

What we want to do as far as we are concerned, the X.D.C. can help us as much as possible, but as long as we have the mentality that we must start counting the stock in a shop which was previously there and we do not know how this shop has been run, with all the Goodwill in the world, Gentlemen, we will be marking time.

Here I must pay a word of tribute and criticize sometimes, but when praise is due we seem to be ashamed of it. When we went to the C.N.D.C. manager, Mr. Merriman, from my trip to Hong Kong, I said, see that these people have shelters, and he has started that project where somebody will have at least protection which he longs to have and put his belongings inside and lock the door, and if, when you go there, you will find he is not the only person, there will be somebody who will be indirectly needed, and both these people are helping each other to go up the ladder financially. This is a clarion call.

As a result of negotiations which were concluded between myself and the School of Business Management of the University of Stellenbosch, an Institute of Management for the Ciskei has been inaugurated. The Institute operates under the auspices of the Graduate School of Business at Stellenbosch and with the assistance of Fort Hare University. To date four courses have been presented to Ciskeians. A total of 71 students were enrolled for these courses and 58 students completed the courses successfully. All of the businessmen whom I have spoken to who have taken advantage of this new facility, have been full of praise for the practical way in which instruction has been given and without fail they have all stated that they have benefited considerably through their attendance. In fact, their progress is so that they did not know that the money in the till was not theirs until they have paid their accounts. They believed that the money in the till belonged to the pockets, this is one philosophy that this school taught to them. In addition a seminar on General Sales Tax was held, and this was attended by 500 delegates. The Ciskei Institute of Management has now appointed a full-time Director who is resident in King William's Town. The establishment of this Institute was made possible by the contribution of some R15 000 per annum to it by the Ciskeian National Development Corporation. And here we have nothing else but praise.

CENTRAL CISKEIAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

I am happy to report, that the Intelligence function is a further function which has been taken over from the Republican Governments Bureau of State Security. The Intelligence Service operates under the umbrella of my Department, but does not follow normal departmental procedures in reporting to myself and the Cabinet. There is regular direct contact between myself and the Secretary of the Central Ciskeian Intelligence Service. This procedure is in accordance with normal procedures adopted in most countries in the world today. The activities of this branch of my Department is by its very nature highly confidential and no detailed report will therefore be furnished publicly to this Assembly.

RESETTLEMENT

Mr. Chairman, if I were to be asked, what factor it was which caused the most friction between the Ciskeian Government and the Government of the Republic of South Africa, then I would find it easy to answer that question in one word - "Resettlement". My Government has found itself in a situation time and again during the

preceding year when it has been forced to seek audience with Ministers and Deputy Ministers of the Republic of South Africa. And here I must say every time we see the Minister, Dr. Koornhof, there is always positive results. And also Dr. Vosloo, we have found that ticklish as it is this situation. We can handle it with them but the outcome of some of these meetings have been covered extensively in the Press. That you have seen. I also do not see much likelihood of an improvement, in so far, as these matters are concerned, Mr. Chairman, as the policies of the Government of the Ciskei and that of the Republic of South Africa in regard to these farms appear to be opposed to one another.

I am happy to report, Mr. Chairman, that as a result of negotiations we are now assured, I emphasise NOW that temporary accommodation presently hidden somewhere in the Transkei and being erected at Whittlesea we have been assured that it is not intended for squatters from Crossroads and other areas in the Western Cape, that we have been assured. We have been also assured, that we will be allowed to use this temporary accommodation for the solution of the already existing problems within the Ciskei and that is the *problem of housing*.

After much debate at high level, the Government of the Republic of South Africa underline that, why I am telling you this, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like us to be honest with one another. My Government takes the Republican Government as its partner and we are partners, and as partners there must be an equal voters role for the Ciskeians. After debate at high level, the Government of the Republic of South Africa has conceded to the Ciskei certain limited rights to graze the Frankfort farms pending their resettlement. My Government's attitude is that if land is bought then it must be handed to the Ciskei if we make a mess of it then we will be kicked by the people, that is not the worry of the Republican Government. That must be made clear, if land is bought to say that you shall misuse it and all that, that has nothing to do with the Republican Government otherwise then they must abolish the Department of Agriculture. I am led to understand, that the resettlement will take place during the present year and again here we are blamed by the voters, "why is it that you did not take the first map that was sent to you?" A map without data, without analysis of soil that map is useless it means nothing because you may put your houses on very fertile soil which you cannot afford that is what the delay was what they were asking us, you are getting spears from all sides, what has delayed the plan at Frankfort? We cannot accept the map from Pretoria because it has no data, so we have to make a map which has data, so that this land will be used for grazing, that will be used for schools, that will be used for resettlement. I am led to understand that the resettlement will take place during the present year. You must understand my phraseologies here. My Government has disassociated itself with this resettlement undertaking as it is entirely a Republican Government matter concerning the execution of that Governments policies.

