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**ARCHIVING WITHOUT A REPOSITORY - THE CURRENT NATURE AND STATUS OF THE  
EASTERN CAPE ARCHIVES IN BISHO/KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**

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At a glance it appears as if there is no shortage of archival repositories in the province of the Eastern Cape. Indeed the historical academic institutions such as Rhodes and Fort Hare possess valuable archival material, particularly for Eastern Cape historical research. The Cory Library of the former university keeps extensive primary and government printed material of the Cape Colonial, Union and Republic of South Africa governments. It also keeps records of private papers and old newspapers, records of various church denominations and missions, as well as records and papers of a number of associations. In recent years this library has also absorbed the records of non-governmental organisations such as the Grahamstown Rural Committee that was instrumental in the struggle against apartheid forced removals.

Likewise, the Howard Pym Library of Fort Hare keeps extensive records of the Cape Colonial, Union and Republic of South Africa governments. They also have mission and mission institution records particularly those of Lovedale College, as well as Anthropological and African literature records. In recent years, the Howard Pym Library and National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre of Fort Hare have received the liberation movement records, which include the archives of the African National Congress (ANC), Pan African Congress (PAC), Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and the New Unity Movement.

Yet even with these extensive university holdings, there remains a gaping hole in the current condition of official records archiving and much work is needed to set up a functional government archival system in the province. This short paper is based on a few interviews that have been recently held with a few civil servants in Bisho.<sup>1</sup> It resulted from my initial experience with the status and the functioning of the Eastern Cape Archives repository in King William's Town during 1999. At that stage the Senior National Archivist had granted me special access to official archival material covering the contemporary period (1968 to 1994) of the Ciskei and the Border area of the Eastern Cape. Sets of Archives essential for my research that were transferred to King William's Town were initially housed in the Central Archives Depot in Pretoria and were already processed and catalogued. Because they had an Eastern Cape focus, the Senior National Archivist was keen to release them to be managed within an archival depot in this province.

This decision mirrored the overall objectives of the Provincial Government of the Eastern Cape. By 1997, it had successfully facilitated the establishment of an Eastern Cape Archives repository in King William's Town and placed it under the Ministry/Department of Sport, Arts and Culture.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter, this Department and the Provincial Government of the Eastern Cape prepared to coordinate the management of archival records relevant to the Eastern Cape under a single administrative system. Even more challenging to their task, they sought to amalgamate the archival records under one roof.

## **Situating the Eastern Cape archives repository**

The increasing workload of the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture meant that this department had to be rationalised in 1997. Four directorates, each with an independent director and supporting staff, were created within this department so that it could meet the challenges from different spheres. The directorates were those of Sports and Recreation, Arts and Culture, Museums and Heritage Resources and Libraries and Archives. Although the latter directorate had the sole task of managing the new Eastern Cape Archives repository, all four, including a section of the Department of Education, were initially housed in one privately owned building, previously Radue Milling Company, for a monthly fixed rent rate in King William's Town. Parts of the building were duly converted for office use and temperature regulated strong rooms with linear shelves were also provided for the storage of archival material. From 1998, the directorate of Libraries and Archives held endless workshops and meetings to thrash out strategies to recruit archival material into their new repository and draw up management and regulation policies.<sup>3</sup>

Location and administration of official archival material in the Eastern Cape by 1999 reflected the legacy of apartheid. Hitherto, there were three distinct 'official' archival depots in the province. Firstly, there was the Port Elizabeth repository that was established in the 1970s and served largely as a provincial depot whose services were linked to those of the Central Archives and Cape Archives Depots in Pretoria and Cape Town respectively.<sup>4</sup> From Port Elizabeth, official archival records that were generated well before and after the formation of the Union of South Africa Government (UG), which were also available from Pretoria and Cape Town, could be accessed. The Port Elizabeth depot also kept these records and could also facilitate transaction of much of the official archival records that were generated within the various departmental structures of the central South African government under the National Party's rule. By the early 1990s, its records, as were those of the Central Archives and Cape Archives, were linked to a computerised database of information concerning manuscript collections kept in all South African archives depots.<sup>5</sup>

