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Published hy (iRC \hat{a}\200\2311\hat{a}\200\230e1.046I-28502
10 llaylon's Building. 94 Hi It SL.
Grahamstown. 0140 South frica
One year after the incorporation of quonkqwenl village Into the Ciskel the
war between the village and the Cisket authorities continues. The Clskei police
have used live ammunition against the village on 2 occasions over the past
month. Miraculously no-one has yet been killed. However death and
destruction could occur at any moment. Despite this the SA government
refuses to intervene to protect Its citizens. It does not seem to care If another
Leeufontien Incident ocurs. 11 people died at Leeufontein In Bophutatswana
In July when police attacked residents there. In the picture above Is a tamlllar
scene: residents look on anxiously as pollce arrive In the village, this time after
a church service on Sunday, August 20.
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Peelton - one year of terror under Ciskei
quonkqweni village in Peelton was incorporated into the Ciskei in August 1988. â\200\230
Oneyear later the community is still refusing to have anything to do with the Ciskei.
Hundreds of residents have been assaulted, arrested and detained.
The residents of quonkqweni are South African
citizens. They were never consulted about whether or
not they wished to be part of the Ciskei. According to
the Nationalist Party MP for King Williamâ\200\231s Town "the
incorporation ..... took place after an agreement
between SA and Ciskei, and with the approval of the
headman olâ\200\230 the area representing the community". But
this claim is worthless, since the headman in question
was neither elected nor supported by the community.
In addition he was appointed as headman by the Ciskei,
although at the time of the agreement the village was
still ofi¬\201cially part olâ\200\230South Africa! The situation is more
accurately described by the Democratic Party
candidate in the region, who told the press that "the
South African government has abandoned its own
people there. They just want to wash their hands of it."
Ciskei "justice"
Because the residents of quonkqweni were never
consulted about the incorporation, they have refused to
acknowledge the authority of the Ciskei, have paid no
taxes and have refused to become Ciskei citizens. They
have demanded that the village be returned to SA.
The Ciskeiâ\200\231s response to this peaceful resistance has
been typically harsh. it has tried to harass the
community into submission, and is increasingly
resorting to the use of violence. [See previous URL:
Newsletters and a\200\231Chronologya\200\231 below].
In the face of the attacks by Ciskei security forces the
residents, as SA citizens, have tried repeatedly to
approach the SA government for protection, through its
ambassador to Ciskei, Van Aardt. On every occasion he
has refused their requests. in desperation the
eommunitytried to make contact directly with Pretoria.
they were referred back to the ambassador in Ciskei!
In another attempt to gain some protection for
themselves, the community has on two occasions gone
to the Ciskei supreme court to obtain an order to stop
the police from harassing them. Although the court
granted the order (in November 1988), the harassment
continued. As a result of the i-202agrant violations an
application was made, in June of 1989, to the Bisho
supreme court, to have the minister of police put into
contempt of the court order of November 1988, which
lâ\200\230orbade unlawful police activity in quonkqweni. This
application is to be heard on September 18.
However even this pending case, aimed directly at the
minister of police, and threatening \mathop{\text{\rm him}}\nolimits with
imprisonment or at least embarrassment, has hadlittle
effect. In the last two months reported incidents include
Ciskei police opening tire on a house before giving the
inhabitants time to vacate, and a teargas attack on the
village followed by the tiring of live ammunition at
youths escaping into the bushes.
Without protection from the South African government
or the Ciskei courts, the residents of quonkqweni
remain exposed to such assaults.
The cost of resistance
Apart from the assaults, the community is being made
to pay in other ways for resisting the incorporation.
Detentions and arrests occur frequently. Residents
employed by the Ciskei government have been
dismissed without being given any reasons. Others have
been refused treatment at a nearby clinic in the Ciskei.
Residents have been refused use of dipping tanks for
their livestock and have been told that their children will
not be allowed to attend school in the Ciskei.
But the biggest cost for many is the cancellation by SA
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ol'the pensions olthe residents. in an attempt to enforce recognition of the Ciskei, SA has said that it has paid the pension money over to the Ciskei and that residents must apply to the Ciskei if they want to continue to receive their pensions. The community has rejected this. They say that the Ciskei will try to use the pensions to buy their support. They say that they are SA citizens and that therefore they are entitled to continue to receive all the rights and beneï¬\201ts ofSA citizenship. Although their case seems strong from a legal point of view, it will be a long and hard struggle for the residents to obtain the beneï¬\201ts which are rightfully theirs.

