one of the most eroded and impoverished areas of the homeland. Indeed, some of the drier parts are virtually beyond rehabilitation.

The area is densely populated and is so drought-prone that the people are unable to subsist from the land. There are no job opportunities and male absenteeism is at a high level. It is a truly depressed area.

Fortunately, several blocks of riverine soils remain intact. These were long seen to offer opportunities for irrigation development and the matter was the subject of periodic studies for more than 15 years prior to 1976, when the Department of Agriculture and Forestry decided that too much emphasis had been laid on the problems and that action was long overdue.

The people of the area had been regarded as "recalcitrant and difficult," adopting an uncooperative attitude toward "betterment" schemes. This attitude has changed completely since the start of the Tyefu scheme.

The scheme is being developed on blocks of terrace soils on the left bank of the Fish River below Committees Drift, where the river follows a deeply incised looping course down to the sea. The river forms the western boundary of this section of the Ciskei.

The valley is windy and arid, very hot in summer and cool in winter, and rainfall is about 450 mm.

Consultants were commissioned to plan the scheme under the direction of the department. Investigations revealed that some 1 200 ha could be brought under command of a 35-km canal from the Fish River. By means of siphons such a canal could also irrigate large areas of land owned by white farmers on the right bank.

A concept plan was discussed with the Tyefu tribal authority. The response was "Enough of talk; the people are starving; we want action." This was the start of a programme of close and regular consultation with the local community and their leaders which continues today.

A preliminary plan for the irrigation of some 1 500 ha was prepared and costed. Capital costs were estimated at R5 million.

But two factors stopped the scheme being implemented — a shortage of funds and the high saline content of the river in this area.

Only when the river is in spate is the water suitable for salt sensitive crops.

Because of these problems it was decided to mount a pilot project initially, based on pumping and off-river storage of flood waters of acceptable quality.

The pilot project is unique in South Africa in that traditional land rights have voluntarily been alienated and redistributed to provide for:

- A commercial "tribal farm" (Ndlambe farm)
- 4 ha commercial farms
- Small plots of 0,3 ha

Land rights are a very sensitive issue in Africa. That the Tyefu people supported this proposal speaks volumes. It shows what can be achieved given a sound idea, a positive approach and good human relations.

The pilot project is being developed on two sites 10 km apart. Water is pumped to main storage dams, which also trap runoff. Second stage pumping brings the irri-

gated fields under command, some under sprinkler irrigation and some under flood. The main crops are flue cured tobacco, cotton and vegetables for freezing. These are all innovations.

Sophisticated production techniques are used. This implies an important training function for management.

The commercial farmer must grow approved crops. The plotters may grow what they wish, but they are encouraged to participate in organised production programmes featuring a "package deal" of services, details of which are announced each season.

Producers lack for nothing, but they pay for all services. They are paid for

their produce C.O.D. by Ndlambe Farm, which grade-cures-packages it as necessary and markets it to best advantage. Markets include the local region, a tobacco co-operative, urban produce markets such as East London and Bloemfontein and a vegetable freezing factory near Port Elizabeth.

All operations are subject to the approval of a management committee comprising the chief and headmen and representatives of the tribal authority, the department, the consultants, management and farmers. The committee, under the chairmanship of Mr F. B. Mutswana, MP meets monthly. In addition, a consultative committee of manage-

ment and farmer representatives meets weekly to review on-going operations. This twin committee system works very well.

As a result of high pumping costs the pilot project is not economically viable *sensu stricto*, but because it will be superseded later when funds become available by a main gravity scheme, and because of the tremendous benefits it is producing, this is acceptable to the Ciskei cabinet.

The most important benefit has been "winning over" the local community, who are now collaborating with the authorities and have sent a delegation to request the rehabilitation planning of the whole tribal

area. This is a most significant and heartening change.

Food is now available where previously there was starvation. Jobs are available where previously there were none. Resources are being effectively used. Cash incomes are being derived from the land. About 150 men have returned to their home area. People are being trained. Patently the project has had very considerable social and economic impact.

The scheme which was started in November 1976, is still in its infancy and several problems, especially water problems, remain to be solved. However, the Department is confident that these can be overcome. It is to be hoped that ways and means will be found to implement the main scheme at an early date.



MR KOKONO XAKAVU ... 1978 Ciskei Farmer of the Year. He is one of the settler tenants farming at Keiskam-mahook.

## COMMUTER MOBILITY CORNERSTONE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT



**Ciskei Transport Corporation**  
and its Personnel are proud of their direct involvement and considerable contribution to the  
**ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
OF THE CISKEI**

# CISKEI TRANSPORT CORPORATION

# CISKEI PERSONALITY PROFILES

Chief Lent White Mbali Maqoma, the Ciskei's Minister of the Interior, was born in Port Elizabeth on February 13, 1929.

During 1946 he obtained his Junior Certificate at Newell High School in Port Elizabeth and in 1951 he obtained his Teachers' Diploma at Healdtown Training College near Port Beaufort.

He started his career as a teacher at the Molefe Higher Primary School in Port Elizabeth.

In 1973 he was elected a member of the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly for the Victoria East constituency.

In 1961 he married Abigail Nomathamsanqa Dano of Port Elizabeth. They have six children — a boy and five girls.

Chief Maqoma was a prominent sportsman and he represented Eastern Province as a cricketer from 1950 to 1971. From 1970 to 1972 he was president of the New Brighton Higher Primary School Sports Union in Port Elizabeth.

He was appointed Minister of Justice in 1975 and the next year took over the Interior portfolio.

On August 16, 1976 he was officially appointed Acting Paramount Chief of the Rarabe Tribe.

Chief Maqoma hit the world's headlines last month when the bones of his great, great-grandfather were found on Robben Island, the famous South African prison island in Table Bay near Cape Town.

The bones were discovered in an unmarked stony grave with the aid of a 63-year-old Xhosa seer from Transkei.

The Chief has demanded that the British Government send a warship to South Africa to return the exhumed remains of Chief Maqoma, the right-hand son of the famous King Ngqika, because it was responsible for his imprisonment on the island.

Chief Maqoma said the seer, Miss Charity Sonandi, of

Tsolo, had predicted beforehand that they would find pieces of metal in the grave, that the grave would be unmarked and away from most of the graves on the island and that it would rain shortly after they had discovered it.

All these predictions proved correct. The pieces of metal turned out to be a form of shackle and shortly after the bones were found it started to rain.

Chief Maqoma whose Jingqi tribe is named after his ancestor's favourite ox, said his great, great-grandfather was an illustrious general who was captured by the British in 1857 during the Frontier Wars — "what used to be called the Kaffir Wars" — and died on Robben Island in September, 1873.

One school of thought believed he had been drowned and buried on Table Mountain, but he could find no trace of a grave there. The other school of thought, which had now been proved true, was that he had been shot while trying to escape with the ox, Jingqi, and had been buried on the island.

After the body was exhumed, those present discovered a hole in the left



CHIEF MAQOMA

shoulder and Chief Maqoma is convinced this was the bullet hole that caused the old chief's death.

He is to approach the British Government for a warship to transport the remains of the famous general because "they were responsible for his banishment and he died in their days" and they had decided to bury him in an unmarked grave.

Maqoma's Kraal, where the bones will be reburied with honour, is in the Balfour district in the Eastern Cape mountains. The district is scheduled to become part of the Ciskei, but has not yet been transferred to the homeland.

The Ciskei has produced many outstanding figures of national stature, including...

● Prof Z. K. Matthews, the first black law graduate in South Africa who got his Master's degree in arts at Yale University in America. He was also a former head of Fort Hare University.

● Prof Tengo Jabavu, an honours graduate of King's College, London, whose father was one of the founders of Fort Hare University.

● Steve Biko, the articulate spokesman for the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa who died in detention last year.

In addition to Chief Minister Lennox Sebe and his Cabinet ministers, all of them prominent sons of the Ciskei, two others who have made a big impact in recent years on Ciskei affairs are Mr Raymond Mali, Mayor of Zwelitsha, and Mr Garnet Mpepo, Mayor of Mdantsane.

Mr Mali, born in Fort Beaufort in 1937, was the eldest of five sons.

He received his primary education at the Korsten United Primary School in Port Elizabeth, matriculated at Lovedale High School in 1958 and qualified as a teacher at



MAYORS MEET. The Mayor of Zwelitsha, Mr Raymond Mali, left, admiring the chain of office of the Mayor of Mdantsane, Mr Garnet Mpepo.

Fort Hare in 1961

A prefect at Lovedale, he captained the rugby and cricket first teams; played cricket for the East Province African junior team; and played rugby for Border as a No 8 while he was at Fort Hare.

A Zwelitsha councillor since October, 1977, when he was elected Mayor to serve from

1977 to 1980, he is also the vice-chairman of the Ciskeian Marketing Board, an appointment made in August, 1977.

Mr Mpepo was born in the King William's Town district.

He worked as a clerk for an East London stevedoring company from 1940 to 1958 when he opened his own business in Duncan Village. He later moved to Mdantsane and opened another business.



MR K. B. TABATA

Mr K B Tabata holds a distinctive honour in Ciskei history — the first black Secretary appointed in the Ciskei Government, assuming his post of Secretary of Education on November 1 1977.

To date he is the only black Secretary in the Government. The other ministerial Secretaries are white officials seconded from the South African Government.

Before he was appointed as Secretary, Mr Tabata was Chief Education Planner, a post now filled by Mr H Mjamba.

Mr Tabata, born in Cradock in 1931, completed his Cape Senior Certificate exams at Lovedale High School in 1950 and then got his B A degree and his U Ed (University Education Diploma) at Fort Hare University.

Invited to England by the British Education Council, he studied various education fields, including commercial, technical and vocational training.

A top rugby administrator for many years, he is married and has four children — three boys and a girl.



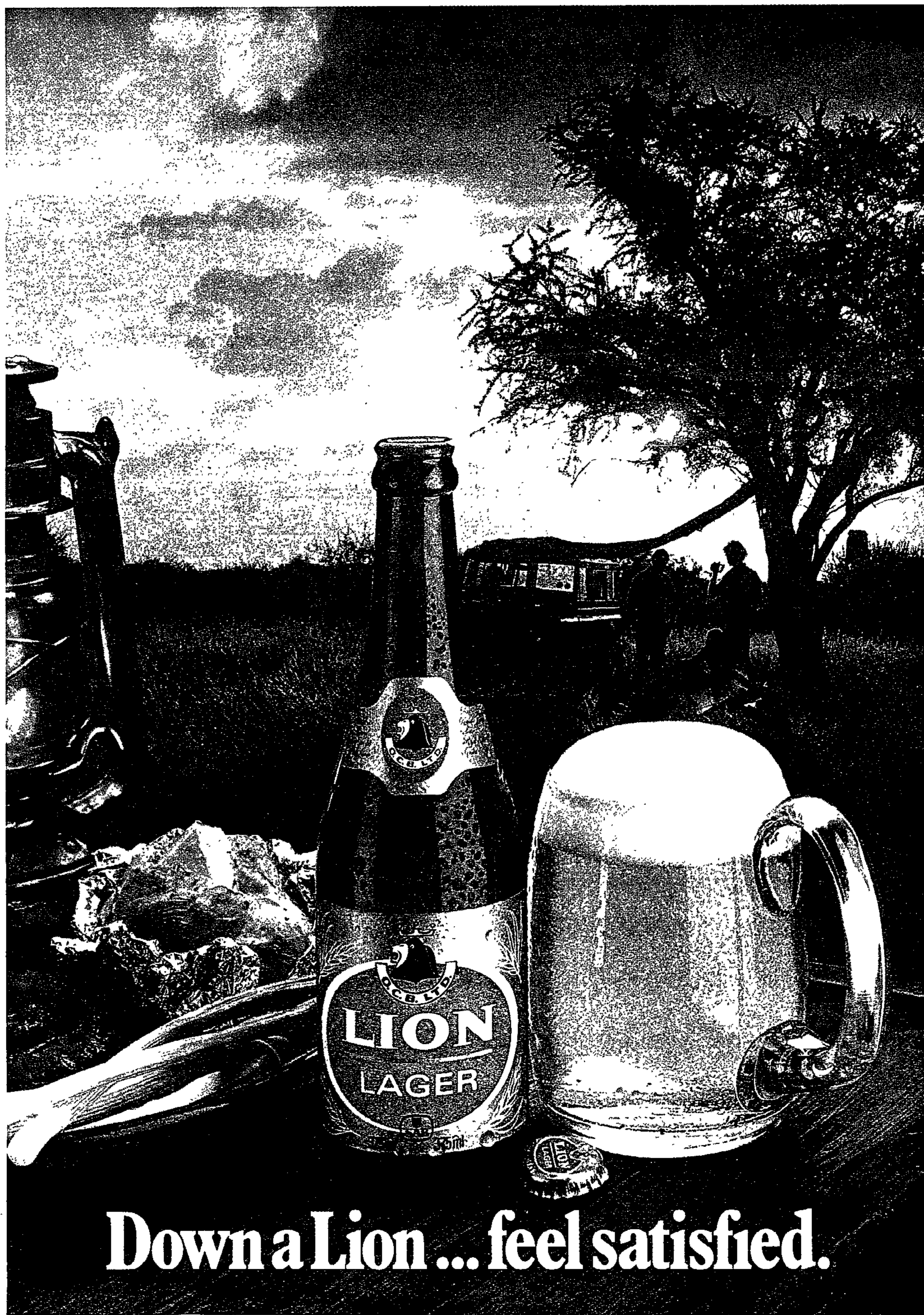
The national emblem of the Ciskei is the blue crane — the indwe in Xhosa.

In Xhosa lore, the blue crane is always associated with success in war.

Yesteryear's warriors were garlanded with its feathers as a sign of success.

Today the indwe reflects the Ciskei's warrior past and looks to the future with the pride of a bird synonymous with success.

Izithwalandwe, the Xhosa term for successful people — Those who carry the blue crane — is an obvious reference to the crane's feathers.



Down a Lion ... feel satisfied.



## BUSINESS

# Is it all quiet on the electrical appliance front?

**EAST LONDON —** Have East London appliance dealers failed to recognise a vast market which seemingly has hardly been tapped?

The question arises from the current excitement over the electrification of Soweto, yet right on East London's doorstep is the mighty satellite town of Mdantsane, — with a full electricity infrastructure.

In 1970, the number of houses wired in Mdantsane was 11. By this month that figure had grown to 2 007.

But of 17 425 houses in Mdantsane, only those 2 007 — or 11,5 per cent — are wired to accommodate household electrical appliances.

Yet the East London City Council, who are responsible for providing the town with electricity as agents of the South African Trust (formerly the Bantu Trust), have made provision for electrical services and, in fact, every house in Mdantsane can easily be supplied with electricity on application. The average cost of connection is about R55.

Certainly a demand exists.

In the last six years the number of consumers in Mdantsane has increased 84 per cent on average per

annum, though this has levelled out at around 55 per cent a year over the last three years.

Of the latest 380 houses built in Mdantsane under the home-ownership scheme, 180 — roughly 50 per cent — were wired at the time of building at the request of the owners.

Of homes built during the last year, 12 out of 15 (80 per cent) have stoves and one in four (25 per cent) have water-heating appliances.

East London's City Electrical Engineer, Mr Ken Robson, a forward-looking planner who strongly backs electricity being installed in Mdantsane houses to improve the quality of life for black residents by offering them the same "all mod cons" as East London's white residents, told me most wired homes in the sprawling town had at least a kettle.

The next priority was stoves and after that, water-heating systems.

Mr Robson said it cost R280 to wire a house. That allowed for a cooker (stove) connection in the kitchen and six plug points — two in the kitchen, two in the lounge and one in each of the other two rooms.

(Most houses in Mdantsane are four-roomed).

New houses now being built include conduit pip-

ing for the installation of a water-heater at a later stage if it is not requested "on order".

Mr Robson said any Mdantsane resident wanting electricity could get it, though he might have to wait a few weeks.

Emphasising just how cheap electricity in the township is, he pointed out that 20c worth of electricity (all supplies are metered) would, in fact, go further than 20c worth of paraffin.

Other alternative heating sources, such as wood, were expensive, while coal was used only minimally.

To keep pace with increased electricity demands in Mdantsane, the East London City Council is about to call for tenders for a R1 million augmented scheme to supply Mdantsane and Mdantsane Extension (Potsdam).

East London's appliance dealers would do well to bear in mind that market surveys have positively established the consumer needs of blacks are identical to whites and there must be a great, big market just waiting out there for kettles, stoves, refrigerators, water-heaters, heaters, irons, food mixers, shavers, TV sets, wirelasses et al.

— Business Editor

# Alliance to go to court over poll?

185

6/7/78

## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

— The three Ciskei Opposition parties which fought the recent homeland election as an alliance have briefed lawyers to initiate a Supreme Court order setting aside the election.

The petition will be based on allegations of irregularities the applicants maintain occurred during the election.

This will be the second time Ciskei politicians have had recourse to the Supreme Court on disputes arising from elections in the homeland.

The difference between the earlier case and the contemplated petition is that only the result in the Zwelitsha and Victoria East constituencies was

challenged while in the new matter the applicants will seek the setting aside of the entire election.

Zweledinga may possibly be the only constituency not affected as the candidate there, Mr. S. M. Hebe, was returned unopposed.

The opposition parties, Chief J. T. Mabandla's Ciskei National Party, Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe's Ciskei National Unionist Party and Mr L. F. Siyo's Labour Party, have been consulting their lawyers since Monday.

No information is available on the details of the consultations and it is not known yet whether the applicants will seek another election in the event of them succeeding in their case. — DDR.

# Ciskei one-party state—Sebe

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Although the chiefs who were on the opposition benches during the life of the last Ciskeian Legislative Assembly may still sit on the same benches, Chief Minister L. L. Sebe is not going to recognise them as an opposition.

"By giving me this resounding victory, the people have made the Ciskei a one-party state," he said yesterday after the announcement of the election results, which gave

him a landslide win.

"During the life of the last Legislative Assembly we had to respect Chief Mabandla as Leader of the Opposition because in his ranks was a man who had been put there by the will of the people. We had to respect the will of the people."

He was referring to Mr P. G. Stamper, the only elected opposition member, representing Peddie.

"But now, if any chiefs who are ex-officio

members of the Legislative Assembly come together and form an opposition, who will they be representing?"

At the end of the life of the CLA in May only six chiefs had maintained their links with the opposition. Several had crossed the floor to join Chief Sebe.

The six chiefs, Chief J. T. Mabandla, Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe, Chief D. Mavuso, acting chief N. Lulana, Chief J. Makinana and Chief Mhlambiso,

are expected to remain on the opposition benches.

Chief Sebe said the 53 per cent poll was not only an endorsement of his government's policies but also an endorsement of the policies relating to the homelands concept.

The Ciskei would now appoint a commission of experts in the fields of international relations, economy and constitutional affairs, to investigate all aspects of independence, he said.

"The confidence the people expressed in the CNIP through the ballot box can be attributed to an endorsement of my party's main stand which has been the promotion of development in all its aspects."

He said government had made important breakthroughs in traditional opposition seats when development projects were established in Keiskammahoek, Peddie and Alice. — DDR-SAPA.

105 7/8/78 DD

# Landslide win for Sebe

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Chief Lennox Sebe's Ciskei National Independence Party has won every seat in the homeland's Legislative Assembly.

The election results announced yesterday make the Ciskei, effectively, a one-party homeland.

Thirteen opposition candidates, including Mr L. F. Siyo, a former Cabinet Minister, lost their deposits.

The results were announced at Zwelitsha yesterday by Mr J. W. Grief, the electoral officer.

Another former Cabinet

Minister, Mr L. S. Mtoba, who served in Chief J. T. Mabandla's cabinet, also lost his R300 deposit.

So did all opposition candidates in both Zwelitsha and Mdantsane.

The resounding Sebe victory confirms his wins in the township council elections in Zwelitsha and Mdantsane last year.

The opposition candidate with the highest vote in Mdantsane was Dr H. S. Kakaza, who polled 3 168 votes, while Mr B. L. Williams, the Sebe man with the lowest vote, polled 39 037. Mr Siyo won 2 801 votes.

Dr B. R. Maku obtained the highest votes in Zwelitsha when he polled 58 507 with Mr L. N. Mankayi's 5 851 the op-

position's best performance. The lowest-polling Sebe man was Mr T. W. Moletsane with 56 623 votes.

Mr W. M. Bashe, Speaker of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly for the last three years, also lost his deposit in a Middledrift contest against two Sebe candidates.

The 925 votes he obtained also did not help Mr G. K. Cosa save his deposit. His opponent, Mr C. Ngxwana, drew 7 117 votes to take Keiskammahoek.

The full result, with elected members in bold, was:

● Hewu — Mr B. D. Myataza (7 194), Mr H. Madigane (1 948), Mr K. Z. Mnweba (1 745), Mr P. L. Bandla (221).

● Keiskammahoek — Mr C. Ngxwana (7 117), Mr G. K. Cosa (925).

● Mdantsane Mr Q. J. Kewuti (39 757) Mr G. M. Mpepo (39 469), Mr M. L. Yako (39 469), Mr B. L. Williams (39 037); Dr H. S. Kakaza (3 168), Mr L. F. Siyo (2 801), Mr D. D. Nazo (2 790), Mr A. W. Ntlebi (2 686).

● Middledrift — Mr A. A. Hoyana (14 578); Mr A. M. Tapa (14 175), Mr W. M. Bashe (1 410), Mr S. Zonke (1 202).

● Ntabethemba — Mr J. N. Mkrola (7 134); Mr K. Samela (1 448).

● Peddie: Mr W. M. Njokweni (13 089), Mr W. M. Boqwana (12 962), Mr S. L. Ntanjana (3 505), Mr L. M. Nikelo (3 485).

● Victoria East — Mr L.

M. Fanie (44 190), Mr W. F. Ximlva (43 914), Mr J. W. Mfaku (43 601), Mrs F. F. Matiyase (42 931), Mr W. M. Xaba (42 094), Mr A. Z. Lamani (13 399), Mr H. V. Qupe (12 400), Mr T. W. Mandla (11 960), Mr M. M. Dingaana (11 879), Mr A. M. Ngcelwane (11 408).

● Zwelitsha — Dr B. R. Maku (58 507), Mr W. M. Maku (57 880); Dr T. J. Hermanus (57 668), Mr E. D. Nkontso (57 002), Mr W. T. Moletsane (56 623), Mr N. L. Mankayi (5 851), Mr H. H. Mdledle (5 599), Mr L. S. Mtoba (4 922), Mr T. M. Sam (4 830), Mr I. L. Sangotsha (4 762).

The election attracted a 53 per cent poll.

There were 4 834 spoilt papers. — DDR.



Congratulations to Ciskei Chief Minister, L. L. Sebe (second from right) come from: (from left): the Minister of Roads and Works, Chief Z. Njokweni; Chieftainess Nollzwe Sandile and Mrs N. Tyall, Chieftainess Nollzwe's counsellor.

inter = between,  
intra = within,  
int =  
int =  
intra = alongside,  
am) = because of:

# Alliance's future in doubt

8/11/78  
DA  
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EAST LONDON —  
Whither the Ciskei opposition alliance?

That is the question being asked following Chief Lennox Sebe's Ciskei National Independence Party's resounding election victory.

But last night none of the alliance leaders was available for comment.

The leader of the Labour Party of South Africa who lost his deposit, Mr L. F. Siyo, was said to be out of town.

Both the leader of the Ciskei National Party, Chief Justice Mabandla, and the leader of the Ciskei National Union Party, Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe, were not available.

A defeated Mdantsane candidate, Dr H. H. Kakaza, said he was not ready to comment.

But he denied a newspaper report that quoted him as saying he would resign from politics if he

was defeated in the election.

"That is a wrong interpretation of my statement. I said that because of the manner in which homeland affairs are run, especially elections which have built-in defects which favour the man in power, I wondered whether it would be worthwhile to continue with homeland politics.

"No black man can retire from politics."

An analysis of the results shows 46 per cent of the possible voters gave Chief Sebe the mandate to rule the Ciskei for the next five years.

This dwarfs the opposition's seven per cent, but also indicates that 47 per cent of potential voters did not endorse the mandate.

However, Chief Sebe obtained 87 per cent of the actual votes cast while the opposition obtained 13 per cent.

Chief Sebe sees his win as a firm, positive and unhesitant declaration of confidence in his Government.

He said yesterday: "The voice of a no-longer divided nation but at long last of a reunited nation has spoken.

"The polls speak for me. The people know and have come to identify my government with meaningful development that reaches down to touch on the lives of Ciskeians in all walks of life." — DDR.

# Referendum to decide Ciskei independence

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Almost a year from now, Ciskeians should be in a position to decide whether to accept independence for the homeland or not — depending on the recommendations of a five-man commission which will prepare a feasibility study on the matter.

But the recommendation of the commission alone will not decide the issue. Ciskeians will decide themselves — by referendum.

This emerged in an interview with Chief Minister L. L. Sebe, who said the commission — if all went according to plan — would be set up in September this year.

Chief Sebe initially rejected Pretoria-designed independence and after sitting in on one of the Turnhalle sessions as an observer, he said he wanted Ciskei's independence to be based on a Turnhalle-type negotiation.

He later modified his attitude, apparently to ensure world recognition after the Ciskei independence, as at the time, the Turnhalle conference had not received much world support.

Chief Sebe could have seen the danger signals because, in announcing his new design for Ciskei's independence, he said he would establish a commis-

sion of internationally acceptable men to prepare a feasibility report on the Ciskei in relation to independence "as it is understood by the international fraternity."

Chief Sebe said his big election win had given him a mandate to go ahead with the homeland Government's policies, which include, if necessary, his leading it to independence.

"But this matter will not be decided by me. The people will make their decision as they did in the elections — by casting their votes for or against independence in a referendum," he said.

He would set the ball rolling in September by establishing a commission consisting of an economist, an agronomist, a constitutional man (who has possibly served as a "governor" in emergent black Africa), an expert in the study of youth attitudes and an educationist.

The men would all be experts in their fields and would be internationally acceptable.

"The commission will interview different people from all walks of life in the Ciskei, investigate the Ciskei's economic viability and all aspects of the Ciskei's development, which would enable Ciskeians to make their final decision on whether, on the strength of the

feasibility report, it would be worthwhile to accept or reject independence," Chief Sebe said.

The commission would be given at least six months within which to complete its work and its report would be submitted to the Ciskeians for a decision by referendum.

The Chief Minister, who refused to give names, has already contacted some of the men he would like to have on the commission. He did not say what countries they would come from.

Some political observers believe Sir Richard Luyt, principal of the University of Cape Town, could serve on the commission.

The speculation has been sparked off by Chief Sebe's remark he would also need a constitutional man who has served at some period or other as a governor in the emergent black states.

Sir Richard is one of the Ciskei's greatest friends and has arranged a UCT aid programme for the Ciskei. — DDR.

## Poachers bagged

**SAINT-OMER (France)** — Two poachers caught inside a church with air rifles and 40 dead pigeons have been charged under a rarely-used law with "hunting at night in a public building." — SAPARNS.

# Ciskeians'

## decision a

# year away

1. Naam
2. Oude
3. Ras
4. Tuis

Mercury Correspondent

105

5. Soor **KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** - Almost a year from now Ciskeians should be in a position to decide whether to accept independence for the homeland or not, depending on the recommendations of a five man commission which will prepare a feasibility study on the matter.

7. Span But still the recommendation of the commission will not decide the issue of independence as Ciskeians will themselves decide by referendum whether to go independent or not.

ahead with the home government's policies, which include, if necessary, his leading the country into independence.

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11. Het Chief Sebe first rejected Pretoria-designed independence after sitting in at one of the Turnhalle sessions as an observer.

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Ple

nderneê van vorige werk:

ort werk	Weeklikse loon	Rede waarom u die werk verlaat het
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1. On returning to the Ciskei, he said he wanted Ciskei's independence to be based on the Turnhalle type of negotiation. He later modified his attitude, in an apparent move to ensure world recognition after independence for the Ciskei.

2. At the time, the Turnhalle Conference had not received the unqualified support of the world, particularly because of Swapo's stand on the matter.

3. **Danger**

12. Het Chief Sebe could have seen the danger signals because, announcing his new design for Ciskei's independence, he said he would establish a commission of internationally acceptable men to prepare a feasibility report on the Ciskei in relation to independence.

gedink om ander werk te doen?

13. Vir w Chief Sebe says the massive support his big win in the elections illustrated has given him a mandate to go

ander u nie van werk nie?

14. Hoeve

ie jaar doen u hierdie werk?

elke jaar?

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105

# Opposition unites to tackle Sebe

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— A new era in the political development of the Ciskei will dawn on Sunday when a new party will replace the three existing opposition parties led by Chief J. T. Mabandla, Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe and Mr L. F. Siyo.

The three parties, which formed an alliance to fight Chief Minister Lennox Sebe in the recent Ciskei election, will merge at a meeting to be held at Mavuso location near Alice.

It is not known what policies the new party will follow, although Mr Siyo's Labour Party's policy predominated at all alliance rallies during the election campaign.

This could have been influenced by the fact that Mr Siyo's party and Chief Mabandla's Ciskei National Party followed what the two leaders regard as non-racialism.

Mr Siyo's party further preached protection of black workers through unionism and categorically rejected independence and acceptance of Ciskei citizenship certificates, particularly by urban blacks.

At the height of the campaign, the alliance even rejected the homelands concept and demanded full participation in the affairs of the entire South African region.

What can be comfortably predicted, however, is that the new party will still take a middle course which will keep it apart from Chief Sebe and organisations that were involved in the black consciousness movement.

The party, therefore, will remain unacceptable to the electorate which swept Chief Sebe into power in his greatest election victory yet.

And the youth, which the alliance tried desperately to impress during its campaign, will remain indifferent for as long as the new party is involved in homeland politics.

This attitude was clearly demonstrated at Graaff-Reinet during Mr Robert Sobukwe's funeral.

The Graaff-Reinet message by the youth was: whether one criticised apartheid or not, if one was involved in sectional politics as designed by Pretoria, one was not their ally.

Members of the Coloured Labour Party who were ejected from the funeral, serve to illustrate this point.

The Ciskei National Unionist Party accepted separate development as the policy it was "forced" to follow, Chief Ncamashe explained at his party's inaugural meeting in 1976.

He emphasised, nevertheless, his policy had been "borrowed" from the Nationalist Government and was foreign to his party "which will decide when the time is opportune to adopt its own policy."

Some time is expected to be devoted, therefore, to the question of the party's constitution at the Mavuso meeting, while the issue of leadership will also demand a good deal of attention.

The leader will probably come from the three men currently heading the three opposition parties, with Mr Siyo and Chief Ncamashe possibly the strongest candidates.

All three men have cabinet experience, with Chief Mabandla having served as both chief executive councillor in the old Ciskei Territorial Authority and Chief Minister when the Ciskei was given a legislative assembly. He is also backed by a wealth of experience in administration as a chief.

Chief Mabandla, however, has been in the background ever since the establishment of the alliance.

Chief Ncamashe and Mr Siyo have served on Chief Sebe's Cabinet. They were axed in 1975 and 1977 respectively. — DDR.

# Chief Sebe announces bus fare increases

EAST LONDON — Bus fares for black services in Mdantsane, East London, Zwelitsha and King William's Town will rise on August 8.

This was announced by the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief L. L. Sebe, in a press release yesterday.

The Ciskei Transport Company, which runs the Mdantsane to East London service and associated branch services, will be putting up prices from any point within Mdantsane to the transfer station by two cents a single journey, and from the transfer station to East London destinations by three cents.

Fares for services outside Mdantsane, in such areas as Duncan Village and Buffalo Flats, will increase by three cents a single journey.

The purchase price of all subsidised clip-cards will increase by two cents a journey, i.e., 20 cents per 10 ride ticket.

Increases in fares for

the Umanyano Public Transport Corporation serving Zwelitsha and King William's Town will be a flat 30 per cent for all fares.

This increase is in line with that granted by the Road Transportation Board in April last year, but not implemented until now.

At the same time the board approved increases for the Ciskei Transport Corporation of four cents per single journey.

"These approved fares have not been implemented due largely to the general recessionary trend during the past year, which has resulted in a higher than normal incidence of unemployment," Chief Sebe said.

"Although it is realised that transport costs usually form a relatively high proportion of the average commuter's budget, the company simply cannot continue to absorb the heavy losses being incurred. We therefore have no choice but to im-

plement at least a portion of the increased fares approved by the board."

Due to the fact the Umanyano corporation hadn't had an increase in fares for five years, it had been decided to implement the full 30 per cent increase permitted by the board.

Mr Sebe said the two companies found themselves in the same predicament as all other businesses, especially those which were transport orientated.

There had been tremendous increases in wages, the price of buses, spares, tyres and fuel.

"According to an investigation conducted by a university, the cost of operating a bus fleet has escalated by an average of 80 per cent since December 1974," said Chief Sebe.

"These increasing costs have so far been absorbed entirely by the transport corporations.

"The loss position has, however, now become critical," he said. — DDR.



# Alliance members detained

2/14/78 BA  
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**From CHARLES NQAKULA  
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN —**  
Several prominent members of the Ciskei opposition alliance have gone into hiding following the detention of three colleagues, including a former cabinet minister.

The alliance was formed before the recent Ciskei election in a pact to fight Chief Minister Lennox Sebe.

The three men who have been detained, Dr H. S. Kakaza, Mr L. S. Mtoba and Mr D. D. Nazo, were among the 21 alliance candidates in the election.

Now other alliance members who stood as candidates fear they also might be detained.

Dr Kakaza is the national secretary of Chief Mabandla's Ciskei National Independence Party, while Mr Mtoba is a senior executive member of the party.

No light could be thrown on their detention yesterday as the Ciskei's Commissioner of Police, Col M. Saunders, referred all inquiries to Chief P. Siwani, the Minister of Justice, who was out of town. Chief Sebe was also not available.

Mr Mtoba, however, was seen in a Ciskei Government police van yesterday and he was able to tell a friend he was being taken to Dimbaza. He also told him he had been detained in terms of the Ciskei's emergency proclamation.

All alliance members contacted yesterday refused to comment publicly on the detentions for fear of reprisals.

merged.

It now seems likely the meeting will be scrapped indefinitely — or at least until the men who are in hiding are available.

It also became clear yesterday that a lot more members of the opposition groups are contemplating going into hiding in the belief Chief Sebe is intent on fulfilling threats he issued some time ago.

The Chief Minister is on record as saying he would take drastic action against certain people he alleged were inciting schoolchildren to riot and burn buildings.

After the election, he said his government would no longer tolerate any "nonsense" from anybody and would act "swiftly and drastically" against people who, among other things, scorned chiefs and chieftainship.

"For the last five years my government has had to tolerate destructive antics from the opposition. The people have spoken and nobody is going to disturb our programmes. My government will act swiftly and drastically against such antics," he said then.

It emerged from talks with some of the members, however, that the detentions had upset plans for the Mavuso meeting where the opposition parties — Chief Mabandla's CNIP, Chief Burns-Ncamashe's Ciskei National Unionist Party and Mr L. F. Siyo's Labour Party — were to have

Chief Sebe is also on record as saying he would not imprison any members of the opposition unless they engaged in political activities designed to undermine the Ciskei.

However, immediately after that statement, he detained more people who were not brought to trial.

Some of the detainees, including Mr Mzukisi Sikweyiya and Chief Dumalithshona Mpangele, who were detained in April, were released last weekend and early this week without any court charges being preferred.

The Chief Minister prided himself for releasing detainees "to allow them to contest an election" and boasted his was the only state in the whole of Africa to do that. He has criticised the Press for not giving his "gesture" adequate coverage.

Dr Kakaza is one of those who was arrested before the election and released to allow him to contest the election.

Mr Mtoba, a former cabinet minister who served with Chief Sebe in Chief Mabandla's cabinet and who took over Chief Sebe's education portfolio in a reshuffle, has been one of the strongest critics of the emergency proclamation and has constantly campaigned for its withdrawal.

Chief Mpangele was first detained by the Ciskei Government on December 21 last year and released on March 20.

On April 17, just before his detention, he received a letter from the Government which stripped him of his chieftainship over the Zibula tribe at Mgwali.

# Ciskei Alliance counts the score

21/7/78

After the drubbing the Ciskei Alliance received in the general election, a merger of the forces involved is perhaps the most sensible thing to do.

One of the problems the Alliance faced during the elections was putting together people who still preferred their different party leaders and it was clear in some circumstances that the unity of the Mbumba existed only on the lips of the leaders and some followers.

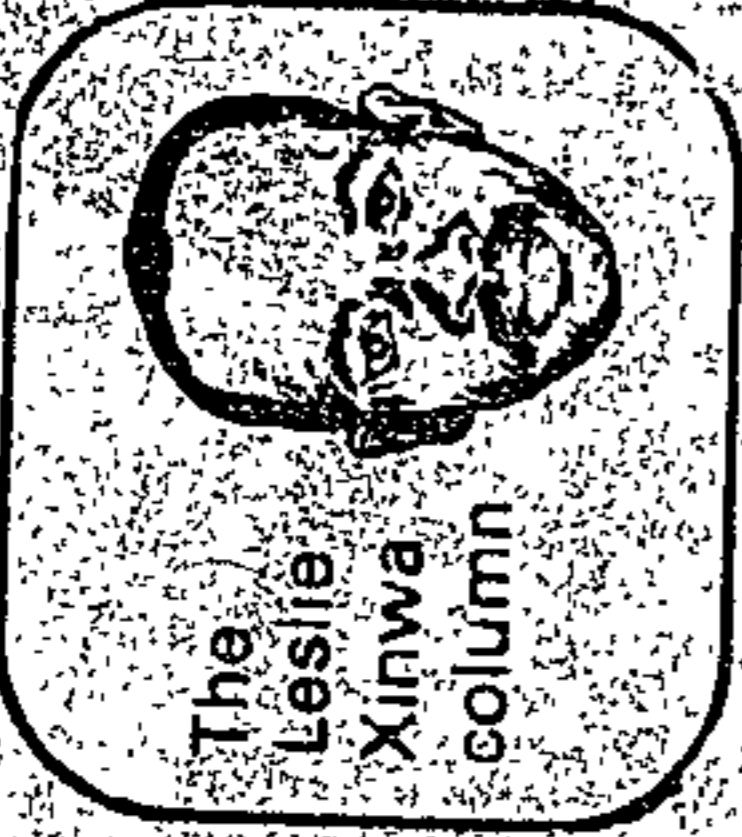
Now that they have been stripped of any power it was time they sat back and counted the score.

Some of the main issues raised against the Sebe government during the elections included the Chief Minister's alleged inability to work with people who question some of his actions, unfulfilled promises, detentions and a state of emergency in an area in which there had been minimal disturbances, a poorly equipped Cabinet of chiefs who did not make effective politicians and a need to realign forces to face issues that face blacks in general in the entire

South Africa.

The drubbing the Alliance received could be interpreted to mean that those people who participate in Ciskei politics do not think these matters are important.

If that is the position then what do Ciskei voters want? Are they for detentions without trial? Do they believe a Cabinet made up of chiefs is better than one made up of commoners? The question of detention has already been shown to carry little



The Leslie Xirwa column

weight among many people who participate in homeland politics. When Transkei was using Proclamation R400

will vote for the man in the driving seat and in Ciskei it was not just a question of people having voted for the Ciskei National Independence Party but that they voted for the leader, Chief Sebe.

The personality cult built around him as against personalities of other leaders in the Alliance was too strong for the average country voter — hence a constituency like Victoria East, with a fairly large

against members of the Opposition Democratic Party in 1976, the ruling party was returned with a much increased majority because the issue that dominated the election was the fact that Transkei was going for independence and that if anything was to be made of the policy of separate development, Chief Kaiser Matanzima was the most equipped man to do so.