Secondly, Transkei's acceptance of 'independence' resulted in the establishment of a separate Transkei archival repository in the Bunga House in Umtata after 1976. This was placed under the administration of the Transkei's Department of Education and Culture. Because of apartheid homeland policy after 1976, there were uneven official archival records located in the Central Archives Depots and other linked repositories pertaining to areas that were referred to as reserves or bantustans.<sup>6</sup> This was largely attributed to the fact that there was no longer a systematic transfer of archival records from local or regional venues to central depots. Nevertheless, the Transkei repository kept most of the records that were generated during its Bunga Administration period, the Transkei Territorial/Bantu Authority system and more significantly it also kept official records that were generated during its 'independence' period. To a large extent, records that were kept, were catalogued and the depot had its own published guide. Requested

files could be accessed manually but were not linked to a computerised database of manuscript collections as were the records of the Central Archives and South African Provincial Depots.<sup>7</sup>

Thirdly, during its 'independence', Ciskei never had a fully-fledged archival repository. Various government departments kept their official records and occasionally, after a period, not clearly defined, copies of these official records were transferred to and kept in the Ciskei Department of Education that in turn transferred them to the CAD in Pretoria. This transfer system was fraught with problems, which largely resulted from the failure of departments to transfer files or their records. From its early administrative centre in Zone 6 Zwelitsha (1968 –1980) to its new capital in Bisho (1981-1994), stacks of record files in departmental offices proliferated along building walls. Some were dumped in foyers and basements of government buildings.<sup>8</sup> Significantly a number of researchers who did studies on the Ciskei were able to access government departmental records through local district offices and magisterial office records. However, centrally processed and catalogued official records pertaining to the former Ciskei government departments that are likely to contribute to the challenge of re-examining the South African homeland policy, are yet to be made available to the public.

Therefore by 1997, some form of archival system, except in the former Ciskei, existed in the Eastern Cape. Thus in its initial phase of operation (1997-2000) the Directorate of Libraries and Archives concentrated on the Ciskei archival material. It facilitated the transfer of most of the early Ciskei archival records that were generated by departmental offices when the administrative centre was still in Zwelitsha, but this largely became a difficult task because the directorate was understaffed. From 1997 to 1999, there was one acting director, who had an experience of serving in the Central Archives Depot in Pretoria, in the Cape Archives, as well as in the provincial depot in Port Elizabeth. Nevertheless, he had only two archivists supporting him. The bottom-line was that this minimal staff was responsible for setting up the King William's repository, as well as the transfer, processing and cataloguing archival material. The challenge mounted when at the beginning of 1999, one archivist left for an appointment at the Witwaterand University repository, which he argued 'offered more opportunities for career development and better employment benefits'.<sup>9</sup> He was not replaced and after that the repository was left with only one archivist. Towards the end of 1999, the experienced acting director retired, and was duly replaced by someone who had accumulated experience in the library services.<sup>10</sup>

Decreasing staff personnel effectively meant that the pre-1981 official Ciskei records that were initially housed in Zwelitsha would take longer to process. Moreover, the King William's Town repository staff still had to collect and collate the Ciskei official records that were generated by Ciskei government departments during this homeland's period of 'independence' – i.e., from 1981 to 1994. But the new Eastern Cape provincial government had retained the Bisho office structure as its legislative headquarters. In its initial phase, it also absorbed much of the former Ciskei and Transkei bureaucracy so that most of

the official records that were generated within the homeland structure remained in house. Not unexpectedly, a number of experienced civil servants were far too smart and protective to keep records of their actions concealed.<sup>11</sup>

It is critical to mention again that besides the pre-1981 official Ciskei records that had reached the King William's Town repository by 1999, only a few post 'independent' Ciskei official records files had been archived. They were those duly transferred by the Ciskei's Department of Education to the Central Archives Depot between 1981 and 1994. The special permission I received from the National Archivist to peruse the contemporary official records of the Ciskei (detailed below) in 1999 meant that they were also returned to the control of the Provincial Government of the Eastern Cape. Although these were already processed and therefore required less labour and time to file, there was still far too much pressure on staff members of the King William's Town repository to increase the campaign of extracting official records from the provincial government offices.<sup>12</sup>