Now what I want everybody to clearly understand and the peoples to understand, we never reply to every nonsense report, we do not support resettlement, but if resettlement is to take place then the Republican Government is responsible to see that its policy is carried out, but once these people are settled in the Ciskei, they are not stones, they are people, and for humanitarian reasons we have to give assistance to them, not that as some people say we encourage resettlement. Mr. Chairman, some people may ask me and say, why do I speak in this strain, I represent the people and on the 15th and

15th April 21 000 Ciskeians drew up a memorandum, they called up a Committee at Nthabakandoda, and I will quote you one phrase there:

"As long as the Republican Government does not accede to this urgent demand of handing over bought farms to the Ciskeian Government, the policy of Separate Development is meaningless. In the event of failure to comply with this burning issue, the Republican Government must expect direct confrontation."

This is a twenty one thousand strong delegation from Ntabakandoda; what else can we then as Leaders say when we represent these people?

Mr. Chairman and hon. members, this is a matter for the future of South Africa, we took six trips, having discussions trying to avoid this document, but it must come from the masses. Now the masses have drawn up documents, so I leave the rest to your imagination. Six times we were travelling between Pretoria and the Ciskei and Cape Town, trying to act as shock absorbers so that this should not happen. Well, it has happened.

Although resettlement is in most cases connected with the execution of the Republican Governments policies, Mr. Chairman, we do consider that we have a duty to hold a watching brief in these matters in order to ensure that we can secure the best deal for our people in a situation which we are constitutionally unable to control or to change. It is for this reason that we have strongly resisted the resettlement of people from Kwelera and Mooiplaas in the Peddie district and have made certain alternative proposals, the nature of which I am unable to disclose at this time.

It will be appreciated, Mr. Chairman, that we are occasionally faced with situations where urgent steps to resettle people have to be taken in order simply to alleviate human suffering. I would refer the House in this connection to an example of such a situation in the case of Ndevana which my Government was forced to develop urgently to prevent untold hardships which were being endured by homeless people. It is still our contention, however, that having created the Ndevana settlement, it is the Republican Government's responsibility to solve the urgent problem of unemployment which exists there. We do not concede that because we have been forced into a situation where we have had to take action on compassionate grounds, that by so doing we are relieving the Government of the Republic of South Africa of its responsibilities in the matter.

A similar situation arose recently in the East London district where 39 families fled from farms under fear of ejection. The Honourable the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry was forced to provide unsatisfactory and temporary accommodation for these people in the Potsdam area. In fact, they are literally living next to the graveyard. To summarise, Mr. Chairman, it is clear that a very unsatisfactory situation exists insofar as the resettlement of people is concerned. Mr. Chairman, I repeat as far as the resettlement of people is concerned. My Government is making the best that it can of this unsatisfactory situation and it will continue to do so and all in its power so that justice is done. But, Mr. Chairman, the weight of twenty one thousand delegates to about seventy something

of this Parliament, the shock absorber is giving in.

CISKEI COMMISSION:

Mr. Chairman, I am sure you will agree, that a major constitutional step such as the acceptance of Independence is not one to be taken lightly. I want to emphasise, is not one that should be taken lightly, I have seen some. Chief Mabandla, the hon. member yesterday made an analogy of a little puppy that in your home where you have big dogs, he said you must have a little dog to give the alarm, but sometimes this little dog gives a false alarm, you go out and you find that there is nothing. I mean people to be writing about Opinion Poles on an Indepth Scientific Project like this one, well as much as that the hon. Minister, they are just giving a false alarm sometimes. It would appear to me, Mr. Chairman, that the Ciskeians are entitled to expect guidance on this occasion, on this question of their government in that that guidance should be given on the very best possible advice which the Government could take on the matter. It was for this reason that the Ciskei Commission was called into being in terms of Government Notice No. 14 which was published in the Ciskei Official Gazette of 4th August, 1978.

The members of the Commission are Professor R.I. Rotberg, Professor G.P. Quail (Chairman), Professor P. Kilby, Mr. C.H.T. Lalendle, Professor E.J. Marais, Sir Auther Snelling and Dr. M. van den Berg, (please, Dr. M. van der Berg). Of these members three come from countries outside South Africa, namely Sir Auther Snelling (from the United Kingdom) and Professors Kilby and Rotberg (both from the United States of America). I may mention that this men is highly respected in the intellectual field, this Professor Rotberg, he is an author, I have two of his books, he has written about Botswana and Zululand and Zambia, he has written many books, and Professor Kilby is the President of the World Bank. The Secretary to the Commission is Mr. R. Proctor-Sims. Now it will be seen from this calibre and from this exercise that nobody is going to say:

"No they asked people from Pretoria to do this."

This is an independent opinion and we will accept whatever recommendations they make, and they will be brought to you first to scrutinise them. Now, for these little puppies to give false alarms, I think, Mr. Chairman, it is not fair.

The Commission met for the first time in December, 1978. At that preliminary meeting neither of the American members were able to be present, Professor Kilby because of a delay in the issue of his ticket and Professor Rotberg because his appointment in succession to Professor T. Hanf of Germany (who had originally accepted appointment and then had to withdraw at the last moment) had not yet been confirmed. This meeting which took place in Zwelitsha was therefore treated as a preliminary meeting, although the members present were able to conduct some business, including the taking of evidence from leaders of political parties in the Ciskei and three days were also spent in orientation tours.

The Commissions second meeting also held in Zwelitsha took place in February, 1979, and all the Commissioners were present. Evidence was taken from the Chief Minister, other Ministers, Secretaries of Departments, Political Detainees and a number of other individuals. Before this Session the Commissioners who had not yet