The other consideration is that the average voter

urban vote had better figures for the Opposition than all the other areas.

So much for the election but what of the new merger where one is not going to have an alliance but one opposition party?

The marriage seems doomed to problems for two reasons. The leader of the National Unionist Party of South Africa, Mr L. F. Siyo, may have damaged his image with the average Ciskei National Party supporter because of his previous membership of the ruling party Cabinet.

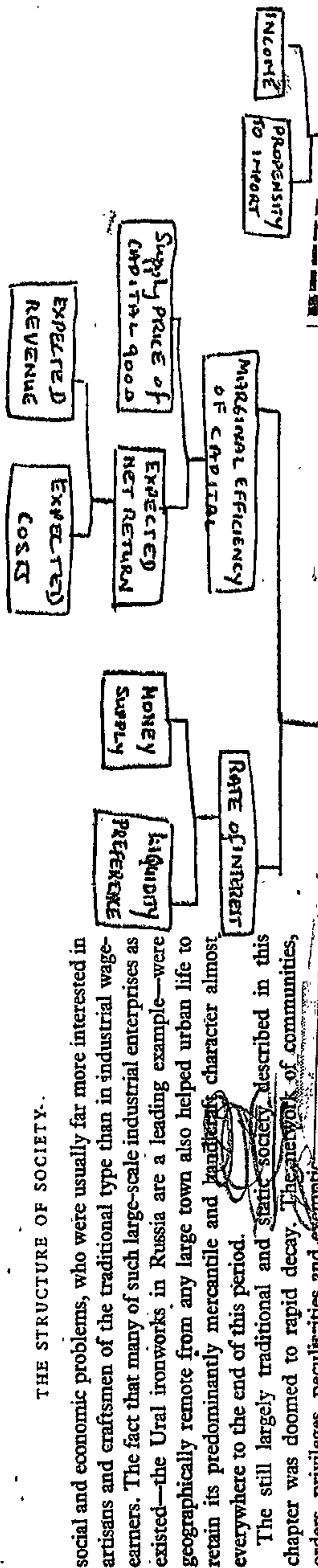
Chief S. M. Burns Ncamashe may be most

acceptable to some members of other parties but it is doubtful whether he would be willing to serve (in the long term) under both Mr Siyo and Chief Justice Mabandla of the CNP.

All this could leave the new party with problems of leadership, and working from the background of the oppositions election failure the chances of recovery under leadership of any of the three men are slim.

Which leaves as a likely reality the one party state envisaged by Chief Sebe after the announcement of election results.

THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY.



social and economic problems, who were usually far more interested in artisans and craftsmen of the traditional type than in industrial wage-earners. The fact that many of such large-scale industrial enterprises as existed—the Ural ironworks in Russia are a leading example—were geographically remote from any large town also helped urban life to retain its predominantly mercantile and handicraft character almost everywhere to the end of this period.

The still largely traditional and static society described in this chapter was doomed to rapid decay. The network of communities, orders, privileges, peculiarities and exemptions posed, could not hope which were growing strong of the century at latest by the demands of governative efficiency. It was perhaps more fundamental life. Foga society bas where different economic systems great mistake to mainly in terms of progressive forces, a continued life during this period in past as much as the future.

22/7/78  
105  
**7 alliance men held, others hide**

EAST LONDON — At least seven members of the Ciskei opposition alliance are known to have been detained during a clamp-down by the security police this week.

Those not detained are said to have gone into hiding. They include several prominent members of the alliance.

Those detained are being held under Proclamation R252 of 1977.

The Ciskei Minister of Justice, Chief Payment Zimlindile Siwani, refused to give reasons for the detentions.

When pressed Chief Siwani said: "Ask those detained why they are behind the bars. I don't want to comment about these detained people. They know."

The most wanted man is the leader of the National Labour Party of South Africa, Mr L. F. Siyo, who is believed to have gone into hiding somewhere in Transkei.

However, this could not be confirmed by a spokesman for his family who declined to reveal his whereabouts.

Mr Monde Nqwelo, the former chairman of the Ward Four division of the Ciskei National Independence Party at Zwelitsha, was detained in Mdantsane on Thursday night.

Mr Nqwelo broke away from the ruling party and joined the National Labour Party headed by Mr Siyo.

Others detained at Mdantsane police station

include Mr D. Matakane of Alice, Mr Stanford Monti and Mr M. Sibewu, both from the King William's Town district.

Mr N. L. Mankai of Zwelitsha is also believed to have gone into hiding.

During the recent general elections in the Ciskei Mr Mankai contested a seat in the Zwelitsha constituency. He lost his deposit.

He is believed to be in Port Elizabeth, but this could not be confirmed yesterday.

Dr H. H. Kakaza, the national general secretary of the Ciskei National Party, is being detained at Dimbaza, while Mr D. D. Nazo is being detained at the Mdantsane police station. Both contested seats in Mdantsane and lost.

Dr Kakaza was arrested before the election and released to allow him to contest the election.

Mr L. S. Mtoba, the senior executive member of the CNP, is being held at Dimbaza.

It was confirmed last night that the alliance merger meeting at Mavuso location near Alice had been postponed indefinitely.

Mrs N. Burns-Ncamashe confirmed this as her husband, Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe, was not available. He is one of the alliance leaders. — DDR.

Economics presents a unique problem of exposition in that its various parts are much more closely related than is the case in many other disciplines. The ability to catch such a global vision is essential if

A NOTE OF COMFORT

in employment and output with only moderate price drops, if any. (See notes on L shaped Supply Curve).

# Arrests follow Ciskei fight

EAST LONDON— Seven people were injured and others arrested after a fight broke out during a Ciskei National Independence Party meeting held at Zweledinga near Whittlesea on Saturday.

The CNIP regional meeting was held at a school. It was organised by Mr J. Mcenenda, who is the branch chairman of the party.

During the meeting a man stood next to the chairman. When told to sit down, he started to beat Mr Mcenenda. A free for all started. Involved during the fight were men, women and schoolchildren.

The Commissioner of Police for the Border, Brigadier P. J. Smal, said yesterday the meeting was held by the followers of former Chief Sinanda.

While the meeting was in progress ex chief Katsi arrived with his supporters.

There is rivalry between the two groups.

A fight started and seven people were injured. Those injured were treated for wounds they suffered.

Brigadier Smal said a number of people were arrested by the police.

—DDR.

castes, ideology and prescription internalized by both women and men seem to be as much a causative factor as are material changes in production relations. Does the entry of lower-class women into industrial production really bring them closer to "liberation"? In the absence of institutional changes such as the right to abortion and safe contraception, altered child rearing arrangements, and varied options for sexual expression, changes in economic relations may become oppressive. Unless such changes are accompanied by changes in consciousness, which in turn result in institutional changes, they do not favorably affect the lives of women.

Is smaller family size the result of "demographic freedom" of choice exercised

d by men, the ideologically ce of an economic class? Is it orations? This raises another p of upper-class to lower-class ce in the status of upper-class lass women? Examples of this rican housewife in the mid- if cheap black or immigrant ict century housewife from cultural scroop-labor and the aid female workers.

on class as on gender? This he universalist assumptions of ide an answer, but I think the ion.

of history hitherto developed ry, since all are based on the s of values. The structural- l sex factors, the traditional ctors as *essentials*, admitting Marxist model includes these, tors. Still, her four-structures

model and the *essentials* of the *pr* by Bridenthal are an excellent addition to the conceptual working tools of the historian of women's history. They should be tried out, discussed, refined. But they are not, in my opinion, the whole answer.

Joan Kelly-Gadol<sup>13</sup> offers the useful suggestion that attitudes toward sexuality should be studied in each historical period. She considers the constraints upon women's sexuality imposed by society a useful measure of women's true status. This approach would necessitate comparisons between prescribed behavior for women and men as well as indications of their actual sexual behavior at any given time. This challenging method can be used with great effectiveness for certain periods of history and especially for upper- and middle-class women. I doubt that it can be usefully employed as a general criterion, because of the difficulty of finding substantiating evidence, especially as it pertains to lower classes.

I raised the question of a conceptual framework for dealing with women's

history in 1969, reasoning from the assumption that women were a subgroup, a particular and problematic group, different from any other subgroup in history.<sup>14</sup> Neither caste, class, nor race quite fit the model for describing us. I have now come to the conclusion that the idea that women are some kind of a sub-group is wrong. It will not do—there are just too many of us. No single framework, no single-factor, four-factor, or eight-factor explanation can serve to contain all that the history of women is. Picture, if you can, an attempt to organize the history of men by using four factors. It will not work; neither will it work for women.

Women are and always have been at least half of humanity and most of the time have been the majority of humanity. Their culturally determined and psychologically internalized marginality seems to be what makes their historical experience essentially different from that of men. But men have defined their experience as history and have left women out. At this time, as during earlier periods of feminist activity, women are urged to fit into the empty spaces, assuming their traditional marginal, "sub-group" status. But the truth is that history, as written and perceived up to now, is the history of a minority, who may well turn out to be the "sub-group." In order to write a new history worthy of the name, we will have to recognize that no single methodology and conceptual framework can fit the complexities of the historical experience of all women.

The first stage of "transitional history" may be to add some new categories to the general categories by which historians organize their material: sexuality, reproduction, the link between child-bearing and child-rearing; role indoctrination; sexual values and myths; female consciousness. Further, all of these need to be analysed taking factors of race, class, ethnicity, and possibly religion into consideration. What we have here is not a single framework for dealing with women in history, but new questions to all of universal history.

The next stage may be to explore the possibility that what we call women's history may actually be the study of a separate women's culture. Such a culture would include not only the separate occupations, status, experiences and rituals of women but also their separate consciousness, which internalizes patriarchal assumptions. In some cases, it would include the tensions created in that culture between the prescribed patriarchal assumptions and women's efforts to attain autonomy and emancipation.

A following stage may develop a synthesis: a history of the dialectic, the tensions between the two cultures, male and female. Such a synthesis could be based on close comparative study of given periods in which the historical experience of men is compared to that of women, their tensions and interactions being as much the subject of study as their differences. Only after a series of such detailed studies can we hope to find the parameters by which to define the new universal history. My guess is that no one conceptual framework will fit so complex a subject.

Methods are tools for analysis—some of us will stick with one tool, some of us will reach for different tools as we need them. For women, the problem really is that we must acquire not only the confidence needed for using tools, but for making new ones to fit our needs. We should do so relying on our

# Now Ciskei wants remains of old man's wife

Tribune Reporter

CHIEF LENT MAQOMA, acting Paramount Chief of one of the only two royal Xhosa houses, the Rarabes, is on the warpath again.

Chief Maqoma, the Ciskei's Minister of the Interior, is the man who hit world headlines earlier this year when an aged sickly woman seer guided him to the unmarked grave and the bones of his great-great grandfather Chief Jongumsobomvu Maqoma who died on Robben Island in 1873.

Now the Ciskeian Cabinet Minister wants the bones of Chief Jongumsobomvu's favourite wife, and he believes they are also on the island off Cape Town.

Why does Chief Maqoma, a devout Christian, want the second grave exhumed and the bones of his great great grandmother returned to the Ciskei?

He explained in deadly seriousness: "I want my ancestors near me so that they can be readily available when I wish to consult them on national matters."

## Captured

Chief Maqoma, whose Jingqi tribe is named after his ancestor's favourite ox, said the old man was a great general captured by the British in 1857 during the frontier wars, what used to be called the Kaffir Wars. Chief Maqoma said the chief was taken to Robben Island where he died 16 years later.

Chief Maqoma says the old chief's favourite wife was arrested with her husband and taken to Robben Island. Now once the bones of the venerable old chief are re-interred on sacred ground in the Ciskei, his heir plans to return to Robben Island to search for the old chieftain's grave.

In the meantime, Chief Jongumsobomvu's remains are still in Cape Town. When the grave was exhumed in May Chief Maqoma demanded a British warship should return the remains to the Eastern Cape because it was a British warship that had taken him to Robben Island in the middle of the last century.

## Hand-over

He didn't get a British warship but he will get a South African Navy frigate. The SAS President Pretorius is to bring the remains to Port Elizabeth on August 5 and the old chief will be reburied on the sacred Xhosa mountain in the Amatolas near Alice. The mountain is called Ntabakandoda meaning the Mountain of the Men.

The Defence Force will hand over the casket carrying the bones to the Maqoma family at the giant Black Wolfson stadium in

# Chief has

Sun. Trib. 30/7/78

# 105 another bone to pick

## SEER CRACKS RIDDLE OF OLD CHIEF'S BONES

FLASHBACK to the Sunday Tribune of May 21.

Port Elizabeth at a two-hour ceremony on August 6.

Under Chief Maqoma's supervision, the bones will then be taken to his tribal headquarters in the Tyume Valley where they will lie in state in a specially constructed timber building until re-burial on August 13. After the re-burial the timber structure will not be razed but will serve as a chapel for the Jingqi tribe.

## Prominent

The Defence Force is expected to play a prominent part at the funeral by either supplying a guard of honour, a band and six bearers or a leading detachment of two NCOs and 12 privates and six bearers.

Chief Maqoma says the funeral will be conducted traditionally and according to Christian rites the remains will be buried in a yellowwood coffin from the nearby Katherg Mountains.

"The Katherg area (now a popular Eastern Cape resort), belonged to my great-grand grandfather," Chief Maqoma said, "and it is only fair that something from his own land must feature in the re-burial of his remains."

Chief Maqoma said normally the remains would have been taken to East London and fetched from

there, "but I chose for the casket to be brought via Port Elizabeth to re-enact history," he said.

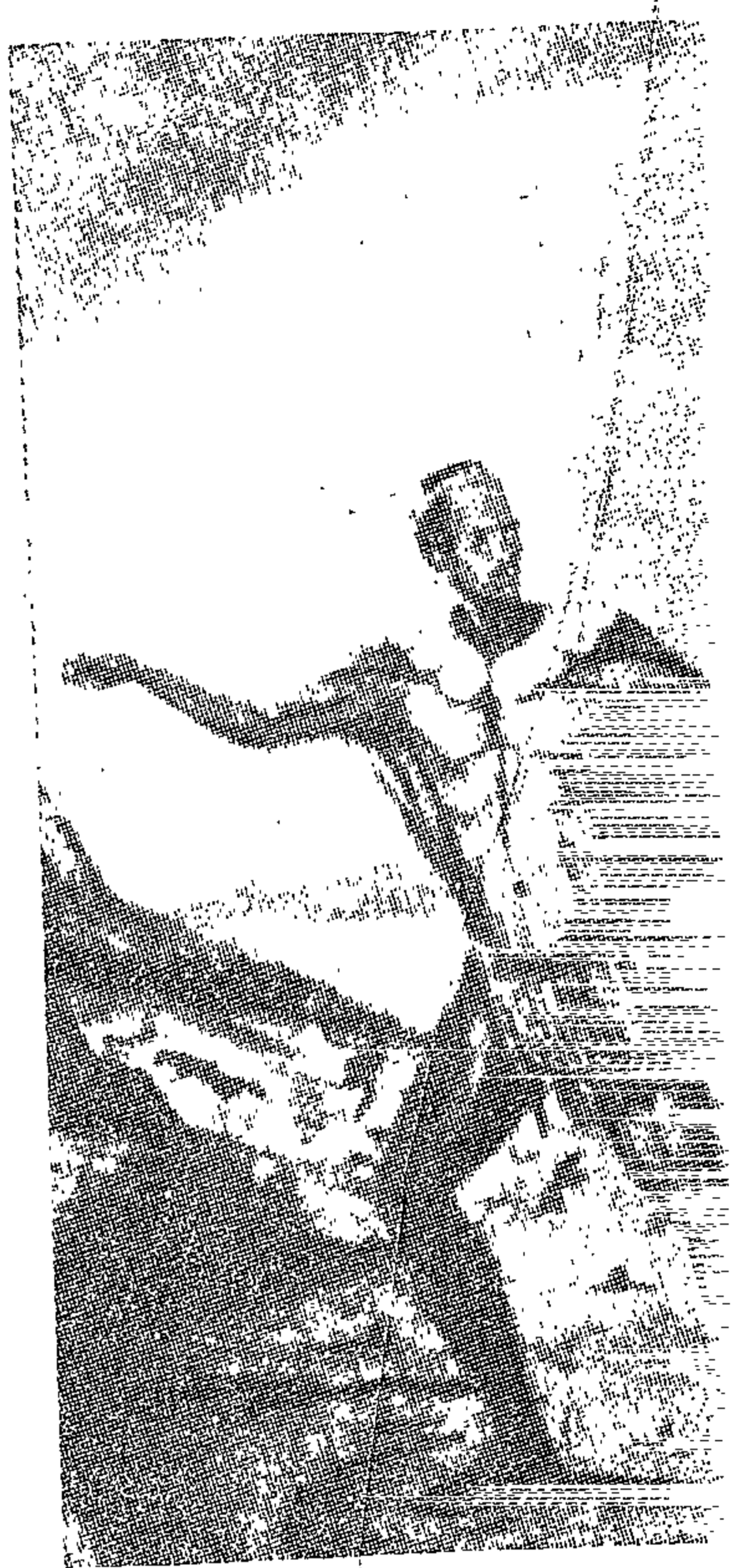
"When Chief Jongumsobomvu was arrested by the British he was taken to Port Elizabeth on a horse-drawn cart and then transferred to Cape Town. I want him to take the same route home."

From August 1 to 13 every Xhosa in the Ciskei and Trankei will be expected to mourn with mourners at the funeral wearing traditional dress.

Chief Maqoma said this week that he had wanted to bring to the Ciskei the pieces of metal he claims were the shackles used on Chief Jongumsobomvu but the seer who found the secret grave on Robben Island, Mrs Charity Sonandi, had warned against it. "She told me Chief Maqoma was in bondage on Robben Island but we were bringing him back a free man and anything relating to his bondage had to be left behind."

## Heroes

At the request of the Ciskeian Government, Chief Maqoma will be reburied at a special place for heroes in the years ahead. This Heroes' Acre will be used to bury all the Chiefs currently reigning in the Ciskei.



MAQOMA: A great warrior and orator

# Lamani set free

PORT ELIZABETH — Former Ciskei National Independence Party Chief Whip and member of the Port Elizabeth Community Council, Mr A. Z. Lamani, of Rula Street, New Brighton, who was detained early in June, has been released.

Mr Lamani, who was arrested after a campaign meeting of the Ciskei Opposition Alliance, has been released without being charged.

He contested the Ciskei elections in the Victoria East constituency for the Alliance and lost, but he had the highest number of votes of all opposition candidates — more than 13 000 — although he was in detention during the election.

A former top man in the CNIP, Mr Lamani left the party after he was expelled at a party congress in Uitenhage last year.

He is a founder member of the National Labour Party of South Africa, led by Mr L. F. Siyo of Mdantsane.

Mr Lamani could not be contacted for comment last night. — DDR

## The White Man's Burden

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Under the present system of government, population concentrations in the "homelands" are, in fact, not only increasing, but an independent Namibian government will have to cope with a comparatively large movement of Black people from the major income centres. One point to note is that the population of the major income centres is increasing at a faster rate than in other countries bordering South Africa, there are at present very few Namibians in the major income centres and we must understand them?

## 4.5 EXPORT INSTABILITY

Namibia's heavy reliance on primary commodity exports poses it a serious problem in the same position as many developing countries. ...

... the field of minerals there is reasonable hope for stability of export earnings: The marketing role of De Beers and the C.I.T. will probably be maintained for some time to come, although for mineral contracts will ensure stable revenues, albeit these contracts were negotiated at fairly low contract prices.

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- 4.8 **OPPORTUNITY**  
I am aware that the importance of the role of the African in the economic growth of the continent will be political stability. But perhaps we have enough background to formulate some development strategies. During the colonial period there was no room for African initiative? Do you agree? What role did Africans play during the colonial period?
- 5. **ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES**  
In reality, of course, the present system of government is not a model of economic development. ...

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- 5.1.1 **EMERGENCY**  
Firstly in the ...
- 5.1.2 **EMERGENCY**  
Further proceedings ...
- 5.1.3 **EMERGENCY**  
Handout of Readings on African Nationalism; Africa Since 1875, pp. 783-6; Colman, "What is African Nationalism" in Collins, Problems in the History of Colonial Africa, pp. 339-347.

## 9

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- 42. Bhagwati, J. ...
- 43. Thomas, W. ...

## 10

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# Poverty is path to cities

2/18/78  
207  
644  
105

Grinding poverty, high rates of unemployment and widespread under-nutrition in Ciskei and Transkei are the key reasons cited by black people for coming to the Cape Town area, often illegally.

They have also said the disruption of family life through the absence of men and a shortage of urban housing are additional reasons for their migration to the Cape.

**If people in the rural areas of the Ciskei and Transkei depended solely on their income from the land they would be living below the absolute minimum necessary for adequate survival. No wonder a squatter camp at the Cape, with all its hardships, is more desirable, writes Daily Dispatch political correspondent, BARRY STREEK.**

that the overwhelming majority of homeland families lived in poverty at income well below the poverty datum line.

The industrial development programme in both territories have met with some success, but in neither are they remotely coping with the unemployment needs.

This has been found by two University of Cape Town economists, Ms Janet Graaff and Mr Johann Maree, who conducted widening interviews with 211 permanent residents and migrant workers in Cape Town between December 1975 and January 1976.

Their findings have been backed up by three other academics in a 'South African Institute of Race Relations' publication. "The squatter problem in the Western Cape

derived less than R49 per month from their subsistence income."

Furthermore, no less than a quarter of the homeland families had no subsistence income at all, they found.

Those already there, Maree and Graaff also found that the size of land cultivated, maize yield, number of school-going children, number of cattle and sheep, the educational level of the worker and his wage were all related to each other.

"Cash income of the households surveyed was derived mainly from migrant labour remittances, but also from pensions and grants, local employment and sale of produce

Coupled with the lack of adequate nutrition and the shortage of urban housing, which in all the homelands including Transkei was a shortfall of 42.954 during the three-year period 1971-2 to 1973, these plain economic and social facts have combined to encourage thousands of people to seek their fortunes elsewhere.

This research does much to explain why Transkeians and Ciskeians are prepared to travel over 1 000 kilometres, frequently contrary to pass law regulations and, since Transkei's independence, passport controls, to find work and probably to live in unpleasant squatter camps or in some other cramped living space.

The writer felt that the battery of men wanting to live with their wives and children was not the cry of black people but "is definitely laid in their mouths by white philanthropists."

Four-fifths of all the workers with homelands either had three morgen or less to cultivate, or owned at most six head of cattle or nine sheep.

In short, if they depended solely on their income from the Ciskei or Transkei they would be below the poverty datum line, the absolute minimum necessary for adequate survival. They would just survive.

"A worker cultivating much land, obtaining a high yield, owning a lot of sheep and cattle would also earn a relatively high wage, be more educated and have more children at school."

Ninety-five per cent of the households earned a cash income of less than R30 a month, while 50 per cent earned less than R12 per month," they wrote.

It is sometimes a question of survival that drives those unable to get jobs in the rural areas to the town. For others it is a choice between living in great poverty in the rural areas, or having a better (even if still inadequate) living situation in Cape Town.

The writer continued: "It is a widely known Bantu custom that a Bantu may not have intercourse with his wife as long as she is suckling a child. (Even urban Bantu have confirmed they are keeping to this custom). During this period he self-evidently satisfied his needs elsewhere.

"For this reason the migrant labour system is to my mind such a good and acceptable substitute for the way of life of the previous generation," he wrote.

The lack of agricultural resources also tended to coincide: 71 per cent of the families that had no land to cultivate also owned no cattle, while 81 per cent of the families without any sheep did not own any cattle either.

Indeed, their findings show just why schemes like those at Keiskamahoek, Tyefu and Qamata are so vital and why the South African Government should be spending so much more capital on such programmes if it merely wants to stop the flow to the cities, let alone provide adequately for

those already there. Maree and Graaff also found that the size of land cultivated, maize yield, number of school-going children, number of cattle and sheep, the educational level of the worker and his wage were all related to each other.

Throughout South Africa at present there is widespread unemployment, particularly among black people and particularly among those black people in the rural areas.

The men want reason-ably paid work, so they come to Cape Town; the women want a family, so they come as well, the authors of the Race Relations publication summed up.

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AFRICAN HISTORY I

Tutorial Programme, July-September 1978.

Week Beginning:

July 17

Colonial attitudes: how can one account for and understand them?

Reading:

Handout on "Colonial Attitudes"

Hallett: Africa Since 1875, pp. 730-3;

Kiernan: Lords of Human Kind c.6.

July 24

'During the colonial period there was no room for African initiative' Do you agree? What role did Africans play during the colonial period?

Reading:

Hallett: "Conquest Situations"; Mazrui & Rotberg:

Protest and Power in Black Africa; R. Owen & B. Sutcliffe:

Studies in the theory of imperialism, c.5.

July 31

Christianity in Africa: how can one account for its expansion in the colonial period?

Reading:

Africa Since 1875, pp.335-9; Hodgkin, Nationalism in

Colonial Africa, pp.93-114; Basta, "Missionary and

humanitarian interests" in Gann & Duignan, Colonialism

in Africa, Vol.2, pp.422-448.

Aug. 7

The European Impact: an African novelist's view.

Reading:

Chinua Achebe, Things Fall Apart.

Aug. 14

Colonialism in Africa: can we draw up a balance sheet?

Reading:

Africa Since 1875, pp.13-19; Ajayi, "Colonialism: an

episode in African history" in Colonialism in Africa;

Vol.1, pp. 497-510; Boehen, "The Colonial Era: conquest

to independence" in Colonialism in Africa, Vol.2, pp.503-25.

A. Memmi: The Colonizer and the Colonized; Gann and

Duignan: Burden of Empire, c.22.

Aug. 21

African Nationalism: what does it mean to Africans?

Reading:

Handout of Readings on African Nationalism; Africa Since 1875,

pp. 783-6; Colman, "What is African Nationalism" in Collins,

Problems in the History of Colonial Africa, pp.339-347.

Aug. 28

To what extent did the European powers really decolonise Africa?

Reading:

Africa Since 1875, pp.64-75; S. Amin: "Underdevelopment

and Dependence in Black Africa" in Journal of Modern African

Studies (1972)

Sept. 4

Simulation Exercise: African political parties and

Sept. 11

the decolonisation of Camibalia.

Tutorial Progra

Week Beginning:

July 17

July 24

July 31

Aug. 7

Aug. 14

Aug. 21

Aug. 28

Sept. 4

Sept. 11



Mr S. H. Dzulane (left) who fled to Transkei but has now been detained in the Ciskei. With him is another detained man, Mr A. D. Matakane.

# Warder who fled detained

EAST LONDON — A prisoner warder, Mr Sizwe Horatius Dzulane, who fled to Transkei last week because he feared being detained in the Ciskei, has been detained under Proclamation R252 after being sent back to Mdantsane.

Mr Dzulane was detained with four members of the Ciskei Alliance at the Mdantsane police station.

The others are Mr A. D. Matakane, of Alice, Mr Stanford Monti, of King William's Town, Mr D. D. Nazo, of Mdantsane, and Mr Monde Nqwelo, a former branch chairman of the Ciskei National Independence Party at Zwelitsha.

Mr Nazo was a candidate for the Opposition Alliance in Mdantsane in the Ciskei general election.

Mr Dzulane was arrested in Umtata last week and handed over to the South African Police in Queenstown. He was then transferred to Mdantsane for detention under the Ciskei emergency regulations.

He was employed as a prison warder at the Fort Glamorgan Prison when he left for Transkei.

A senior police officer at Mdantsane, Lt D. Mlandu, confirmed Mr Dzulane was being detained under the Ciskei emergency regulations. — DDR

Reading:

Africa Since 1875, pp.64-75; S. Amin: "Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa" in Journal of Modern African Studies (1972)

Simulation Exercise: African political parties and the decolonisation of Camibalia.

2/8/78 W (329) 100





# Police told to quit homes get reprieve

Indaba Reporter

EAST LONDON — Orders that policemen who did not join the Ciskei Government services when the Mdantsane police station was taken over by the Ciskei, must vacate houses by July 31, have now been extended to the end of August.

Col. J.G. Odendaal, the Deputy Commissioner of Police for the Border area said the matter was receiving priority consideration.

He said the orders have now been extended to the end of August.

Col. Odendaal confirmed some policemen who had been transferred from Mdantsane had received notification that they

should vacate their dwellings by the end of July.

This week several policemen received orders of the cancellation of certificates of occupations. The notices were handed to them by clerks from various rent offices.

The notices stated: "With regard to the above matter, the Honourable Minister of Interior has directed us to extend your period of occupation. You must now, therefore vacate on or before August 31 without fail".

The Minister of Interior in the Ciskei, Chief Lent Maqoma was not available for comment. It was said

he had gone to Port Elizabeth to fetch the bones of his great-grandfather, Chief Maqoma who died on Robben Island. There are 38 policemen affected. These policemen had remained in the South African Police Force.

Policemen who bought houses they occupied in the township are not affected. They may remain in their houses.

Some policemen said that they were going to remain in their houses until the South African Police officers found them accommodation somewhere outside the Ciskei.

The Mdantsane police station was handed over to the Ciskei on May 23.

# Ciskei detainee in hospital

(329) (105)

EAST LONDON — A prominent member of the Ciskei opposition alliance, Mr L S Mtoba, who was detained under the homeland's emergency regulation two weeks ago, has been admitted to Cecilia Makiwane Hospital, Mdantsane.

Mr Mtoba, a former

Ciskei Cabinet Minister, was transferred from Mount Coke Hospital where he had been since his detention on July 20.

Mr Mtoba is a senior executive member of Chief J T Mabandla's Ciskei National Party (CNP). He contested a Zwelitsha seat during the recent Ciskei

general election, but lost.

He was taken from Mount Coke to Mdantsane by two members of the Ciskei security police in a car and is under police guard.

The nature of his illness is not known. Police have refused to comment — DDR.

page income per month (R)

Age Group	Count	Income	Per Month
Unknown	0	0	88.57
15-19	7	0	59.95
20-24	8	0	73.83
25-29	18	0	70.93
30-34	15	0	75.55
35-39	11	0	65.31
40-44	13	0	63.25
45-49	4	0	62.33
50-54	3	0	45.00
55-59	3	1	34.00
60+	8	0	48.62
Totals	89	1	68.61

## 7E - ZIEKOEVLIE

Age Group	Count	Income	Per Month
Unknown	0	0	-
15-19	37	0	59.97
20-24	53	0	72.58
25-29	29	1	105.72
30-34	19	1	93.04
35-39	21	4	88.57
40-44	16	0	77.59
45-49	16	1	93.69
50-54	9	2	131.56
55-59	6	3	93.17
60+	3	5	50.00
Totals	209	17	83.30

## 7F - PHILADELPHIA

Age Group	Count	Income	Per Month
Unknown	0	0	46.18
15-19	22	0	57.32
20-24	31	0	67.43
25-29	30	0	69.27
30-34	22	0	74.33
35-39	15	0	64.62
40-44	16	0	71.37
45-49	16	0	71.37
50-54	6	1	70.67
55-59	3	0	68.00
60+	4	5	58.00
Totals	165	6	63.58

7/8/78 DD 105

# Maqoma's bones brought home

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — With another surge of emotion since she discovered the unmarked grave of Chief Jongumsobomvu Maqoma on Robben Island in May, Ms Charity Sonandi, a Transkei seer who is crippled, walked for 15 m refusing aid even when she stumbled.

This took place yesterday at Chief Lent Maqoma's Great Place at Douglasvale near Alice where his great-great-grandfather's remains lie in state.

The remains were exhumed from the grave at the insistence of Chief Lent Maqoma who had

searched for the grave since 1968.

When Ms Sonandi discovered the grave, she walked away unaided, although she is a cripple.

Yesterday she was helping the Rev M. Zantsi, Chief Maqoma's chaplain, in a short service at the specially constructed building where the remains lie.

"Custom forbids that a person who has already been buried should be brought back home, which makes it necessary that we purify this ceremony," Ms Sonandi said and called for Chief Maqoma's three-year-old son, Msobomvu, who as child represents

purity, according to custom.

Msobomvu was swung over the yellowwood coffin which was covered with the Ciskei's blue-and-white flag, and then the seer ordered him to leave the building without being assisted.

Then Ms Sonandi stood up and went toward the door and when Mr L. Fanie, another Jingqi counsellor and member of the CLA, tried to assist her, the seer refused his help and went outside, using the walls for support when necessary.

Utterly exhausted after her feat, she used Chief Maqoma's car for support

before issuing the next orders of the purification ritual.

She ordered that Phelela, 1½, Chief Maqoma's last born, be taken to a selected spot and put by Chief Minister Lennox Sebe on the assegais of the chiefs and counsellors in attendance.

Next, she gave the chiefs and counsellors specially made herbal balls, the size of a tennis ball, which were later buried at the entrance to Chief Maqoma's kraal.

Before the balls were buried, young Msobomvu's face was washed over the hole with specially treated water.

At the end of the ceremony, the first shift of Chief Maqoma's counsellors stood guard over the remains as a start to the 24-hour vigil which will be kept until the remains are removed at 7 am on Sunday for burial at Heroes' Acre on Ntabakandoda.

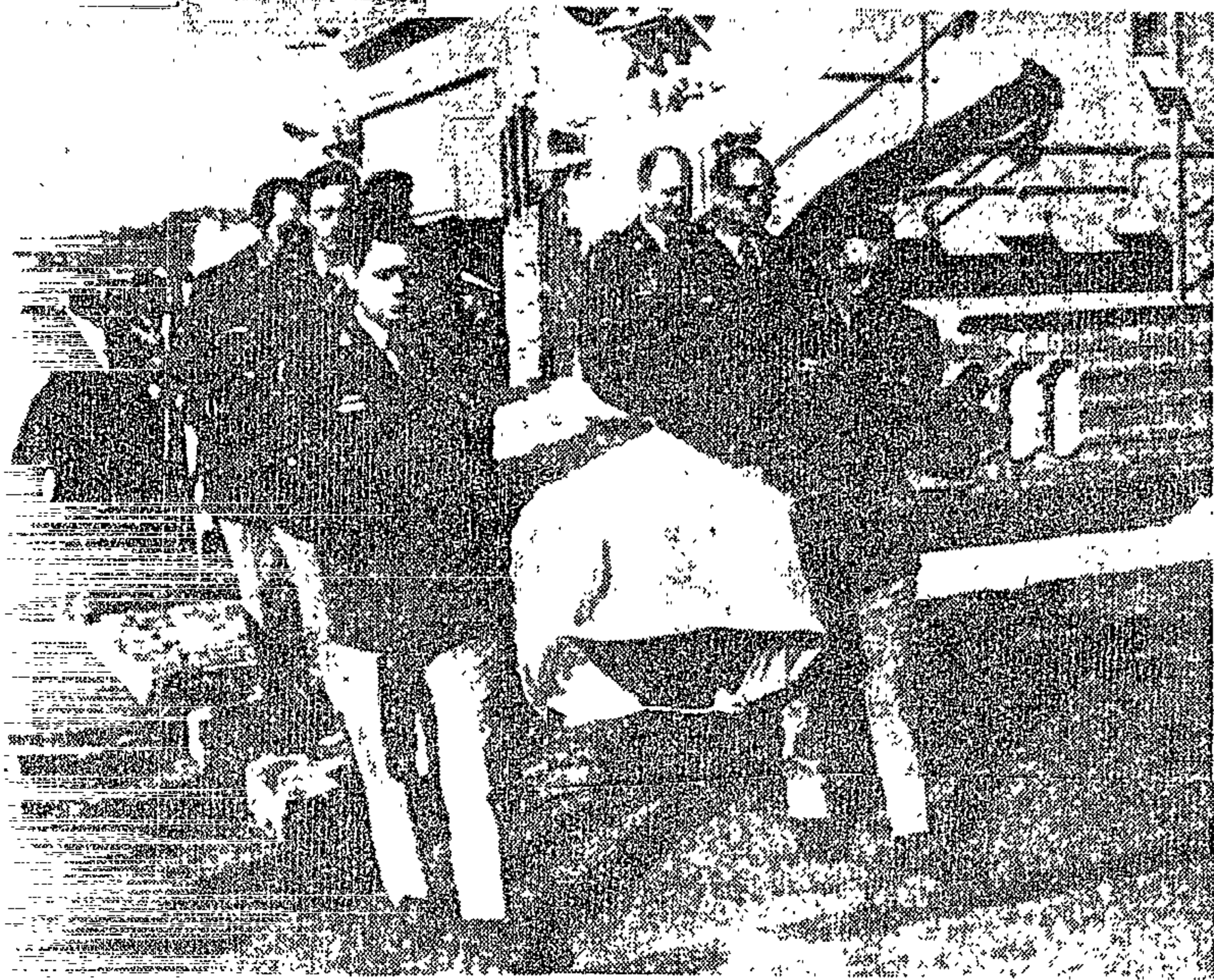
The burial ceremony, which will take in both traditional and Christian rites, will start at 10 am at Heroes' Acre.

Earlier yesterday, more than 2 000 people, many of them in colourful tribal dress, gathered on the quayside at the Port Elizabeth harbour to meet the South African Navy frigate carrying the bones.

Gathered on the bridge of the President Pretorius were Chief Lent Maqoma, Ms Sondandi, Chief Sebe and a praise singer, Mr M. Mali, who shouted greetings to the crowd.

Chief Maqoma said although many people doubted the bones were those of his great-great-grandfather, he was totally convinced.

Ms Sonandi, said the Ciskei would be a blessed land "because we have returned our ancestor to his own soil." — DDR-DDC.



in African Defence Force bearers carry Chief Maqoma's coffin ashore at Port Elizabeth yesterday.

## Mystery man held on ship

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — A mystery man with a sharpened screwdriver was handed over to Port Elizabeth security police after he was discovered on board the frigate carrying Chief Jongumsobomvu Maqoma's bones from Cape Town yesterday.

The man, aged about 25, was spotted by Chief Lent Maqoma's chief counsellor, Mr A. Mali, 10 km from Cape Town harbour.

He was not listed among the 24 official passengers.

He was questioned and searched and found to be

carrying a sharpened screwdriver. He was locked away on board the ship, then handed over to security police when the ship reached Port Elizabeth.

No further information about the man was available last night.

Chief Maqoma's bones were transported to the Ciskei without further incident except a change in the programme for Port Elizabeth.

For security reasons, the service to have been held at the Wolfson Stadium took place at the docks instead. — DDR-DDC.



# Magoma Battle Cry Is Heard Again on Nabalakandoda

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

The piercing battle cry of Chief Jongumobomvu Magoma, who died on Robben Island in 1873, was heard again by thousands yesterday when his remains were reburied at Heroes' Acre on Nabalakandoda.

And although it was not a call to arms by hordes of black impi's, both Chief Minister Lennox Sebe and the Rev B. M. Zantsi

emphasised in their addresses the bitterness blacks experience when the history of their subjugation is relived.

"Wake amaXhosa, wake. With war-plumes waving high. Come every warrior, young and old, with club and assegai, to sweep the white man from the earth." Chief Sebe's voice, quoted from Thomas Pringle's writings on Magoma, reverberated

on the famous mountain. The story of Magoma, he said depicted the conflict that had arisen because "one party had dispossessed another, a conflict relating to land and boundaries."

But the problem still goes on, unresolved because those who would resolve it are treating the matter like a game of chess," Chief Sebe said. He added: "Magoma

was not prepared to witness the rape of his country and went to war to drive away the foreigners and what ensued were his wars of survival."