The centralisation of the Eastern Cape Provincial government in Bisho also compounded their problem. Like any other bureaucratic machinery, the new Eastern Cape government in Bisho generated its own records. However, new and old bureaucrats kept what they wanted and disposed of what they deemed useless. In the process, files changed hands and even moved from location to location. Such motions were quite rapid and perhaps too complicated for the Eastern Cape repository staff to contend with. By the same token, it became almost impossible for some government departments to make space to store their records. By 1995, overcrowding in Bisho offices had led to the expansion of other government departmental offices, such as Education, Health, Welfare, Transport and Public Works to other areas such as King William's Town, Zwelitsha and even to the airport building in Bulembu, near King William's Town. Some personnel records files of these departments were moved to a semi-derelict warehouse at this airport.<sup>13</sup> By 2001, some were yet to be collected. This was negligence in its worst form. At a stroke, the Provincial Government of the Eastern Cape had lost historical records of its professional civil servants.

Meanwhile, during the second term of the ANC in office, the Provincial Department of Sport, Arts and Culture had undertaken its programme of resuscitating African heritage and creating official museums in historical African areas with gusto. This was tied with tourism, an economic venture that was and is regarded as an indispensable element of growth and local development in the Eastern Cape. Directories within the Department tussled for funds as well as for prestigious outcomes. In the process, the Libraries and Archives directorate was further submerged. By 2000/1, the Bunga House building that held the Transkei repository had to be renovated and prepared for the Mandela Museum. There were initial talks of removing the Transkei archives to King William's Town or even to the Port Elizabeth repository, but mounting pressure from the Transkei users, as well as distance and the logistics of relocation meant that the archival material had to be retained within Umtata. There was however no space available for them, so that in the initial stage of their relocation the record files were dumped in the basement of the Mandela

Museum building. They were later moved to an adjoining building that was vandalised at a later stage. 'Windows were broken and doors were looted and there was even talk of records and leaflets being eaten by mice and some blowing around the town centre'.<sup>14</sup> The deteriorating situation prompted the intervention of the National Archivists in Pretoria late in 2001 and it was resolved to return the archival material under special guidance to the basement of the Mandela Museum building.<sup>15</sup>

From late 2001, the Libraries and Archives directorate had no choice but to agitate for the renovation of the building adjoining the Mandela Museum so that it could be used for the storage of the Transkei archives. But while this was still a matter of discussion, the Provincial Government of the Eastern Cape decided to revoke the Department of Arts and Culture's use of the private headquarters at King William's Town. This effectively meant that the repository in King William's Town had to be closed. The archival material that was processed inside had to be relocated, as were the remaining departmental offices.<sup>16</sup>

### **The move to Bisho and the archives without a repository**

The main motive and the manner of the Department's relocation from King William's Town reflected a much bigger problem regarding the Provincial Government's deals with private entrepreneurs. As mentioned, the four directorates of the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture and a section of Education were initially housed in the privately owned Radue building from 1997. The rent for the building was a grossly exaggerated fixed monthly rent of R400,000 – an agreement that was locked in by a ten-year contract.<sup>17</sup> This was an enormous amount, especially considering that most of the personnel of the directorates of Sport and Recreation, Arts and Culture had left the building for Bisho by the beginning of 1999. Despite the departure of these other directorates, the rental figure did not change for the remaining directorates of Libraries and Archives, Museums and Heritage and the section of the Education department. Therefore the Eastern Cape government had to pay a R4,8 million annual rental fee for the use of the Radue private property for the years 1997 to 2001.

After some four to five years of paying this excessive rental fee, the Eastern Cape government took legal action to finally pull out of the lease contract, in July 2001. In a hastily arranged removal, it was considered appropriate to squeeze the personnel of the two relocating directorates into some of the already congested Bisho offices, but there was no alternative storage space for the archival material in the King William's Town repository. In the initial pre-relocation discussions, the Bisho politicians had provided an ambitious promise.