Gaining support

Residents in the rest of Peelton have been watching, the resistance of quonkqweni with interest. Attempts by the Ciskei government to harness the support ofthe rest of Peelton against quonkqweni seem to have failed. M eetings called by Ciskei ofi¬\201cials in other villages have been attended by more ofi¬\201cials from Bisho, Ciskeiâ\200\230s capitol, than from the villages in Peelton. There is opposition to Ciskei even in the parts of Peelton that have been part of the Ciskei ever since its 'independence" in 1981. There has been much opposition to the dictatorial rule of $a\200\234$ acting ehiel" Mthembu, who was appointed only because olâ\200\230 his close association with Ciskeiâ\200\231s "president" Sebe. Other unhappy communities in the Ciskei are also watching the struggle in Peelton with interest. On August 15 all the pupils at the only high school in Peelton boycotted school to demand the release of detained pupils from quonkqweni. This high school is not situated in quonqkweni but in Sixekweni, the home ol "ehiel" Mthembu. The majority of pupils at the school are not from quonkqem. in the wake of the tletcntions bf and assaults on pupils,

including the i¬\201ring of live ammunition, pupils allegedly stoned the houses of the few Ciiskei-supporting Iâ\200\230amilies in the village. Some windows $a\200\230$ were broken. The Ciskei government sent in trucks to rgemove its supporters.

quonkqweni residents have used legal and peaceful means to protect themselves. The Ciskei has shown complete disregard for the law, ignoring even orders 01 its own supreme court. Ciskei has claimed that police actions in quonkqweni have been to prevent crime. But of some 150 residents charged over the past year, not a single person was convicted of any offence while represented by an attorney until July 1989. The i¬\201rst conviction was for allocating a residential site without the permission of the headman. This is not the sort of crime that requires police to assault the village-with teargas, sjamboks and now with live ammunition. The Ciskei has used force against the community and little else. The type of force used indicates that the Ciskei is prepared to kill its opponents. (iRC fears that the conflict in quonkqweni will escalate and that more bloodshed is inevitable unless SA takes <code>i¬\201rm</code> action to restrain the Ciskei. But SA ambassador to the Ciskei, Van Aardt, has ignored repeated appeals by citizens of SA. Appeals to Minister RF Botha are referred back to Van Aardt! It is quite clear that SA is happy to wash its hands of its citizens who are black and who have been moved or incorporated into repressive bantustans such as the Ciskei. There are many similar stories. The Potsdam community struggled for 6 years against the Ciskei. Then they were fortunate - the SA courts said that their removal to the Ciskei in 1983 was illegal and that they had rights to permanent residence in SA. Others have been less fortunate: a community at Thornhill in the northern Ciskei has been punished for the last 13 years for their refusal to support the Ciskei. It is not just the Ciskei that is the problem. Residents in Botshabelo have been struggling for the past 3 years against incorporation into Qwaqwa. The situation in Leeulontein and Braklaagte is very similar to that in quonkqweni. Both these communities were incorporated into Bophutatswana in December 1988. Like the residents of quonkgweni l'they were not consulted about the incorporation. They passively resisted the administration of â\200\235president" Mangopeâ\200\231s Bophutatswana. In July 1989 Leeulontein exploded when Bophutatswana police attempted to disperse a peaceful gathering with teargas and rubber bullets. 9 policemen and 2 villagers were killed. End forced incorporation The SA government has made much noise about ending apartheid, especially to people outside SA. De Klerk and KP. Botha have talked about the need for negotiating a new constitution. International pressure has won certain concessions from the SA government, but very little is said about the bantustans. Millions of South Africans live and suffer under these creations of Pretoria. The struggles of the people of quonkqweni and Leculontein are extreme examples of life under the bantustans. (iRC believes it is time that the abandonment of the bantustan policy is placed i-201rmlyon the agenda. 11 the government IS talking about abandoning apartheid then it must declare an immediate end to forced incorporations. Chronology 28/6: Residents decided to approach the SA foreign minister directly because of Ambassador Van Aardlâ\200\231s refusal to act. 6/7: 6 people charged with malicious damage to property on 29/5 were acquitted. 10/7: 2 residents were detained under section 26 of the Ciskei National Security Act and released on 31/7. Beginning on the evening of 10/7, Ciskei police repeatedly i-\201red teargas in the village during the week.