He said the great warrior could not be destroyed by artificial means like chains and although he was imprisoned and subsequently died on Robben Island, "his spirit was undaunted and

where he lies now, his rightful place, a place of honour."

It was at the foot of Nabalakandoda that Magoma had given interviews to officials, and where he had matured as a strategist in the Battle of Amalinde.

He is no stranger here. Let his grave be a monument to posterity. Let his spirit abide in peace in the bosom of the country he

loved so much."

Chief Sebe also quoted from another of Chief Magoma's speeches, as recorded by Dr John Ross' wife:

"You have overcome me by the weapons which are in your hands, but you must answer to God for this. You and I must stand before God. He will judge us."

The Rev Zantsi deplored the tug-of-war between

blacks and exhorted them to come together as one nation "as the bones the prophet Hezekial refers to in the Holy Bible."

While you waste your energy on petty fights among yourselves, when do you think you will ever reach the people who went away with your inheritance?"

Magoma's bones were a unifying factor and Magoma represented the aspirations of every black

man in the country.

Magoma represented a return to tradition and custom "and although you have thrown down your weapons, the firearms that were used during his time are still in use today."

The funeral, attended by about 15 000 people, was unique in the annals of Xhosa tradition and culture, which are against exhuming the remains of

the dead.

Certain precautions, therefore, had to be taken to rectify the anomaly.

Msobomvu Magoma, Chief Lent Magoma's three-year-old son, was twice put on the coffin carrying the remains and both Chief Lent Magoma and Chief Jongizulu Magoma of Transkei had to enter and lie in the grave before the coffin was put in. — DDR.

Seer's tale ends, page 7.

14 August 1978

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Chief Jongizulu Magoma (left) and Chief Lent Magoma (right) traced their great-great-grandfather's bones on Robben Island. He in the grave before the burial of the remains — see article on page 7.



# Seer: my work finished

ING WILLIAM'S TOWN. Her task was finished and she could now return to Transkei, Miss Charity Manda, the seer who found the unmarked grave of Chief Jongumobomvu Magoma on Robben Island, said yesterday.

The remains of Chief Magoma were reburied in the Ciskei yesterday.

He was the great-grandfather of Chief Lent Magoma, the Ciskeian Minister of the Interior.

Miss Sonandi, 63, of solo in Transkei, told the thousands at her funeral yesterday that her assignment had been completed and it was time for her to leave the Ciskei.

She said Chief Lent Magoma had lost his position because of the Amajingqi because the rightful ruler was back to reclaim his position.

She had, therefore, to inform Chief Magoma and also remove his regalia from his finger.

"These can be returned to him at a later stage by Chief Sebe and the other chiefs in his country," Miss Sonandi said.

"Chief Magoma's chiefship was like a disemodied spirit because his ancestor was in bondage and could only be freed on judgment day."

The seer was neither excited nor emotional yesterday — as she has been previously — and

only lost her composure when photographers tried to take a picture of Chief Lent Magoma and Chief Jongizulu Magoma in the grave.

"Do you want to take away my strength?" she asked a photographer who had defied her order not to take pictures of the two chiefs in the grave.

The thousands who came to identify themselves with the occasion came from as far as Cape Town and Johannesburg.

The French embassy was represented by Mr. J. P. Vidon with Mr and Mrs Haig representing the Australian embassy.

Mr Grobbelaar represented the Department of Plural Relations and the Commanding Officer of the Eastern Province Command, Brig P. Bosman was also among the dignitaries. Chief Mphophu of the Vendas was the only visiting homeland leader.

Prof C. Searle of the University of Pretoria, also enjoyed a prominent seat among the dignitaries. She helped with the research which led to the discovery of Chief Magoma's grave on Robben Island.

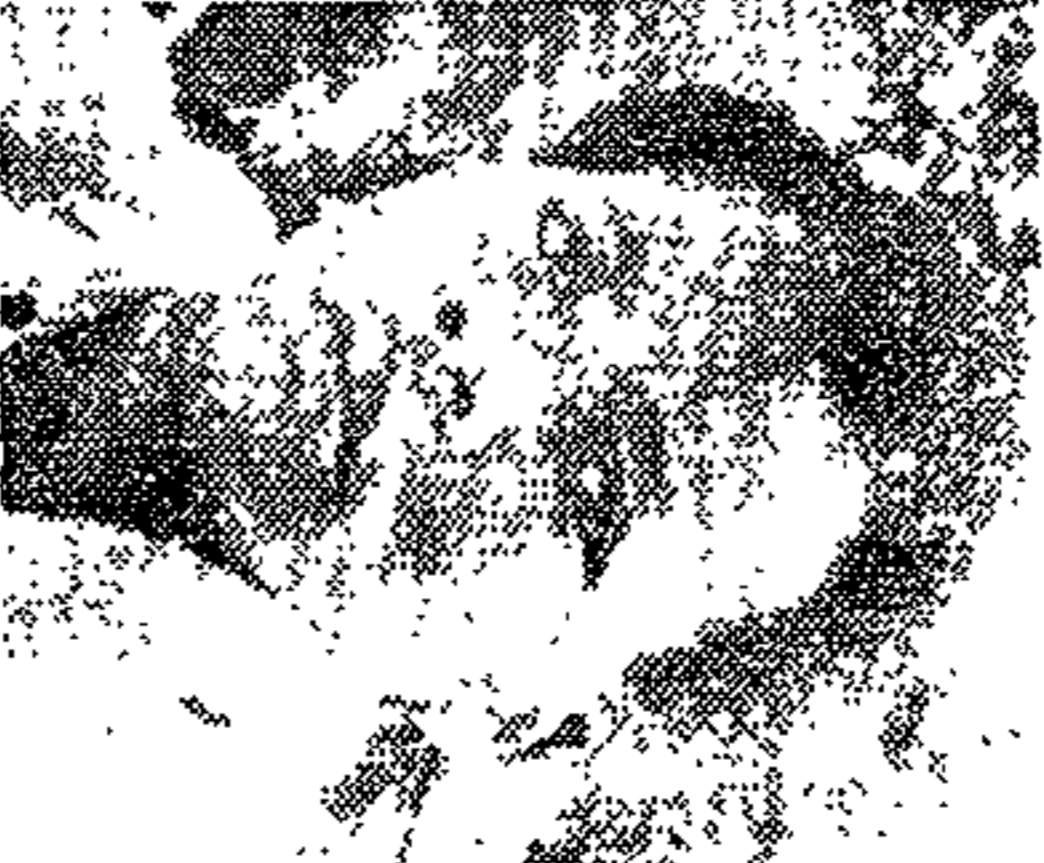
The pageantry of the occasion was emphasised by the different kinds of dress with traditional attire providing additional colour to a colourful though solemn occasion.

There were small contingents of young men from various districts, maroon berets topping off splendid uniforms. Beautiful tenor and bass voices sang Somagwaza, the stirring battle song which must also have been sung by Chief Jongumobomvu during the Frontier Wars.

At least 200 men carried assegais and kleries.

The funeral service was conducted by the Rev Zantsi, assisted by the Rev G. T. Mxego, the Rev J. P. Ncena, the Rev J. T. Hermanus, the Rev H. L. Hintsa and the Rev M. Xaba. — DDR.

The Karabe paramount chief-to-be, Mr Maxhobayakhawuleza Sandile, in whose place Chief L. W. Magoma is acting, was one of the chief mourners.



Chief Magoma's chaplain, the Rev B. M. Zantsi of Somerset East, preaching during the service. Rev Zantsi was in the contingent that searched for the grave on Robben Island.



With the flag-covered coffin at the graveside are Sgt-Maj Badenhorst of the South African Defence Force and Chief N. Mhlambiso of Middledrift.

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14 August 1978  
Daily Dispatch



Miss Charity Sonandi, the seer who found Chief Maqoma's bones on Robben Island, is assisted at the graveside by Chief N. Zulu of Sheshegu, Alice (left), and Mr L. Fani, a member of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly who helped dig up the bones.

# Myataza denies <sup>105</sup> defaming Kaiser <sup>15/8/78</sup>

Une lumière  
 l'heure de son  
 (...) <sup>105</sup>  
 L'heure de  
 blanche, c'est  
 les Eaux.  
 Je touche  
 Soeur, pou  
 aujourd'hui ?  
 autre part qu  
 La Lune, elle  
 à Rodrigue ne fu  
 Il ne s'a  
 lequel les â  
 médiaire, co  
 conception :  
 Je la des  
 Et l'enfant  
 de Rodrigue, c  
 dessine déjà d  
 appellera "Sept  
 "cette Epée"  
 la chair, lui-même

GRAHAMSTOWN — The  
 part-heard R75 000  
 defamation claim brought  
 by the Prime Minister of  
 Transkei, Paramount  
 Chief Kaiser Matanzima,  
 against a Ciskeian  
 Member of Parliament  
 resumed in the Supreme  
 Court here yesterday.  
 The national chairman  
 of the ruling Ciskeian  
 National Independence  
 Party, Mr Benjamin  
 Myataza, is being sued for  
 three separate amounts of  
 R25 000 as a result of  
 speeches he allegedly  
 made in 1975 when he was  
 Ciskeian Minister of  
 Justice.  
 At an earlier hearing  
 the court was told by a  
 member of the Transkeian  
 intelligence service, Mr  
 Nelson Mabunu, that Mr  
 Myataza said in a speech  
 that Chief Matanzima was  
 a bull who slept with other  
 people's wives.  
 Mr Myataza had also  
 said Chief Matanzima  
 burnt down huts in  
 Bolotwa Location, said Mr  
 Mabunu.  
 Chief Matanzima claims  
 Mr Myataza meant that he  
 was promiscuous, made a  
 practice of raping other  
 men's wives, and had com-

mitted arson on a number  
 of occasions.  
 Chief Matanzima, who  
 attended yesterday's  
 hearing, listened atten-  
 tively as Mr Myataza  
 denied the allegations  
 from the witness box.  
 Mr Myataza said he had  
 called Chief Matanzima a  
 fox at a meeting in Hewu  
 during the controversy  
 over the handing over of  
 Glen Grey and Herschel to  
 Transkei in 1975.  
 "I picked up a Bible as I  
 do not in court and read  
 from St. Luke.  
 "Christ said to the  
 Pharisees, Go tell that fox  
 Herod I am here. I said, Go  
 tell that Fox Matanzima  
 that he will not get Hewu  
 as long as I am alive."  
 He said he had also told  
 the meeting that  
 Transkeians were less  
 cultured than Ciskeians.  
 They rode horses while  
 they were trouserless, and  
 the young men looked at  
 their shadows to see if  
 their suits fitted.  
 Mr Myataza said he  
 knew Chief Matanzima  
 well. He and his wife had  
 been banished from  
 Transkei in 1976.  
 The case continues  
 today. — DDC.

à  
 si  
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 nuptiale  
 c Rodrigue  
 uni Prouhèze  
 sacré par  
 s inter-  
 e la  
 778)  
 Prouhèze et  
 et qui se  
 lle que l'on  
 eur percé par  
 Camille, selon  
 lle de Prouhèze

et de Rodrigue (Th II, 834). Et l'Eau sera toujours un élément naturel  
 de cette enfant que nous ne rencontrerons jamais que sur un bateau, ou  
 nageant dans la mer ?

Pour l'instant, Prouhèze, l'Epée retirée du coeur de Rodrigue, gît  
 toute ensanglantée. La mort du sacrifice, dit-elle, est tout ce qu'elle  
 peut donner à Rodrigue (Th II, 779) et ce n'est que quand tout le sang  
 aura coulé de cette blessure, quand Rodrigue crucifié par elle connaîtra  
 son "vide impitoyable", qu'elle pourra le donner à Dieu découvert et  
 déchiré pour que Dieu le remplisse dans un coup de tonnerre, c'est alors  
 " [qu'elle aura] un époux", et qu'elle verra "sa joie" (Th II, 780).  
 C'est ainsi que parle Prouhèze, et la Lune lui "baise le coeur".

Cette même lune contemple aussi Rodrigue dans son bateau qui, l'Epée  
 retirée de son coeur :

(...) dort (...),  
 Le sommeil sans bords d'Adam (...).  
 Car comme Adam dormait quand la femme lui fut enlevée  
 du coeur, n'est-il pas juste que de nouveau il  
 Dorme en ce jour de ses noces (...) ?



# Ciskei independence wheels set in motion

17/8/78  
105

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The Ciskei Cabinet has agreed in principle to the appointment of a commission of inquiry to investigate the possibility of independence for the homeland.

Chief, L. L. Sebé, the Chief Minister, first mentioned independence for his homeland after he had sat in as an observer at one of the Turnhalle sessions in South West Africa.

He rejected Pretoria-designed independence and said the Ciskei's independence would be negotiated along Turnhalle lines.

He later modified his stand on the matter to say he would appoint a commission of "internationally acceptable" people to prepare a feasibility report on independence.

After winning the recent elections convincingly, he said the commission, comprising an economist, an agronomist, a constitutional man with experience as a governor in emergent black Africa, an expert in the study of youth attitudes and an educationist, would be set up in September and after

at least six months Ciskeians would decide on independence.

The cabinet has set down several terms of reference for the commission, based on the central theme of inquiry into, report and recommendations to the Government on the practical feasibility, considering all political, economic and social aspects of independence, for the homeland.

The commission will be asked to give special consideration to:

- The options available to the Government and its subjects in determining, planning and working towards their own best future interests.

- The prospects of obtain-

ing international recognition in addition to internal acceptance of independence.

- The prospects of achieving substantial consolidation of Ciskeian territory.

On the issue of consolidation, the commission will also be asked to pay special attention to strategy in prospective negotiations and agreements with the South African Government and the government of any neighbouring territory.

Other important points the commission will deal with include a constitution to suit an independent Ciskei and the question of citizenship — a thorny issue in Transkei's independence. — DDC.

# Alliance man not in court

J.D. 17/8/78 (105)

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— A warrant was issued yesterday for the arrest of Mr Nelson Mankayi, a prominent member of the Ciskei opposition alliance, who has gone into hiding in fear of detention in terms of the Ciskei's emergency laws.

Mr Mankayi, one of the opposition candidates at Zwelitsha in the recent election, was scheduled to appear at the Zwelitsha Regional Court yesterday on charges based on the Ciskei's emergency proclamation, for allegedly failing to apply for a permit to hold a meeting.

The meeting referred to a political rally at Dimbaza early this year, where

fighting broke out between Sebé and alliance supporters.

Mr Mankayi's lawyer, Mr R. V. Mankahla, told the court his client's wife had told him the accused had been missing since July 17.

Mr Mankayi would not estreat his R50 bail until he makes an appearance. He is believed to be in hiding in Port Elizabeth.

Meanwhile, it is not clear yet whether the Ciskei Opposition Leader in the last Ciskei Legislative Assembly, Chief J. T. Mabandla, would avail himself when the CLA starts its session on Tuesday. He is in hiding in Transkei. — DPR.

# Sebe plans moves for Chiefs Siwani and Jongilanga

By Charles Nqakula

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Chief P. Siwani out as Minister of Justice: Chief D. M. Jongilanga to switch from Education Minister to Justice.**

Dr J. T. Hermanus is ready to slot in as Minister of Education.

These are the post-election Ciskei Cabinet changes planned by Chief Minister Lennox Sebe.



Jongilanga ... admired.



Hermanus ... Education.



Siwani ... loyal.

Chief Siwani is apparently willing to be sacrificed out of loyalty to the party and to Chief Sebe and to give up the ministry of justice with its discrediting Proclamation R252.

Chief Sebe has clashed with Chief Jongilanga on several issues.

But, unlike Mr L. F. Siyo and Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe, Chief Jongilanga has not aired his differences in public and cannot be expelled as they were.

His loyalty and fighting spirit has gained him sympathy at caucus level.

Before the election, Chief Jongilanga was scheduled to be deposed, with Dr Hermanus taking over education. But his popularity will keep him in the Cabinet.

Chief Siwani will become Speaker of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, a position he held from 1973 to 1975, when he was appointed to the Cabinet.

The position was taken over by Mr W. S. Bashe, who was also expelled from the ruling party.

Chief Z. Njokweni, Minister of Roads and Works, will retain his post, despite speculation to the contrary.

Chief Sebe has been

careful not to be entangled in the Xhosa-Fingo clash. He showed this in the appointment of Chief A. Mqalo as Minister of Health.

When Mr B. D. Myataza, a Fingo, lost his Cabinet post in 1976, Chief Sebe appointed another Fingo, Chief Mqalo. By the same token, Chief Njokweni cannot be dispensed with. And he is regarded as key figure in the winning over to the ruling party of all the chiefs in the Peddie area.

He was the only one of seven chiefs in the district to identify with the Sebe group in 1973, in the face of vilification by the Fingos in the Mabandla party.

Chief Maqoma, Interior and Mr. W. Ximiyi, Agriculture, are the only ministers in the cabinet who seemingly are automatic choices, with D. B. R. Maku, the next Minister of Health.

Mr A. Tapa, member for Middledrift, could be deputy speaker, and Mr M. Maku, the Victoria East member from Port Elizabeth, chief whip.

Mr Myataza, who became a candidate of Hewu at the insistence of the Chief Minister, could also be in the reckoning for a Cabinet post on August 23.

- 38. P. Gay  
Style in History (Gibbon, Ranke, Macaulay, Burckhardt)
- 39. Z. Neff  
The Poetry of History (Voltaire, Gibbon, Niebuhr, Michelet, Carlyle, Burckhardt)
- 40. E.G. Bourne  
Essays in Historical Criticism (Ranke, Parkman, Froede)
- 41. F. Meinecke  
Historicism: The Rise of a New Historical Outlook (Voltaire, Gibbon, Ranke)
- 42. H. White  
Metahistory The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe (Michelet, Ranke, Burckhardt)
- 43. P. Ceyl  
Debates with Historians (Ranke, Macaulay, Carlyle, Michelet)
- 44. J. Clive  
Thomas Babington Macaulay The Shaping of a Historian
- 45. W. Laquer & G. Mosse (eds)  
Historians in Politics (Treitschke, Mommsen, Michelet)
- 46. J.H. Plumb  
Men and Places (Macaulay, Trevelyan)

Reputation", Journal of Modern History, Vol. 24, 1952

# Two months pay, bonus lost on resignation

18/5/78  
105

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— A woman who resigned her job at a clothing shop in King William's Town, after seven years, had her month's salary, including her holiday bonus, withheld to pay her account with the shop without her knowledge.

Mrs Winnie Jonas, 30, of Zwelitsha, who worked for Edgars Stores, here, further claimed she had been informed by her former employers she was entitled to pension fund benefits of R80.23, although she had contributed R5.25 a month for two years for pension.

"I estimated the amount at R130 and was disappointed to learn I would receive only R80," she said.

Mrs Jonas, who did all general work in the store said she was paid a salary of R75.

That was one other reason I left. For seven years I worked for a paltry R75 and deductions brought the amount to R68," she said.

Mrs Jonas said she owed the shop R114.50. She was paying it off at R22 a month.

When she resigned at the end of June, she was entitled to a two-month salary of R136.

"I was told to collect my money on July 5," she said.

"When I got there I was told the money had been paid into my account and I did not receive a cent.

"I then asked for the change of R24.50 after they had taken their money — R112.50 — but they told me I had been late to work on occasions and the rest of the money went in there," Mrs Jonas said.

"When I left the shop they issued me with a receipt of R 112.50 thus clearing my account with the shop. I would also have appreciated the receipt for the remainder of the money — which is R24.50 but I did not get it," she said.

Mrs L. Micker, manageress of the shop said, "Mrs Jonas did not contribute that much in pension."

"What she got was due to her."

As regards her account Mrs Micker said, "When she signed her application form she was aware that the company had full authority to deduct every cent she owed when she left."

"Further the matter is being handled by the labour department."

THUNDER

AND THE STATE 1940 FOREIGN LANGUAGES

ORIGINS OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY

ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS, NEW JERSEY.

KARL MARK. 1973. RENTICE-HALL INC.

REFERENCES:

- 1) BOTTOMORE, T.
- 2) ENGELS, F.
- 3) TROTSKY, L.

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number of membership. This concentration deep not necessarily take place in the United States only it is essentially international in character. The conclusion we might reach from Marx's analysis of capitalism has been carried into the present day factory situation. It has been the case in 1930s and we state that similar aspects towards the end of the century. New capitalism has developed for a number of years.

# Direct dialling in 1982?

**MDANTSANE** — Mdantsane will get a direct dialling system in 1982. This was said by Councillor G. Mpepo, at a council meeting.

The chairman, Mr Mpepo, said they had received a letter from the East London Postmaster in reply to a written complaint about the service.

The council was asked to give the time, date and particulars of calls which warranted a complaint. The complaints could not otherwise be investigated fully unless specified.

Councillor S. Qubeka said the reply was unsatisfactory. They had an exemplary case in the untimely death of Dr X. Pemba when all communication with any medical aid was impossible because there was no reply from the post office.

Councillor Mpepo said the case of Dr Pemba had been dealt with by the East London post office. The Mdantsane council had received a reply that said it had dealt with it

and the direct dialling system will be introduced in 1982 in Mdantsane.

Clr Qubeka said the problem was in the exchange, the response was poor and the service incompetent. They had lost much as businessmen because of the poor telephone system.

He said it was virtually impossible to make an urgent order. Businessmen often resorted to driving to town if the matter needed urgent attention.

Councillor Qubeka referred to press pleas made for several years voicing the dissatisfaction of the residents about the service and the system.

Councillor Sotyelelo proposed that the council go to the main post office or send a delegation, so that the matter could receive prompt attention. The Pemba case was enough as an example to show the dangers brought about by the inadequacy



Clr Mpepo.

of the service.

"We are a policy making body, and not post office informers," he said.

"We must not be instrumental in making them (post office) a hiring

and firing body," he said.

Clr L. Nkonzo added that as they were representatives of the people, they must reject what the people do not want and make representations on what they demanded.

"It is high time we put our terms too," he said.

The council appointed a delegation of five councillors and the township manager, Mr J. Balk, to make representations to East London about the poor system in the township.

Other members in the delegation will be Councillor S. Qubeka, Clr Ben Mashiyane, Clr M. Mayiya, Clr M. Nomtshongwana and Clr M. Dweba.

The secretary, Mr O. Peter, was to make an appointment with the director of telephones in East London, or the highest official to whom the matter can be referred.

PUBLISHING HOUSE  
AND THE STATE. 1940. FOREIGN LANGUAGES  
ORIGINS OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY  
ENGLWOOD CLIFFS, NEW JERSEY.  
KARL MARX. 1973. PRINTICE-HALL INC.

- 1) BOTTOMORE, T.
- 2) KINGS, F.

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members of the ownership. This Convention deep will  
 it is essential to identify administrative in character.  
 In conclusion we might wonder how far Marx  
 analysis of capitalism has been carried into the present  
 day factory and the state. It has been the case  
 in 1939 and we state that some aspects  
 forward the end of the century, then capitalism has  
 developed for a relatively long time.

# WILLIAM'S BROTHER

Wellington, August 10  
ST. LONDON — Ciskei police detained a Transkei Department of Foreign Affairs Official, Mr Sizakele Matiwane, under Proclamation R252 last week, it was revealed yesterday.

Mr Matiwane of Engcobo in Transkei was detained at Zwelitsha on August 9. He was released on Wednesday, a spokesman for the police at Zwelitsha said yesterday.

The former general secretary of the Transkei Democratic Party, Mr J. Kobo, said Mr Matiwane had visited his brother in Zone 8, Mdantsane, on August 6. The next day he

went to King William's Town to meet the Ciskei Cabinet.

Mr Kobo said a secret meeting of the Cabinet was held at Zwelitsha. Mr Matiwane is reported to have told the Ministers he had been sent by Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo of the Tembus to convey his thanks to the Ciskei Government for sheltering Chief Mdanjelwa Mthara, a political refugee who fled from Engcobo before Transkei gained independence in 1976.

I was told that after the meeting Chief Z. Njokweni, Ciskei's Minister of Roads and Works, became suspicious

of Mr Matiwane's visit.

It was said Chief Njokweni telephoned Chief Sabata, his brother-in-law, to find out the truth about Mr Matiwane's mission.

Chief Sabata, a member of the Democratic Party, was reported to have had no knowledge about the visit.

Mr Matiwane is a member of the ruling Transkei National Independence Party.

Mr Kobo said after Mr Matiwane had left he was chased in a car driven by Mr Diliza Sebe, brother of the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, who arrested him in King

William's Town.

Mr Matiwane was taken to Zwelitsha where he was questioned and detained for eight days.

Mr Matiwane is a graduate of the University of Cape Town. He is a teacher. He has been principal of Clarkbury High School, Buntingvale. In situation and Mzangalwe High School in Umata and taught at various schools in Transkei.

Mr Matiwane's original home is at Clarkebury in the district of Engcobo. His wife is a matron at All Saints Hospital.

Ciskei political observers said yesterday that it was strange Mr Matiwane, as an official of

Transkei's Foreign Affairs Department, should visit Ciskei and call a Cabinet Ministers' meeting when there were several prominent members of the Ciskei Opposition Alliance in exile in Transkei.

Transkei Prime Minister P. D. Matanzima, who controls the Department of Foreign Affairs, was not available for comment last night.

Neither was Major M. S. Ngebeba, head of the Transkei security police. The Ciskei's Commissioner of Police, Col M. Saunders, was not available to comment on why Mr Matiwane was detained in the homeland.

# New pay day for Ciskei teachers

EAST LONDON — Ciskei teachers will be paid on the 20th day of each month to allow for weekends, public holidays and end of school terms. This was revealed by the Secretary for Education in Ciskei, Mr K. B. Tabata, after surprised teachers unexpectedly received their salaries yesterday. Mr Tabata said what the teachers had received was their monthly pay for August. "It is not back-pay but there has been an adjustment in their salaries," he said.

He said the administrative staff would receive their salaries on the 25th day of the month and on the 22nd day in December. DDR.

ive (...) à  
ive.  
on me voit si  
ac de Lait,  
arent avec des mains ineffables  
s-tu ? N'est-ce point ta nuit nuptiale  
ù donc pensais-tu la passer avec Rodrigue  
pux ? (Th II, 778)  
confirme que l'étreinte qui a uni Prouhèze  
de leurs âmes :

Il ne s'agit pas de son corps ! mais ce battement sacré par lequel les âmes\* l'une dans l'autre se connaissent sans intermédiaire, comme le père avec la mère dans la seconde de la conception : c'est ce que je sers à manifester.

Je la dessine avec mes eaux où elle baigne. (Th II, 778)

Et l'enfant qui va naître de l'étreinte spirituelle de Prouhèze et de Rodrigue, cette enfant conçue dans ce "battement sacré" et qui se dessine déjà dans l'Eau de la Grâce, ne sera-t-elle pas celle que l'on appellera "Sept-Épées", la fontaine de Grâce jaillie du coeur percé par "cette Epée" ? En effet, elle aura beau être la fille de Camille, selon la chair, lui-même reconnaîtra en elle l'enfant spirituelle de Prouhèze et de Rodrigue (Th II, 834). Et l'Eau sera toujours l'Élément naturel de cette enfant que nous ne rencontrerons jamais que sur un bateau, ou nageant dans la mer ?

Pour l'instant, Prouhèze, l'Épée retirée du coeur de Rodrigue, gît toute ensanglantée. La mort du sacrifice, dit-elle, est tout ce qu'elle peut donner à Rodrigue (Th II, 779) et ce n'est que quand tout le sang aura coulé de cette blessure, quand Rodrigue crucifié par elle connaîtra son "vide impitoyable", qu'elle pourra le donner à Dieu découvert et déchiré pour que Dieu le remplisse dans un coup de tonnerre, c'est alors " [qu'elle aura] un époux", et qu'elle verra "sa joie" (Th II, 780). C'est ainsi que parle Prouhèze, et la Lune lui "baise le coeur".

Cette même lune contemple aussi Rodrigue dans son bateau qui, l'Épée retirée de son coeur :

(...) dort (...),  
Le sommeil sans bords d'Adam (...).  
Car comme Adam dormait quand la femme lui fut enlevée  
du coeur, n'est-il pas juste que de nouveau il  
Dorme en ce jour de ses noces (...) ?

# Third CLA to be sworn in today

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Cloete, will swear in the members of the third Ciskei Legislative Assembly this morning as a start to what promises to be one of the most interesting sessions in the annals of the CLA.

After the oath has been taken, the members will elect the homeland's Chief Minister for the next five years.

Chief L. L. Sebe, who has been Chief Minister since 1973 — apart from a short break when he was deposed by a Supreme Court order in 1975 — will return to his position unopposed.

It will mark the first time in three elections that the Chief Minister has not been challenged for the position.

In 1973, he had to contest the seat with Chief J. T. Mabandla, the homeland's first Chief Minister. Chief Sebe took the seat by a mere two-man majority.

When he was deposed after the Ciskei election case at Grahamstown's Supreme Court, Chief Sebe had to contest the seat again, but Chief Mabandla refused to participate and Paramount Chief Mxolisi Sandile had to fight against Chief Sebe.

The opposition has

dwindled to nearly nothing since the narrow majority of the ruling party in 1973.

Only Chief Mabandla, Chief S. M. Burne, Ndamashe and Chief D. N. Mavuso are still opposition members. Chief J. Makinane, who was a member of Chief Mabandla's Ciskei National Party, joined Chief Sebe's ruling Ciskei National Independence Party at the weekend.

Tomorrow's proceedings will include the appointment of the chairman and deputy chairman of the CLA. Chief Sebe will announce his Cabinet during the day's proceedings.

But when the members of the CLA take the oath today, Chief Mabandla is not likely to be among them.

The leader of the opposition went into hiding after Mr L. S. Mtoba and Dr H. H. Kakaza, leading members of his party, were detained in terms of the Ciskei's emergency proclamation. Reports have indicated he is hiding in Transkei. — DDR



**EDITORIAL OPINION**

22/8/78 155

# Important session

Political observers in Ciskei say the session of the Legislative Assembly starting today could be the most important yet held.

The position of the Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, and his ruling Ciskei National Independence Party has never been stronger. Every elected member of the Assembly is a CNIP man and Chief Sebe knows he enjoys electoral support.

This puts his government in a powerful bargaining position in its relationships with the South African government. There are areas of difference which are likely to be exposed to the CLA session and Pretoria may be hard-pressed to resist some of the demands.

Pretoria is committed to guiding Ciskei towards sovereign independence. The homeland has already advanced a long way towards this goal. Chief Sebe has appointed a commission to investigate the feasibility, particularly economically, of opting for early independence. Dependent on the sort of assurances forthcoming from the South African government, Chief Sebe might name a date.

But he will have learnt from the experiences of Transkei and the completely unsatisfactory land dispensation arrangements pertaining to

Bophuthatswana that a prime necessity before taking independence is land consolidation and agreed boundaries. Adjustments in this regard might be easier to negotiate before independence than afterwards.

Chief Sebe has never been happy about the so-called white corridor between Transkei and Ciskei and has previously laid claim to places like King William's Town, Berlin and East London. To him it does not make economic or political sense to split authority where the people are interdependent and their economic interests are so intricately entwined.

It is possible, of course, that Ciskei (as it is shaped on the map now) might be able to go it alone and progress, but only at the price of duplicating facilities and developments already existent in the white corridor.

In such circumstances the industrialisation of Ciskei's growth points Dimbaza and Middledrift could be competitive with King William's Town, Berlin and East London instead of complementary to them.

And Ciskei could also feel itself forced to build its own harbour at Keiskamma River mouth.

There must surely be a better way both for the Ciskeian and corridor people?

105 23/8/80

# Ciskei to step up land consolidation efforts

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The Ciskei Government is believed to be planning renewed and strengthened efforts to negotiate for more land with South Africa.**

Chief Lennox Sebe, re-elected unopposed as the homeland's Chief Minister, told the Ciskei Legislative Assembly yesterday his Government's first priority, which emerged at the weekend, was consolidation.

The Chief Minister has recently made strong claims for border towns like East London and King William's Town and even threatened economic strangulation of King William's Town if the South African Government refused to hand over the town.

The fact that the question of consolidation was discussed by the entire party caucus at the weekend indicates the concern over the matter of the average Ciskeian and is a pointer to the tone likely to be used in negotiating with South Africa.

In the September issue of Umthombo, the Ciskei Government paper, Mr B. Nomoyi, the editor, said the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, would have to give clear answers to Ciskeians on land consolidation, boundaries and citizenship.

He, too, identified consolidation as the prime issue in the minds of Ciskeians, who will be asked in the next six months to decide whether or not to opt for independence.

Chief Sebe, nevertheless, has not made consolidation the key factor in acceptance or rejection of independence, but has stated his claims for more land quite emphatically.

He has been particularly vociferous in the controversy over Mooiplaas. Despite the consolidation proposals of 1971, the Ciskei has lost, instead of gaining, land in the last

seven years.

In his acceptance speech yesterday, Chief Sebe said: "I accept this position with all humility, knowing very well that the road ahead is not an easy one, especially in the times we live in and especially when what happens in the Ciskei can no longer be isolated from what is happening in Rhodesia and South West Africa."

"The people have spoken and it is high time they were heard. They are not asking for anything impossible to change and if Justice Steyn in South West Africa could, within six months, make changes which drew the attention of the world, there is no reason why the same cannot be done here," he said.

Contrary to all expectations, Chief J. T. Mabandla took his seat in the ranks of the Opposition yesterday, together

with Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe and Chief D. N. Mavuso.

Chief Ncamashe arrived when Mr Justice Cloete, Judge-President of the Eastern Cape Supreme Court, was administering the oath to the last man, Mr M. L. Yako. The chief was then sworn in.

Chief Mabandla was the Leader of the Opposition in the last CLA and will retain the position if efforts to amalgamate the three Ciskei opposition parties are not successful.

He and Chief Mavuso are members of the Ciskei National Party while, Chief Ncamashe is a member of the Ciskei National Unionist Party.

Chief Sebe will probably announce his cabinet early this morning, to enable the members to have morning tea with Dr Mulder, who will officially open the CLA on Friday. — DDR.

# Sebe makes reshuffle in Ciskei Cabinet

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Only one member of the last Cabinet was not considered for reappointment when Chief Minister Sebe announced his Cabinet at the CLA session yesterday.

Chief A. Mqalo, who was Minister of Health, gave way to Dr B. Maku, while incumbents in the Departments of Justice and Works, Chiefs P. Siwani and H. Njokweni, changed portfolios.

Chief Mqalo was first appointed to the Cabinet on May 17, 1976, after Mr B. Myataza had been axed. Chief L. Maqoma was moved from Justice to take over Mr Myataza's Interior portfolio.

Another reshuffle last year after Mr L. Siyo's axing from both the Cabinet and the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party, saw Chief Mqalo move to the Department



**CHIEF MQALO . . . ousted from Cabinet.**

of Health.

Mr W. Ximiya took over the Department of Agriculture and the Department's previous incumbent, Chief P. Siwani, moved to Justice.

Chief Maqoma (Interior), Chief D. Jongilanga (Education) and Mr Ximiya

(Agriculture) have retained their old portfolios.

Chiefs Jongilanga, Maqoma, Siwani and Njokweni have served in the Cabinet since 1975, after the excision from the Ciskei of Glen Grey and Herschel, which were incorporated in Transkei on November 1, 1975.

The two latter chiefs replaced Mr J. Mkrola (Works) and Mr E. Boo (Agriculture) who had lost their positions as a result of the excision.

An extra Cabinet post was created to accommodate the Department of Health and Mr Siyo was appointed as the first head of that department, thus creating a vacancy in the Ministry of Interior.

Mr Myataza was moved from Justice to Interior and Chief Maqoma took over the Department of Justice.

Chief Jongilanga was appointed as Minister of Education when Chief S. Burns-Ncamashe was axed from the Cabinet.

Dr Maku is a former district surgeon and Mayor of Zwelitsha and his appointment is consistent with the Ciskei's declared intention of ameliorating health services in the homeland.

The new Cabinet had a short discussion yesterday with Dr Mulder, Minister of Plural Relations, who will officially open the CLA tomorrow.

His programme for today will include a visit, in the company of the entire Cabinet, to the Keiskamma River irrigation scheme, which is one of the most prestigious projects in the Ciskei, and Dimbaza township. He will also address a press conference at 10.30 am. — DDC.

(Continued from page 14)

green again no matter how much rain falls.

The sort of dust cloud one associates with a car travelling along a dirt road exists nearly all the time on the roads, even when there are no cars on it.

Sheep, goats and cattle have devoured just about everything in sight, and even prickly pear plants, which normally survive well in desert conditions, have been eaten by hungry animals so that only white skeletons of the plant remain.

### Chiefs

Further indications of the poverty are the conditions in which the chiefs live. With one exception, they are worse off than the average Crossroads resident. They have been given old farmhouses to stay in but it is obvious from the furnishing and clothing of the chiefs and their families that they are extremely poor.

Another important feature of the camp is the absence of men. There are old men and youngsters but hardly any men between the ages of 18 and 50. The men are all in the cities — some at Crossroads earning money.

And it's only in the cities that money can be earned. There is absolutely no industry in the Thornhill area. At nearby Sada the Moravian mission station has a factory which manufactures traditional clothing and beadwork but it employs, at the most, 50 women.

In Thornhill the sweet grass grazing has gone and so have the bushes and trees. This means that in winter there is no fuel for fires. In fact without firewood, the traditional fuel, people cannot cook unless they use paraffin and this is expensive for them.

And Thornhill's problems are by no means

**THE stories on these pages explain why many Ciskei people choose to live in the Crossroads squatter camp, although at great risk to themselves.**

**It should be remembered that most people at Crossroads are not from Ciskei but from Transkei. What awaits the Ciskeians at 'home' is no worse or better than the conditions that await their neighbours in Transkei.**

over. Another 10 000 people from Ilinga in Transkei, who are anti-Matanzima and pro-Sebe, are to be settled in a township still to be built on the Whittlesea Commonage. The fact is, although houses and schools may be provided, there will still be no work for the menfolk.

And this is the situation: Thornhill is a heavily populated dust bowl where people live in poverty because of lack of work.

Thornhill is only one place. There are others: Oxtou, Zwelethini, Hackney, Sada.

Towards the coast things improve. At Zwelitsha, the administrative capital of Ciskei, the township is modern and well planned. There are good schools occupied by well-fed pupils in clean and complete uniforms.

But even in Zwelitsha homes are fully occupied

# CISKEI



ONE of Thornhill's schools. Teachers have to cope with up to 65 children in a class. The lack of grazing is clearly evident.

## Little hope of work at Glenmore

A HIGHLY placed official of the Ciskei Government hinted, in an unguarded moment, that Ciskeians in the Crossroads squatter camp would be rehoused in the controversial Glenmore township near Commitees Drift if they were forced out of the Peninsula by the demolition of Crossroads.

In an interview I put it to him that the Crossroads squatters would have nowhere to go in the Ciskei when the camp was demolished.

He replied: 'Oh but, I thought they were going to be housed in Glenmore.'

I said: 'I knew nothing about this.'

He replied: 'Oh, well no do I really. But that is the only expanding township in the Ciskei.'

I think that this is the only place to which they could go.

### REHOUSE

Glenmore was built to rehouse the people of the squatter camp known as Fingo village just outside Grahamstown. The people objected to this proposed relocation exercise because it would mean they would be housed in the bush with little hope of employment.

During the past few weeks, however, the authorities have suggested that there will be no

forced relocation of the people of Fingo village and only people who wish to move there may move.

It would seem that the idea behind this is to keep the township empty for other occupants.

The official's hint and the authorities' attitude towards Glenmore would seem to mean that the township is meant for the use of the Ciskeian people in Crossroads.

If this does happen it will mean a large body of urbanised people will be located in the bush — about 45 km from Grahamstown — with little hope of work.