We were informed that the Provincial Government would provide its own repository by May 2002. We understood that the Bisho Pick 'n Pay building would be cleared and certain sections would be converted into offices and strong rooms [archival storage] for the repository to operate there. But, this never happened and [*akukabikho nto yenzekileyo nangoku*] up to now nothing has happened.<sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless, the bottom-line was that the archival material had to move out of the Radue building. The Provincial Government promptly advertised a tender for removal services. This was given to a private removal company, Biddulphs. On the brink of transporting the archival material, it was finally realised that there was no proper storage facility at Bisho and thus eventually, Biddulphs was also requested to offer storage or broker for it. From August 2001, Biddulphs completed an arrangement with another King William's Town private property owner to offer a private storage service for the archival material, at a charge of R75,000 per month. As part of a blue print agreement Biddulphs would also facilitate the repository staff's access to the storage, subject to the stipulated rent payment. Conversely, 'no rental fee paid effectively meant no access to the storage, as well as a possibility of prosecution for default payment'.<sup>19</sup>

These constraints meant that the repository could not acquire the outstanding and new records; likewise the processing of the already acquired records could not and cannot be completed. 'We cannot work from a storage room that is too full even to fit in desks and no space to move around and sort out files'.<sup>20</sup> In the meantime departments have continued to keep records internally and some have makeshift in-house records storage facilities. The provincial departments of Agriculture/Land Affairs and Local Government and Housing have absorbed most of the Ciskei records on land use, settlement planning and administration. The former Ciskei's Department of Agriculture and Forestry was particularly pivotal in rural planning. As early as 1977, this department had a technical services planning division and within the Ciskei it administered surveys, planned settlements, ran irrigation schemes and even facilitated land allocation. It also administered and managed land use with the assistance of tribal authorities in all of Ciskei's rural villages.<sup>21</sup>

Large sections of this Department's records were kept in its Land Use Unit by 2000. Some records regarding the administration and profiles of previously tribal authority areas of the Ciskei were moved to the Local Government and Housing Department on the eve of the 2000 local government elections. There were however massive planning documents and records that were generated by the Ciskei Agriculture Parastatal Division, Ulimocor that had extension offices throughout the Ciskei. When Ulimocor ceased to exist in the mid 1990s, the records were conglomerated in one building in the Bisho business centre. By the end of 2001 this building was leased out for private trading. Not surprisingly the lessee wanted the documents/records out. An academic who was researching on the Ciskei at the time alerted the staff of the directorate of Libraries and Archives on the prevailing problem early in 2002. Eventually, it was arranged to relocate the records to where the rest of the archival material was stored in a private storage room that had been brokered by Biddulphs, in August 2001.<sup>22</sup>

Indications are that the Directorate of Libraries and Archives will not have a repository, at least, not in the immediate future. Ironically, the Provincial Government in 2001 introduced a Provincial Archives and Records Service Bill. This served to provide for the establishment of provincial archives, as well as to

provide for the promotion of the proper management and care of the records of provincial and local government bodies. The bill also proposes a provision for the preservation and use of a provincial archival heritage.<sup>23</sup> A lot of supplementary work over the last ten months has been provided by the staff members of the directories of Libraries and Archives and that of the Museums and Heritage resources. They have maintained the campaign of encouraging various local government offices and government departments to transfer their records to their offices in Bisho since they are archiving without a repository. Public hearings on the 2001 Bill are being held throughout the province and records of public response will be kept in these directories.<sup>24</sup>

Despite the broader problem of not being able to secure a repository, it is worth noting that the directorate of Libraries and Archives has kept valuable archival records. Accessing the material at present is a tedious exercise. There is effectively no workspace for researchers and records may not be immediately available for a number of reasons that largely result from the fact that the directorate has no exclusive control of the archives storage facilities.

### **What archives are kept in King William's town?**

There is not yet a complete guide to what records are kept in King William's Town. The staff members of the Libraries and Archives directorate are still working on compiling this. While it is almost impossible for a paper of this kind to offer a full description of what archives are kept in there, it is perhaps useful to mention records that were transferred for my attention and those that were being processed when I did my archival research in 1999.

Records that were transferred from the Central Archives Depot for my attention were derived from the Archives of the former Ciskei government's Department of Foreign Affairs. They dealt with Resettlement on Trust-land and Tribal Matters. The files contained correspondence between South African and Ciskeian government officials on issues concerning the transfer of land to the Ciskei, the resettlement of people, settlement planning, and the roles of administrative bodies in relation to the consolidation of the Ciskei. They also contain correspondence between Ciskei's Tribal Authorities and local administrative bodies regarding land matters and settlement planning.