Villagers collected 10 empty teargas canisters. Miss Nomthandazo Tike miscarried as a result of the gas. 20/7: 10 residents were charged with assault. The case was postponed to 27/9. The charges arose out of an incident in 1988. 4 others were charged with malicious injury to property. The case was postponed to 7/9. 23/7: Ciskei police i¬\201red teargas in each street in the village. Residents, including an 82 year old woman, were assaulted with sjamboks and forced to do exercises. 31 residents were arrested. A 3 year old child was treated at a clinic alter inhaling the fumes. Mrs Nokwayiyo Tinise who was 6 months pregnant started vomiting. She was hospitalised and gave birth prematurely. ()n 24/7 the 31 appeared in court charged with $a\200\235$ erecting a structure without the necessary authority", ie a house. 29/7: At 9pm Ciskei police ordered the occupants of a wood and iron house in which a party was being held to come out and get into police vans. Residents said they did not have enough time to get out before the police opened <code>i¬\201re.</code> 6 bullet holes were found in the walls and others riddled the door. Miraculously no-one was seriously injured or killed. As the occupants i-202ed the house they were assaulted with sjamboks. 37 residents were arrested. They appeared in court on 1/8 charged with public violence, alternatively malicious damage to property. The case was postponed to 1/9. 12 youths Were released into the care of their parents while the remainder were released on bail 01' R25 each. 31/7: Van Aardt got a Zwelitsha magistrate to call an ofi¬\201cial meeting between himself and the villagers in quonkqwcni. Residents demanded to know what the meeting was about and whether the Ciskei police who had opened i-201re on them 2 days before would be present. Van Aardt did not respond. The community decided not to attend the meeting. Afterwards Van Aardt claimed to have held a successful meeting in the presence of SA ofin\201cials in the village. He would not say whether the Ciskei police had been present. He said he had explained a new pension payout system. 1/8: Van Aardt wrote to the communityâ\200\231s attorney stating that SA pensions ol'some Peelton residents were being stopped because they were receiving pensions from the Ciskei as well. He said that other residents would receive their last pension from SA in September. Van Aardt publicly accused the villagers of harassing continued on next page

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loyal Ciskei residents. He did not attack the Ciskei
police for opening in 201re on a party the previous weekend.
2/8: The community replied in a press statement: "We
note that our ambassador has now blamed us for the
situation which exists in quonkqweni. Our present
suffering at the hands of the Ciskei police is not a
situation caused by ourselves but is a direct result of the
forced incorporation of our village into the Ciskci by the
SA government, whose local representative is Mr Van
Aardt. It is clear that Mr Van Aardt does not have our
interest as SA citizens at heart contrary to astatement
bythe Minister of Foreign Affairs in April 1989 that â\200\231As
and when the need arises, the SA government is always
ready to take action to protect its citizensâ\200\231. The
â\200\231sueeessl'ulâ\200\231 meeting referred to was only attended by
Ciskeian citizens. With regard to his statement on future
pensions, we intend to obtain legal advice and if
necessary legal action will be taken .... The community $\200\231s$
attorney challenged the government to prove Van
Aardtâ\200\230s allegation that residents were receiving
pensions from both SA and the Ciskei.
Local Democratic Party candidate in the general
election and farmer near Peelton, Pat Rogers, told the
press: \hat{a}\200\235The SA government has abandoned its own
people there. They just want to wash their hands 01â\200\230 it.
When pensioners went to collect their SA pensions they
were given letters from the Cape Provincial
Administration informing them that their SAâ\200\230pensions
would he stopped from 31/8 and that they would get
their last pensions from SA on 7/9. They went home
empty-handed. CPA said that Ciskei and SA ofi¬\201cials
met on 19/7 and decided that SA pensions would 'be
cancelled immediately.