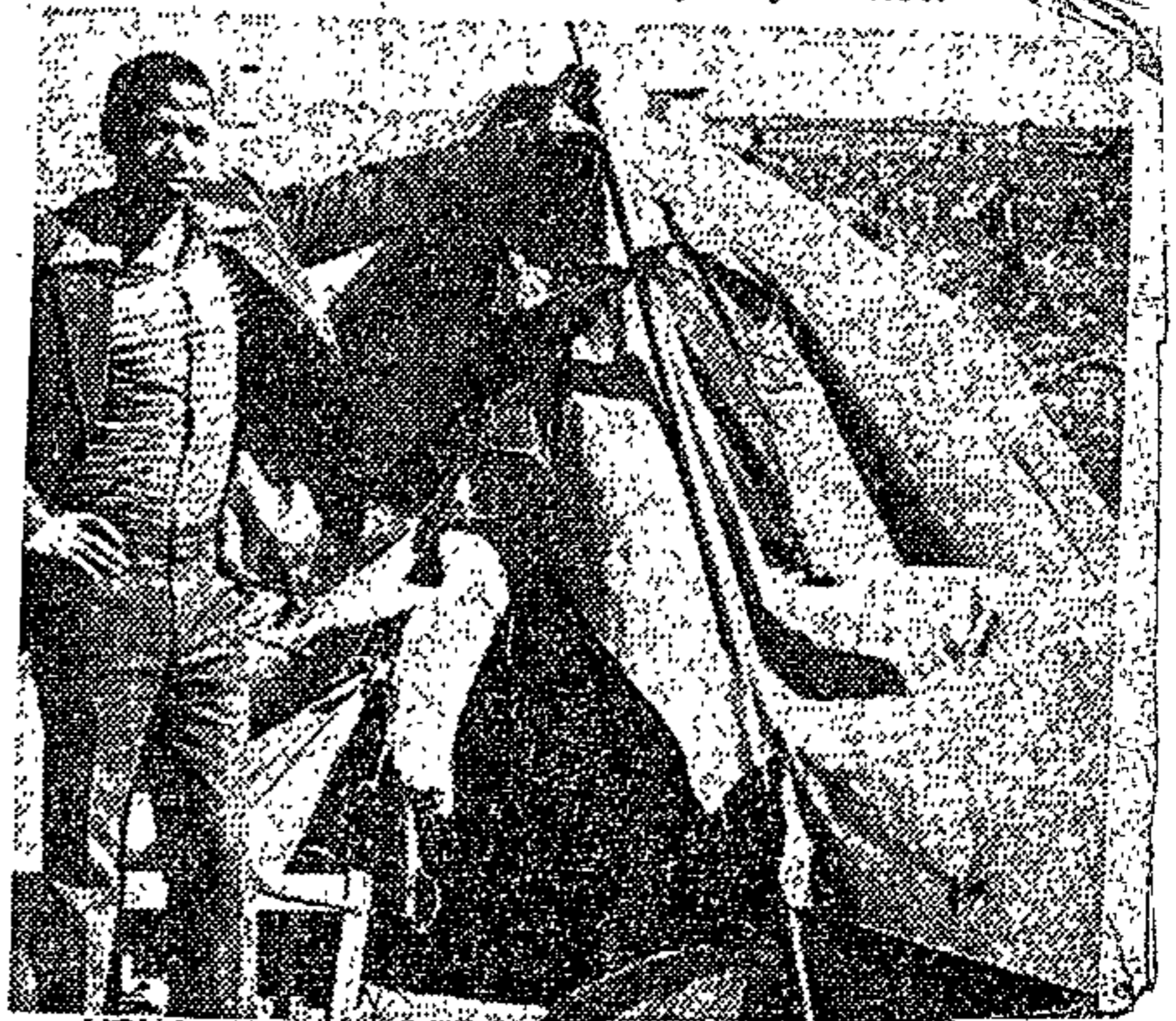
There is certainly no work in Grahamstown. This was made clear to me when I was approached by no fewer than seven youngsters looking for work while I was in Grahamstown.

Cape Town would seem to be the city where the work is. And that's where the squatters are. That's why they're here.



ABOVE: One of the Thornhill chiefs, Chief Malafant.

RIGHT: This is somebody's home in Thornhill.

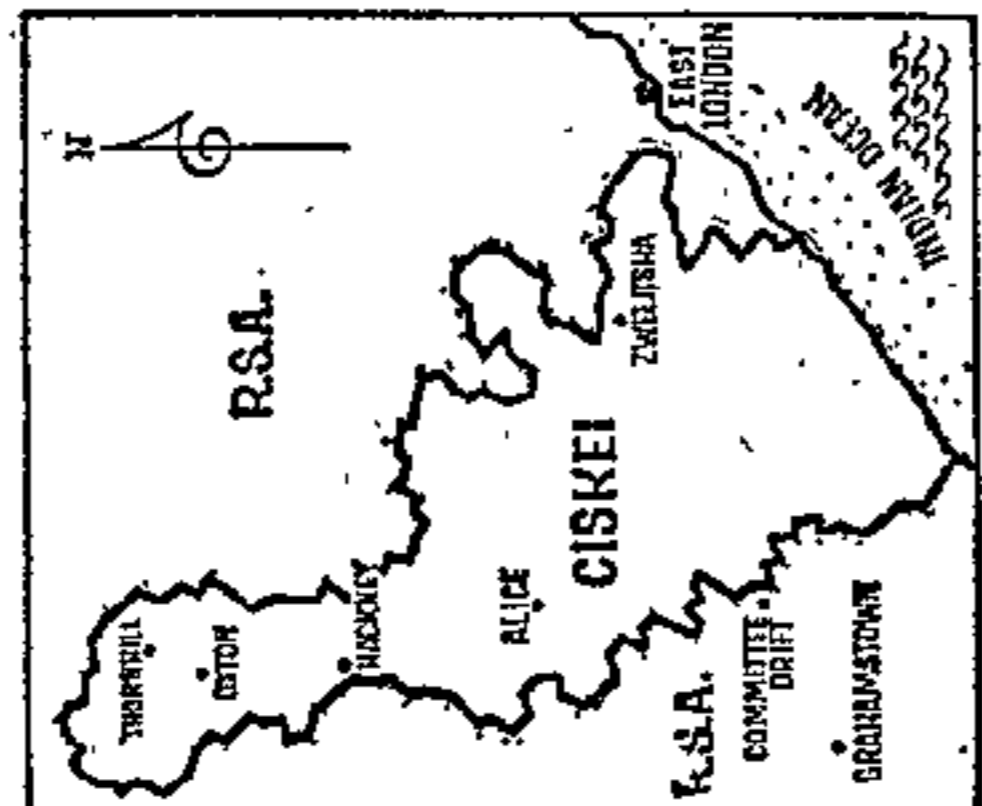


4 Cont

① 105  
② 307

number of ownership. This concentration does not

# He came with his flock to pastures green—but now they are green no more



A PRIEST stands against the desolate background of the Thornhill area. When the people came here the pastures were green. Now there is no grazing left and even prickly pear plants have been eaten down to stalks.

By Keith Kiewiet

## Ciskei has no homes for evicted squatters

THERE is not a spare home in the Ciskei. If Crossroads is demolished and the camp's estimated 2 500 Ciskeians are sent 'home' the results will be extreme hardship and probably starvation and illness.

This is the clear picture that emerged after an extensive tour of the Ciskei last week during which I

visited squatter camps, rural villages and urban townships and spoke to welfare workers, farmers, students, churchmen, chiefs, Ciskeian officials and the people themselves.

It is quite clear the area has a housing crisis but that is not the real problem of this 'black state' which is now investigating the possibility of independence.

The fact is, although the Ciskei has a squatter problem many times worse

than that of the Peninsula, what makes it many more times worse is the fact that there is no work.

The Thornhill camp in the Whittisea area is a good example. It developed in 1975 when an estimated 50 000 people fled Transkei's independence, under the guidance of three chiefs, and settled in an area of green pastures.

But a combination of no housing, little food, poor sanitation and a cold winter turned it into a

mess of disease and poverty which was reflected in the world's headlines.

To some extent this mess has been cleaned up. The State has built some schools, latrines and a clinic operates in the area. But, there is even less work than before and the green pastures have been replaced by a dust bowl which, say white farmers in the area, will not turn

(Continued on page 15)

HALL INC  
STATE PROPERTY  
ON LUMBER  
W. THOMPSON

105 26/8/28 JB

# Re-examine priorities Mulder tells Ciskeians

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The world would be a pleasanter place to live in if people would honestly, sincerely and openly speak and listen to each other, the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, said at Zwelitsha yesterday.

Dr Mulder was opening officially the first session of the third Ciskei Legislative Assembly. He said he had discussed several matters with the Ciskei Cabinet during the three days he was in

the Ciskei. The visit, his first as Minister of Plural Relations, enabled him to see the Keiskamma River irrigation scheme and Dimbaza, the main growth point in the Ciskei.

"Goodwill and willingness to seek solutions together in a spirit of mutual respect and the realisation of each other's view points, are the keys to success," Dr Mulder said.

He believed considerable progress had been made in the economic development of the Ciskei during the term of the previous Cabinet.

"The achievements attained in this regard can be attributed to the untiring efforts by your chief minister with the

assistance of the Ciskei National Development Corporation in persuading local and overseas investors, to invest in the Ciskei," he said.

The position illustrated both political and economic stability of the Ciskei which was in contrast to the position in certain countries in Africa which had been used by Marxists to further their goals.

He said the continuing recession had made it impossible for the South African Government to provide in full the financial assistance asked for by the Ciskei Government.

"Like most other countries in the world you will also have to re-

examine your priorities and to allocate available funds to the services providing the most benefit to the most people and to refrain from spending money unless it is absolutely necessary."

The South African Government had taken note of the high priority agriculture had been given by the previous Cabinet.

"It is also very gratifying to know that no projects are being undertaken in a haphazard fashion and all projects, no matter how small, are properly planned."

In a joint statement issued by Dr Mulder and Chief Minister L. L. Sebe mutual cooperation in future and further friend-

ly discussions were pledged.

"We are convinced the challenges ahead of us can be met successfully in a spirit of goodwill and cooperation as shown from both sides at the first visit of the new minister," the statement read.

They had had fruitful discussions during Dr Mulder's visit.

Housing had been discussed and several housing projects visited.

The Commissioner General for the Ciskei, Mr J. J. Engelbrecht, accompanied Dr Mulder at all his deliberations and visits and had been of good assistance in establishing good liaison between the two governments, the statement said. — DDR

# S.A. unable to give full aid sought

NM 26/8/75

(105)

**ZWELITSHA** — As a result of the continued world-wide recession, the South African Government was unfortunately not in a position to provide in full the financial assistance asked for by the Ciskeian Government, the Minister of Plural Relations and Development, Dr. Connie Mulder, said here yesterday.

Opening the first ordinary session of the third Ciskeian Legislative Assembly, Dr. Mulder said like most other countries in the world the Ciskei would also have to re-examine its priorities.

Available funds should be allocated to the service providing the most benefit to the most people and money should not be spent unless it was absolutely necessary.

It was also a world tendency that although social services were of importance, greater emphasis was being placed on the development of the basic sectors which generated wealth than on others whereby such wealth was distributed.

Dr. Mulder said he understood considerable progress had been made in the economic development of the Ciskei.

The achievements attained could, to a large extent, be attributed to the efforts of the Chief Minister, Mr. Lennox Sebe, with the assistance of the Ciskei National Development Corporation, in persuading local and overseas investors to invest in the Ciskei.

The fact that investors could be persuaded to invest in the Ciskei, notwithstanding the unfavourable economic climate, was a reflection of both the political and economic stability of the Ciskei.

The increase in the activities of the Ciskeian Government over the past five years is clearly reflected in the budget and the increase in the number of posts in your Government service.

"From 1973 to 1978 Government expenditure has increased by R39 958 000 from R15 467 000 in 1973 to R55 425 000 in 1977, and the number of approved posts by 3 609 from 3 394 in 1973 to 7 003 in 1977.

"Also pleasing to note is that the percentage ratio between officers seconded by the Republican Government in relation to the number of Ciskeian officials in your Government service has declined," Dr. Mulder said. — (Sapa.)

# CLA opposition plan strategy

105  
DD  
26/8/73

## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

— Although Chiefs J. T. Mabandla, S. M. Burns-Ncamashe and D. N. Mavuso occupied the opposition seats at the CLA session this week, the position of the opposition will only be clarified on Monday.

Chief Minister L. L. Sebe is on record as having said he would not recognise the opposition, which has been whittled down to only three members from a commanding 24-member strong group in 1973.

"We shall wait until Monday to decide on our next line of action, depending on whether or not we are accorded official opposition status," Chief Mabandla, Leader of the Opposition in the last CLA, said yesterday.

One of the first indications of recognition by the government will be the appearance on the order

paper on Monday of an item calling for the customary motion of no confidence in the government.

And if the item is on the paper, Chief Mabandla, whose Ciskei National Party has two members in the CLA, will give notice of intention to start the no confidence debate on Tuesday. — DDR.

Mulder's message,  
page 9



# Ciskei inquiry report

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The Ciskei Public Service Commission considers the tempo of replacement of seconded officers satisfactory, says the commission's report submitted at the CLA by Chief Minister L. Sebe yesterday.

The report, which will probably be discussed this morning, says there was a slight increase in the number of posts to be occupied by white seconded officials during 1977.

"This can be attributed to the takeover of the St Matthews' and Nompumelelo Hospitals by the Department of Health and Welfare and the lack of suitably qualified Ciskeians in most professional and technical posts," it says.

At the end of last December, only 3,1 per cent of white seconded officers occupied posts on the fixed establishment of the Ciskei Government services, in comparison with 25 per cent at the institution of the services in 1969, 3,8 per cent at the end of 1975 and 2,7 per cent at the end of 1976.

"The commission, constantly bearing in mind the need to maintain the efficiency and stability of the public service, considers the tempo of replacement of seconded officers to be satisfactory."

Localisation of posts saw the promotion last year of the first Ciskeian, Mr K. Tabata, to the rank of Secretary for Education and other Ciskeians were promoted to such senior posts as senior magistrate, senior accountant, principal matron, principal agricultural officer, chief technician and senior inspectress."

Of the 7 003 civil servants in the Ciskei at the end of last December, the Department of Health and Welfare employed 3 091, which was the biggest number. Works employed 1 876. The Department of the Interior's 192 was the smallest number. — DDC

## New board for Zwelitsha

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The Minister of Roads and Works, Chief P. Siwani, announced here yesterday the whole area of the Ciskei had been declared a local road transportation area.

Consequently, the Ciskei has established a local road transportation board as well as a central board, which would deal with appeals against decisions of the local road transportation board.

Offices have been made available at the Government complex at Zwelitsha to accommodate the boards, whose establishment becomes effective on September 1.

The establishment of the board makes it necessary that applications for road transportation permits should be submitted to the board

— DDR



# Ciskei lashes at Pretoria

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The South African Government came under heavy fire in the Ciskei Legislative Assembly yesterday when members discussed the Ciskei budget, often calling it a pittance.

And the Commissioner General, Mr J. Engelbrecht, was severely censured for leaving the chamber at the beginning of the discussion.

Several speakers said there would be more chaos in South Africa if the South African Government did not increase its R55 362 000 grant to the Ciskei.

Chief Minister L. Sebe said: "We need more money to provide for a better future to meet the aspirations of the youth of the Ciskei, otherwise what happened in the past year or so will look like a Sunday-school picnic compared to what can happen if we fail to make this provision."

The government Chief Whip, the Rev. W. M. Xaba, summed up CLA members' feelings by saying he did not believe there would be peace in South Africa "as long as the black man has to go to bed hundry every night."

He said the budget was even smaller than budgets for the cities of Johannesburg and East London.

The South African situation provided for lesser financial benefits generally for blacks but deducted much from a people with lean resources.

"A black man earning R6 000 annually has to pay R397 income tax while his

white counterpart with the same annual income pays only R185 income tax," he said.

If the South African Government was fair, all taxes, including sales tax, which were paid by Ciskeians would be re-channelled into Ciskei's coffers.

"As the architect of separate development, the South African Government is obliged to nurture its creation by providing sufficient funds for its growth and sustenance."

After Mr Xaba's speech, Mr Engelbrecht left.

When Chief Sebe stood up to reply to the budget debate, he said: "I wish to express in the strongest terms the disappointment of the members of this House that the leading liaison man between my government and the South African Government, the Commissioner General, decided to leave this House while we were discussing a matter of extreme delicacy."

"We expected the commissioner to listen carefully to the debate on this matter and report immediately to the Minister concerned on what our needs are and what our feeling is on the grant received from the South African Government."

"It is this type of annoying attitude which treats us as children that leads to strained relations. I don't know what the commissioner is going to report to the South African Government."

He said there would be a fresh approach for more money. — DDR.

Sebe policy speech, page 13.

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CHIEF SEBE

# Some leaders afraid of the youth — Sebe

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — If some leaders did not condemn the form which youth protest was taking, then his Government was not to be blamed if it saw such leaders as camp followers of the youth, Ciskei Chief Minister L. L. Sebe told the Ciskei Legislative Assembly yesterday.

## Ban on chief to go?

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The suspension for the rest of the session of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly of Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe may be lifted, according to sources close to the Ciskei Government.

But the chief, who was escorted at spear-point out of the Assembly on Tuesday when he called the chairman of the CLA, Dr J. T. Hermanus, a liar may still suffer at least a week's suspension, according to the sources.

Chief J. T. Mabandla, who sits on the opposition benches with Chief Ncamashe, yesterday introduced a motion calling for the lifting of the suspension on condition Chief Ncamashe apologised to the chairman and withdrew his remarks.

The motion was not discussed but referred to the Cabinet and the CLA business committee for consideration. Their decision will probably be made known this morning.

Chief Ncamashe, a former Cabinet Minister, is the first member of the CLA to be removed from the Assembly at spear-point. — DDR.

He was criticising certain unnamed leaders who he said were not only "too afraid to condemn school burnings and the sufferings of innocent people," but apparently were only "too willing to convey to innocent and misled school children the impression they support their cause."

All that was done for the sake of catching a handful of votes, Chief Sebe said in his policy speech.

"There are certain issues which are so fundamental to development in a poor country that one would expect government and opposition to stand together in their condemnation.

"Instead we have been subjected over the past months to the sickening sight of so-called leaders misleading school children, which I will no longer tolerate."

He said he "endorsed" black consciousness as it was aimed at the upliftment of the black people" to destroy the colonised mentality of the black man, revive African culture and history and, above all, convince the black man that he is not only the cultural, mental and spiritual equal of the white man, but also his superior.

"How, I ask, have these

noble sentiments been distorted to the extent where black men seek to destroy other black men and where historic educational institutions built with sweat and hard-earned money of our forefathers are seen as targets for black hatred?

"If you do not condemn the form which youth protest is taking, then do not blame me if my government sees you as a camp follower," he said.

The Chief Minister also criticised the Ciskei Constitution, which he said was grafted onto black culture "at a time when we were politically too young to understand its significance." It belonged on the scrap heap, he said.

"This constitution has proved to be irrelevant. The traditional and Western cultures are intermixed in it in an evil stew which is neither fish nor flesh."

While on one hand, the constitution sought to preserve older traditions of politics and government by including all the chiefs in the Assembly, it also allowed for a method of debate and division of power which made nonsense of "traditional democratic" methods of government.

"This causes permanent divisions between chiefs

on the basis of such nonsensical considerations as ethnic pride and the divisions in this House are a manifestation of racialism at its worst," he said.

Chief Sebe also announced a number of ambitious schemes on the drawing board, including the construction of a hydro-electric power station in the Keiskamma River catchment area.

He said consultants agreed the project would be one of the major revenue-producing schemes of the Ciskei.

Other projects were the construction of the Cata Dam to supply water to the Keiskamma irrigation scheme and Keiskammahoeek town from the end of next year.

The project would cost the Ciskei Government R3.2 million, with the dam holding 12.5 million cubic metres of water to irrigate about 700 ha of land.

The government was also going to commence with the construction later this year of the Boma Pass Dam, costing approximately R5 million to serve the new growth area of Middledrift as well as augmenting supplies for Dimbaza and provision of water for the lower reaches of the Keiskamma valley. — DDR.

# Afrikaners must talk to us—Xaba

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Afrikaners were attacked in the Ciskei Legislative Assembly yesterday — and the Commissioner-General, Mr J. Engelbrecht, walked out again.

Mr Engelbrecht was criticised when he walked out on Wednesday during a fiery attack on Pretoria over the Ciskei's R55 million budget.

He did not return to the Assembly in the afternoon and there was no explanation.

"Afrikaners must not deceive themselves and think they have big numbers on their side because when the English, French, Germans and all those other foreign races are not counted, then the number of whites in this country is greatly reduced," said the Chief Whip, Rev W. M. Xaba.

"The Afrikaner, therefore, must just be too willing to invite us to round table talks to plan the future of this country as the permanent citizens of South Africa.

"The other races come through the back door into South Africa and can leave by the same door at any time, leaving the Afrikaner to face a period of unrest."

Mr Engelbrecht was criticised strongly and was invited by the member for Zweledinga, Mr S. M. Hebe, to spend a night with him "in the tent — which circumstances

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have forced me to call home as a result of Pretoria's failure to fulfil promises to the Ciskei Government regarding the refugees from Herschel and Glen Grey."

Chief Minister L. L. Sebe announced it had been decided that Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe should tender a personal apology before his suspension could be lifted.

Chief Ncamashe was removed at spearpoint from the Assembly on Tuesday when he called the chairman, Dr J. T. Hermanus, a liar. He was suspended for the rest of the session.

Chief Sebe also announced that two Cabinet Ministers, Dr Hermanus, Mr Xaba, Chief Mabandla and two other chiefs from the Assembly would form a deputation to approach the South African Government for an increase of the grant to the Ciskei. — DDR.

# Matotie squatter stand riles CNIP youth leader

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**EAST LONDON —** Transkei MP Mr S. S. Matotie's defence of the Duncan Village squatter shacks has been ridiculed as typical of "a man who cannot think above the level of the advisory board."

The attack came from Mdantsane Councillor and youth chairman of the Ciskei National Independence Party, Mr C Sotyelelwa.

Mr Sotyelelwa said he was not surprised at Mr Matotie's reaction because for some time Mr Matotie had shown little regard for the feelings of the people he represented.

On Mr Matotie's claim that the shacks would be a breeding place for criminals, Mr Sotyelelwa said: "Mr Matotie gives the impression that he is part of the very authorities that are responsible for the squatter problem."

"If the authorities referred to by Mr Matotie

squatters," Mr Sotyelelwa said.

He said people who thought above the level of the advisory board would realise that the breeding of criminals was a creation of the very authorities who would not be able to detect the product of their own creation.

He said Mr Matotie's claim that the criminals to be bred in the shacks would not pay lodgers' fees which his children would pay was as selfish as it was uncalled for. His statement that people who paid taxes to Transkei would be given land to build homes in Transkei could embarrass the Transkei Government on two points.

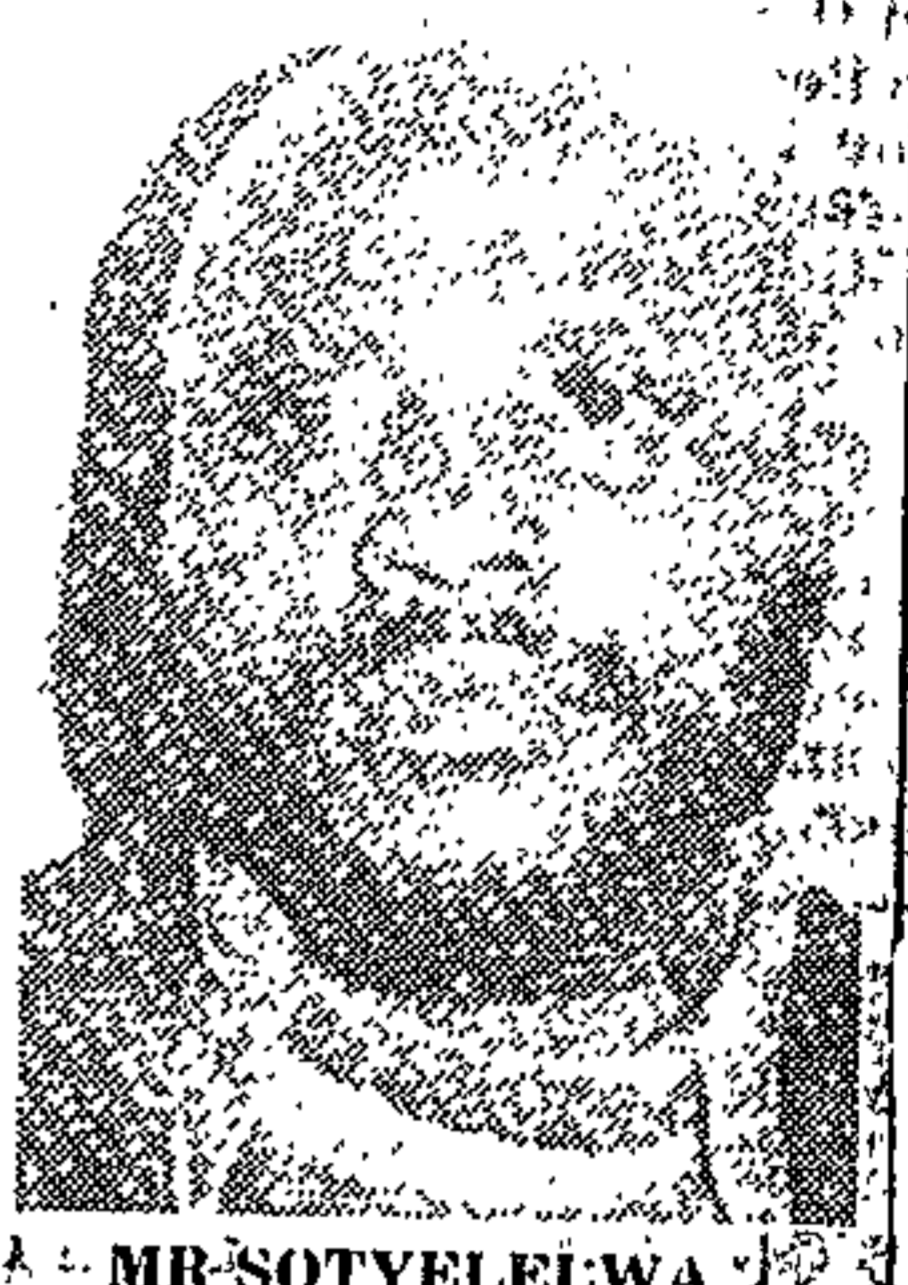
The first was his reference to people who

in contrast to the Transkei Government's decision to sever diplomatic ties with South Africa on the question of East Griqualand — proof that Transkei has not got that much land to spare.

He said Mrs M. Mtshengu had already answered Mr Matotie on the question of Ciskeian people among the squatters.

She said a meeting would be called to discuss the problem — something quite different from Mr Matotie's all-solved problem by leaving people with nowhere to stay, Mr Sotyelelwa said.

He said Mrs Mtshengu had pointed to the demolition of shacks occupied by blacks when shacks oc-



MR SOTYELELWA

volunteers; hospital staff selected 2 staff members for VHW Programme

2 to 4 each village

	<u>QUTHING</u>	<u>SCOTT</u>	<u>TEBELLONG</u>
<u>LOCATION OF VHW'S</u>	9 villages East & West of Quthing	Motsekua, Matelile Clinic areas	Villages surrounding the hospital
<u>INITIAL TRAINING</u>	One week	One week lecture One week practical	Two days
<u>SUBSEQUENT TRAINING</u>	Two to three days every 3 months	Every 2 months	Approximately every 2 months
<u>TRAINING CONTENT</u>	Group discussions/demonstrations/practicals/films on: immunization basic hygiene family planning pregnancy & nutrition for pregnancy weaning foods & childhood nutrition basic nutrition TB and VD hospital MCH Clinic	Group discussions on: nutrition hygiene preventable diseases health edu. methods Practical training in: TB health education	Demonstrations On: immunization hygiene nutrition TB
<u>SERVICES RENDERED</u>	<u>Motivation/Promotion</u> Reporting: common disease outbreaks drinking water status local sanitation efforts Encouraging use of: MCH Clinics Family planning Contact: 3 families per week for health education	<u>Motivation/Promotion</u> Reporting: infectious disease outbreaks Encouraging: MCH Clinic utilization pit latrine building TB patients to continue drug therapy (continued on next page)	<u>Motivation/Promotion</u> Encouraging MCH Clinic utilization Follow up: chronic coughers TB defaulters hygiene <u>Treatment</u> scabies and sores care of aged

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Sydney Peters

the suffrage movement

25 May 1978

the suffrage camp

struggles within the

vote.

2. Elizabeth Cady

History of Woman Suffrage

Cart, Woman Suffrage

York: Scribner's, 1926).

3. Belle Squire, The

4. Adams, The Right to

5. Alice Kradtior, The

6. William O'Neill, "Feminism as a

7. Ailie Desmond, Alexander Hamilton's

8. See, for example, Ferdinand Lundberg

9. New York: Vintage, 1965) also employ

10. Margaret George, The Woman's

11. Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan

12. Julia Spruill, Women's Life and

13. Philippe Ariès, Centuries of

14. See for example, Gerda Lerner, "The

15. Gerda Lerner, The Grinké Sisters

16. Virginia McLaughlin, "Patterns of

Italians," Journal of Interdisciplinary

History II (Autumn 1971).

# Ciskeians Offered ITA Shares

LONDON — E.A. S.F. Ciskeian citizens are to be offered 6 000 shares in the ITA construction company by the Ciskei National Development Corporation.

The shares will cost R1 each but may only be bought in multiples of 100. There is no limit to how many shares any one person may buy.

In a press release yesterday the Chief Minister of Ciskei, Chief L. L. Sebe, said the Ciskeian Government was most concerned about the outflow of capital from the Ciskei and had therefore been instrumental in establishing a construction company on a three party basis between

Ciskeians buying the shares will have to pay stamp duty at the rate of 15 cents per R10, or R1.50 per block of 100 shares.

Applications to buy the shares should be directed to the shares administration section of the CND. DDR.

# The Problem of Women's History

A Biographical Interpretation," in intro. to Rebecca Harding Davis, Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1972), 79.

the 'Surrealizing Women and a Female Era,' What Skymper wrote," XIII (Spring 1971), and Arth Wgo's "Mrs. Skymper and the 'see," New England Quarterly XLV (June 1972), 163-81.

J. P. Rousmaniere, "Cultural Hybrid in the Slums: The College Element House, 1889-1894," American Quarterly XXII (1970); Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York, 1812-1870 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971); Galt

Topic: What do we make of psychohistory?

10. Margaret George, The Woman's Situation (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970).

11. Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948); Bernard Wisby, The Child and the Republic (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967); Margaret Benson, Women in Eighteenth Century America: A Study of Opinion and Social Usage (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935) is another good example of prescriptive history.

12. Julia Spruill, Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1928); Elisabeth Anthony Dexter, Colonial Women of Affairs: Women in Business and the Professions in America before 1776 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931, rev. ed.); Edith Abbott, Women in Industry (New York: D. Appleton, 1910).

13. Philippe Ariès, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life (New York: Vintage, 1962). For a good example of one of the first efforts to integrate the history of American women into American social and economic development, see Carl Degler, "Revolution without Ideology: The Changing Place of Woman in America," in Robert Jay Lifton, ed., The Woman in America (Boston: Beacon, 1964).

14. See for example, Gerda Lerner, "The Lady and the Mill Girl: Changes in the Status of Women in the Age of Jackson," Midcontinent American Studies Journal X (1969). Also see Carl Degler, "Revolution without Ideology," and Nancy Coet, ed., Roots of Bitterness (New York: Dutton, 1972).

15. Gerda Lerner, The Grinké Sisters from South Carolina (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967); George, One Woman's Situation: David Kennedy, Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).

16. Virginia McLaughlin, "Patterns of Work and Family Organization: Buffalo's Italians," Journal of Interdisciplinary History II (Autumn 1971).

21. See for example the selection made in *Presenting Turner, Historians from Women's Liberation* (New York: New American Library, 1970); Megan Schreier, ed., *Presenting the Essential Turner Writings* (New York: Random House, 1972).

22. Mary Beard, *When Was a Woman's Work?* (New York: Macmillan, 1966); Dexter, *Colonial Women of Affairs*. For a discussion of Beard's uses of history and critique of feminists see Berenice A. Carroll, "Mary Beard's *Woman As Force in History*: A Critique," in this volume.

23. For critical appraisals of nineteenth-century woman's rights, see Kradtior, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement*; O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave* and "Feminism as a Radical Ideology."

24. Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (New York: Morrow, 1970) argues that technology will liberate women. Mary Beard relies to some extent on "civilization" and "progress" to accomplish the same ends.

25. Roxanne Dunbar, "Female Liberation as the Basis for Social Revolution," in Robia Morgan, ed., *Sisterhood Is Powerful* (New York: Random House, 1970), 477-92 presents the most cogent argument for caste as the descriptive category for women's position. See also Ti-Grace Atkinson, "Radical Feminism," in *Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation* (New York, 1970) and "Redstockings Manifesto," in the same publication. Both of these use the word "class" but to the same effect as others use the word "caste." Elizabeth Wade White, *Anne Bradstreet, The Tenth Muse* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971) discusses the historical coincidence of the two Anne's along with other rebellious women of the Bay Colony.

26. Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York: Modern Library, 1969), 129; racial, educational or status privileges that divide us from other women." Kate Millet, *Sexual Politics* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970), also argues on the basis of a repudiation of historical conditions.

27. The "Redstockings Manifesto," for example, says "We repudiate all economic, social, educational or status privileges that divide us from other women." Kate Millet, *Sexual Politics* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970), also argues on the basis of a repudiation of historical conditions.

28. McLaughlin, "Patterns of Work and Family Organization."

29. See Branka Magas, "Sex Politics: Class Politics," *New Left Review*, no. 64 (March-April 1971), for a lengthy discussion of this point.

30. Glenda Gates Riley, "The Subtle Subversion: Changes in the Traditionalist Image of the American Woman," *Historian* XXXII (1970), 210-27. A good critique of the "sentimental subversion" is in Jill Conway's "Women Reformers and American Culture, 1870-1930," *Journal of Social History* V (1971), 164-77.

31. In two edited works, Mary Beard attempted such history by collecting women's

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# Big changes in Ciskei education

**EAST LONDON — Drastic changes are to be made in the system of education in Ciskei. Bantu education will be scrapped and a syllabus used in white schools will be introduced.**

These announcements were made by Ciskei Minister of Education, Chief D. M. Jongilanga at a founder's day celebrations at Dr W. B. Rubusana Teachers' Training College at Mdantsane.

Chief Jongilanga said a memorandum had been sent to Pretoria.

The memorandum suggested pupils be given

an option for history, geography or Afrikaans to complete the number of subjects — six — for matric.

He said in Std V five subjects would be written for examination. Practical subjects would no longer contribute towards the deciding total.

Chief Jongilanga said two languages would be offered in schools. Because Afrikaans was

the language of the employer it was advisable for pupils to acquaint themselves with the language to secure job opportunities.

He appealed to teachers to study privately to raise the standard of education. Properly trained teachers would lower the rate of dropouts or failures.

He said his department would offer university courses under Fort Hare in a branch to be opened at Zwelitsha next year.

His department had taken pre-schooling under its control and the creches at Zwelitsha and Mdantsane were now under the Ciskei Education Department.

More pre-schools were to be built to give pupils solid foundation for education.

Better achievements would depend on the earlier years of lower primary school education.

Special teachers would be trained for pupils in the five and six years' age group.



# Staunch CNIP men detained

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EAST LONDON — Two Mdantsane Councillors and staunch members of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party, Mr N M Nomtshongwana and Mr J J Dlova, have been detained under the Ciskei emergency regulations.

Both were detained on Saturday from their homes in the township and locked up at the Mdantsane police station.

Councillor Dlova represents Zone Eight in the Council and Mr Nomtshongwana is a government nominee and was at one time in charge of the township council's housing committee.

No information was

available yesterday on the reasons for their detention but there were strong rumours in the township it had something to do with in-fighting inside the almost all-CNIP council.

It is believed the action against them follows a move by Mr Dlova to have the Deputy Mayor of Mdantsane, Mr L M Yako, who is also a member of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, removed from council because of statements alleged to have been made by Mr Yako against some members of the council.

It is the first time supporters of the CNIP have been detained under the regulations. —DDR



Mr Nomtshongwana



Mr Dlova

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Although there is a predominance (967).

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components exhibits a ratio between 7 and 9,4 for nitrate a 200  $\mu\text{g N cm}^{-3}$  external solution) in Datura, Ricinus for a 50  $\mu\text{g N cm}^{-3}$  external solution and 2,0 and 2,5 for (1978) has shown similar ratios (between 5,8 and 6,0 and 2,4 for the 300  $\mu\text{g N cm}^{-3}$  feeding level. Probyn and 5,5 for 50  $\mu\text{g N cm}^{-3}$  feeding level and is between 1,9 xylem sap/ $\text{NO}_2^-$  in the nutrient solution) is between 3,4





the suffrag women's narrative on the struggles vote.

# Millions pledged for Ciskei water scheme

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The Ciskei Government would spend several millions of rands to complete the Dimbaza-Middledrift water supply project started last year, the Minister of Works, Chief P. Siwani, said at the CLA yesterday.

Some 6 km up to British Ridge into large storage reservoirs," he said. From that point, the water would gravitate to the Dimbaza industrial area, with another gravity main being ultimately constructed from the reservoirs to supply the new Middledrift industrial growth area.

It was necessary to complete the reservoirs simultaneously with the pipeline and purification works because it was imperative that water be immediately available to the reservoirs which would otherwise suffer irreparable damage.

One of the projects envisaged during the financial year included the completion of the next phase of the Lennox Sebe Teachers' Training College at Zwelitsha. DDR.

The Mbavameni site on the Wolf River, initially earmarked for the dam, was discarded when closer investigation revealed it was inappropriate.

## Ncamashe is out for full session

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The suspension of Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe for the rest of the current session of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly will not be lifted.

"It has been subsequently decided to relocate the site immediately below the confluence of the Wolf and Keiskamma rivers in the Boma Pass area," Chief Siwani said.

The CLA business committee decision was announced yesterday by Chief Minister L. L. Sebe, the committee's chairman.

Chief Sebe said he withdrew certain remarks but stood by the basis of his attack.

The Chief Minister said Chief Ncamashe would lose all benefits which would have accrued to him during the session but would still get his monthly pay as a CLA member.

The Boma Pass Dam, he Hought said would cost R3 million to build, while the Appleton purification works being built on the banks of the Keiskamma River would cost approximately R1 Deper million.

When Chief Ncamashe appeared before the committee on Tuesday for review of his case, he would not budge on certain aspects relating to his calling the CLA chairman, Dr J. Hermannus, a liar.

The chief, a former Cabinet Minister of Chief Sebe's, became the first member of the Assembly to be suspended for an entire session and also the first to be removed from the chamber at spear-point. — DDR.

"This department has 14 ambitious undertakings in the construction and laying of the pipeline, in- itally to Dimbaza. The water will be pumped

15. Gerda Lemmer, *The* Miffin, 1967), George, *One Woman's Situation*, Davis

America: *The Career of Margaret Sanger* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).

16. Virginia McLaughlin, "Patterns of Work and Family Organization: Buffalo's Italians," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* II (Autumn 1971).

1870-1930," *Journal of Social History* V (1971), 164-77.