The Archives of the Ciskei's Department of Foreign Affairs also contained volumes on Negotiations and Agreements between the South African and Ciskei governments. These centred around issues relating to the Ciskeian 'independence' agreements, such as economic co-operation and territorial claims and land to be released to the Ciskei at various stages. The sequence of the available volumes/files on Resettlement on Trust Land and Agreements between the Ciskei and South African governments, however, did not necessarily reflect the chronology of the issues, events and dates, nor even the chronology of the filed material. Because different individuals moved in and out of government positions, filing chronology tended to be haphazard. The files covered a twelve year period, between 1982 and 1994.

Another set of records were from the Archives of the Eastern Cape Chief Bantu Commissioner (or Chief Native Commissioner). They also contained correspondence between various district Bantu commissioners and various Chief Bantu Commissioners. The correspondence covers aspects of African settlements in the 'white areas' districts of Cathcart, Stutterheim and Queenstown, which were outside the delineated Ciskeian boundary. These records covered a twenty-two year period, between 1966 and 1988.

Records of the pre-1981 Ciskei that were brought into the King William's Town repository in 1998 have now been processed. This set of archives cover the period 1968 to 1980, particularly records of the Ciskei Territorial Authority (CTA) that was reconstituted with extensive powers that made it a semi-legislative body in 1968. From this period, CTA incorporated seven government departments: Interior, Works, Chief Minister and Finance, Health, Education and Justice, Agriculture and Forestry. Surviving records that are now archived do reflect the wide range of government departmental activities. The following list, which is arranged in no particular chronology, indicate what has been archived for the period 1968-1980.<sup>25</sup>

- Archives of Ciskei Afforestation
- Records of Soil Erosion and Soil Conservation programmes in Ciskei.
- Records on Planning of Irrigation Schemes and Water Conservation programmes in the Ciskei
- Reports on Ciskei Livestock, Ciskei Farmers Co-operatives and Dairy Schemes
- Reports on Urban Planning and Urban Management Boards
- Records on Ciskei African Townships and Urban Areas of Mdantsane and Zwelitsha
- Reports on African Labour, Labour Bureau and Tribal Authorities
- Records of Health Institutions and Health Administration in the Ciskei
- Records of Bantu/Regional Authorities and the Ciskei Territorial Authority
- Records of Bantu Education, its Organisation, Control, Financial Assistance and Bursaries
- Records of Rural Trading and Business sites in the Ciskei
- Records on African Extension Assistance, African Clerks – Recorders and Interpreters
- Records on Regulations for Unsurveyed Locations in Certain Districts of the Ciskei

The Ulimocor records that were salvaged from a Bisho private business building in 2002 have yet to be processed. Their fate and that of the rest of the records that have been already archived, rest on the immediate availability of a repository. Despite their tenacity to lobby for the records to be deposited in their offices, the staff members of the Libraries and Archives directorate feel that their hands are tied. They also feel that it is an immediate task of the Provincial Government to offer a repository.

## **Conclusion**

Matters of public policy are usually shaped through competent governance notwithstanding the influence of public debate and public opinion on government actions. The currently held public hearings on the 2001 Provincial Archives and Service Bill are likely only to reinforce the Provincial Government's aims to provide for an archives repository. Nevertheless, how such a repository is provided and how it is managed would be largely a government departmental task. With the exception of the Port Elizabeth depot, the archival system in the province is in the state of disaster. Transkei archives are no longer properly preserved. Their fate and the current status of the repository in King William's Town or in Bisho reflects an overwhelming incapability of the Eastern Cape Provincial Government in setting up and managing public assets. Regarding the King William's Town repository, the Provincial Government utilised excessive public funds (approximately R24million) with careless abandon for a period of some five years (1997-2001) to lease space for departmental offices and a repository. Despite the varying rates of charges, for the subsequent leasing period from August 2001 (i.e. R75,000 per month), the government has continued to pay huge sums.

Yet, despite the use of these extensive funds there remains no repository in either Bisho or King William's Town. While this problem continues, the proper preservation of records that were generated within the 'independent' Ciskei departmental offices (1981-1994) and within the Provincial Government of the Eastern Cape (1994-) is unlikely to occur. Thus a part of the Eastern Cape records that cover about two decades of its history could be lost. This is important data that is useful, not only in academic circles, but also to practical public policy related matters. It is therefore imperative for the Provincial Government of the Eastern Cape to support its Department of Arts and Culture in setting up a functional archival system in proximity to the departmental offices in Bisho.