0/8: CPA changed its story. It said that the reason for
the cancellation of the pensions was that pensioners
all'eeted had dual citizenship and some were claiming
pensions from both governments. The communityâ\200\231s
attorney said that they never held dual citizenship. He
said that SA law stated that SA citizens living in the
Ciskei would not lose their SA rights and beneï¬\201ts.
Pensions were a beneï¬\201t. ()ne 01Van Aardtâ\200\231s staff was
asked if white SA pensioners living in the Ciskei could
also expect to lose their SA pensions. He replied that a
reply would take several days.
11/8: An editorial in the Daily Dispatch took up
arbitrary government actions such as the quonkqweni
pension issue. 11 labelled any possibility of residents
receiving 2 pensions as "an admission of managerial
incompetence." It asked: "One wonders what the
reaction would have been had the same action been
taken for the same reason against white South Africans
with dual citizenship, of whom there are many.\hat{a}\200\235
15/8: Pat Rogers accused the government of employing
a selective morality in its treatment of SA citizens living
in_the Ciskei. Commenting on the forced incorporation
he said: "The citizens werenâ\200\231t consulted, and the
handling 01' the whole matter by SA and her ambassador
to Ciskci is quite shameful to say the least. They have
abandoned SA citizens who have made it quite clear
they wish to remain in the Republic".
The next day the National Party MP for King William\hat{a}\200\231s
Town said that he was happy to accept coâ\200\224responsibility
for the incorporation of quonkqweni into Ciskei.
15/8: A bus full of pupils from Peelton returning home
was diverted by the police to Frankfort police station.
Pupils from quonkqweni were pointed out and
detained. The next day all the pupils at the only high
school in Peelton boycotted Classes. Only a small
number of the pupils are from quonkqweni village.
The school principal went to Bisho. The same day the
detained pupils were charged with malicious injury to
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property and assault. They were released. Later that night pupils from quonkqweni began to take matters into their own hands. They broke the windows of homes of Ciskei supporters. Some of these Ciskei supporters went to Bisho to meet the security police. The police blamed them for the trouble, saying that they called them the police there all the time because they could not live with the rest of the village. A Ciskei government truck removed the household goods of 3 families from the village. Few pro-Ciskei families remained in the village. 17/8: Early in the morning 3 Residents \hat{a} 200\231 Association (RA) Committee members were detained and taken to brigadier Zibi of the security police. Zibi asked them to stop the youth from lighting the Ciskei. 18/8: 3 residents were each charged with 3 Counts of malicious injury to property and one of assault. They were warned to appear in court on 7/9. 20/8: The Border Council of Churches arranged a church service in quonkqweni. The service itsellwas not harassed by the Ciskei. As 4 journalists lelâ\200\230t the village after the service they noticed a contingent of Ciskei police, including riot police complete with gas masks, entering the village. They followed the police and were detained by Ciskei security police for 4 hours. ()ne of thejournalists was arrested at gunpoint. After arresting thejournalists, the police proceeded to attack the residents with teargas and sjamboks. 4 youngsters between the ages of 12 and 17 were assaulted, taken to the home of headman Tsoko, assaulted again, taken to Frankfort police station and further assaulted. Many other youths ran into the bush on the SAâ\200\224Ciskei border and across onto farms in SA. The Ciskei police opened in\201re with semi-automatie riin\202es on the bushes, $i \neg \ 201ring$ across the border. 3 days later many Children had still not returned. 3 members of the RA were assaulted in front of other villagers and detained. 21/8: 5 youths were arrested. They were taken to the home of headman Tsoko and assaulted. They were then taken to Frankfort police station and again assaulted. Residents complained that the police were continuing, to harass children. Children sent to fetch water had to dress like old people to avoid the police. They were too scared to go to school. Ciskei police threatened that they would kill someone after they, the police, received their pay on 25/8. 22/8: The RA agreed that a delegation of clergy and lawyers seek an urgent meeting with Sebe to diffuse. the situation before more blood was shed. The community $200\230\$ attorney telephoned the Department of Foreign Al'liairs in Pretoria to insist that it intervene. He was told that they were busy and was referred to Van Aardt! 23/8: The 3 RA members detained on 20/8 were charged with public violence and granted hail of R300 each. G. r". S. PRINT - GTN.