31. In two edited works, Mary Beard attempted such history by collecting women's

sen, "A Biographical Interpretation," in intro. to Rebecca Harding Davis, *Mills* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1972), 79.

Example J. P. Rousmaniere, "Cultural Hybrid in the Slums: The College Settlement House, 1889-1894," *American Quarterly* XXII (1970); Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York Movement, 1812-1870* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971); Gail Baker Eddy and Sentimental Womanhood," *New England Quarterly* 1970); Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion, 1800-1840," *Journal of American Studies* 4 (1970), 1-22.

William L. O'Neill, *Problems and Issues in Social History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969), 129.

"Redstockings Manifesto," for example, says "We repudiate all economic, national or status privileges that divide us from other women." Kate Miller, *Women of the Garden City*, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970), also argues on the basis of a number of historical conditions.

Laughlin, "Patterns of Work and Family Organization."

Branka Magas, "Sex Politics: Class Politics," *New Left Review*, no. 66 (April 1971), for a lengthy discussion of this point.

Enda Gares Riley, "The Subtle Subversion: Changes in the Traditionalist Image of the American Woman," *Historian* XXXII (1970), 210-27. A good critique of the "sentimental subversion" is in Jill Conway's "Women Reformers and American Culture, 1870-1930," *Journal of Social History* V (1971), 164-77.

# Tractors for Transkei

UMHATA. The Transkeian Government has entered into a contract with a firm manufacturing tractors in Italy to supply hundreds of tractors this year.

Transkeian Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Mr S. K. Ndzumo, said he would be leaving tomorrow for Italy to finalise the business tran-

saction.  
"Sixty-one tractors have already been delivered at the East London harbour. The rest will be delivered later," Mr Ndzumo said. — DDC.

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## Ciskei schools credited

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Credit was yesterday given by Chief D. M. Jongilanga at the Ciskei legislative assembly, to teachers and students who had, despite threats and intimidation, responded positively to the efforts of his department to restore normality in Ciskei schools.

The Minister of Education was commenting on the school riots which, he said, were a major setback.

Financial losses, when taking into consideration the value of the destroyed buildings, furniture, schoolbooks and equipment, were estimated at R90 000.

While the examination results obtained by student teachers and matriculants were good, the Std 8 results fell.

To gain the support of pupils and students in educational matters and to stimulate their interest, an intensive moral orientation campaign had been started.

"The main aim of this campaign is to fortify and to equip the Ciskeian youth against negative influences which want to disrupt school activities," the Minister said. — DDR.

# Ciskei will drop public Std 5 exam

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — As one of the efforts to bring Ciskei education on a par with white education, the Ciskei Government would abolish public examinations for Stds 5 and 8.

This was said yesterday at the Ciskei Legislative Assembly by Chief D. M. Jongilanga, Ciskei's Minister of Education, during his policy speech.

The Department of Education launched a study of the drop-out problem at the lower primary level. The study was done in conjunction with the Faculty of Education of the University of Free State and enabled the Government to plan remedial classes in all schools.

Commenting on the abolition of the Std 5 public examination, Chief Jongilanga said: "The higher primary certificate has lost its market value as industry considers Std 10 a valuable certificate."

Careful study of the situation had proved the

many examinations black students had to sit for also contributed to the drop-out problem.

The other significant innovation is the introduction of nursery education.

"Two nursery schools have been taken over from private bodies — Ekonwabeni and Mdantsane," Chief Jongilanga said.

It had become necessary to train more teachers in nursery education and, a new course, the Higher Primary Teachers' Course Junior Worker would be introduced next year at Lovedale to meet the demand.

The Department had created the Ciskei Advisory Council for Education in terms of the Ciskei Education Act of 1974.

"This council, representative of professional bodied and cultural organisations, has been established to give Ciskeians a say in the education of their children," Chief Siwani said. — DDR.

## Siwani: deal on school breached

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The proposed purchase agreement of the Healdtown complex had been breached through moveable property being auctioned without the approval of the Ciskei Government, the Minister of Education, Chief P. Siwani said yesterday.

He told the Ciskei Legislative Assembly buying the complex was like buying a sucked orange — an empty shell.

He said in his policy speech tentative arrangements and negotiations had been made to buy the complex.

Chief Siwani said the Government was discouraged about buying the buildings because of its dilapidated state, it would have had to be demolished and rebuilt at high cost.

"But, despite the dilapidated condition, we were still going to buy the complex in recognition of the services of the missionaries who had served Healdtown."

There were certain events, however, which led to the closure of Healdtown.

"After the closure on December 7, 1977, a number of furniture items and hostel utensils were removed from the hostels and were auctioned without Government approval.

"This, in my opinion, was a breach of faith because the proposed purchase agreement included the value of the moveable items."

He said a new modern institution would be built on the site. — DDR.

## Venda 52 to tour Ciskei

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A contingent of 52 Vendas, led by Vendale's Chief Minister, Mr Patrick Mpepu, arrives here today for a four-day visit to the Ciskei.

The visit is not a leisure jaunt but a political strategy taken out of Chief Minister L. L. Sebe's book.

The Vendas will elect a new chief minister next week and Chief Mpepu, the current Chief

Minister, does not enjoy the full support of the Venda legislative assembly.

His trip to the Ciskei could be part of an ingenious strategy to canvas support from the members of the contingent, which includes chiefs and members of the Venda cabinet.

Chief Sebe, facing the possibility of a challenge for the post of Chief Minister from Chief S. M.

Burns-Ncamashe in 1975, took all available members of his party on a tour of the Western Cape.

Chief Sebe's strategy paid dividends and he retained his position, ejected Chief Ncamashe from the cabinet, and has now consolidated his position.

The Vendas may consider Johannesburg sociologist, Mr Baldwin Mudau, as an alternative head of state. — DDR.

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(3) Okey, J. Dingane, A reappraisal p 202  
(4) OUSA, Vol 1, p 328.

(1) Bernard Thompson in OUSA, Vol 1, p 202  
(2) J. Birt, The Annals of Natal 1495-1498, p 41  
(3) O.C.H.A., Vol 5, 1910-1870, p 5

(Source: Ministry of Health The Village Health Worker Report of a Workshop held 26-27 March 1975)

# Ciskei to boost farming

TABULATION EXISTE

**GOALS**  
 To obtain optimal contact between institutional health & consumer by training VHW's

**OBJECTIVES**  
 Assist VHW in identifying: local health needs/problems solving the above  
 After one year VHW's provide simple curative care

**SELECTION OF VHW'S**  
 By mothers attending MCH Clinics  
 Through: Chief, MO, or Sister in Charge

**NUMBER OF VHW'S**  
 Originally 10; 2 dropped out; one added.  
 "Up to 120 in near future."

**SC KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
 The first aim of the Ciskei Government's agricultural policy was to assist Ciskeian farmers to make a transition from subsistence activity to semi-commercial and commercial farming, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. W. F. Ximiya, told the CLA yesterday.

The fulfilment of this aim will involve, among others, the continued promotion and expansion of the programme for consolidation of land resources, resettlement and the creation of basic physical infrastructure in rural areas," he said.

It would also introduce more farmers to cash farming and bring more suitable land under irrigation.

Successful implementation of these recommendations would raise the average income of Ciskeian farmer families living in the rural areas selected for development to some R500 up to R1 500 to R2 000 per annum," he said.

Mr Ximiya said Pretoria continued to frustrate the timely and orderly development of the Ntabethemba and Zweledinga areas.

**TEBELLONG**  
 Getting people involved in their own health care

That women chosen by their own people accept certain designated responsibilities in their own villages

Each community chose 5 volunteers; hospital staff selected 2 staff members for VHW Programme

2 to 4 each village

**LOCATION OF VHW'S**  
 9 villages East & West Outhing

**INITIAL TRAINING**  
 One week

**SUBSEQUENT TRAINING**  
 Two to three days every 3 months

**TRAINING CONTENT**  
 Group discussions/demonstrations/practicals/films on: immunization basic hygiene family planning pregnancy & nutrition for pregnancy weaning foods & childhood nutrition basic nutrition TB and VD hospital MCH Clinic

**SERVICES RENDERED**  
 Motivation/Promotion Reporting: common disease outbreaks drinking water status local sanitation efforts Encouraging use of: MCH Clinics Family planning Contact: 3 families per week for health education

**CLINIC AREAS**  
 One week lecture One week practical Every 2 months

Group discussions on: nutrition hygiene preventable diseases health edu. methods Practical training in: TB health education

Motivation/Promotion Reporting: infectious disease outbreaks Encouraging: MCH Clinic utilization pit latrine building TB patients to continue drug therapy (continued on next page)

**TEBELLONG**  
 Villages surrounding the hospital

Two days

Approximately every 2 months

Demonstrations On: immunization hygiene nutrition TB

Motivation/Promotion Encouraging MCH Clinic utilization Follow up: chronic coughers TB defaulters hygiene Treatment scabies and sores care of aged

# Secret mission <sup>105</sup> for Ciskei pair <sup>13/9/78</sup>

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — A two-man Ciskei delegation, led by Dr B. R. Maku, Ciskei's Minister of Health, will fly to Britain on September 23 on what Chief Minister L. L. Sebe yesterday called a "secret mission."

The other member is Dr J. T. Hermanus, chairman of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

Chief Sebe said he was unable, for the time being, to give full details of the mission.

It is believed, however, the Ciskei has made a major financial breakthrough.

It could not be confirmed whether such a financial boost would come from British interests or other sources.

The team, Chief Sebe announced, would operate from London. They meet the Chief Minister today for a briefing on the matter.

It is not expected Chief Sebe will divulge details of the trip until he speaks publicly on the matter on September 22.

Commenting on the announcement, Chief J. T. Mabandla said whatever the mission was, he was certain the two men would represent the feelings of Ciskeians on their trip.

"I hope the people our representatives meet will not look upon them as unrepresenting apartheid but will appreciate they represent the hardships of the black man in South Africa," Chief Mabandla said. — DDR.

## 12 whites in Ciskei police

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Twelve of the 283 posts comprising the Ciskei police force were filled by white seconded officials, the Minister of Justice, Chief H. Z. Njokweni, told the CLA yesterday.

The force had one colonel, three captains, seven lieutenants, five warrant officers, 61 sergeants, 198 constables and eight typist clerks.

There were 41 vacancies for seven sergeants, 33 constables and one typist clerk.

The number of policemen per 1 000 inhabitants in the Ciskei was 0,18, as compared to England's 2,0, the 2,1 for the USA, West Germany's 2,7 and Israel's 3,5.

Policing in the Ciskei would be improved with the erection of new police stations at Mdantsane, Tamara and Frankfort.

"Frankfort and Tamara are still policed by the South African Police but a takeover is envisaged," the Minister said.

The Ciskei regional court, which began functioning in January this year, was not enough for the purposes of the Ciskei. The volume of work had increased to such an extent that a second regional court was being considered.

A highly qualified legal adviser had also been appointed to train other suitably qualified officers as legal advisers. — SAPA.

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and 5,5 for 50 µg N cm<sup>-3</sup> feeding level and is between 1,9  
xylem sap/NO<sub>3</sub><sup>-</sup> in the nutrient solution) is between 3,4

13/9/78 105

# Ciskei banishes warder again

EAST LONDON — A Transkei citizen, and former prison warder here, Mr Sizwe Horatius Dzulane, 32, has been banished from the Ciskei for the second time.

Mr Dzulane, of Mpeko near Umtata was served with the banishment order when he left the Mdantsane magistrate's court yesterday.

The banishment order was signed by the Ciskei Minister of Justice, Chief Zolile H. Njokweni.

The order instructs Mr Dzulane to be out of the Ciskei within 24 hours.

Mr Dzulane had appeared in court charged with contravening a banishment order served on him during August. The charge was withdrawn.

He was served with the order after he was released from the Mdantsane police station where he had been held for seven

days under Proclamation R252 of 1977.

The first order was signed by the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe.

Mr Dzulane was arrested in Umtata and handed over to the Ciskei police in Queenstown. He was then transferred to Mdantsane, where he was detained.

Soon after his release Mr Dzulane defied the banishment order and remained at his Zone Nine House in Mdantsane.

Last week Mr Dzulane was convicted of common assault involving the death of a prisoner, Mr. Henry Bezuidenhout. He was fined R100 (or 50 days) — DDR

## Lucky for some

PRETORIA — Today, September 13, marks the start of the Prime Minister's 13th year in office. Born on the 13th, a 13th child, Mr Vorster became Prime Minister after 13 years in Parliament. He was ranked 13th in the Cabinet when he took office on September 13, 1966. — DDC.

18/1/78  
105

# Sebe: food not bombs

An important finding was that with the legal status of the of all migrant labourers, who with a rural area while 78% large proportion of borners 3 African workers born and to whom he sent money or he owned livestock or had land that 5% of the migrant work they were working in Cape T theless no dependants they connected to any families

## 2.2 Land Availability

Each worker was asked, "do you have land in your homeland?". The intention of the workers' family had either having tenure them

Table 14 contains the results for land sizes are not accurate those interviewed.

TABLE 14	Dis
Size of Land Holdings (morgens)	
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(1) Cumulative

It is clear that land available for cultivation was less than one worker's family had

21. The Chi square statistic with a rural area for cultivating or they own area to whom he sends home remittances.

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The production of food was far more important than the production of bombs, Chief Minister Lennox Sebe said when he opened the Ciskei agricultural show at Debe Nek at the weekend.

"Nations throughout the world were preoccupied not with the problems of agriculture but with the acquisition of weapons, he said.

"This is especially true of many Third World African countries, some of which, after years of political independence, are yet still economically almost totally dependent on other countries, even to the extent of their basic and staple foodstuffs."

But the Ciskei, under his leadership, would not pursue that course of folly.

"Peace and prosperity is what the Ciskei Government desires for the Ciskeian people and as you will have heard, your government has long since taken the initiative to establish a sound economic foundation for the nation based primarily on agriculture."

In that way, the Ciskei would win its battle for recognition and the sword would be seen to be discarded for the ploughshare.

"The greater tasks as yet lie ahead of us. We have still to increase our basic agricultural production a hundred, nay a thousand, fold — and more."

"We have to establish our processing plants, our agricultural industries, more and more job opportunities, greater prosperity and, above all, a better quality of life."

What the post-World War II history of emergent Africa had taught was the folly of holding on to a paternalistic and privileged position for too long and giving too little too late when all was lost.

"This disastrous attitude was clearly evidenced in the former Congo, Mozambique, in Angola, and is now being vividly demonstrated in Rhodesia by the conduct of Mr Smith vis-vis Mr Nkomo."

area was closely linked to be expected, almost 95% contract, had some ties as well. A remarkably no less than 1 out of every member had some rural dependants member of his family. It also worth noting is rural ties. Even though illegally they had none- did they consider themselves ce.

land to cultivate in the to establish whether members they could cultivate by

ation is needed. The figures are rough estimates made by

Cultiv	It was high time the South African Government took note of those lessons in regard to its own over-bearing and antagonising practices in land matters.
Percent of homeland up to a	Buying land from whites and re-releasing it back to the same or different whites supposedly in the name of homeland development, hanging on, refusing to let go the reins of control, adopting a dog in the manger attitude with trust land and openly claiming these lands must be given over to the development corporation and other entrepreneurs for safe keeping until we Ciskeians can be considered capable of exercising responsible stewardship...
ation was as or less	"What arrogance in this day and age." — DDR.

no day and age. — DDR. only available for cultivation.

at the 0,00 confidence level. By tie for his family either has land available or the worker has dependants in the rural



19/1/78 10-11/78  
105

# Ciskei men to meet bankers

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Dr B. R. Maku and Dr J. T. Hermanus will tap certain sources for financial assistance for the Ciskei on their overseas trip.

This became clear from the itinerary released by Chief Minister L. L. Sebe, although no details are available yet.

The trip, scheduled for September 23, was announced last week at the CLA by the Chief Minister, who did not divulge anything relating to it except to say it was a secret mission.

Sources close to the government, however, did indicate the Ciskei had made a major financial breakthrough.

Dr Maku is Ciskei's Minister of Health while Dr Hermanus is the Ciskei Legislative Assembly chairman.

According to the itinerary, which was still tentative according to Chief Sebe, the two men would meet various bankers in London on September 25 and would depart for Switzerland the following day to meet other leading bankers.

On September 28, they would meet the Deputy Chairman of the Board of the Swiss Bank and the General Manager of the Swiss Volks Bank.

The two-man delegation would be met at Heathrow Airport, London, by Mr Tinie Botha on September 24. The next day, they would pay a visit to the House of Commons and meet the Chief Whip. They would have lunch with the South African ambassador to London and return to the Ciskei on September 29. — DDR.

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# Ciskei school principal held

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KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The family of a school principal detained in terms of the Ciskei's emergency regulations intend making representations to the Minister of Justice, Chief H. Z. Njokweni, who signed the detention order.

Mr Vuyani Mqingwana, 30, principal of Nathaniel Pamla High School at Peddie, was taken away from his school by members of the Ciskei Security Police.

He was taken to his house, which was searched, according to his younger brother, Mr Zwelivumile Mqingwana, 28, a teacher at Kuyasa High School in Dimbaza.

Mr Mqingwana, who holds a master's degree in history from North Western University (Chicago), is being detained at the Mdantsane police cells.

His brother said yesterday the police confiscated 31 books and journals.

The books were mostly

history text books and others were Spro-Cas publications, two volumes of Africa Report and the book, Protest to Challenge, edited by Gwendolyn Carter.

"We have no clue why my brother has been detained because he has not been a member of any political group and has always kept his own opinions to himself," Zwelivumile said.

Some of the books confiscated by the police had just been received through the post from America "as my brother has been preparing to register for his PhD degree."

Mr Mqingwana, who is single, obtained his BA and B Ed degrees (both for history) from Unisa and was a teacher at Jabavu High School at Alice when the Ciskei Government appointed him as principal of Nathaniel Pamla at the beginning of the year. — DDR.

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Section 10(1) of the Consolidation Act of 1945 as amended governs the right of an African to be in Cape Town (as in all other prescribed areas) and lays down the conditions under which he may remain.

Those who were born in Cape Town and have remained there continuously since birth, qualify as permanent residents and are free to change jobs within the area. They are referred to as "borners" in this paper.

Those who have worked continually for one employer at one address for 10 years or have resided lawfully in Cape Town for 15 years, also qualify as permanent residents and can also change jobs within the area. They are referred to as the "10(1)b's".

When, in this paper, the borners and 10(1)b's are considered together as one group, they are referred to as permanent residents, or simply residents.

The remaining men, with few exceptions, are forced into the system of annual contract work under 1963 regulations which stipulate that every such African may obtain work only through the Tribal Labour Bureau in his area and that a service contract be granted for a maximum period of 1 year (or 360 shifts), after which period the employment must be terminated and the worker must return to his place of origin. These men are referred to as the "migrants".

8. D. Hendrie and D. Horner (1976), Table 2, p.9, Cape Times, 26 August, 1976.  
9. Black Sash (1964).

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# CLA upset at pay rises

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The five per cent increase in the salaries of the Ciskei legislative assembly was yesterday described by members as yet another illustration of discrimination on the grounds of colour by the South African government.

What annoyed the members was the disparity between their salary scales and those of members of the Coloured Representative Council.

The Government Chief Whip, Rev W. M. Xaba, said discrimination on colour at times made one blame God for making one black.

Announcing the new scales yesterday, Chief Minister Lennox Sebe told the CLA he had gone out of his way to obtain the figures of the new scales "to show you the big disparity between their salaries and ours."

Chief Sebe's five per cent increase will put his annual salary at R15 276 — R3 180 less than the chairman of the CRC, who gets a further non-taxable allowance of R3 000. Chief Sebe's allowance will be R1 344.

The CLA cabinet ministers' R11 724 will be R2 748 less than what is earned annually by CRC executive councillors.

It is not known yet whether Chief Justice Mabandla will receive the R4 536 earmarked for the Leader of the Opposition as the Ciskei Government has not yet clearly defined its official attitude towards Chief Mabandla, Chief S. M. Burns-cencamashe and Chief D. N. Mavuso, who are still on the opposition benches.

# Ciskei goal a confederation says Sebe

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Ciskei Chief Minister L. Sebe has called on the South African Government to decide whether it would be in the interests of the country to "hoard" for whites or "share" with the other racial groups the country's economic wealth.

Welcoming to the Ciskei the Plural Relations Commission led by Mr P. du Plessis, MP for Lydenburg, Chief Sebe argued his case for sharing by analogy between South African whites on the one hand and the Dead Sea and Sea of Galilee on the other.

For every drop of water the Sea of Galilee received from the River Jordan another flowed out on a give and take basis in equal measure.

"The other sea (Dead Sea) is shrewder, hoarding all its income (also from the River Jordan) jealously. It would not be tempted into generous impulse and every drop it gets it keeps."

He left it to white South Africa to choose which of the two seas would symbolise the relationship.

between the country's whites and the 'under-privileged' blacks.

"Your decision would clearly decide your own fate. Either you would decide to share the waters of the Jordan and assist us in the development of our national homeland or you would hoard these waters till they turn sour and unpalatable, thus becoming no longer of value in sustaining opportunity and life."

Chief Sebe told the commission — which also comprises Dr G. de V. Morrison, MP for Cradock, Mr P. Cronje, MP for Port Natal, and Mr H. Coetsee, MP for Bloemfontein West — the ultimate goal of his Government was a South African confederacy "where we shall all come together and discuss the future of the country."

"We have filled in for South African whites as shock absorbers against impatient and militant youths and cannot do so any longer," he said.

The commissioners had discussions with Chief Sebe and his Cabinet and went on the last leg of their fact-finding tour of the Ciskei yesterday.

each time excluding that variable found to be variable that was excluded at an earlier stage, some significant again due to the exclusion of included in the equation again at a later stage. tated when all the variables remaining in the significant, i.e. the significance levels lie

If Chief Mabandla is not accorded Leader of the opposition status, he will get an annual salary of R3 780 which will be payable to all ordinary members of the CLA. DDR

Sebe tells of offer to Luyt 21/9/78  
105

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, revealed officially for the first time yesterday that Sir Richard Luyt, Principal of the University of Cape Town, was approached by the Ciskei Government to be chairman of the Ciskei's independence commission.  
Sir Richard, however, could not accept the appointment because of pressure of work

prevented the university council from giving him time off to work for the commission.

"Sir Richard had tentatively accepted the offer, pending his securing leave of absence from his university obligations from the council," Chief Sebe said.

His government was looking for a man who could take Sir Richard's place — "a man of the calibre of Sir Richard.

"Sir Richard is acceptable to many people within the ranks of militant black Africa and the man we get for the post must also be acceptable to those elements."

He also revealed two prospective commissioners were approached from overseas, one black and one white. The white man had already agreed to serve on the commission while the black man had not yet replied. — DDR.

Level of Income (Rand)	Percentage Producing up to and including this Level
0	26
4	39
8	54
12	60
16	64
20	69
24	76
32	82
40	85
48	90
60	96
84	99
102	100

N= 136

It indicates the low level of income derived from subsistence agriculture of homeland families. No less than 26% of the families produced no income at all and are therefore completely landless.<sup>42</sup> They are, effectively, a rural proletariat. More than half of the families (54%) produced less than R8 per month while more than three-quarters (76%) made R24 or less. The maximum monthly subsistence income of a family in our survey was R102.

41. For details on how these estimates were done (and the assumptions they are based on) see Appendix 3. Unfortunately the value of pumpkins, beans, potatoes and other vegetables grown by homeland families are excluded from the calculation.

42. The chances of them cultivating pumpkins, beans and other vegetables, but not maize, are virtually nil.

25/1/78  
Ciskei detainee  
is now homeless 105

EAST LONDON — An Mdantsane man who was released after being held for a month under the Ciskei emergency regulations has been evicted from his house with his family.

He is Mr Barrington Diliza Mkwanda, 51, a former mortuary attendant at the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital.

Mr Mkwanda was evicted by the Ciskei authorities from his Zone Ten F1265 house last Wednesday.

Mr Mkwanda, who is a staunch supporter of the opposition alliance headed by Chief Justice Mabandla, Chief S. Burns-Ncamashe and Mr L. F. Siyo, was detained under Proclamation R252 a week before the general election. He was detained at the Mdantsane police station.

Prior to Mr Mkwanda's eviction he had been warned that the house was to be taken away from him as it had been given to him conditionally.

At present homeless, Mr Mkwanda and his wife, Mrs Nongqibelo Mkwanda and their four children, are staying with

Mr and Mrs L. F. Siyo.

Meanwhile the arrest of a number of students at Phandulwazi Agricultural High School near Alice could not be confirmed yesterday.

Among the students believed to have been arrested was Mr Wonga Tabata, 18, the son of the Ciskei secretary for Education, Mr T. K. Tabata.

Mr Wonga Tabata is believed to be held at Mdantsane police station. It was not known were the other students have been detained. Mr Tabata said he would not comment on the detention of his son at this stage. "Why don't you ask Colonel M. Saunders, who is in charge of the Police", he said.

The principal of Phandulwazi Agricultural High School, Mr J. Louw refused to comment. "This is a matter between the Departments of Education and Justice", he said.

The secretary for Justice, Mr B. J. Du Randt, said he could not give any information on the detentions because the Ciskei special branch were busy investigating. — DDR.

CISKEI

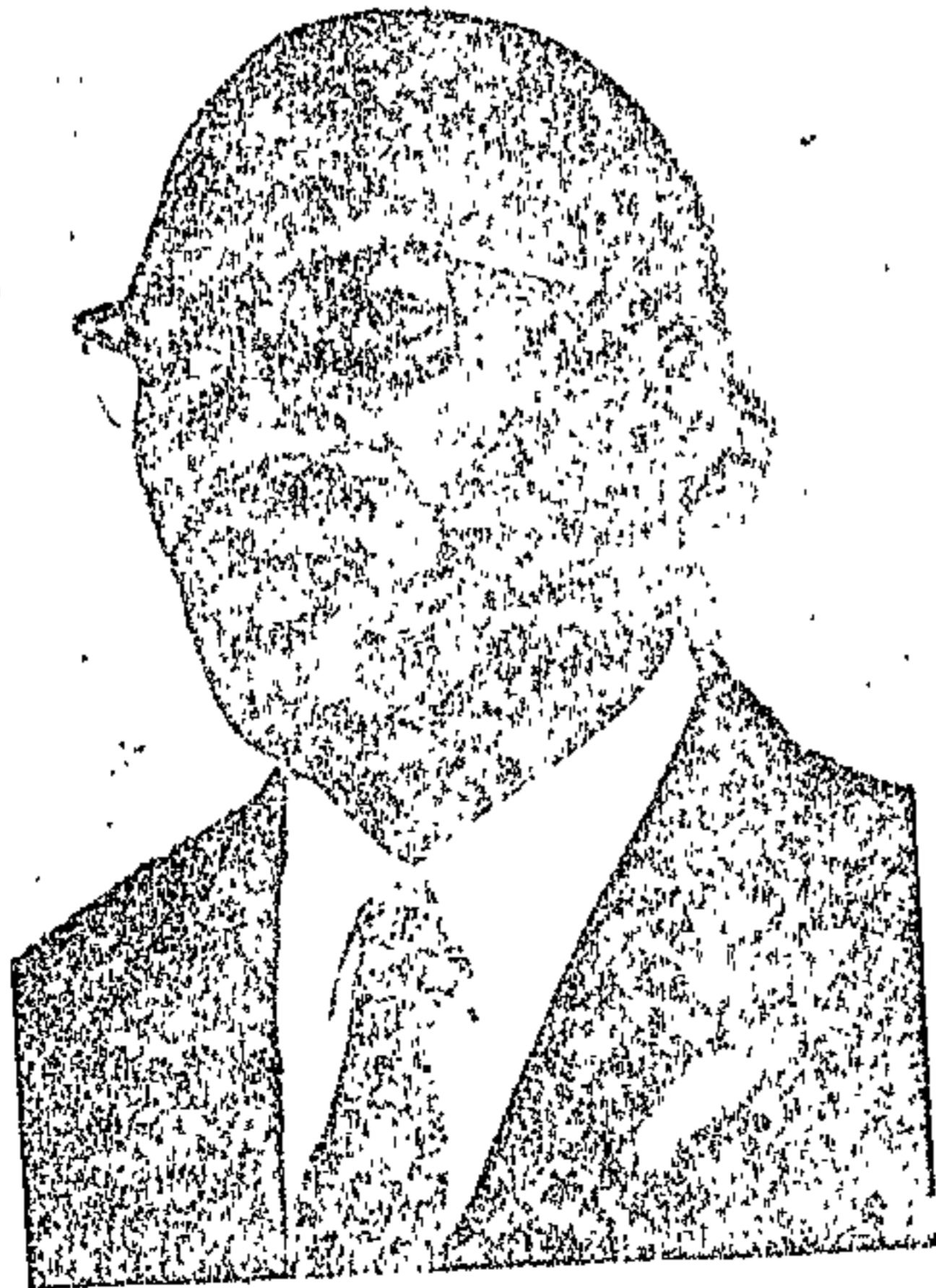
105

Upside down TM 22/9/78

All is not well in the Ciskei, despite the optimistic picture painted by Minister of Plural Relations and Development Connie Mulder, at the opening of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

In praising the Ciskeian Government for "considerable progress in the economic development of the Ciskei," Mulder conspicuously omitted to mention the darker spots of the territory's economy.

Ciskei's major problem is the leaking of its resources to its more developed neighbours, East London, King William's Town, and Queenstown. Subsistence production still accounts for over 30% of Ciskei's GDP, while 73% of the income of its 0.5m people is earned outside the Ciskei. In 1975-76, 80% of the Ciskeian government's source of revenue was supplied by SA. And Mulder warned that his government could not provide all the financial assistance the Ciskeians



Ciskei's Sebe . . . growing right

required.

At the root of the problem lies a wrong-footed development strategy, argues Bill Davies, lecturer at the University of Port Elizabeth, in a recently published fact paper. "The essential point of departure in the planning proposals is the perception of the Ciskei as an entirely separate, future independent state," he writes.

In a deliberate attempt to avoid existing economic growth points on Ciskei's borders, planners have recommended a major growth point at Middledrift, in the heart of the territory. The huge townships at Mdantsane and Zwelitsha are regarded as mere dormitories supplying labour for East London and King William's Town. Industrial development there is being avoided.

To develop Middledrift and create enough jobs for a proposed population of 109 000 will cost at least R200m over the next 20 years. Presumably, planners hope that people will migrate to Middledrift from Mdantsane and Zwelitsha, preventing leakage of Ciskei's resources into the border regions.

#### Interdependence

But, argues Davies, ignoring the two border townships will not stem their growth. In 1975, at least 75% of Ciskei's urban population was located in these townships, and the advantages of their proximity to East London and King William's Town will continue to attract people. By actively discouraging development there, housing shortages and high unemployment are merely exacerbated.

Nor will the new town at Middledrift represent much competition for the attractions of the border region. Ciskei's resources and those of its neighbours are very similar, but the border region has a substantial head start, and will provide vigorous competition.

Davies suggests that instead of viewing the Ciskei and the border region as competing and separate units, their interdependence should be recognised and fostered. He does not recommend specifically incorporating the border region into Ciskei, but this idea has been frequently mooted, not only by Ciskei's chief minister Connex Sebe, but also by people concerned by the economic slump in East London.

This implies correcting the imbalance between Ciskei and the border region. Mdantsane and Zwelitsha are excellent starting points. An immediate area of expansion is the provision of retail food outlets in the townships, later leading to small scale industries. This would stem one major leakage - Mdantsane consumers spent R16.5m on food in 1975, mostly bought in East London.

Also, by developing existing resources, the massive expenditure necessary to create internal infrastructure is avoided.

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Kakaza  
in hospital

EAST LONDON -- The general secretary of the Ciskei National Party, Dr D S Kakaza, has been admitted to Cecilia Makiwane Hospital, Mdantsane.

Dr Kakaza who is detained under the Ciskei emergency regulations (Proclamation R252), was admitted last week after falling ill at Dumbaza police cells where he had been detained.

The Ciskei secretary for Health, Dr J Kloppers, was not available for comment on the nature of Dr Kakaza's ailment. The Ciskei Minister of Health is on a two-man delegation to the United Kingdom.

Dr Kakaza was detained before the Ciskei General Election in June. He was released to allow him to contest the elections in the Mdantsane constituency but re-detained on July 20 with several other members of the opposition alliance. - DDR

105

Reffent 1/10/78

# Ciskei slaan groot slag

DIE regering van die Ciskei het vande week sy eerste buitelandse lening verkry — ten bedrae van R7 miljoen. Wat die transaksie nog meer merkwaardig maak, is dat dit in Switserse frank is wat vir Suid-Afrika self onbekombaar is.

Die lening is deur 'n afvaardiging onder leiding van dr. J. J. Hermanus, voorsitter van die Ciskeise Wetgewende Vergadering, en dr. B. R. Maku, hoof-sweep en minister van gesondheid, in Bern (Switserland) van die Bank Von Ernst verkry.

Die R7 miljoen (teen 'n rentekoers van 6½ persent oor vier jaar) gaan gebruik word om 'n graanmeule in die Ciskei op te rig.

Die afvaardiging het ook die belofte gekry van 'n verdere lening van R3

miljoen vir nog ontwikkeling in die Ciskei.

In die lig van die geweldige likwiditeitsprobleme van die meeste wêreldbanke en ook die teensin om swart state weens hul algemene onverantwoordelikheid met lenings te help, word die Ciskei se lening as 'n reuseprestasie beskou.

Selfs nog nie eens Transkei kon 'n lening van sulke omvang in die buiteland kry nie.

\* Die Ciskeise afvaardiging het ook lede van die Britse Konserwatiewe Party ontmoet en die versekering gekry dat die Tories, mits hulle die volgende verkiesing wen, Suid-Afrika se nuwe onafhanklike state sal erken as die Suid-Afrikaanse regering die probleem van die state se burgerskap kan oorbrug.



**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The Ciskei Government has successfully negotiated a R7 million Swiss francs loan, which will be used for the establishment of a processing mill by the Ciskei Marketing Board.

The loan agreement was signed here at the weekend by Chief Minister Lennox Sebe. Mr T. Botha, the executive director of Hill Samuel (SA) Pty Ltd, acted as intermediary for the Bank on Ernst of Switzerland, the lending party.

Mr Botha accompanied Dr B. R. Maku, Ciskei's Minister of Health, and Dr J. T. Hermanus, chairman

DD  
2/10/78  
105  
**Ciskei lands**  
**Swiss loan**

of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, on their overseas visit a week ago. He was the key link in the negotiations.

Chief Sebe first mentioned a processing mill for the Ciskei at the end of May when he threatened King William's Town with economic strangulation if the town was not handed over to the Ciskei.

He described the Swiss loan as a major breakthrough because "I

believe it is the only occasion on which any homeland government has succeeded in negotiating such an overseas loan."

If the money could have been obtained from local sources, with the same low-rate interest, his Government would not have negotiated the Swiss loan, Chief Sebe.

He could not conceive of any other country where potential for development had been more clearly

demonstrated as was in the Ciskei.

"We have a stable government which has demonstrated both its willingness and its ability to develop. We have also spent adequate time on reflection and planning.

He said the establishment of the mill would get a negative response from some quarters, with some elements arguing the project was unnecessary as there were enough mills in areas surrounding the Ciskei.

The establishment of the mill was the first step by the Ciskei towards establishment of its own economic independence as a nation. — DDR.

# 4 journalists axed by paper

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Four senior editorial staff members of Imvo Zabantsundu, a Perskor-owned Xhosa weekly newspaper printed here, have been dismissed. Their services came to an end on October 31.

The affected men are Mr. Thomas Twala, Mr. Fezile Zondeki and Mr. Bafo Mkefa from the paper's head office here and Mr. Roosevelt Fani from the Umtata office.

Mr Twala has been with the newspaper since 1969. He was appointed assistant editor in 1973, a post he will probably hold until his services come to an end. He is presently on leave.

Of the three other men, Mr Fani, who is one of the senior men at Umtata, is the most experienced, having worked for several South African newspapers before he joined Imvo in 1977.

Also dismissed from the paper's staff is Mrs Dorothy Twala, Mr Twala's wife, who was an administrative officer with Imvo. She joined the paper in 1972.

Another woman, Mrs Nosakhele Mbilini, who was appointed as Imvo's women's page editor in 1976, has also lost her job with Educum Booksellers and Publishers, another Perskor enterprise here.

She is the wife of a black consciousness leader, Mr Mzwandile Mbilini, who is in detention in terms of the Internal Security Act.

The newspaper's Editor, Mr Ferdinand Hand, who was contacted in Umtata yesterday, said: "I don't really want to comment but, basically, what is happening is a reorganisation of staff. We are expanding to other offices."

He said Imvo had become "top heavy" in King "and these people didn't want to be transferred to other offices mainly because their families are living in King. That is the whole story."

It is understood Ms Barbara Hart, who works for the SABC's Radio Xhosa here, will take over as Imvo's news editor at the beginning of November.

Meanwhile, the Writers' Association of South Africa has called for the immediate reinstatement of the sacked journalists.

— DDR

# Mrs Sebe: I wasn't there

DD 4/10/78  
105

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The wife of the Ciskei's Chief Minister Lennox Sebe, Mrs Virginia Sebe, has denied press reports that she was present during the robbery of her Ilitha bottle store near Berlin.

Reports said Mrs Sebe was threatened by three men who entered her store. Two of the men were armed with guns and the third was carrying a knife.

The reports said the men escaped with R300.

"The whole story insofar as my involvement is concerned is embarrassing," said Mrs Sebe. She said she had been asleep at Zwelitsha when the incident occurred.

The upshot of the report has been that several people have contacted me to find out about the matter, which was highly embarrassing to me. I would have expected whoever wrote the

story to contact me before running such a news item."

Mrs Sebe said she had been told about the robbery while she had been at home and subsequently had reported the matter to the police.

The two businesses affected were a bottle store and a supply store, the former belonging to the Chief Minister's wife and the other to Mrs C. Sebe, wife of the Chief Minister's younger brother.

According to Mr V. Tunyiswa, the bottle store manager, the three robbers arrived at the store at about 7.30 pm on Saturday and held him up. He had his three assistants with him.

When a watchman who was outside tried to close the door to trap the robbers inside, he was shot at, but the bullet missed him. The robbers escaped with R368.

Mr Tunyiswa confirmed the robbers had first robbed Mrs C. Sebe's store before going to the bottle store. When they entered the supply store, the owner was not in. Only her assistants were in attendance.

Mr Tunyiswa did not know how much money had been stolen from the supply store.

The information published in the Daily Dispatch was obtained from police headquarters in East London.

The Divisional CID officer, Col J. H. Fourie, said last night he had released information given to him at the time by the investigating officer.

He said it appeared that at some stage during the investigation and subsequent reports, incorrect information had been erroneously passed on. — DDR.

# Ciskei seeks R3m loan for Keiskamma plan 105

**JOHANNESBURG** — Following on the Ciskei's recent successful negotiation of a R3,5-million loan with a Swiss bank, the homeland is now trying to raise a R3,1 million loan through registered stock.

The Ciskei stock, which is guaranteed by the South African Government and carries an annual interest of 10,52 per cent, will be handled by Senbank. It has a life of 20 years.

Application lists open and close tomorrow.

The money is to be used for the building of a dam in the Keiskamma River valley, while the Swiss Bank loan will finance the establishment of a processing mill in the homeland.

UAL and Senbank have announced that when the lists for the R75 million Escom loan stock issue closed at noon yesterday applications for some R103 million had been received.

UAL and Senbank say the basis of allotment will be announced shortly.