There are current talks of the repository's possible return to Radue private building, in King William's Town. Whereas the building is already supplied with the appropriate records storage and shelving infrastructure, returning to without sorting out leasing and ownership arrangements would still plunge the government into deeper financial crisis. One option would be for the government to buy the building. Nevertheless, there are still critical interdepartmental issues that need to be resolved. For a start, the directorate of Libraries and Archives would require the necessary human resource and support infrastructure. Being in close proximity to a number of tertiary institutions, the directorate should seek and receive the necessary support. If set out properly, the repository would offer another dimension and an important base for research around the Eastern Cape capital, the Buffalo City Municipal area and the Border area in general. Its services would equate to those of the Port Elizabeth repository in the Nelson Mandela Metropole and its hinterland.<sup>26</sup>

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> In most cases names of informants and the respective government departments to which they are attached have been withheld for their security. Wherever appropriate, pseudonyms have been provided. Respective pseudonyms used do not necessarily indicate a particular race or/and sex of informants.
- <sup>2</sup> The Eastern Cape Archives Repository was established by means of the Archives Amended Act 43 of 1996.
- <sup>3</sup> Interview with Pokino (pseudonym), Eastern Cape civil servant at King William's Town, 22 September 1999.
- <sup>4</sup> The linchpin legislation for the establishment and direction of the government archives depots in South Africa was the Archives Act, No 6 of 1962. This was amended four times before 1980 (in 1964, 1969, 1977 and 1979) and most of these amendments dealt with the regulation and establishment of provincial depots.
- <sup>5</sup> Interview with Messers, Van Zyl and DeVilliers at Port Elizabeth, 24 August 1999.
- <sup>6</sup> Reserve, Bantustan and Homeland are all terms for those areas officially designated for South African black people. These terms changed concomitantly with politics in South Africa.
- <sup>7</sup> Interview with Pokino (pseudonym), at King William's Town, 22 September 1999.
- <sup>8</sup> Interview with Pokino (pseudonym), at King William's Town, 22 September 1999.
- <sup>9</sup> Interview with Job (pseudonym) at King William's Town, 23 September 1999.
- <sup>10</sup> Interview with Spikes (pseudonym), Eastern Cape civil servant, at Bisho, 22 July 2003.
- <sup>11</sup> Interview with Spikes (pseudonym), at Bisho, 22 July 2003.
- <sup>12</sup> Interview with Fana (pseudonym), Eastern Cape civil servant, at Bisho, 20 July 2003.
- <sup>13</sup> Interview with Spikes (pseudonym), at Bisho, 22 July 2003.
- <sup>14</sup> Interview with Spikes (pseudonym), at Bisho, 22 July 2003.
- <sup>15</sup> Interview with Fana (pseudonym), at Bisho, 22 July 2003 and Spikes (pseudonym), at Bisho, 22 July 2003.
- <sup>16</sup> Interview with Fana (pseudonym), at Bisho 22 July 2003 and Spikes (pseudonym), at Bisho, 22 July 2003.
- <sup>17</sup> Interview with Fana (pseudonym), at Bisho 22 July 2003 and Spikes (pseudonym), at Bisho, 22 July 2003.
- <sup>18</sup> Interview with Spikes (pseudonym), at Bisho, 22 July 2003.
- <sup>19</sup> Interview with Fana (pseudonym), at Bisho 22 July 2003 and Spikes (pseudonym), at Bisho, 22 July 2003.
- <sup>20</sup> Interview with Spikes (pseudonym), at Bisho, 22 July 2003.
- <sup>21</sup> The Ciskeian Agricultural Development Act No. 5 of 1973 offered the department overall powers to regulate residential land, livestock and their access to grazing land, as well as managing agricultural land.
- <sup>22</sup> Interview with Spikes (pseudonym), at Bisho, 22 July 2003.
- <sup>23</sup> See the Preamble of the Provincial Archives and Records Service Bill, 2001 (Eastern Cape), p.2.
- <sup>24</sup> Interview with Fana (pseudonym), at Bisho 22 July 2003 and Spikes (pseudonym), at Bisho, 22 July 2003.
- <sup>25</sup> See the preliminary draft guide for the archives held under the Directorate of Libraries and Archives.
- <sup>26</sup> Interview with Mr Fana (pseudonym), at Bisho 22 July 2003 and Mrs Spikes (pseudonym), at Bisho, 22 July 2003.