The issue was by way of three loans. Number 137 was issued at par for eight years at 9,70 per cent. Number 138 with a

coupon of 9,70 per cent was issued at R95,06 per cent for 25 years with a yield to redemption of 10,25 per cent at issue price. Number 139 at par was for 25 years yielding 10,25 per cent.

\*\*\*

Union Acceptances has announced it has successfully placed R8 million unsecured debentures with institutional investors on behalf of Richards Bay Coal Terminal Company, which handles the major portion of South Africa's coal exports.

The debentures, which have approved status and thus rank as prescribed investments for financial institutions, carry an all-in interest rate of 10,5 per cent per annum and have an average life of about 11 years.

The funds will be used to complete the financing of the phase two extensions to the coal handling facilities at Richards Bay. This will increase the capacity by eight million tons of coal per annum to 20 million tons per annum.

Operation of the extensions is planned to start in December, 1978, ahead of initial expectations.

The debentures are supported by the participants in the phase two export venture — Amcoal, BP Southern Africa, Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (holding company of Total Exploration, South Africa), Shell South Africa and Trans-Natal Coal.

Application will be made for a listing of the debentures on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. — SAPA

DB 5710/78  
**Sebe meets Mulder today** (105)

the poorest people in a form they can easily assimilate.

At Ipoti however advertisement was directed specifically at the very poor and mothers of malnourished children. It happened that poor people then recruited their equally poor neighbours and there was particularly good initial response from an extremely poor area where people from white farms had put up their shacks. Before this new initiative amongst the very poor the previously existing Zenzele group (which had functioned mainly as a club) actually got the garden ploughed, whereas

The Ciskei Government Chief Whip, Rev. W. M. Xaba, who is one of the members of the delegation, said:

"As the architect of separate development, the South African government is obliged to nurture its creation by providing sufficient funds for its growth and sustenance."

The delegation, which also includes chief D. M. Jongilanga, Minister of Education, Dr J. T. Hermanus, CLA chairman, Chief J. T. Mabandla, former opposition leader and Chief P. Malefane of Thornhill, is therefore expected to speak strongly on the matter.

It is expected such issues as the removal of people from Grahamstown's Fingo village to Glenmore and from Mooiplaas, could be the highlight of the talks, particularly the Mooiplaas issue on which Chief Sebe is on record as having said the South African government's plan for removal would be effected over his government's dead body.

Chief Jongilanga, chief of the affected people, is expected to be chief contributor on the Mooiplaas issue. — DDR.

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — A six-man delegation from the Ciskei led by Chief Minister L. L. Sebe will this morning have talks in Pretoria with the Minister of Plural Relations and Development, Dr Mulder, and the Deputy Minister of Development, Dr F. Hartzenberg.

The two main points of discussion will be the Ciskei's budget for which the South African Government was heavily criticised by the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, and the Ciskei's consolidation, another issue which saw the government slammed from all sides at the CLA.

The R55 362 000 grant from the South African Government was called a pittance by members of the CLA, who said if it was not increased there would be more chaos in South Africa.

Participating in the debate, Chief Sebe said: "We need more money to provide for a better future to meet the aspirations of the youth of the Ciskei, otherwise what happened in the past year or so will look like a Sunday school picnic compared to what can happen if we fail to make this provision."

then only 8 people with fields have joined whereas 76 people have joined.

2.3 The extension officer of Abalimi says that it is people without fields who work the hardest. In Abalimi people have from 1-11 plots depending on how many they can cultivate. There are 4 people who have more than 5 plots, of these 3 have no fields. Of the 10 top people in the garden (in terms of production) 8 have no fields.

2.4 In Umhlaba and Ipoti too, a high proportion of the people who have the best plots have no fields although in both these places it is difficult to make generalisations because they are so new.

3. Initially I tried to assess on a comparative scale between gardens in different areas whether there are variations in response according to the conditions in the area. That is, whether more use is made of gardens in areas where the resources made available through them (nearby water, land, fencing, fertile soil) are scarce.

For example in the two very fertile areas of Umthi and Abalimi one garden has failed and the other succeeded. Superficially there might seem to be a correlation between the fact of land shortages at Abalimi (15) and the success of the garden there and the fact that since most people at Umthi have fields (16) they do not need to participate in the communal gardens. However closer examination shows that many people with fields are using the communal garden at Abalimi and the poorest people in Umthi are not using the garden there.

This points to the fact that one would need very detailed information over large numbers of gardens before one could begin to draw conclusions about general patterns in response being associable with different conditions. Furthermore there are so many variables influencing how a garden develops that it would be very difficult to attribute failure or success to any one of these. The method of initiation for example is very important, since when advertisement of the project does not reach the poorer people the development of patterns of response will be skewed. Thus the fact that the extension officer at Abalimi supports the garden, whereas the extension officer at Umthi (who took over just after the original 90 members had joined) was not initially interested, probably goes a long way towards explaining why the one garden has succeeded and the other has not.

#### 4.4 CONCLUSION

Let me note here that in Umhlaba at least, it appears that of all the communal gardens begun, more have failed completely than exist at the moment. It seems that unless advertising is directed specifically at the very poor, richer people get involved first. One can attribute this to the fact that generally all professional and business people are involved in any

UAL has now placed the R8m Richards Bay Coal Terminal (Pty) 10,75-year debenture (with semi-gilt status), at an all-in 10,5% (*Finance* September 22).

## CAPITAL MARKET 1

### Ciskei's money

Chief Lennox Sebe may not be strictly accurate in describing Ciskei's new Swiss franc loan as "the only occasion any homeland government has succeeded in negotiating any such overseas loan," as Transkei raised R10m on the Eurodollar market in 1976, but it is still a useful feather in his bantustan cap.

The loan is for a minimum commitment of SwFr 7m, and may be raised to SwFr 9m. It carries an SA government



Ciskei's Sebe . . . yodelling happily

guarantee. Rate and term are confidential, though the market reckons it is 6½% for five years. The loan was handled by Hill Samuel SA on behalf of Bank von Ernst, Switzerland, which organised the consortium of Swiss banks which put up the cash.

Hill Samuel also handled the 1976 Transkei loan. The latest loan is project-related, and will finance the establishment of a maize processing mill at Alice by the Ciskei Marketing Board, as part of Ciskei's policy of reducing its dependence on King William's Town.

Because of its better relations with Pretoria, capital market circles regard Ciskei as a better risk than Transkei, although few would favour lending to any of the homelands without an SA government guarantee.

Both because of its proximity to the PWV area and its mineral resources, BophuthaTswana is regarded as the homeland closest to economic viability.

So far, BophuthaTswana has given no indication of any plans to tap international capital markets; but where Kaizer and Lennox go, can Lucas be far behind?

## CAPITAL MARKET 2

### At home, as well

Not content with raising money abroad, Ciskei has also made its first foray on the local capital market, with a 20-year issue on a 10,5% coupon and an all-in rate of 10,55%. The issue, handled by Senbank, is fully guaranteed by the SA government and is for only R3,1m — a relatively modest debut.

The capital will be used to expand the Keiskammahoek irrigation scheme. Capital market sources regard the loan as highly attractive for investors prepared to hold to redemption. The stock is not likely to be actively traded, but the guarantee makes it in practice equivalent to an RSA stock at a 0,5% higher rate (RSA 10% 1996 is currently traded in the market at 10,03/05%).

The Escom R75m issue (UAL/Senbank) attracted only R103m, against the twice-over subscription that had been predicted. But considering that the lists were only open for the two days of the Jewish New Year, the response is not too disappointing, even though as the last major semi-gilt issue of the year it might have expected a high response from institutions closing their requirements for 1978.

FM 6/10/78  
**Escom, Ciskei issues** (105)  
Escom's R75m loan issue received applications totalling R103m. Also on the capital market, Ciskei has successfully raised SwFr7m from a consortium of Swiss banks, and is now making a R3,1m offer (with an SA government guarantee) on the local market.

DD 7/10/78 (105)  
**Biko funeral venue changed**

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
 — The venue for the funeral of Mr O. B. Biko, a Zwelitsha senior magistrate who died in hospital in Mdantsane last week, has been changed.

Because of the large crowd expected at the funeral this morning, the service will take place in the Zwelitsha Communal Hall instead of the Order

of Ethiopian Church at Zwelitsha.

Staff members of the Ciskei Department of Justice will be among the main speakers and pallbearers.

The first service will be held at his home this morning at 10 o'clock and the main service in the Zwelitsha hall at 11 o'clock. — DDC

18.

**3.32 VIABILITY OF CO-OPERATIVES**

1. For people earning under R5,00 and R10,00 a month one must consider the inputs they have to pay to cover the costs of the co-operatives services. In some cases - particularly Amathole the profits do not cover the payments. This leads to the poorest members leaving or to the services being scrapped; often both happen.

In early 1977 the members at Inkomo and a woman to wash the dairy.

There were 12 participants at the the salary. They also had to pay R4,00 a year subscription. Thus more than 5 1/2 years of all his milk his share in the dairy building ( to start realising his monthly pa

At Amathole 10% of the cheque fro month to cover transport costs an the equipment. These two over the 10% figure taken over a year woman's salary has not been paid

At Amathole too, members decided Inkomo they dropped the system b both places they reverted to indi of labour time this involves. F milk the labour time is not just a common reason cited for leaving

2. At both Inkomo and Amathole there is a pattern of people just stopping using the dairy although they still consider themselves members. As members leave the low and uneven production becomes even worse and so marketing problems increase. It is interesting to note that at Amathole many people have started to sell their milk locally after seeing dairy members do this, but only 2 people have joined the dairy since 1952. It seems from the above evidence that the others are making a logical decision in not joining.

17.

Note: 1. The distinction between no. 5-10 and 5-10 is that, whilst most do have some income, those in 1-4 are substantially better off than 5-10.  
 2. A. Bukula & N.M.'s brother are the 2 people who transport with N.M. N.M.'s brother's income has gone down since July 1977. He says that N.M. takes the milk and then gives him money. There is no paper accounting.  
 3. O. Mabusela (no.10) had to sell his stock because of poverty.  
 4. IDA M- & F. Wimbli say that they tried to sell locally but there is no market and that is why they get no money.  
 5. Most people do not give income figures for winter because they get nothing or very little.  
 6. Note that even when N.M. did take the milk & out 10 people got R10 or less per month

Name	Sources of Income	No. of Cattle	No. in milk	Current income from milk	Income when sold to hospital	Change to where milk present	Where camp now
D. Gumundu (1)	Cafe owner	7	1 or 2	R15,50	R18,50	R3 less	DAIRY
A. Maghala (2)	Husband sends R40 per month	19	2	R4	R20	R17 less in summer	Home
N.M.'s brother (3)	Husband a teacher locally. Field. Lot of stock	11	4	R4-10	R20	R14 less	DAIRY
G. Homendini (4)	Headman. Children migrants. They send R72 per month. Farms field and stock	24	4	R36	R40	R4 less	DAIRY
A. Bukula (5)	One field. Dairy only income	5	2	R60	R30	same	DAIRY
J. Guda (6)	One field and stock. Migrant son sends R17. 11 people in family	11	3	R30	R30	same	DAIRY
J. Sizamba (7)	Small field lives by odd jobs. Very poor woman	5	2	R8	R6	R2 more	Home
IDA, M- (8)	Pensioner R12,33 per month	5	1	-	R10	All income gone	Home
F. Wimbli (9)	1 field but no other income	14	6	-	R6	No income now	DAIRY
O. Mabusela (10)	R12,33 pension but 7 people in family - 1 field	-	-	-	R5	No income now	-

INKOMO



# Ciskei bus companies

## renamed

BUSINESS



Ciskei transport officials at a dinner in East London with the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe. From the left are: Mr D. Odendaal, manager of Bhisho Transport, Zwelitsha; Chief Sebe; Mr D. J. Viljoen, managing director of CTC Bus Company; and Mr Hans Kaiser, group manager of CTC Bus Company.

**EAST LONDON**—A new umbrella company, the CTC Bus Company, is to control urban passenger transport in the Ciskei.

The new company will control the Ciskei Transport Corporation, operating in the East London area, and the Umanyano Public Transport Corporation of Zwelitsha which previously operated as separate autonomous companies.

The Ciskei Transport Corporation has been renamed Gomo Transport after the Xhosa name for the Mdantsane-East London area, and Umanyano Public Tran-

sport Corporation has been renamed Bhisho Transport after the Xhosa name for the Zwelitsha-King William's Town area.

Mr D. J. Viljoen has been appointed managing director of the parent company, CTC Bus Company, and Mr Hans Kaiser, formerly manager of the Ciskei Transport Corporation, becomes group manager of the holding company.

Mr D. Odendaal has been appointed manager of Bhisho Transport. A manager of Gomo Transport has still to be appointed.

The re-organisation was announced at a dinner in East London at which the main guest was the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe.

Addressing the dinner, Mr Sebe said economics were the overriding factor in Ciskei's development — "not shouting, not slogans."

In providing employment for 800 Ciskeians, CTC was performing "a great service."

While 800 might seem a meagre figure, it did help to offset unemployment, particularly in the Border area where he described

unemployment as "frightening."

"And it is a frightening situation," he said, "because where there is unemployment, crime increases."

"A person who has had no meal for 12 hours will steal. A person who has had no meal for 24 hours will commit murder."

"Thus it is only a matter of hours between peace and anarchy," Chief Sebe said.

He added: "If my people do not eat the whites will not sleep peacefully in their cities, but as partners we can go out together and find solutions."

"Don't pretend nothing is happening around us. The 'haves' must help the 'have nots'. If they don't we are headed for an explosive situation."

"We cannot walk the road alone. We need your assistance," he said.

Chief Sebe said a system had to be devised on how to divide the cake or communism would step in and take all the pieces of the cake — "and that is something we are trying to avoid."

He said it was arrogance to think there were no problems when a volcano was rumbling in the background.

The South African Government was spending millions of rands to defend its borders and while it was acceptable that defence should be priority number one, the development of the homelands should be priority number two.

icians in the fields of Electrical Engineering, electronics, and Industrial Instrumentation and the electronics industry is enjoying a renaissance, and African technicians face few barriers to entry in this equipment industry.

Industry may have been understated considering the present situation have been unduly influenced by the present situation particularly hard.

East London was making enemies by not providing facilities. CTC carried 50 000 blacks daily who had no facilities as, for instance, when it came to the chemical field management. The question was not "Can we afford it, but rather can we not afford to provide facilities."

South African industries, chemical industries, and various of which R5 - but "Can we afford it, but rather can we not afford to provide facilities."

Business Editor

DD. 19/10/78

# Kakaza, Mtoba <sup>(105)</sup> <sub>(123)</sub> <sub>(329)</sub> flee to Transkei



DR KAKAZA



MR MTOBA

EAST LONDON — Two more Ciskei opposition alliance leaders have fled to Transkei.

They are Dr H. S. Kakaza and Mr L. S. Mtoba, both executive members of Chief J. T. Mabandla's Ciskei National Party.

Both were detained in July and in hospital when their detention orders expired this week.

Dr Kakaza, general secretary of the CNP, said in Umtata yesterday he escaped from Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in Mdantsane and swam the Kei River into Transkei after his car overturned.

On Monday at 10.30 am a member of the Special Branch, Mr Charles Sebe, brother of the Chief Minister served me with a new 90-day detention order.

"I was bored stiff and felt I couldn't waste more time sitting in detention without being interrogated. At 8.40 pm on Monday I decided to leave for freedom" Dr Kakaza

said.

"I walked out of the hospital got into my car and drove in the direction of Transkei," he said.

While he was driving along the Kei Cuttings approaching the South African Border post the car went out of control and overturned. He escaped unhurt and continued his journey on foot.

Dr Kakaza was refused a passport when he made an application in August last year and had no travelling documents.

"I had to swim across the Kei River into Transkei. Because of heavy rains during the weekend the river was swollen."

After crossing he walked to the Transkei border post where a lift was arranged for him.

He hoped to be welcome in Transkei and start a practice if he was allowed to do so. His family are still in Mdantsane.

The Minister of Justice Mr D. S. Koyana, said he was not aware of Dr

Kakaza's presence in Transkei. However, he would be allowed to stay.

Mr Mtoba has sought asylum with his brother, a businessman in the Butterworth district.

A third member of the opposition alliance, Mr D. D. Nazo, who was detained on the same day as Dr Kakaza and Mr Mtoba, has also been released, but no information was available yesterday on his whereabouts.

Another leading alliance figure who is in exile in Transkei is Mr L. F. Siyo, leader of the Labour Party of South Africa. He is in Butterworth.

Other Ciskeians believed to be in exile in Transkei include Mr V. Qupe, former Deputy Speaker of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, Mr M. Sam, former Deputy Whip of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party and Mr L. N. Mankayi, former branch chairman of the CNP at Zwelitsha. — DDR-SAPA

50 20/10/78

# Sebe meets Minister over new settlement <sup>(105)</sup>

## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

— There will be some straight talking when the Ciskei Cabinet, the Chairman of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, Dr J Hermanus, and the Chief Whip of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party, Rev W M Xaba, meet the Deputy Minister of Plural Relations and Development, Mr W L Vosloo, here today.

The bone of contention will be the preparation of a commonage in the Whittlesea area for the alleged resettlement of squatters from Crossroads in the Western Cape.

Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, made it clear yesterday his government was opposed to

the settlement of these people on this piece of land which though still belonging to South Africa has been earmarked for the Ciskei in terms of consolidation plans.

"For a long time we have been asking the South African Government to release this commonage to the Ciskei and all sorts of excuses have been used to delay this and now we get this move," Chief Sebe said.

He first learnt of the move when a journalist from a Johannesburg newspaper telephoned him inquiring about the clearing that was being done in the area.

"I sent a telex message to Dr Mulder (Minister of Plural Relations) im-

mediately and he said he was going to check with Dr Vosloo.

"When I spoke to Dr Vosloo I made it clear we could not accept the move.

"We are still burdened with the problems of Thornhill and we need more land for resettling people from this overpopulated area," Chief Sebe said.

He had initially intended to have his Cabinet only meeting Dr Vosloo but had since decided to co-opt the two other men to the delegation.

"We have already made our terms clear on this matter. We want the land but not for people from outside the Ciskei," Chief Sebe said. — DDR

# Exams for detainees

21/10/78 (105) DJ

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Students who were in detention in the Ciskei in terms of the homeland's emergency laws would be given an opportunity to write their final examinations, the Ciskei Secretary for Education, Mr K. B. Tabata, said here yesterday.

He said the Education Department had decided to create a special ex-

amination centre for the Form 2 and Form 3 pupils who had been told to leave the Phandulwazi Agricultural High School near Alice.

He did not say how many students were affected, but added that the arrangements had also extended to those students who were still detained under Proclamation R252. He did not say

how many students were detained under R252.

Mr Tabata invited all Form 2 students who had been unable to gain admission to other schools to contact Mr A. F. Bengu, the Ciskei's chief inspector.

The students from Phandulwazi were sent home after unrest at the school a few months ago.  
— DDR.

at work and how exists between African workers

How do these

ican workers in  
enty years have

passed since a survey by Sheila van der Horst was last conducted dealing with employment conditions of the African labour force in the Cape Peninsula.<sup>1</sup> The findings presented in this paper are from a recent survey that is similar to the previous study, but places greater emphasis on industrial relations and also consider the rural situation of urban workers.

Two hundred and eleven African men were interviewed during the period from November 1975 to February 1976. Because of the suspicions that could have arisen and the limitations that would have been imposed by interviewing workers at their place of work under management's eye, two African men were employed to conduct the interviews in the townships of Langa and Guguletu as well as in the squatter settlements of Crossroads and KTC ("Dutch Location").

An interview schedule, based on a pilot survey completed a few months earlier, was prepared and a stratified sample chosen. The stratification was based on each type of living quarters;<sup>2</sup> and within each type a certain number of houses, rooms or beds, whichever applicable, was systematically selected.<sup>3</sup> Most interviews were conducted in Xhosa and lasted about two hours. There were few refusals and a wide variety of reasons was given for refusing. A systematic method of replacing refusals was also

1. Sheila T. Van der Horst (1964); the field work was carried out over the years 1955 to 1957.

2. The living quarters were divided into the following types:

Guguletu : Residential area (permanent residents only); Barracks (BAD); Employers' Barracks; Section 3 near Klipfontein Road (residential area for migrant labourers only); KTC ("Dutch Location", squatters).

Langa : Residential area (permanent residents only); Old Flats; New Flats; Main Barracks; North Barracks; Zones; Special Bachelor Quarters.

3. Even though systematic sampling was employed this did not introduce a bias into the sampling because the population was not systematically distributed. See C.A. Moser and G. Kalton, Survey Methods in Social Investigation (Heinemann, 1971), p.83.

# Sebe gets pledges

21/10/78  
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- 11. Hypertension has socio-economic s
- 12. In the other res to be infections for bronchitis a
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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
The development of Whittlesea had nothing to do with the resettlement of Crossroads squatters. Neither has Glenmore got anything to do with resettlement of people at Fingo Village and Committees Drift near Grahamstown.

These were two assurances Ciskei Chief Minister L. L. Sebe got from the Deputy Minister of Plural Relations, Dr W. Vosloo, who headed a three-man delegation from Pretoria who held lengthy discussions with the Ciskei Cabinet yesterday.

The talks were on matters relating to resettlement of people at both Whittlesea and Glenmore near Peddie. Homeless people would be settled at Glenmore. Other resettlement there would be voluntary.

Chief Sebe said later in an interview the discussions were among the most cordial he had been involved in in his political career "and if this represents a new phase in the political history of South Africa, then it augurs well for the country's future."

The question of water for the Glenmore settlement was also discussed and Dr Vosloo assured the Ciskei Government the matter was being considered by his Government. The Department of Water Affairs was doing research on the matter. — DDR.

Other heart diseases are as a socio-economic groups but not in low 'ambiguous'; it may be a result of low category, about 70% can be said exact. A conservative estimate can be 50% of the whole category. low socio-economic status, e. the stomach can be due to stress status, whereas this is probably is more prone to getting this disease has been listed under seems that assault is higher

# Police detain pupil and maid

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EAST LONDON — A Mzombhe High School pupil, who was to have written the end of the year examinations, has been detained by the Ciskei security police under the homeland's emergency regulations. Proclamation R252 of 1977.

The 17-year-old youth was arrested at the home of Dr J. H. S. Kakaza, of Mdantsane who fled to Transkei last week. Also detained was Dr Kakaza's maid Mrs Khunzwa Jikwana.

The youth and the maid were taken away by Mr Charles Sebe, a member of the Special Branch.

The pupil was to have written his Fern Four examinations this week.

Before Miss Jikwana was taken away the security police allegedly threatened to deport her to her home at Nqamakwe,

Transkei  
 Miss Jikwana and the youth are believed to be held at Zwelitsha police cells.

Also believed to have been arrested by the security police is one of the policemen who had guarded Dr Kakazawhile he was receiving treatment at the Cecilia Makwane Hospital, Mdantsane recently.

When asked to comment about the youth who was detained at Dr Kakaza's home and the maid, Mr J. du Randt, the Secretary for Justice in the Ciskei said he would rather not comment at this stage. He said it was not impossible that the youth and the maid had been detained because warrants for detentions were signed by the Minister of Justice, Chief Zolile Njokweni.

Chief Njokweni was not available for comment last night. — DDR

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put on the common area and interfering with the enjoyment and use of the common area of LL must be removed.

We quite realize that some people have gone to a lot of trouble and expense to plant on their own or the common area. Thus where enclosures have been made by planting, we hope that they can be opened up by the least possible disturbance and the judicious moving of certain, rather than all, plants. Mr. Roberts, the architect for the estate, and member of the board, will be glad to discuss and advise on the possible methods of doing this, and we would suggest that people who have enclosures made by plants should contact him before moving or removing plants themselves.

The Directors have most reluctantly decided that if these enclosures, barriers or constructions have not been removed by the end of 1978, they must take the necessary steps, possibly through legal action, to have them opened up or removed to open up enclosures and pollinate.

Chief L L Sebe, said permits for carrying goods and passengers in the Ciskei had been issued by the South African board in the past and were still valid until June 1979.

He warned against overlapping and said the Ciskei Cabinet had arranged for a special meeting with officials of the Department of Transport next month in order to thrash out many problems.

He emphasised the need to control the issuing of permits because without control if many people were given taxi licences they could end up cutting prices to such an extent that they would price themselves out of business. — DDR.

# Ciskei transport board formed

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Four Ciskeians — two nominated by the government and two civil servants — will form the Ciskei Road Transportation Board which had its first sitting in Zwelitsha yesterday.

Nominated by the government are Mr G T Mxego, of Mdantsane and Mr F B Msutwana, of Peddie.

The chairman of the board is Mr T G Nghona, a senior official in the Ciskei Department of Works. The secretary is Mr C. M. Siwisa. Mr A. V. Vermeulen, a seconded official, will act as adviser at the board meetings.

Speaking at the first meeting of the board, Ciskei Chief Minister,

All consider applications for private cars, of any private car.

move the common area enclosed. Of course we to be maintained have instructions, from the board of the plants for the enjoyment

round the estate and that it is a health problem, and in the have ask for consideration of their dogs. The members of regulation of animals. Thus the permission of the on a future policy to

Picture of the situation. For this we need details of the pets kept in each household, and we should be grateful if you will complete the attached form and return it to Mrs. Fox, House No. 44 (Hamlet 4), as soon as possible.

6. The Directors have received complaints that quite a few people have washing lines up on their balconies in the full view of passersby. All the houses have yards especially to avoid this unattractive feature. Moreover, it is quite possible to put up lines at a very low level on 1st floor balconies so that washing hanging on them cannot be seen from the ground or from other houses. Please would people refrain from putting washing in a place or at a level where it can be seen by others.

## 7. EXTERIOR LIGHTS

For a glorious few weeks after the repair work on the lights had been completed

3 / .....

the estate was beautifully illuminated. However, since then we have been disappointed that the situation has gradually deteriorated in some areas. The contractor gave us an excellent guarantee of his work for one year including replacement of the globes which failed during that time, but unfortunately we are having no success in getting him to honour his obligation. Sadly this means that parts of the estate are again very poorly lit. The globes are extremely expensive, and our budget does not allow us to replace the globes (which should last up to 2 years) every few weeks. We are doing our best against the contractor, but it is proving very difficult. We are also looking into the possibilities of getting a maintenance contract for the lights from another contractor.

## 8. PAINTING THE OUTSIDE OF THE HOUSES

This seems to be progressing very satisfactorily, weather permitting, with an average of 3 - 4 houses per month as an onward going project. If residents are dissatisfied with the work in any way when their houses are painted, please could they report this to Mr. D.S. Roberts (Tel. Office: 432056), as Mr. Roberts has kindly organized the work. The painting of the red chimneys is not included in the current contract, but this will begin as soon as the correct paint can be obtained. In the meantime it has unfortunately not proved practical to remove splashes of white paint from the chimneys and residents are asked to bear with this situation.

## 9. FIRE EMERGENCY SERVICE

Should the need arise, our nearest Fire Stations (who will come when called) are:-

Ottery Fire Station, Welton Road (near Traffic Depot) - Tel. 731892  
Hout Bay Fire Station - Tel. 706130/707156

## 10. FOREST GLADE BOOK CLUB

Are you interested in reading? Do you enjoy a cup of tea (or coffee) and an informal chat? If so, kindly contact any one of the persons listed below for further information:-

Jenny Herbert - Hse. No. 90 (Hamlet 1) Tel. 726498  
Key Bennett - Hse No. 88 (Hamlet 1) Tel. 720027  
Hazel Fox - Hse No. 44 (Hamlet 4) Tel. 721718

## 11. AMENITIES NEARBY

Sports Club - (Membership necessary) - Constantia Sports Complex (near Alphen) - Tennis, Bowls etc.  
Walking Permits - Tokai Forest (above Manor) - available from Mr. Bird, Forestry Dept., Tokai Road, or P.O. Box 88, Retreat. Tel. 721331  
Library - (small, free, locally situated) - Lismore Avenue Library - off Tokai Road (large but membership fee necessary) - Yendorridge - Tel. 728900

## 12. IDEAS

Anyone who has any ideas about the improvement of the estate (must be cheap!), the solution of the problems we have discussed in this new letter, or the promotion of good neighbourliness is asked, may be interested, to contact the Directors with his scheme.

If you have managed to get through all this, you have definitely got staying power. Many thanks for your attention.

*Tommy Stevenson*  
CHAIRMAN

Put on the common area and interfering with the enjoyment and use of the common area of all must be removed.

He quite realise that some people have gone to a lot of trouble and expense to plant on their own on the common area. Thus where enclosures have been made by planting, we hope that they can be opened up by the least possible disturbance and the judicious moving of certain, rather than all, plants. Mr. Roberts, the Architect for the estate, and member of the Board, will be glad to discuss and advise on the possible methods of doing this, and we would suggest that people who have enclosures made or plants should contact

# Plural Relations will decide future says Sebe

105 28/10/78 AD

"Properties have gone down (in valuation), natural vegetation has been almost reduced to what we see in the desert because the stock grazing qualities of the farms have been over-exploited."

He said the likely excuse when the land was unproductive after being given over to the Ciskei was that blacks could not work on the land. Calling the South African Baptist Trust a 'mysterious body' he asked why it existed.

"It knows nothing about the homelands. They have never been in the concept, and they lease these farms for an income that would be helping to increase the budget of the Ciskei and in turn we would be able to solve the unemployment problem which is frightening," he said.

He felt some of the projects handled by the trust should be given to the Ciskei Department of Agriculture and the whites who ran them could act as advisers and then move back when Ciskeians were fully trained to take over responsibility.

Turning back to unemployment he said he had 209 people waiting outside the government offices, looking for work yesterday and the number was growing everyday.

"These people have been squeezed out of Berlin — a continuation of the wicked exercise that was done in demolishing squatter homes in East London without providing an alternative."

He said bulldozers would never solve problems.

"If things continue as they are doing we shall get to a situation whereby your children and my children will be discussing how to share the cake and there will be a barrel of a gun and they will be rushing at each other's throats. They will not get the cake because it will fall down," he told several white officials who attended the meeting.

He said the temple on which the future of the Ciskei was built would get its bricks from the Ciskei and not from Pretoria.

"I don't care for a man who quotes Pretoria. That is rubbish."

"When a man refers us to what regulations say — the very regulations that divide us — then I kick the man and the regulations," Chief Sebe said.

He commended the Minister of Plural Relations and Development, Dr C. Mulder and said given the money he would do a good job in the department. — DDR

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If you have managed to get through all this, you have definitely got staying-power. Many thanks for your attention.

Chairman



SEPTEMBER, 1978.

Dear Forest Glader,

Half a year has passed since our last A.G.M., and you may like to know what has been, and is, happening in the Association.

1. COMPOSITION OF THE BOARD

We have sadly had to accept the resignations of R.A. Provan, H.S. Rumbelow and C.C. Bunn from the Board. Mrs. Mary Greenhalgh, who was co-opted to the Board immediately after the A.G.M., was elected as Chairman, J.O. Read as Vice-Chairman, and Mr. E.E. Monk was co-opted as a Director. The Board of Directors now comprises the following:-

- Mrs. Mary Greenhalgh (Chairman) - Hse No. 81 (Hamlet 2) Tel. 723719
- J.O. Read (Vice-Chairman) - Hse No. 58 (Hamlet 3) Tel. 724726
- A. Fox - Hse. No. 44 (Hamlet 4) Tel. 721718
- D.S. Roberts - Hse. No. 1 (non resident) Tel. (Office) 432086
- G.L.R. Burne - Hse. No. 20 (Hamlet 4) Tel. 729994
- E.E. Monk - Hse. No. 39 (Hamlet 4) Tel. 723946

They will be glad to help you if they can, so please feel free to contact them if you have problems about your house or the estate or matters you would like discussed at a Board Meeting.

2. FINANCES

Since the increases in the monthly levy, we have managed to meet our commitments and to use the funds coming from the extra levy of R5.00 per month per house raised for that purpose, for the gradual painting of the exterior walls of the houses. Thus so far this year the finances of the Association have been satisfactory, though constant control of expenditure has still to be exercised to maintain this. If anyone wishes to have further details about this, the books, budgets etc., are available at the Secretary's house - No. 44.

3. PROBLEMS WITH ENCLOSURES

The Directors have had their attention drawn to the fact that some members have been enclosing their own property and in a few cases, enclosing parts of the common area with private erfs, so appearing to stake a claim of ownership to it. If allowed to continue this enclosing will gradually undermine the whole open-plan concept of Forest Glade, and it also can cause illfeeling between neighbours.

These enclosures have been made in various ways - by walls, fences or hedges, or by less obvious, but just as effective barriers made from careful landscaping or grouping of plants. The Directors have been put into a very difficult and worrying position over this, and have felt obliged to conclude that it is in the interests of all members to retain the open-plan scheme for Forest Glade. It is not possible to consider the individual merits of the various cases without appearing invidious, and therefore, it seems in the best interests of the members generally, to insist that the regulations should be complied with.

Members are reminded that no walls, fences or other external erections are allowed on their property without the prior consent of the Board of Directors and the Divisional Council. The common area must be kept open for the use and enjoyment of all members. No full enclosures of any sort can be permitted, and all which have been made must be completely opened up. Barriers or constructions

put on the common area and interfering with the enjoyment and use of the common area by all must be removed.

We quite realise that some people have gone to a lot of trouble and expense to plant on their own or the common area. Thus where enclosures have been made by planting, we hope that they can be opened up by the least possible disturbance and the judicious moving of certain, rather than all, plants. Mr. Roberts, the Architect for the estate, and member of the board, will be glad to discuss and advise on the possible methods of doing this, and we would suggest that people who have enclosures made by plants should contact him before moving or removing plants themselves.

The Directors have most reluctantly decided that if these enclosures, barriers or obstructions have not been removed by the end of 1978, they must take the necessary steps, possibly through legal action, to have them opened up or removed. While some people have already received requests to open up enclosures and remove barriers, we wish to make it clear that the regulations and policies apply equally to all.

As a general rule, the Directors have decided that they will consider applications for the enclosure and western boundaries of units.

# Garages urged to train blacks

EAST LONDON — The Ciskei Minister of Education, Chief D. M. Jongilanga, yesterday appealed to members of the Motor Industries Federation to open their garage doors to black apprentices.

The Minister was speaking to 42 members of MIF after they inspected the Mveliso Industrial School, Mdantsane.

The school has been built at an estimated cost of R10 000 donated by the Federation. The MIF also donated a further R3 000 for tools and other equipment used at the school. The school was started in September 1973.

Among the 42 members who inspected the school were the chairman of MIF for the Border Division, Mr E.G. Grenfell, the secretary for the federation for the Eastern Cape and Border, Mr R.P.W. Hayward, and the Mdantsane Chief Magistrate, Mr D.G. Bouchier.

Chief Jongilanga said it had taken some time for blacks to have the type of education which was provided at the school. Before there had been no commercial and industrial schools for blacks.

For many years skilled work was a closed channel, but things changed with time, he said.

The government, he said, expected efficiency and productivity and not cheap labour provided by people who had been trained at the school.

Chief Jongilanga said having a close liaison with the motor industry would result in an exchange of ideas. "People trained in this school should be provided with work opportunities. It would be useless to train them for them to have nothing to do when they have completed," he said.

Mr Grenfell said the idea of training people at the school established by MIF was to have all ethnic groups and to have harmony and mutual co-operation.

Mr Grenfell said he hoped that there would be co-operation between the Ciskei Government and MIF.

Thanking Chief Jongilanga, Mr Hayward said industry was for the good of South Africa. — DDR.

up on their balconies in the full view of passersby. — the houses have yards especially to avoid this unattractive feature. Moreover, it is quite possible to put up lines at a very low level on 1st floor balconies so that washing hanging on them cannot be seen from the ground or from other houses. Please would people refrain from putting washing in a place or at a level where it can be seen by others.

7. EXTERIOR LIGHTS

For a glorious few weeks after the repair work on the lights had been completed

# Meat hawkers to go?

By the Reporter

MDANTSANE — Meat hawkers, already part of the daily life of Mdantsane, may disappear soon if a decision by the Mdantsane Township Council

not to give any stalls to them is carried through. This would mean some action would be taken against meat hawkers who continued to run their businesses on the main bus terminal after the stalls have been occupied. The decision by the council was taken in terms of the Meat and Livestock control regulations which stipulate that special permits have to be obtained for selling meat.

At least 40 beasts and 20 sheep are slaughtered on neighbouring farms to be sold in Mdantsane every week. This is apart from the meat sold in the five butcheries in the township.

Considered for stalls are those who sell vegetables and fruit and some allocations have been made to those who applied for stalls earlier.

But they do not seem keen to take over the stalls because of high rentals.

Although no official statement has been issued on how much the holders of stalls will have to pay, it is believed rentals would be between R25 and R30 a month.

"We will only take up the stalls if the rentals do not exceed R5 a month," said one vegetable vendor.

Mrs. G. Potwana, one of the meat vendors, said she saw no reason why they should not be given priority to rent some of the stalls.

She argued that since vegetable vendors were not keen to take up the stalls they should be leased out to people who wanted to use them.

Mr. Sonwabo Gyana, 21, said he was aware his meat trade was not legal.

### EXAMINED

"The meat we sell is not medically examined but people buy it because it is clean and fresh," he said.

He had heard they were going to be arrested by police for selling the meat.

"Even if this happens we shall continue selling meat even if it is from our homes. After all some of us have been in this trade for more than ten years," he said.

Some residents, however, feel the meat vendors are an eyesore at the terminal although they get much support from the public.

They have been raided by police in the past and some of the meat confiscated by the raids were stopped when the vendors appeared to the Ciskei Government.

Police in Mdantsane refused to comment and referred inquiries to Ciskei police headquarters in Babelo. Mr. M. Saunders, was not



Hot weather and the average hawker provides some cover for her products so that the sun does not do more than reasonable damage in the absence of refrigeration equipment.

## Stalls contract shelved

By the Reporter

MDANTSANE — A suggestion by the manager, Mr. I. Balk, that the Mdantsane Special Organisation builds vegetable stalls at the main bus terminal here at a cost of R3 500, was shelved by the Mdantsane Council pending a decision of the Ciskei Department of Interior.

Mr. Balk proposed in a letter the stalls be built and be repayable through rentals at approximately R25 a month.

Councillor M. Fikelepi suggested the contract to build the stalls should be given to the Ciskei Builders Association because they were a black organisation and if the money to repay this contract was to come from the council's coffers, it was only wise to support other blacks.

The chairman of the council, Councillor G. Mpepo, said before they could offer the contract to the Ciskei Builders Association, it would be wise to refer the proposition to the Ciskei Government.

ed that the stalls were too small for their produce. They had, however, got a list of other vegetable vendors who were prepared to occupy the stalls as they had less bulk.

The council asked Councillor J. K. Mangala to approach the vendors and get a list so as to lease the stalls as soon as possible.

Councillor B. Mashiyane said he supported Mr. Fikelepi's suggestion, as the council could not allow black money to go to white pockets. He suggested that the Ciskei Department of Interior be informed about these intentions and that the suggested sum of R25 for the rental was high. It should be reduced, he said.

Discussing the existing stalls, Mr. Mpepo said the vegetable vendors who bought in bulk complained



At a butcher shop he would probably be a blockman but Mr. Gyana uses a special gun for

Kilos and kilos of meat exposed to air types of weather but displayed to attract customers at Mdantsane's Highway bus terminal. At least 40 beasts are slaughtered every week to supply residents.

# Hartzenberg: I can't buy farms

QUEENSTOWN — Dissatisfied Whittlesea North farmers were left with most of their questions about consolidation unanswered after a meeting yesterday with Dr F. Hartzenberg, Deputy Minister for Development.

The meeting was arranged by the Eastern Agricultural Union at the request of the farmers who were dissatisfied with a reply to their plight given by the MP for Cradock, Dr G. de V. Morrison.

The main issues discussed were the questions of when their farms would be consolidated into the Ciskei and the question of resettling families in the new township at Whittlesea.

Dr Hartzenberg told the meeting that he was unable to give any indication when the farmers in the Whittlesea North district would be consolidated.

"I have no money available and will not have any money available next year to buy out all the farms," he said.

He said he was unable to fulfil his promise in 1976 that the area would be bought simultaneously and that no development would take place before all the farms were bought because there had been a change in the situation and financial difficulties had arisen.

"All over the country people are starting to move back to their countries of origin and we have to accommodate them. That is why the Government had to provide the new township at Whittlesea to accommodate Ciskeians who wanted to move back or near to the Ciskei."

Only three farms in the area will be bought out as soon as they have been valued. These farms are: Deeside, belonging to Mr Flip Nel, Poplar Grove, belonging to Mr Jack Payne; and part of the farm Tylden Park, belonging to Mr Fanie Prinsloo.

Dr Hartzenberg assured the meeting that no Crossroad squatters or unemployed people would be settled in the new township, but that it would mainly be people from the Queenstown area with jobs.

"The new township will be formed on an orderly basis and will be an extension of Whittlesea's Sada Township".

He said although provision had been made for 500 families, the township would not be occupied immediately by this number of families as the development would take place gradually.

According to Dr Hartzenberg, his department is also investigating

a new method of buying property earmarked for consolidation which will make it possible for the Government to buy property within a period of seven years.

But at this stage this method is still being investigated.

Farmers were reluctant to talk to the press after the meeting but it was evident that they were not satisfied with the answers given by Dr Hartzenberg.

"We still have no answers to our questions, one farmer who did not want to be named told the reporters of the Daily Dispatch. — DDC.

DD 8/11/78  
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# Ciskei land talks today

## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

The Deputy Minister for Development, Dr F. Hartzenberg, will have a series of discussions on land matters during a tour of the Ciskei today.

The tour will culminate in a final discussion at the East London airport between the Deputy Minister and Chief Minister, L.L. Sebe, before Dr Hartzenberg flies out this evening.

Dr Hartzenberg will meet the group of Ciskeian officials, led by Chief Sebe, who will take him round on his tour at the Tyumie citrus estate early this morning for short discussions.

The party will then move to Peddie for the inspection of the Tyefu Irrigation Scheme, the

Ndlambe farm and other South African Development Trust farms in the Peddie area.

With the rest of his group remaining at Zwelitsha after the Peddie tour, Chief Sebe will proceed to the airport for private talks with Dr Hartzenberg.

It is generally believed the Ciskeian Government is trying to impress on Dr Hartzenberg the dire need for more land.

After entertaining the Deputy Minister to lunch here yesterday before he went to Whittlesea, Chief Sebe said the tour of the Ciskei by Dr Hartzenberg was designed to bring the Deputy Minister in closer contact with the question of Ciskei consolidation. — DDR.

# Most aid from English—Sebe

## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

Financial assistance to the Ciskei had in the past come mostly from English-speaking sources and particularly those sectors of the economy which were opposed to the homeland policy, the homeland's Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, said here yesterday.

He was announcing the projected approach by his government to the Department of Plural Relations and Development for the handover to the Ciskei of the homeland's share of the joint homeland pension fund.

In a statement, he said the matter related to his government's existing policy of taking over responsibility in the administration of its own affairs.

The request for the handover of the Ciskei's share of the joint pension fund was designed to enable the Ciskei to administer the pensions of its employees.

Several South African insurance companies had shown eagerness to assist with the setting up of the necessary administrative machinery in the Ciskei for the handling of the

takeover.

"An informal agreement with the firm Sanlam has been entered into in terms of which that firm will undertake certain actuarial and other services on behalf of the Ciskei. They will also provide the necessary training of staff in the initial stages," said Chief Sebe.

In the past, it was "mostly the English-speaking business, mining and industrial sectors which have assisted the Ciskei financially and in other ways in its development, and more particularly aid has come from those sectors of the economy which are opposed to the homelands policy."

The Afrikaner and Nationalist were, by and large, content to leave the matter of homeland development to the government, Chief Sebe said.

"The Afrikaners are the architects of the homelands policy and it is high time they as individuals faced their duty and put their money where their mouth is." — DDC.

# Deadlock ends Ciskei consolidation talks

**EAST LONDON —** Talks between the Ciskeian Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, and the Deputy Minister of Development, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, ended in deadlock here yesterday.

The two met with members of the Ciskeian cabinet and the Commissioner General of the Ciskei, Mr J. J. Engelbrecht, at the East London airport last night.

After talks lasting an hour, Dr Hartzenberg dashed out of the VIP lounge where the talks were held. Ignoring reporters, he stalked to the Johannesburg plane he kept waiting for 15 minutes.

Chief Sebe made a terse statement to reporters, saying he was not happy with the land consolidation issue and the talks had ended in deadlock.

In a telephone interview with the Daily Dispatch later, Chief Sebe described the procedure for land consolidation as clumsy and slow.

"It is like robbing Peter to pay Paul. When land is bought from whites it is leased back to them instead of being given to the Ciskei to let us plough the money into our coffers and create job opportunities for our people."

He said Pretoria officials bullied Dr Hartzenberg by giving him the wrong information.

"We find this insulting. We are not budging an in-

ch," said Chief Sebe.

Eastern Cape farmers, whom Dr Hartzenberg met during his visit this week, are also unhappy with the Deputy Minister's visit.

The president of the Eastern Agricultural Union, Mr J. Matthews, who chaired a meeting with farmers in Whittlesea, said the outcome was disappointing.

"Once again the Government has revealed it cannot meet its commitments and promises," Mr Matthews said.

He referred in particular to the assurance given in Whittlesea in

1976 that all farms in the Whittlesea North area would be bought out in a complete block and not piecemeal before resettlement of Ciskeians and the establishment of further townships began.

Mr Matthews said there was general dissatisfaction among farmers not only in the EAU area but throughout South Africa on the consolidation issue.

At the recent South African Agricultural Union Congress farmers decided to meet the Government urgently to demand the completion of homeland consolidation in five years. — DDR.

put on the common area and interfering with the enjoyment and use of the common area of all must be removed.

We quite realize that some people have gone to a lot of trouble and expense to plant on their own or the common area. Thus where enclosures have been made of planting, we hope that they can be opened up by the least possible disturbance and the judicious moving of certain, rather than all, plants. Mr. Roberts, the Architect for the estate, and member of the Board, will be glad to discuss and advise on the possible methods of doing this, and we

matric this year except geography.

The Ciskei Secretary of Education, Mr K B Tabata, refused to comment on allegations that Ciskei civil servants working in the Department of Education were involved in the racket.

Meanwhile some of the 700 private candidates sitting for the senior and junior certificate examinations in Mdantsane have complained of inadequate accommodation for them in the school provided.

One woman candidate said they went to Mfundo Primary School yesterday to find the place full. It took time before arrangements were made to accommodate some of them at Langelitsha Higher Primary School 1,5 kilometres away.

The circuit inspector of schools for Mdantsane, Mr M Ntsaluba, who is in charge of arrangements for accommodating candidates, was not available for comment. - DDR

# Assault threat in exam room

EAST LONDON — Ciskei police expect to make more arrests in connection with the leakage of examination papers, the Ciskei Commissioner of Police, Col M. Saunders, said yesterday.

Col Saunders said those arrested would appear in court soon.

Yesterday police were called to Mfundo Higher Primary School, Mdantsane when a candidate who was allegedly found to have a biology text book during the biology examination allegedly threatened to assault a teacher who had found him with the book.

Earlier a young woman candidate had a prepared answer sheet with her. She was found a few minutes after the examination had started.

Two people have already appeared in court in connection with an alleged theft of exam papers.

A teacher at Nompandolo Secondary School, Zwelitsha, is alleged to have been found in possession of question papers for junior and senior certificate exams.

At Nathaniel Pamla High School, Peddie three junior certificate candidates have been arrested by police after being found in possession of all question papers for

## 8. PAINTING THE OUTSIDE OF THE HOUSES

This seems to be progressing very satisfactorily, weather permitting, with an average of 3 - 4 houses per month as an onward going project. If residents are dissatisfied with the work in any way when their houses are painted, please could they report this to Mr. D.S. Roberts (Tel. Office: 432086), as Mr. Roberts has kindly organized the work. The painting of the red chimneys is not included in the current contract, but this will begin as soon as the correct paint can be obtained. In the meantime it has unfortunately not proved practical to remove splashes of white paint from the chimneys and residents are asked to bear with this situation.

## ICY SERVICE

need arise, our nearest Fire Stations (who will come when called)

Station, Wetton Road (near Traffic Depot) - Tel. 731892  
Station - Tel. 706130/707156

## BOOK CLUB

erested in reading? Do you enjoy a cup of tea (or coffee) and an  
lately? If so, kindly contact any one of the persons listed below for  
formation:-

Jenny Herbert - Hse. No. 90 (Hamlet 1) Tel. 726498  
Ray Bennett - Hse No. 88 (Hamlet 1) Tel. 720027  
Hazel Poox - Hse No. 44 (Hamlet 4) Tel. 721718

## 11. AMENITIES NEARBY

Sports Club - (Membership necessary) - Constantia Sports Complex (near Alphen) -  
Tennis, Bowls etc.  
Walking Permits - Tokai Forest (above Manor) - available from Mr. Bird, Forestry  
Dept., Tokai Road, or P.O. Box 85, Retreat. Tel. 721331  
Library - (small, free, locally situated) - Lismore Avenue Library - off Tokai Road  
(larger but membership fee necessary) - Meadowridge - Tel. 738900

## 12. IDEAS

Anyone who has any ideas about the improvement of this estate (must be cheap!),  
the solution of the problems we have discussed in this news letter, or the  
promotion of good neighbourliness is asked, may be pleased, to contact the  
Directors with his scheme.

If you have managed to get through all this, you have definitely got staying-  
power. Many thanks for your attention.

*Harry Greenleaf*  
CHAIRMAN

## 7. EXTERIOR LIGHTS

For a glorious few weeks after the repair work on the lights had been completed

3 / .....

past the owners felt unable to do anything about it, save ask for consideration from dog-owners in cleaning up and generally keeping control of their dogs. The trouble is now recurring so acute that we must remind all members of regulation 4.1.5 which requires permission from the Board for the keeping of animals. Thus in future no one may keep a pet without first obtaining the permission of the Board, which can of course be refused. To try to decide on a future policy to contain this problem and be fair to pet-lovers, we wish to have a complete picture of the situation. For this we need details of the pets kept in each household, and we should be grateful if you will complete the attached form and return it to Mrs. Poox, House No. 44 (Hamlet 4), as soon as possible.

6. The Directors have received complaints that quite a few people have washing lines up on their balconies in the full view of passerby. All the houses have yards especially to avoid this unattractive feature. Moreover, it is quite possible to put up lines at a very low level on 1st floor balconies so that washing hanging on them cannot be seen from the ground or from other houses. Please would people refrain from putting washing in a place or at a level where it can be seen by others.

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN  
— Dr Connie Mulder's resignation was a blow to the black man by whom he generally had been accepted as a friend, the Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, said yesterday.

Chief Sebe commented on the resignation from the Cabinet of the Minister of Plural Relations when he opened the Tyefu Irrigation Scheme near Peddic yesterday.

"There can only be one Dr Mulder," he said in paying tribute to a man he said was ready always to assist blacks by being amenable to suggestions and recommendations.

The current stage in the

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# Mulder a friend to us — Sebe

political development of South Africa needed men of Dr Mulder's calibre, he said.

Chief Sebe criticised the buffalo head which adorns the Plural Relations offices in Pretoria as a sign of arrogance.

He said the buffalo was regarded by blacks as a ferocious animal. "As long as the buffalo head adorns those offices, we will have to suffer the arrogance of some officials in that

department."

It is believed the broadside was aimed at the under-secretary for constitutional development in the department, Mr C. J. Uys, who accompanied the Deputy Minister of Plural Relations, Dr F. Hartzenberg, for his talks with the Ciskei Cabinet this week which ended in deadlock.

Chief Sebe described his attitude as "belittling" in a statement earlier.

He said his Cabinet would no longer discuss the Ciskeian "The breach of etiquette by a senior member of the department's staff at the talks indicates a lack of respect for my Cabinet and it makes it impossible for us to negotiate with this man on any matter affecting the Ciskei," Chief Sebe said.

Chief Sebe did not explain what Mr Uys had done.

He said the irrigation scheme illustrated that the black man, contrary to white beliefs, was not satisfied with subsistence farming. Given the chance he would do more in the interests of his beloved South Africa. — DDR



B. Durban

**Ciskei project  
smells success**

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ALICE — The Ciskei Essential Oil Project, started five years ago by Fort Hare University's faculty of agriculture, has received its first reward — the sale of 175 kg of Lanyana oil to a French perfumer for R3 675.

"The name Lanyana comes from the Xhosa word Mhloyana which is the name for a wild weed growing in the mountains. Farmers know it as "wildeals" (wormwood) and the Amatola Mountains are its natural habitat," Prof Earl Graven of the faculty of agriculture said

"Because there is a

world demand for a similar oil to the Lanyana oil which is based on a product that is produced primarily in West Africa. we have no problem selling the oil.

"It is hoped that if this year's results are as promising as they were last year, it may be possible to establish an industry in the Ciskei based on some of the essential oil crops

"We also envisage the establishment of a central processing unit to which people could bring their material to be processed."

— DDR

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'Coloured' (mostly

nts in the region,

only 126 have a total workforce of more than 300. The following table shows the distribution of these 126 establishments by size of employment and manufacturing division.

Table 19. Manufacturing establishments (over 300 employees only) in the Durban region by manufacturing division.

No. of employees:	No. of firms in division numbers									TOTAL
	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	
301 - 400	4	7	1	4	5	-	-	3	-	24
401 - 500	5	12	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	25
501 - 600	1	6	-	1	6	1	-	3	1	19
601 - 800	3	10	1	1	4	1	-	1	-	21
801 -1000	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	6
1001 -1500	3	5	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	12
1501 -2000	-	5	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	10
2000 -3000	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	6
3000 plus	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
<b>T O T A L</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>126</b>

Source: Bureau of Market Research, University of South Africa.

Note: The key to the divisions is as follows:

Division 31: manufacture of food, beverages and tobacco.

Division 32: textile, wearing apparel and leather industries.

Division 33: manufacture of wood and wood products, including furniture.

# This Mkrola found unfit for CLA

This cover 4 97 total 2 00 'ser The activ Table 20

GRAHAMSTOWN — A former acting Ciskeian Chief-Minister, Mr Ntsali Mkrola, was found in the Supreme Court here yesterday to be unfit to sit in the Ciskei Legislative Assembly for five years for using corrupt election practices.

This was the result of a petition against Mr Mkrola's election to the CLA in June this year by an opponent in his constituency, Mr Ntabathemba (Thornhill) Khithelo.

Judgment was given by the Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Cloete, with Mr Justice Kannemeyer and Mr Justice Smalberger concurring.

The election petition, which was set aside, was not opposed.

The court accepted the evidence before it, which showed the election in the constituency was conducted with corrupt practices, undue influences and illegal practices.

Mr Mkrola was found to have used undue influence by threatening pensioners to withhold pensions, and threatening not to grant grazing rights unless people voted for him.

At the polls his men asked people who they voted for, and they therefore broke the secrecy of the poll.

Mr Mkrola also had to pay costs. — DDR

employment of the firms d 16 580 (30,0%) Whites, 9 (61,0%) Africans, a an average of over each of the six employees.

ences of manufacturing atersrand; than 300 employees manufacturing division.

MANUFACTURING DIVISION	establishments with more than 300 employees in :	
	Durban area	Witwatersrand
Food etc., 31	20	33
Textiles, clothing etc., 32	49	32
Wood etc., 33	3	9
Paper, printing etc., 34	7	12
Chemicals etc., 35	23	26
Mineral products etc., 36	4	24
Basic metal etc., 37	1	19
Fabricated metal etc., 38	17	120
Other manufacturing 39	2	5
<b>T O T A L</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>280</b>

Source: Bureau of Market Research, University of South Africa.

Note: See note to Table 19 for full headings of manufacturing divisions.

What is striking is the relative concentration of establishments in Division 32 (textile, wearing apparel and leather industries) and 35 (manufacture of chemicals, and chemical, petroleum, coal rubber and plastic products) in the Durban area, and the large proportion of manufacturing on the Witwatersrand that consists of Division 38 (manufacture of fabricated metal products, machinery and equipment). Since different industries employ different proportions of technicians, this helps shed some light on any regional differences in the employment of technicians.

# Jongilanga: official snatched map

(105) 14/11/78

EAST LONDON — Ciskei's Minister of Education, Chief D. M. Jongilanga, said yesterday an official of the Department of Plural Relations snatched a map from him at a meeting with the Minister of Development, Dr F. Hartzenberg, at East London airport last week.

Following the talks on consolidation, Ciskeian Chief Minister Chief Len-

nox Sebe, who was at the talks, without naming anyone, said a South African official had been rude.

Dr Hartzenberg did not reprimand the official, a report said yesterday.

Chief Sebe said the talks had ended in deadlock and the Ciskeian Government would not budge.

The following day he issued a statement saying

the Ciskeian Government had withdrawn its representation on the South African Development Trust Fund's committee.

This was decided after it had become clear to his cabinet the committee was to be used as "a front for resettlement."

The Chief Minister said his Government was no longer prepared to discuss

the land question on the level on which the discussion last week took place.

Chief Jongilanga told the Daily Dispatch yesterday the official who snatched the map from him "concerning the removal of my people," was Mr Japie Uys from Pretoria.

According to reports yesterday the Ciskeian cabinet had decided never to deal with Mr Uys on any matter concerning the Ciskei.

Chief Jongilanga would not confirm this yesterday, saying Chief Sebe should be contacted on this matter. Chief Sebe could not be contacted last night. — DDR



Mr C. S. "Punch" Barlow chats with the Ciskeian Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, during a visit to the Buchule Technical High School, Mdantsane, which will accommodate 400 pupils.

# Sebe: homelands are future economic power

**EAST LONDON —** The homelands were destined to become a future economic power in South Africa, Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Sebe, said yesterday.

He was speaking at a luncheon after an inspection of the Buchule Technical High School in Mdantsane.

The project is a joint venture between the Ciskei Government and the C. S. Barlow Foundation.

The Government is clearing the site, providing services and will equip the school. The Barlow Foundation is responsible for the erection of the buildings which are estimated to cost R720 000.

The chairman of Barlow Rand Ltd, Mr C. S. "Punch" Barlow, attended the inspection.

Chief Sebe said at the luncheon: "We realise that once we have reached a stage where our right to a political voice and our economic power have become appreciated there will be many people anxious to join us in our new-found prosperity.

"The friends who we will remember are those that stood beside us in adversity and not those who sought to join us on the bandwagon in good times."

Chief Sebe said the Afrikaners, who were the architects of the homeland policy, must sooner or later realise they are faced with a duty to put their money where their mouth is.

He said it was a peculiar fact that it was mostly the English speaking business, mining and industrial sectors which had assisted the Ciskei financially in its development.

More particularly, he

said, aid had come to the Ciskei from some sectors of the economy which were even opposed to the homeland policy.

The Ciskeian leader said this type of aid arose out of pure compassion.

The Buchule Technical School project was doubly impressive, said Chief Sebe, because it was a practical demonstration of the way private enterprise and the Government could combine.

"The Ciskei Government has always realised that in order to ensure that we create a stable middle-class in the Ciskei, we have to equip our people with the necessary skills and we consider technical education to be an extremely important facet of our development.

"There have been so many failures in the development field in Africa, due to the fact that those countries were compelled to import the expertise which they required

from outside," Chief Sebe said.

Development, he said, in order to be successful must be even development and affect all sectors of the population.

If it did not do so the colonial situation was being recreated.

In colonial Africa all important posts were filled by whites in both the private and public sector and when the colonists withdrew a vacuum was left which the newly independent nations were unable to fill with their own people.

"If we are going to concentrate in South Africa on the upliftment of our people through a process of industrialisation, then it would be folly for us to proceed along that road without taking the necessary steps to ensure that at some time in the future, we will have the necessary technical expertise to put into these industries," Chief Sebe said.

— DDR.

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17/11/78

# Sebe predicts ANC onslaught

JOHANNESBURG — It was inevitable that after the Rhodesian and South West African problems had been settled, the African National Congress would begin a determined onslaught on South Africa, both externally and internally, the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, said here at the weekend.

Speaking at a summit meeting between homeland leaders here, Chief Sebe said the onslaught by

the ANC would be "a bid to obtain added recognition for itself", initially among Third World powers and later internationally.

He said there was much to be learned from the Rhodesian and South West Africa experience. The homeland leaders had learned that the Organisation of African Unity was only too anxious to recognise any militant external movement which

acted in conflict with a white government.

He said such a movement was being seen by the OAU as being the only relevant opposition. "This is in fact proved through its recognition and active support of the movements of Mr Machel, Mr Nujoma, Mr Nkomo, Mr Mugabe, and previously Sithole and Muzorewa," Chief Sebe said.

"It is apparent that the United Nations will follow

any OAU decision in this connection and the Western powers have been and will be reluctant if not unwilling to oppose such a decision.

"We can learn that after recognition has been granted to an external military power, any peaceful political settlement which is unsatisfactory to that power, will not be granted recognition by either the OAU, the UN or the Western powers." — SAPA.

# Course for <sup>AINB</sup> Ciskei traders

EAST LONDON — A one-week course to be attended by Ciskei traders training them in all aspects of management and business will be held at Hlaziya Teachers' Training College, Mdantsane, from November 16.

The course has been organised by the newly-formed Ciskei Institute of Management.

The organiser, Mr. R. Thorvaldsen, said the idea was to uplift the standard of businessmen in Transkei, Ciskei and other homelands in the country.

He said the training of traders was essential to keep them up to date with business methods and enable them to meet the fast changing pace of modern business.

Mr Thorvaldsen said invitations had been sent to other traders in East London and surrounding areas. The courses will be also attended by a Transkei and a Witwatersrand representative.

They will be conducted by Prof W. Leeuwen, a senior lecturer at the Business School, Stellenbosch University.

Successful candidates after completing would take two further courses in Master of Business Administration (M.B.A) at Stellenbosch University.

# Ciskei music seminar

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Organisers of music from all the South African homelands and urban areas, and possibly independent Bophuthatswana, will meet this morning at the Hlaziya In-service Training Centre at Mdantsane to begin a three-day music seminar.

The seminar, which will be directed by the inspector of music of the Department of Education and Training, Mr J. J. Loots, will be opened by the Ciskei Secretary for Education, Mr K. B. Tabata.

Some of the items to be dealt with this morning will include reports on musical activity in the various areas.

At 7.30 pm today, the delegates will attend a practice session in East London of the East London Symphony Orchestra and tomorrow morning, the group will sit in during music lessons at the West Bank Nursery School and at Selborne Primary School.

The delegates will visit Nompandolo Secondary School at Zwelitsha on Thursday where encouragement will be given to the music theory teacher at the school and another trip will take them to Fort Hare for a visit to the music department.

... It is ... the statement that " ... as well as by maintaining ... their position both through ... under their proposed scheme ... of tax payments an ... equal tax based on ... interest in the purchase of ... the same time large livestock ... grazing units they controlled ... and those without cattle ... immediately after the annual ... a few powerful families. ... would be paid equally by ... in the enforcement of rent ... by each household could ... grazing to keep pace with un- ... grazing rentals might be worth ... quickly. A law which allowed ... rental price and the market ... of drought or a decline in beef ... forcing a higher off-take ... pressure on grazing. As

to ensure that such a dis ... political will and person ... "Mafisa" and small stock ... gaining leasehold rights ... that established livestock ... The authors end a discuss ... action which runs up agai ... the share they controlled ... annual grazing rights. ... owners would be present ... and so be able to pay the ... would receive cash from ... auction. That would me ... The tax on the shares co ... every household rather t ... collection. This shoul ... help to avoid the diffic ... The company concept with ... folding weather. ... considering for it woul ... government to introduce ... value of their cattle. ... prices, owners would be ... and thus keeping size d ... herd size rises so the ... An annual rental should ...

born by society. ... by the corruption of traditional ties. The damage to the pasture would be ... the communal or state lands without cost to themselves either directly or ... out the smaller. By holding cattle longer, the bigger owners would exploit ... on the tribal lands, the bigger owners would be able to further squeeze ... resist cattle sales as long as possible. In the process, and particularly ... speculators rather than cattle raisers, suggests that individuals would ... policy. The preponderant nature of the commercial market, that of ... figure of 50% of the requirement handled would be the proper basis for

# Plans for Mdantsane market cause a stir

105  
23/11/8  
DD

**EAST LONDON** — The Ciskei Marketing Board plans to establish a wholesale market in Mdantsane which will operate in opposition to the new R4,5 million municipal wholesale market at Wilsonia.

The proposal has caused so much concern in East London that the East London Development Committee is to meet with the marketing board on Friday to discuss the issue.

The general manager of the marketing board, Mr G. F. Godden, said yesterday that while nothing had been finalised, plans were being drawn up and the long process of finding suitable land and money for the project had started.

"The reasons for establishing a wholesale market in Mdantsane are quite obvious, and any clear-thinking person could recognise the necessity for such a market," he said.

The Mdantsane Town Council, he said, was strongly behind the scheme and would like to see it implemented immediately so as to aid consumers in the area.

"We (the board) are a marketing organisation set up to create a market for the producer and ensure the consumer gets his

product under clean and hygienic conditions which are convenient to him," Mr Godden said.

He felt there would be no difficulty in obtaining finance as a market was self supporting in the long run.

The problem more likely to be encountered would be finding suitable land as this was still controlled by other authorities.

He said the proposed market was less ostentatious than the Wilsonia market and would not

have a rail link.

"This would be unnecessary as it would draw produce from the Ciskei in which there is no major rail network," Mr Godden said.

He could not estimate the degree to which such a market would affect operations at Wilsonia, but said it must be considerable, "judging by the concern expressed by the East London Municipality."

The city council took action on Monday night to curb wholesaling by

farmers using the German Market in the city centre, and was obviously concerned by the opposition this offered to operations at Wilsonia.

The councillor in charge of the market portfolio, Mr F. Stakemire, said last night he would be a member of the committee meeting with Mr Godden on Friday.

"Until such time as we have discussed the matter and I have obtained all the facts from Mr Godden I would prefer to reserve comment," he said. — DDR.



# Black traders<sup>105</sup> 23.11.75 accused of apathy

MDANTSANE — Black businessmen did not have an interest in their affairs in the East London and Mdantsane districts because of the homeland's emergency regulations, the president of the Gompo Chamber of Commerce, Mr E. M. Kwinana, said yesterday.

Mr Kwinana's comment came after three traders turned up for a meeting which was scheduled to be held at the United Congregational Hall, Mdantsane. The meeting was postponed.

There are more than 90 businessmen in the area, but only 18 traders have registered with the organisation.

Mr Kwinana said he had noticed that none of them were interested in affairs which affected their businesses.

The meeting was called by the traders to discuss the establishment of a white-owned wholesale concern at Mdantsane.

The motion to be discussed said the chamber should investigate circumstances which led to the establishment of a white-owned business in a black area.

None of the traders are in favour of it.

Some of those who objected claim they were visited by members of the Security Branch, who asked why, since neither the Ciskei Government nor

the Mdantsane council objected.

The secretary of the organisation, Mr Mtutuzeli Baduza, said traders should understand that the Gompo Chamber of Commerce was a non political body. It was only looking after the interests of black businessmen.

"We are a branch of Inqaba Regional Chamber of Commerce, which is an affiliate of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce," he said.

What Gompo was fighting for was for blacks' money to stay within the Ciskei.— DDR

# Ciskeian MPs meet farmers

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105  
23/1/78

**EAST LONDON** — An historic meeting between white farmers of the Stutterheim district and representatives from the Ciskei will be held at a Dohne hotel this afternoon.

The meeting, which will discuss border problems, follows earlier discussions between a delegation of farmers and the Ciskei's Minister of the Interior, Chief Lent Maqoma, and the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Wilson Ximiya.

Today's discussions will be attended by members of the Dohne Farmers Association, the MP for Griqualand East, Mr. Jan Jordaan, the MP for Zwelitsha, Mr. W.T. Moletsane, Chief Maqoma, Mr. Ximiya, the Ciskei's Secretary for the Interior, Mr. Hannes Marais, and the Ciskei's Secretary for Agriculture, Mr. Gary Godden.

Among the problems to be discussed are: the menace caused by stray dogs, poaching, the malicious damage of fencing between white and black farmers, and the control of vermin.

It is hoped that a joint campaign against vermin can be instituted with the cooperation of people on both sides of the border.

The meeting will also discuss stock and produce theft in the area.

Mr. Jordaan said in an interview yesterday: "These

are sensitive matters but we can resolve them by discussion and dialogue. Communication is the only way of solving problems. This is the highest form of civilization."

Today's meeting was initiated by Chief Maqoma and Mr. Ximiya after they had met the farmers' delegation in Zwelitsha two weeks ago. As a result the Dohne Farmers Association had taken the initiative and called a public meeting so that the issues could be discussed openly.

Mr. Jordaan said the farmers had also appealed to the Ciskei Government to implement the new Cape dog tax ordinance.

"If we are compelled to dip sheep for scab they will also have to implement some protective measures because otherwise we will fail to see that it will be a success — at least for the 15 neighbouring farms as well as in other farming areas such as Mooiplaas, Kwelegha, Thornhill and Queenstown.

"I see this meeting as a breakthrough. It is approaching mutual problems in quite a different way than it has been approached in the past because there has been no communication in the past.

"This can only lead to better relationships and better neighbourliness," Mr. Jordaan said. — PC

# Mrs Engelbrecht gets Xhosa name

105  
23/11/78

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The wife of the Commissioner-General for the Ciskei, Mr J. J. Engelbrecht, has been given a Xhosa title by the homeland's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe.

Her name, Chief Sebe said at a function attended by a group of South African MPs, would be "Nosisa", the one who is willing to share with others.

Chief Sebe said that when a nasty situation in Port Elizabeth had developed, it was diffused in the office of the Commissioner-General and at that time she had arranged lunch at very short notice.

At other times she had shared her hospitality.

"We call the wife of the Commissioner-General by her official name in Xhosa, Nosisa," Chief Sebe said. — PC



**MRS ENGELBRECHT...  
called Nosisa.**

# Mooiplaas may stay in Ciskei

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The deadlock between the Ciskei and South African Governments over the consolidation of the homeland may be resolved soon.

The Commissioner-General for the Ciskei, Mr J. J. Engelbrecht, said he hoped that a solution would be found at a meeting in Pretoria on November 25.

He also hinted that the controversial Mooiplaas area may remain in the Ciskei.

Addressing a group of South African MPs during a two-day visit to the territory, Mr Engelbrecht said the recent meeting between the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, and the Deputy Minister of Development, Dr. Ferdie Hartzenberg, at East London airport earlier this month had ended in "rather an unsatisfactory manner".

He added: "However, I hope we are going to come forward with a solution which will even make Chief Jongilanga happy."

Chief D. M. Jongilanga is the homeland's Minister

of Education as well as being the head of the Xhosa people living in the Kwelera and Mooiplaas areas. He has campaigned for a long time to prevent the removal of Mooiplaas from the Ciskei.

He has said on a number of occasions that the sacred burial grounds of the famous Xhosa chief, Gcaleka, on the banks of the Ngxingxolo, a tributary of the Kwelera, could not be removed from his people.

And Chief Sebe has said: "That area is dear to us. It is our shrine which we will never give up no matter the consequences."

However, in May this year, the then Minister of Plural Relations, Dr. Connie Mulder, said in Parliament that the South African Government would not allow Mooiplaas to be incorporated into the Ciskei because the consolidation plans had already been finalised.

For this reason, Dr Mulder said the representations of the Ciskei Government to have Mooiplaas incorporated into the Ciskei "cannot be

favourably considered".

The National Party MP for Griqualand East, Mr Jan Jordaan, has also campaigned for the Mooiplaas area to be bought out from the people living there.

The other consolidation problems which led to a deadlock between Chief Sebe and Dr Hartzenberg concerned the pace of the land transfers to the Ciskei and the attitude of certain South African officials towards the consolidation.

Shortly after the meeting, the Ciskei withdrew its representation on the South African Development Trust Fund's committee.

In his speech, Mr Engelbrecht also made a strong plea for developmental capital for the Ciskei.

The Ciskei, he said, had a number of assets, "but what we need badly is capital for development. We have everything in the Ciskei, but we are hampered by the scarcity of capital."

He hoped the MPs would help wherever they could to get finance for the homeland. — PC

# Give labourers better deal urges Maqoma

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The Ciskei Government and Border farmers have pledged closer co-operation and more communication.

This emerged from a meeting yesterday to discuss working conditions for farm labourers, stock theft and other problems.

The Ciskei Government was represented by Chief L. Maqoma, Minister of the Interior, and Mr W. F. Ximiya, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry.

They told the farmers they were concerned about working conditions for farm labourers and they were looking to the farmers for a better deal.

Chief Maqoma told the farmers: "The conditions under which some of my people have to work on the farms leave much to be desired.

"I do not wish to prescribe to farmers about their labourers' conditions of service. All we ask is for workers to be

given decent housing with wages and other conditions which at least give them an opportunity to enjoy some of the fruits of life.

"One suggestion I have on how farmers could help their labourers is that the labourer should be given a sizeable piece of land on the farm to do his own farming."

Chief Maqoma said he had been impressed with the conditions of service he had seen on the gold mines and urged farmers to compete with the mines.

In reply the farmers said they believed most farmers provided excellent conditions of service. One farmer cited a case where a farmer had provided colour television for his labourers.

On competing with the mines, one farmer said: "I don't see how we can compare mines to farming.

"Farmers pay their labourers more than the mines on a pro rata basis. We must remember there is no such thing as cheap labour — pay must be linked to productivity."

The farmers urged the Ciskei Government to take more positive action

against stock theft and marauding dogs.

One farmer said: "I ewed 1 200 lambs this year and, because of dogs, I have only 700 to 800 lambs.

"The crux of the problem is the number of unregistered dogs. People must be made to have a permit for dogs."

Chief Maqoma promised the farmers he would raise the question of issuing permits for dogs with the Ciskeian Minister of Finance.

On the issue of stock theft, the farmers asked the Government to impress on their people the necessity to report incidents of stock theft to the police and to step up police vigilance.

Both Chief Maqoma and Mr Ximiya argued that such actions would not solve the problem. If people were hungry, they would steal, they said.

"Take a situation like Crossroads," Chief Maqoma said. "We have people dumped on us without any opportunities provided for them. These people become a menace to us as well as to you."

"Thieving," Mr Ximiya said, "is caused by unemployment." — DDR.



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# Koornhof must decide fate of Crossroads



**EAST LONDON** — The new Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Piet Koornhof, pledged in 1971 that in future resettlement camps would be "viable propositions" and that "work opportunities will have to be established".

Dr Koornhof, then Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Bantu Education, made the pledge after he had visited the controversial Eastern Cape resettlement camps at Dimbaza, Sada and Ininge.

In his new capacity, Dr Koornhof has to make the final decision on whether to demolish the Crossroads squatter camp and return illegal residents there to their places of origin — in most cases to the Ciskei, in which Dimbaza and Sada are situated, and to Transkei.

Although some industry has been established at Dimbaza, it is not yet enough to provide work opportunities for all the residents.

At Sada and neighbouring Ntabathemba which is better known by its original name, Thornhill, there is virtually no work available except some small home industry activity. The most common form of economic activity is migratory labour.

It is rumoured that a new resettlement town is being constructed at Whittlesea, adjacent to Sada, for the Crossroads squatters since the Transkei Government forced the Department of Plural Relations to stop building a resettlement town at Bridge Farm, scheduled for incorporation into Transkei. The



**DR KOORNHOF . . . ease this misery.**

town— building equipment on Bridge Farm was transferred to the Whittlesea area.

However, the Chief Minister of Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, has denied that Whittlesea will be used for settlement of the Crossroads squatters.

The pledge Dr Koornhof made in 1971 may affect the fate of Crossroads.

He said then: "There will be no further Sadas, Ininges or Dimbazas. Resettlement camps like these three established in 1963 for old folk and widows are something of the past.

"The task now is to make the existing camps viable propositions and to achieve this work opportunities will have to be established," Dr Koornhof said.

"In future, widows and old folk will be settled in normal, well-planned

modern townships and as far as possible near work opportunities but not specifically where they are thrown together.

"I am determined to find a solution," he said.

When he visited Sada for the first time, the then deputy Minister was visibly moved and said: "Something must be done — and done soon... What can be done to ease this misery? We must improve the situation here. We are going to do everything we possibly can."

Since Dr Koornhof spoke out in 1971, the situation in Sada has not materially altered. The vast majority of the people living there cannot find work at their homes and the local market has been flooded by the arrival of the Thornhill refugees from Transkei.

If more people are resettled in the area from Crossroads, it is doubtful whether the new minister could say the situation had improved, or that everything possible had been done. — PC

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# Ciskei step to independence

(105) 111 28/11/78



**CHIEF SEBE** . . . appointed commission.



**SIR ARTHUR SNELLING** . . . former UK ambassador.



**PROF MARAIS** . . . Rector of UPE



**MR LALENDLE** . . . Fort Hare academic.

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN —** The Ciskei Government has taken the first formal move towards independence for the homeland.

In a statement yesterday, it announced the names of a high-powered, seven-man commission to study the feasibility of independence for the Ciskei.

The commission, which consists of six whites and one black, represents a cross-section of international and local academics, the former British Ambassador to South Africa and two South African businessmen.

It will hold its first meeting at Zwelitsha on Monday next week under the chairmanship of Prof George Quail, a Johannesburg quantity surveyor.

The commission has been appointed by the Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, to study "the feasibility of independence for the Ciskei with particular reference to economic, political, social and geographical considerations."

It will be required to report back to the Ciskei Government within a year.

In the past, Chief Sebe has made it clear that the findings of the commission will be submitted to the Ciskei people who will

take the final decision on whether to accept independence or not.

The intention to appoint a commission was made public some time ago, but yesterday's announcement was the first indication of its composition, terms of reference and the date by which it must be completed.

Prof Quail is an honorary professor at the University of the Witwatersrand, a life member of the Association of South African Quantity Surveyors and has served for 15 years as chairman of the Joint Study Committee — which represents builders, architects, quantity surveyors and property owners.

The other six members of the commission are:

- Sir Arthur Snelling, 64, former British Ambassador to South Africa, former British High Commissioner to Ghana, and vice-president of the United Kingdom - South Africa Trade Association.
- Prof Theodor Hanf, 48, of the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute, Freiburg, Germany. He is the author of the recent survey of black opinion in

South Africa, published in German, and due to be published in English early next year. Prof Hanf is a sociologist.

- Prof Peter Kilby, 43, professor of Economics at Wesleyan University, Connecticut, United States, Adviser to the World Bank and the International Labour Organisation, and author of a number of economic studies of Nigeria, Tanzania and Kenya.

- Prof Ernst Marais, 57, Rector and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Port Elizabeth. Prof Marais is a physicist and was formerly a vice-president of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

- Dr Martin van den Berg, 48, managing director of a Johannesburg discount bank.

- Mr Coax Honestus Tam-sanga Lalendle, 40, acting head of the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Fort Hare.

- Mr Richard Proctor-Sims, 43, a director of Conference Associates, the company responsible for the Ciskei Development Conference held in Zwelitsha in May this

year, will be secretary to the commission.

If the Ciskei does go for independence without linking up with Transkei, one of the fundamental cornerstones of Nationalist ideology will have been contradicted: the so-called "Xhosa nation" will have been divided into two separate independent states.

The commission could also bolster Chief Sebe's land claims. He has at various stages claimed all the land between the Kei and Gamtoos Rivers, including East London, Port Elizabeth and Grahams-town, on historical grounds and the commission may well support him on this.

It is significant that no South African Government official has been appointed to the commission. In both Transkei and Bophuthatswana, these officials were fully involved in all the independence negotiations and discussions.

This may indicate a different path to independence for the Ciskei, if it decides to go for it at all.  
— DDR



# TWO InelP in Ciskei SWOP

105

**EAST LONDON** — Prominent members of the Ciskei opposition alliance are believed to have been detained after a dawn swoop by Ciskei security police yesterday.

Among those detained are Mr Aubrey B. Toyana, the former mayor of Mdantsane, and Mr William O. Ndingaye, a manager at an Mdantsane funeral parlour. Both men were said to have been detained in terms of the Ciskei emergency regulations. Proclamation R252 of 1977.

Both are supporters of the National Labour Party of South Africa, headed by Mr L. F. Sivo, who is in self exile in Transkei.

detention orders were signed by the Ciskei Minister of Justice, Chief Zohle Nyokweni, who was not available for confirmation yesterday.

Other supporters of the opposition alliance are believed to have gone into hiding following the detention of Mr Toyana and Mr Ndingaye.

Mr Toyana had been the chairman of the Mdantsane Township Council for five years until 1977.

During last year's township council elections, Mr Toyana did not seek re-election after he was asked as mayor in June last year when the split between the Sebe-Sivo groups appeared.

Mr Ndingaye contested the township council elections as a Sivo supporter. He was arrested last year for alleged involvement in the detention of Mr Toyana's wife, Mrs Adelaide Toyana, said yesterday three members of the Ciskei Security Police came to her house at 215 Dips and she said she was arrested with her husband when his detention order was issued.



MR TOYANA... held at Dimbaza.

wanted to know what he had done, the police said they did not know but were just carrying out instructions.

They allowed Mr Toyana to take some clothes with him, some pills and said they were taking him to Dimbaza police cells. She said her husband suffered from high blood pressure and was to have gone for a check up in January.

Mr Ndingaye was fetched from his house by five policemen before 6 am, his daughter said.

Miss Pumla Ndingaye, 17, said when her father wanted to know why he was being arrested they were carrying out instructions.

Miss Ndingaye said the policemen did not say where they were taking her father. Mr Ndingaye is believed

to be also held at Dimbaza.

There were conflicting reports yesterday about the whereabouts of Mr Hubert Mfana Jekwa, a garage owner at Mdantsane. It was said the police had tried to find Mr Jekwa at a funeral parlour last Thursday.

Last year Mr Jekwa was detained by the security police. He was released a couple of months later.

Yesterday, when Mrs Jekwa was approached about the whereabouts of her husband, she said she was busy and did not want to speak to the press.

Meanwhile, no information was available yesterday on the alleged detention of Mr Mbuti Ndamane and Mr Fuhani Samela who according to friends at Thornhill, were taken away by Ciskei Security Police. Their Thornhill homes on October 27. — DDR

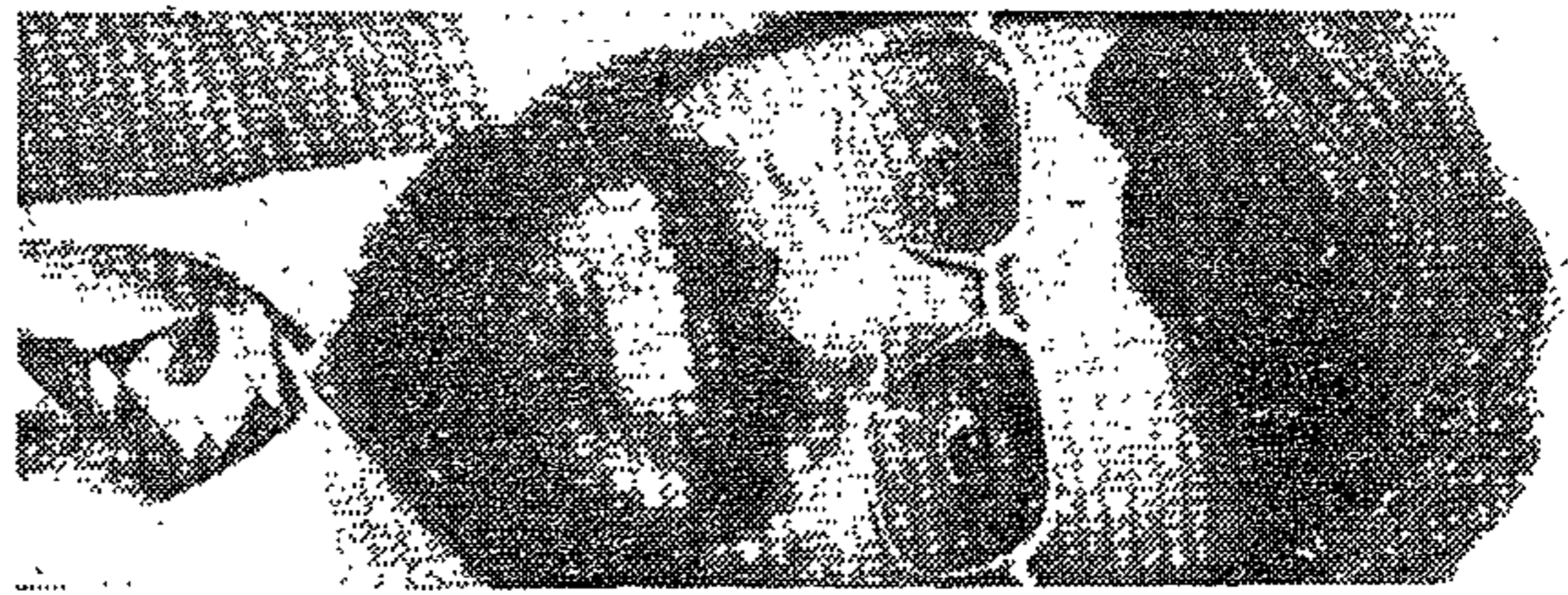
there is a significant difference between sales and production), and for platinum we have used an index.

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# De Pontes denies Frere black ban

M 29/12/98

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**EAST LONDON** — Allegations that the urology and ophthalmology services for blacks at Frere Hospital are to close on December 31 are incorrect, according to the MPC for East London City, Mr Petro de Pontes.

He said emergency cases would still be treated at Frere after December 31 and only non-emergency "cold" cases would be transferred to the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in Mdantsane when there was no possibility of any detriment to the patient's condition. Adequate transport would be provided.

Doctors do not view the retaining of emergency services as the retention of the services of the specialist departments, however, and, through the local branch of the Medical Association, they have expressed strong opposition to the coming closure.

In reply to queries from the Daily Dispatch in regard to the proposed closure, Mr De Pontes consulted with the Director of Hospital Services for the Cape, Dr L. Kotze, the Medical Superintendent at Frere, Dr F. Visser, the Ciskeian Secretary for Health, Dr J. Klopper, and other interested parties.

He was satisfied that as the services offered by these two departments were completely different to those which were to be provided by the proposed day hospital in Duncan Village, the transfer did not contradict the undertaking given to him by Dr M. Jooste in July this year that no more black services at Frere would close until the day hospital was built.

"The services provided by these two departments are of a very specialised nature and are not provided in all hospitals. Patients at other hospitals are referred to the central

hospitals where such services are provided, as is the case with the Grey Hospital in King William's Town which refers patients to Frere," Mr De Pontes said.

He also denied allegations that the services in these two departments which were to be provided at Mdantsane were in any way inferior to those presently provided at Frere.

"At present Frere has the services of a full-time ophthalmologist, but only a part-time urologist, who has to look after all patients, white, Indian, Coloured and black.

"The Cecilia Makiwane Hospital has a full-time specialist in each of these departments who will now be able to concentrate on the treating of black patients only, which could only result in more effective services being provided for all patients," he said.

Allegations of inferiority at Mdantsane were, he said, "a malicious insult to the Ciskeian Health Services."

Mr De Pontes allayed fears about what was to happen to Transkeian blacks needing treatment in either of these specialist services. "Dr Klopper emphasised that though the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital was established primarily for Ciskeian citizens, there were no official directives to the effect that Transkeians, or any other group are to be excluded because of their nationality," Mr De Pontes said.

He appealed to anyone concerned to inform him of any practice by which he felt prejudiced. To date, he said, no black person had come forward in connection with the transfer of services from Frere to the Cecilia Makiwane. — DDR.

rare and one must remember attempts that there are projects only a small proportion of the aid in projects.

blems that "community" stem, in inspiring commitment difficulties inhibiting income- to benefit the poorest the latter category is that enough income to cover inputs of there are no efficient market- this that one should consider run communal gardens in attract- locally consumption orientated inputs and "priced" (66) labour. effect in providing vegetables work them, but one must consider the families out of that degree

nsider whether, in advocating basic conditions of people's problems and perhaps diverting not based on a recognition o prove ineffective. "The ministrative agencies towards transcend the administrative

transcend the administrative the introduction of marketing realm... in so many instances the co-operatives, in effect leaves the actual provision of local marketing facilities on the ground to the same non-resource that was to produce the instant harmony and consensus of interests and leadership in the organisation of the co-operative itself."

In many cases the resources made available for projects benefit the richer only and so in some cases entrench the differences between classes. In the situation of poverty and, in some

Furthermore, one should not make the mistake of believing that one can asses the way in which future systems would develop from what is happening in the present, nor that people's present aspirations would hold for all time.

Over-all structure of the reserves continues to inhibit the implementation of new systems, would-be-developers should realise that "changes in consciousness" can occur but only up to a certain stage.

MR DE PONTES... emergency cases will be treated.

# Yes and no to Ciskei

EAST LONDON — The Progressive Federal Party would accept Ciskeian independence but was also opposed to the fragmentation of South Africa into independent states, the Border Regional Chairman of the PFP, Mr Ivor Sparg, said yesterday.

Mr Sparg was commenting on the announcement of a seven-man delegation appointed by the Ciskei Government to study the feasibility of independence for the homeland.

"We would rather see South Africa with a system of self-governing states under a federal parliament.

"But in view of the promises made by the

Nationalists, if people opt for independence we have to accept it as such," Mr Sparg said.

Commenting on the economic consequences of a possible Ciskeian independence, the President of the Border Chamber of Industries, Mr Max Phillips, said he could not see it having any detrimental effect.

The economic activities of the Border and Ciskei were inter-related in any event, said Mr Phillips.

East London's city councillor with the industrial portfolio, Mr Joe Yazbek, said if Chief Sebe, the Ciskeian Chief Minister, had decided he would opt for independence, he probably had some assurances of some

benefits and investment.

If that was the case, said Mr Yazbek, it would rub off on East London just as economic development in the independent Transkei rubbed off on East London.

The seven-man commission to study the feasibility of Ciskeian independence arrives on Monday for the start of a week-long tour of the Ciskei.

On Monday afternoon, they will hold their first session to work out the procedure for their study.

From Tuesday to Thursday, they will be taken on a fact-finding visit to selected areas, notably the industrial and agricultural development schemes.

On Friday and Saturday the commission will assemble in the round Cabinet Room of the Ciskei Government in Zwelitsha to begin their year-long study. — DDR.

DEPARTMENT OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION  
AND DEVELOPMENT

No. 2457

2 December 1977

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CISKEIAN REGIONAL  
DIVISION AND REGIONAL COURT

I, Michiel Coenraad Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, having obtained a report from the Public Service Commission in terms of section 3 (3) of the Magistrates' Courts Act, 1944 (Act 32 of 1944), and acting by virtue of the powers vested in me by

DEPARTEMENT VAN BANTOE-ADMINISTRASIE  
EN -ONTWIKKELING

No. 2457

2 Desember 1977

INSTELLING VAN DIE CISKEISE  
STREEKAFDELING EN STREEKHOF

Ek, Michiel Coenraad Botha, Minister van Bantoe-administrasie en -ontwikkeling, na verkryging van 'n verslag van die Staatsdienskommissie ingevolge artikel 3 (3) van de Wet op Landdroshowe, 1944 (Wet 32 van 1944), en handelende kragtens die bevoegdheids my verleen

6 No. 5819

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE, 2 DECEMBER 1977

section 2 (1) (b), (g) and (i) of the said Act, read with the proviso to section 21 of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971), hereby give notice that with effect from 1 January 1978, I—

(a) establish a regional division to be known as the Ciskeian Regional Division, consisting of the Districts of Mdantsane, Zwelitsha and Hewu.

(b) establish a court for such regional division; and

(c) appoint as places for the holding of a court for the said regional division, all the seats of magistracy of the districts mentioned in paragraph (a).

M. C. BOTHA, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

by artikel 2 (1) (b), (g) en (i) van genoemde Wet, gelees met die voorbehoudsbepaling van artikel 21 van die Grondwet van die Bantoeselands, 1971 (Wet 21 van 1971), gee hierby kennis dat ek met ingang van 1 Januarie 1978—

(a) 'n streekafdeling instel, bestaande uit die distrikte Mdantsane, Zwelitsha en Hewu, wat bekend sal staan as die Ciskeise Streekafdeling;

(b) 'n hof vir daardie streekafdeling instel; en

(c) al die landdroshouers van die distrikte in paragraaf (a) vermeld, aanwys as plekke vir die hou van hofsittings vir genoemde streekafdeling.

M. C. BOTHA, Minister van Bantoe-administrasie en -ontwikkeling.

## PROCLAMATIONS

by the State President of the Republic of  
South Africa

105

No. R. 337, 1977

AMENDMENT OF THE REGULATIONS FOR THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE Ciskei (PROCLAMA-  
TION R. 252 OF 1977)

Under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by section 25 of the Bantu Administration Act, 1927 (Act 38 of 1927), I hereby amend the Schedule to Proclamation R. 252 of 1977 by the substitution of the following subregulation for subregulation (3) of regulation 8:

“(3) Any person detained in terms of subregulation (2) may be lodged in any police cell, police lock-up, prison or any other place determined by the Minister, for a maximum period of 90 days or until such time as his release is ordered by the Minister, whichever is the sooner.”.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Twenty-eighth day of November, One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-seven.

N. DIEDERICHS, State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Council:

M. C. BOTHA.

## PROKLAMASIES

van die Staatspresident van die Republiek van  
Suid-Afrika

No. R. 337, 1977

WYSIGING VAN DIE REGULASIES VIR DIE  
ADMINISTRASIE VAN DIE Ciskei (PROKLA-  
MASIE R. 252 VAN 1977)

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 25 van die Bantoe-administrasiewet, 1927 (Wet 38 van 1927), wysig ek hierby die Bylae tot Proklamasie R. 252 van 1977 deur die vervanging van subregulasie (3) van regulasie 8 deur die volgende subregulasie:

“(3) ’n Kragtens subregulasie (2) aangehoudene mag in ’n polisieel, polisietoesluitingsplek, gevangenis of ’n ander plek deur die Minister bepaal, vir ’n maksimum tydperk van 90 dae aangehou word of totdat sy vrylating deur die Minister beveel word, watter tydperk ookal die kortste is.”.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Agt-en-twintigste dag van November Eenduisend Negehonderd Sewe-en-sewentig.

N. DIEDERICHS, Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-rade:

M. C. BOTHA.

# Shaping the future of Ciskei

DA) 13/12/78 (125)

By IAN WYNN: Daily Dispatch staff reporter

Add one quantity surveyor, one retired British envoy, an economist, a physicist, a bank general manager and an educational psychologist, and out of the melting pot of their combined knowledge and experience will, hopefully, come a blueprint for Ciskei's independence.

Some of the members of the Ciskei Independence Commission have come to their task with a wide and extensive knowledge of their subject, in particular. Prof Coax Honestus Tamsanga Lalendle, 40, of the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Fort Hare.

Prof Lalendle, the only Ciskeian on the commission and its youngest member, is studying the Ciskei for his second Masters degree, and has firm views on the minimum requirements for independence to be acceptable to the Ciskei.

On the other hand the chairman of the commission, Prof George Phillip Quail, 67, a Johannesburg quantity surveyor, freely admits his ignorance on the subject of Ciskei, but is confident that by bringing an open mind to the subject, he can not only receive the guidance of, but also guide the commissioners.

His appointment, together with that of the overseas representatives, can be seen as an attempt by Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, to bring outside and completely independent minds to bear on his country's problems and alternatives.

The former British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Arthur Snelling, says he comes to the commission with a mind "split

down the middle" as to the acceptance of independence by the South African homelands.

He arranged the first overseas visits for the Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana, Chief Lucas Mangope, and the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Gatscha Buthelezi, in 1970, and since then has maintained contact with both of them.

The one has opted for independence on the basis of accepting what he can get for his people now and negotiating for more later, and the other has refused to accept independence and the homelands policy.

With this background Sir Arthur said he can see both sides of the independence coin with an open mind.

His first visit to Ciskei was in 1939, and he became closely involved with the economic problems of Ciskei and other homelands again in 1974, when he visited South Africa in his capacity as vice-president of the United Kingdom South Africa Trade Association, investigating the possibility of British investment in the homelands.

But it is not as an industrialist or economist he feels he can assist the commission, however, but in his role as a former British Ambassador.

One of the questions facing the commission is that of international recognition. What will be the attitude of the Organisation of African Unity and Western

Europe if Ciskei opts for independence?

"It is in outlining which conditions need to be fulfilled for independence to be acceptable to the rest of the world that I feel I could be of the most help to the commission," he said.

He seems the most likely candidate to study the "political" aspect of the commission's terms of reference.

Prof Ernst Marais, 57, a physicist and rector and vice-chancellor of the

commissioners have been willing to state their views on where the boundaries of an independent Ciskei should lie, though Prof Quail did say that it was not outside the commission's terms of reference to recommend the inclusion of areas outside those already scheduled for consolidation in an independent Ciskei.

Prof Lalendle has made an historical study of the subject and is adamant that to accept anything less than all the land between the Fish and Kei Rivers would be creating "a timebomb."

The northern boundary should be the Stormberg

University of Port Elizabeth, like Prof Quail, feels he brings an open mind to the problems of Ciskei. He said there was nothing special to recommend him to the commission.

But UPE is currently undertaking two investigations of the Ciskei, and the most valuable one for the commission—that on unemployment in this area — will be released next year.

With the exception of Prof Lalendle none of the



The chairman of the Ciskei Independence Commission, Prof George Quail (centre), introduces himself to the other commissioners, Prof Ernst Marais, Prof Ernst Marais and Sir Arthur Snelling.

mountains, he said, and East London, King William's Town and Queenstown must be a part of an independent Ciskei.

He said in an interview Ciskei had at one stage stretched as far as the Gamtoos River, but as Ciskeian chiefs had agreed in 1778 to accept the Fish River as the country's western boundary, this should still be acceptable today.

He had accepted the homeland system as one therapeutic to the black man in South Africa, but felt Ciskei could only accept independent status under the conditions offered if it was aiming later at further negotiations or a confederation.

"There will come a time when we will have a multi-racial state and live in peace throughout South Africa. No segregationist policy can stand the assault of time," he said.

The American member of the commission who will join them for their second session in February, Prof Peter Kilby, an economist, is a newcomer to Ciskei, but not to Africa, and has experience in other developing states, including Kenya.

Dr Martin van den Berg, as a previous head of the Economic Development Programme in the office of the Prime Minister, and as a former head of the Economic and Statistical Department of the Industrial Development Corporation, will be fully aware of Ciskei's industrial and economic problems.

He missed some of the first session of the commission, but will rejoin in February.

committees and were employing 16 625 Africans in the following sectors of the economy:<sup>37</sup>

TABLE 3

Sector	Number of Organisations	Industrial Classification of Participants
Manufacturing	25	
Services	6	
Commerce	3	
	34	

In fifteen organisations (44%) management had established the committee, while African employees (15%), and management and employees together (41%).

There was a tendency for older workers and those elected to these committees: in 80% of the cases there were no restrictions whatsoever on the nomination of members. In 20% there were certain requirements, mainly to achieve a balance between management and employees.

82% of the respondents reported that their work committees met during the period of one year. In most instances, 68% of the committees held meetings, while a further 9% met weekly or bi-weekly intervals.

The most frequently mentioned reasons for choosing these committees were that they were more effective than liaison committees, more representative and acceptable to African workers, and more democratic.

In 1973 only three co-ordinating works committees were reported.

Recognition of African Trade Unions

The Verster investigation indicated that while 56% of the organisations with liaison committees (56%) were in favour of recognising African trade unions, the majority of those with works committees (68%) were in favour of recognising them.<sup>40</sup>

37. Op.cit. pp.91-4.

38. Ibid, pp.97-101.

39. Hansard 3 columns 160-1, 22 August 1973.

40. Op.cit. pp.66-8, 108.



# Mrs Sebe: I was humiliated at Frere

**KING WILLIAMS TOWN** — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, is said to be furious about alleged humiliation of his wife, Mrs Virginia Sebe.

Mrs Sebe, who is at the Frere Hospital in East London, claimed she was humiliated at the hospital when she arrived there on Monday.

She had been referred to Frere by Mount Coke Hospital, where she had been a patient for three days last week.

According to a family member, Mrs Sebe had a relapse on Sunday and had to go back to Mount Coke. She had extensive nose bleeding.

On arrival at Frere Hospital, she had to stand in a long queue at the admissions office.

"When I eventually got to the head of the queue, the admitting clerk asked me who I was, and when I told him he asked who my husband was," she said.

The clerk asked who Chief Sebe was, what kind of work he did and what his income was.

"The doctor who examined me further humiliated me, and even when he eventually treated me, it was without respect."

The doctor, on seeing her admission card, allegedly said: "I see you are the wife of the Ciskei Chief Minister which means I have to treat you very carefully in dealing with you, lest I be deported from my country."

The family member said Chief Sebe, who is in Pretoria, had been told about the incident, and he is furious and will definitely approach the Frere Hospital medical superintendent to report the matter.

He said Mrs Sebe, whether anybody liked it or not, was the wife of the Ciskei Chief Minister which also gave her VIP status, and, as such, better treatment should have been given her.

Mrs Sebe was transferred from the black female ward to the white section Perks' ward yesterday.

Tight security measures are being applied, and only close relatives are allowed to see her. A policeman keeps a 24-hour vigil outside her ward.

Five visitors were not allowed to see her because she was seriously ill.

The hospital's medical superintendent, Dr F. L. S. Visser, said last night he did not wish to comment. Chief Sebe could not be reached for comment.

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system. However, it is only a beginning, people's consciousness will change and develop with their experience of the changing and developing structures they establish. "In China's "Short March" of agricultural development from co-operation between 4 - 6 households to co-operation between 4 - 6 thousand households, the constant feature was every step forward solved some old problems but created new ones, the solution of which made a new step forward inevitable if there was not going to be stagnation. Each new step forward involved acceptance at an even higher level of priority for collective as opposed to individual interest." (65)

People's desire to amalgamate into bigger and bigger groups only developed from their experience of working together in the smaller groups. Furthermore, people went through a learning process as the groups and structures developed and so from their previous experience they were well equipped to deal with each new structure as they created it.

However, in a situation where people cannot develop the structures which would be the expression of their new beliefs and aims, this whole learning process is cut short. The full development of their ideas and "consciousness" would need to be based on their experiences in the new structures they develop.

Thus in the South African reserve situation, people's change of consciousness stemming from their involvement in inequitable projects often cannot be expressed in any way. As long as the over-all structure of the reserves continues to inhibit the implementation of new systems, would-be-developers should realise that "changes in consciousness" can occur but only up to a certain stage.

Furthermore, one should not make the mistake of believing that one can assess the way in which future systems would develop from what is happening in the present, nor that people's present aspirations would hold for all time.

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# Ciskei official shocked at family eviction

EAST LONDON — Shock and dismay were expressed by a spokesman from the offices of the Ciskei Department of Interior when told about the eviction of a family at Mdantsane because the rent was paid late.

Mr John Klaas, of 5710 Zone Five, a bed-ridden TB sufferer, sent his wife Cynthia, to the rent office on December 9 to pay arrear rentals for September, October, November and December.

Clerks took the money for the first three months and refused to accept December's payment.

Mrs Klaas said she was told instruction had been received from one township councillor that money for December should not be accepted and the family should be evicted from the house.

Ciskei police took the furniture out of the house. Mrs Klaas had to ask friends for a place to accommodate her sick husband. The house was locked.

The five children the couple has had to go and stay with friends.

"I was surprised when told that we had to vacate the house. No reasons were given," Mrs Klaas said.

A spokesman for the Department of Interior said it was not Ciskei Government policy to evict people in arrears in rent.

People were given a chance to explain their difficulties and asked to make arrangements for payment.

The township assistant manager, Mr S. Kayo, now acting for his senior, Mr I. Balk, who is on leave, said he was not aware of any evictions in the township.

A person in arrears had to be summoned to appear before the housing committee and show cause why he or she was in arrears, he said.

He said he would investigate the position. — DDR.

... WILSON EUGENES ALS

Here I think "developers" should consider whether, in advocating projects which cannot change the basic conditions of people's lives, they are avoiding the root problems and perhaps diverting attention from them. Any projects not based on a recognition of the basic problems are likely to prove ineffective. "The co-operatives are in themselves administrative agencies towards the solution of problems that far transcend the administrative realm... In so many instances the introduction of marketing co-operatives, in effect leaves the actual provision of local marketing facilities on the ground to the same non-resource that was to produce the instant harmony and consensus of interests and leadership in the organisation of the co-operative itself."

In many cases the resources made available for projects benefit the richer only and so in some cases entrench the differences between classes. In the situation of poverty and, in some



HOWARD PREECE, Financial Editor, reports on his visit to the Ciskei this week.

# The poorer Ciskei

THE main hotel at present in the Ciskei homeland is not large by world standards. There are six bedrooms at the Mdantsane Hotel to be precise.

But the all black staff are keen and eager to please. They are encouraged by the manager, Mr Wellington Mbali, a kind, courteous and ruggedly built grandfather who walks with a stick as a legacy of his rugby playing days in the surrounding Eastern Cape.

There can be an inspirational quality to the hotel, too. It is the first time I have eaten lunch to the resounding accompaniment of "Jerusalem" on an organ nestling across the diningroom.

The Mdantsane Hotel is a project of the Ciskeian National Development Corporation.

The CNDC, led by its white officials under the dedicated general manager, Mr Frans Meisenholl, is energetically struggling to develop agriculture and create an industrial base for the intended independent country of Ciskei.

The task is enormous.

Mr Meisenholl says: "The CNDC provides employment for approximately 220 whites and 2 500 Ciskeians."

"If one adds to this the jobs created by the industries established on the agency basis, as well as by Ciskeian businessmen, the whole development action resulted in new jobs being created for about 5 500 Ciskeians."

"Approximately 8 000 Ciskeians enter the labour market annually in the Ciskei homeland."

"At the current capital cost for black job opportunity, it will require more than R30-million a year to create employment for these Ciskeians in or near the homeland."

Total CNDC assets today are R20-million.

That is only half the problem in the wider political context.

Mr Meisenholl says: "More than 50% of Ciskei men between 20 and 40 years still live outside the homeland."

That swells the number of "Ciskei citizens" from 60-0 000 residents to around 1-million.

There are no known mineral resources. Nearly all the farming is presently on a subsistence basis — although the extremely able Mr Gary Godder, general manager of the Ciskei Marketing Board, is infectiousy enthusiastic about the agricultural potential.

The most natural port outlet for Ciskei is East London which is operating to only 50% of capacity.

But East London falls into the "white wedge" between Transkei and Ciskei. So does King William's Town whose supermarkets scoop much of Ciskei's spending.

The Mdantsane Hotel symbolises some of the dilemmas of general homeland policy arising from conflicting political and economic objectives.

Even with only six bedrooms and CNDC backing the hotel averages only half occupancy.

Only a handful of Ciskeians are in the market for R6 a night accommodation.

The most recent figure for gross national product — a head that is available is R54 for 1973-74.

Those few Ciskeians who do want hotel accommodation often prefer the "real thing" — the "inter-national" status offerings of East London. The hotel depends on the adjoining bottle store for 94% of the R1-million turnover last year of the project.

And the bottle store needs no help from the CNDC or anyone else.

What the Ciskei urgently needs — and this has no necessary connection with the homeland's policy — is major agricultural development. An impressive project has begun, for example, at Keiskammahoek.

Mr Meisenholl explains: "The scheme provides for the settlement of carefully selected Ciskeian farmers on 4 ha of irrigated land for the production of milk and cash crops under supervision and management."

"The (black) settlers are tenants and their leases are subject to satisfactory performance."

"A nucleus unit provides a range of services to the

settlers, including mechanisation, water, additional labour, marketing and, most important training.

"The settlers pay economic rentals for their plots and the services."

The first stage of this development allows for 23 settlers and the cultivation of some 200 ha.

It might not sound much but it has an impressively workmanlike look about it.

Mr Kobane Kakavu has just won R250 from a tractor farm for the best plot in the scheme and he will tell how hunch the scheme means to him and his family and their neighbours.

Mr Godden supplies the punchline: "Give us R66-million to develop an irrigation scheme for the whole valley at Keiskammahoek and we could provide food for the whole Ciskei."

"We could become a food exporting region and soak up unemployment as well."

The present budget for Keiskammahoek is R3-million over five years.

The money comes through the Ciskei Department of Agriculture. It is the same whether through the CNDC or the parent Corporation for Economic Development of the Ciskei Government.

What matters finally is the extent of the contribution from the South African Government.

The trouble is, in my opinion, that money is both too little and too uneconomically used.

Chief Lennox Sebe, the Chief Minister would like East London. But he will not say whether he will refuse independence if he cannot have it. He says consolidation of agreed boundaries comes first anyway.

What he does talk of is developing Hamburg as a major port to rival East London, which is economic nonsense, being generated only by the political need for a "self-sufficient" Ciskei.

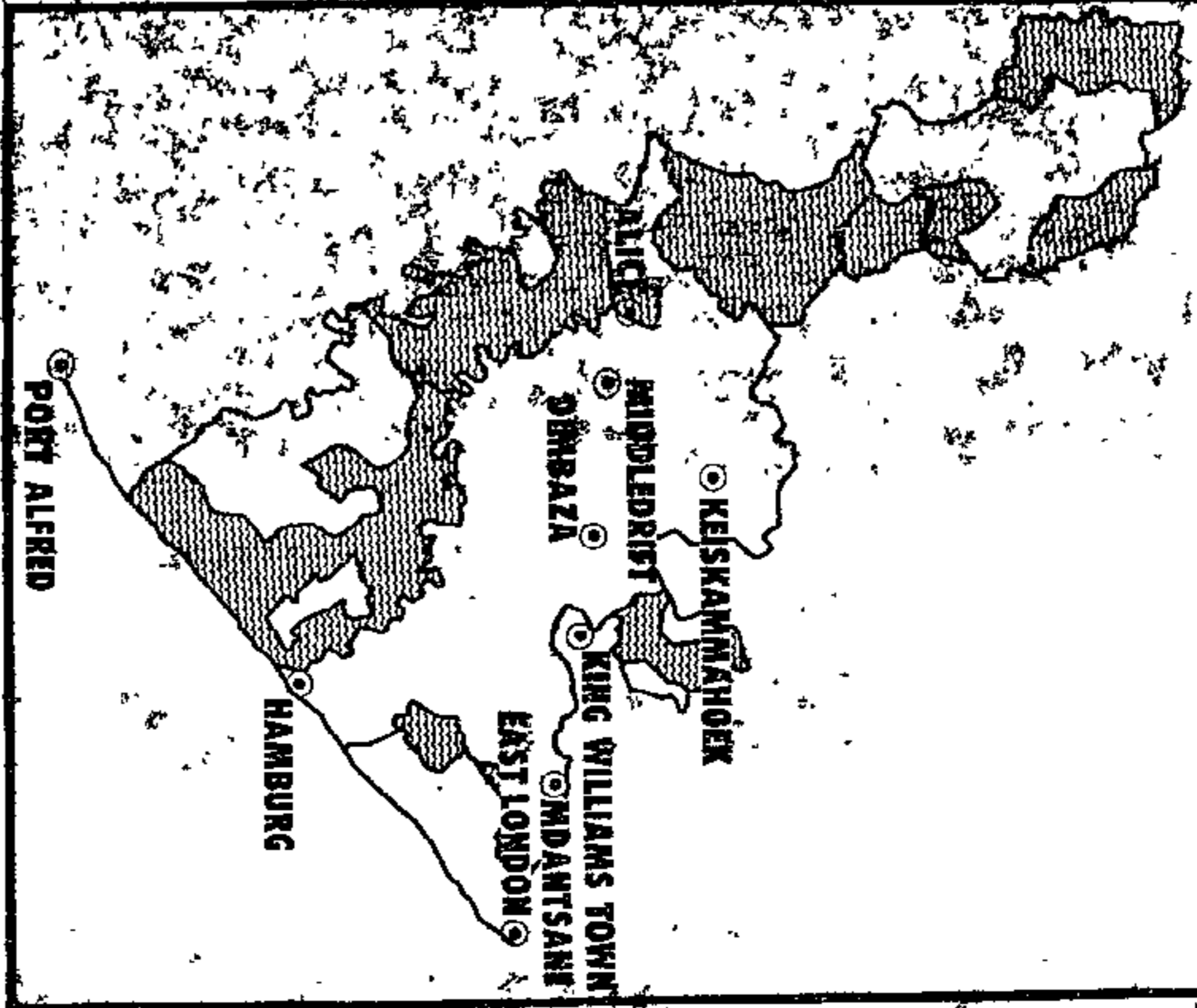
So at the moment is the plan to move the "capital" of Ciskei from the township of Zwelitsha to Alice with all the costs involved.

There are, I believe, vastly more urgent economic needs. The Mdantsane Hotel is "necessary" only as a rather pathetic symbol of the determination that Ciskei must be given the trappings but not the substance of an economically and politically independent nation.

There is much good work being done in Ciskei in developing small industry and agriculture.

It is unlikely that even this limited but largely laudable effort would have taken place without the political stimulation of the homeland's policy. To the extent that the policy has helped produce some genuine economic decentralisation to the greater benefit of the people in the regions such as Ciskei, it has added to the sum of human happiness, but to the extent that the balanced economic development of any region is subordinated to the aims of an often conflicting political design, it detracts from that happiness.

There is still a long way to the new Jerusalem in the sprawling 200 000 population location, for such it is, of Mdantsane.



Worker in the assembly line of a Ciskei cycle factory.

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Mr W. A. Meyer, control engineer for Border in the Post Office, presents Mr Terence Rust with his technicians diploma. Mr Rust and another apprentice, Mr Gavin Hack, managed an aggregate of more than 80 per cent in their subjects. Twenty-five apprentices received their diplomas.

# Mabandla: we'll ignore ban

**PORT ELIZABETH** — Political meetings in the Port Elizabeth area would continue to be held despite the ban by the Ciskei Government, the leader of the Ciskei opposition party, Chief Justice Mabandla, said here

Addressing a meeting of the opposition alliance at New Brighton, Chief Mabandla said despite the ban, the ruling party had gone ahead with meetings.

"Never since I have been in politics have I experienced obstacles like this. But they, the ruling party, will not stop us holding our meetings," he said.

"By refusing us a platform, the world will never know what we cry for: A platform is the place from where our message can be put across," Chief Mabandla said.

A member of the Coloured Representative Council, Mr Norman Middleton, was unable to attend the meeting because he had to attend the Labour Party national congress in Kimberley.

In a speech read for him by Dr K. K. Mr Middleton said.

"The Labour Party of South Africa would like to be with you to reaffirm the unwavering stand in fighting injustice and oppression in South Africa.

"Your unflinching stand against the fragmentation of the land of our birth into a homeland based on ethnic grouping is greatly appreciated. May you not deviate from this course.

"Our concern should not be with the CRC and the homeland of Ciskei, but the total homeland of South Africa

"I am convinced there can be no reconciliation between white and blacks who suffer injustice and poverty. There can be no fellowship between master and servant until the whip is thrown aside.

"Reconciliation between black and white in South Africa can only come about at a national convention involving all true leaders. It will be such a convention that can decide on a new constitution and dispensation of justice to all". — DDC.

(News by G. Luse, 92 Maduka Street, New Brighton)

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# Sebe threat dismissed

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Chief Lenn Sebe's threat to strangle King William's Town has been dismissed as irresponsible.

A senior executive member of Chief Justice Mabandla's Ciskei National Party, Mr L S Mtoba, said the threat showed a lack of wisdom of the economics of interdependence.

Mr Mtoba said Chief Sebe might not have considered that King

William's Town is a big town like King to Alice. "What will happen to Ciskeian workers at Dimbaza where the Chief Minister has promised to establish factories?" Mr Mtoba asked. He asked if workers at Dimbaza and around King William's Town would be expected to travel to Alice for their purchases. "The truth of the matter is that the Chief Minister

is fully aware the economic strangulation of King would hit the black man hardest.

is fully aware the economic strangulation of King would hit the black man hardest.

"Chief Sebe is trying to recapture lost prestige after the rudest experience he has had when he gave the impression the claim for East London and King William's Town was a matter between him and Pretoria.

"Then he got a shock when the Minister for Plural Relations told the public the Ciskei had never made land claims."

(News by Charles Ngakula, Pretoria Building, Alexandra Road, King William's Town).



The chairman of the Ciskei Independence Commission, Prof George Quall (centre), introduces himself to the only Ciskeian on the commission, Prof Coax Lalendle, of the University of Fort Hare. The other commissioners are from left: Dr Martin van den Berg, Prof Ernst Marais and Sir Arthur Snelling.

# Independence decision will wait — Sebe

EAST LONDON — The Ciskei Government will not come to any decision in regard to independence before it has seen the report of the Ciskei Independence Commission.

This undertaking was given to the five commission members who met for the first time in Zwelitsha yesterday by the Chief Minister of Ciskei, Chief L. L. Sebe.

Chief Sebe said he also intended, once he had studied the report, to go back to his people to test their feelings before he contemplated any constitutional change.

This would rule out any concrete move towards independence for the next 12 months, as this is the period which the commission had been given in which to complete its report.

It will be studying the feasibility of independence for the Ciskei with particular reference to economic, political, social and geographical considerations.

Chief Sebe told the commissioners his government was offered a limited choice in South Africa.

"Some of my colleagues have opted for one or other of these choices. What I want to know is what offers the best future for my people, within or outside these choices," he said.

The findings of the commission would not only be of vital importance to the Ciskei, but also to the future of all South African homelands.

Chief Sebe warned of the townships crammed with youths wandering the streets in search of trouble. "The future of both white and black in South Africa depends on the future I can offer these people," he said.

Yesterday the commission held their first session, and today they will see much of the Ciskei from the air, during a round tour that takes in Peddie, Hamburg, Mdantsane, the route of the Kei River, Whittlesa, Alice, Middledrift and Dimbaza.

They will tour Dimbaza, Keiskammahok, Alice and Hamburg by car tomorrow, and will be shown around factories, as well as the site for the proposed future Ciskei capital at Alice. — DDR.

advent of drought or a decline in beef the rental price and the market rise quickly. A law which allowed pens of grazing rentals might be worth for grazing to keep pace with un- are held by each household could arise in the enforcement of rent the tax would be paid equally by ts, by a few powerful families. immediately after the annual ders and those without cattle excess grazing units they controlled At the same time large livestock e an interest in the purchase of everyone paid an equal tax based on avoidance of tax payments an tions.

exploit ze id larly take