## THIRD

## CISKEIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

#### THIRD SESSION

### CAUCUS MEETING

# FRIDAY, 9TH MAY, 1980

ASSEMBLY HALL, ZWELITSHA.

15h00.

The Honourable Dr. Koornhof, the Minister of Development and Co-operation, enters the Chamber with his entourage and the meeting is held in the Assembly Chamber with Rev. Xaba, the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, and the Honourable Chief S.M. Burns-Neamashe acting as Interpreters.

THE CHIEF MINISTER: Honourable Mr. Minister, Dr. Koornhof, and his high ranking officials, we have Mr. Raath here and Mr. Myburg. Some of you will remember him, especially Chief Mabandla, who used to call him "Mabuvu", and of course the Honourable Commissioner-General.

We shall open this historical sitting by reading two verses, both in Xhosa and Afrikaans, but first of all we shall ask the Honourable Dr. Hermanus to lead us in Prayer. I think it was long, long ago when you have never had our meetings said in Prayer, but we thought that today we should bring the Lord into this House where we need his guidance in our deliberations.

This reading fits this occasion. We shall read from Hebrews, Chapter 11, verse 32 to verse 35, and because of time we shall end there, but I request the Honourable Members to complete the chapter on their return to their homes tonight. I think the man who wrote this was a Praise Singer.

- 32. And what shall I more say? For the time would fail me to tell of Gideon, and of Barak, and of Samson, and of Jephthae; of David also, and Samuel, and of the prophets:
- 33. Who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions,
- 34. Quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out

of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens.

35. Women received their dead raised to life again: and others were tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain a better resurrection:

I shall now call upon Dr. Hermanus to lead us in Prayer.

DR. J.T. HERMANUS, MINISTER OF FINANCE AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS: Let us bow our heads.

(The House stands with heads bowed while Dr. Hermanus prays).

The House sings the Lord's Prayer.

THE CHIEF MINISTER: Members of the Caucus, I know that the Honourable Minister has to take an earlier plane, but that does not buy you, I know you will be very disappointed if you do not speak about the problems that you have. The whole of this morning we have been having a man to man talk about those things which have made you to lose hope.

I need not introduce the Honourable the Minister, except to say that if South Africa is to be saved it is through the efforts of this great son of South Africa, and I think it will suffice to repeat what I said this morning when we were welcoming him, that a man who was paying tribute to the late President Tito used these words — and he was the only speaker; he said —

"He was a great politician, he was a great strategist, he was a great soldier, but he was a great humanitarian.

Now I said to him, all the other titles perish with the bones in the grave, but the humanitarian aspect of a man remains a monument in the hearts of the people, you need not build a monument for him.

With these few words, Members of the Caucus, I present to you the Honourable Minister, Dr. Koornhof. He will touch on three issues which kept us the whole day: the question of Thornhill; the question of the present drought; the question of citizenship. These are the most vital issues.

 $$\operatorname{Members}$  of the Caucus, it gives me great pleasure to present to you Dr. Koornhof.

THE MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (DR. P.G.J. KOORNHOF): The Honourable the Chief Minister, Cabinet Ministers of the Ciskeian Parliament, the Honourable the Commissioner-General, Mr. Raath and Mr. Myburg, my senior officials, Mr. Raath, the Secretary of my Department, Mr. Godden and Mr. Maythem, and Members

of this Parliamentary Caucus of the Ciskei.

I would like very much, in the first place, to thank the Honourable the Chief Minister most sincerely and warmly for his kind words of welcome to me on this occasion, I can assure him that it makes me feel very small, but I appreciate it very much because I know it came from his heart.

I come to you with prayers in my heart. The first prayer is that God will bless the people of the Ciskei and all the people of South Africa.

Secondly, I come with a very sincere prayer in my heart that God will open His heart so that good rains will fall soon in the Ciskei.

I brought with me the very good wishes and warm regards of the Honourable the Prime Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, to you. Especially also of his wife, Mrs. Elise Botha, and also personally from my wife, both who have been here in the Ciskei a short while ago; I can assure you that they enjoyed it so much and they specifically wish me to convey their sincere thanks once again and their warm regards. I brought a message with me, the message is this -

I am your friend and I want to be your friend.

And the second message that I bring to you is -

That you must not lose hope, you must keep faith, you must hold your head high although I know it is very difficult, especially now, because, if I read the signs correctly, it is possible that the Ciskei and the Ciskeian people could be on the threshold of very important developments in the interests of the people of the Ciskei. These are not idle words, but I feel sure that you will experience in the months and years ahead that these words will have real content. We have been working very hard over many months with regard to the unemployment problem in the Ciskei and it will be improved. in receipt (I brought it with me) of a report of the University of Port Elizabeth on the development of the Ciskei and the Eastern Cape to create employment opportunities in this area. We have had very important discussions on this report over the last week on Cabinet level and it was decided that Dr. Gerhard de Kock, one of our most illustrious economists - he is well known to the Honourable the Chief Minister - must act as a co-ordinator in this respect, and it decided that he should visit the Honourable the Chief Minister in the very near future, and you here in the Ciskei as well as the local council of East London and the surrounding places, as to when and how this whole project of development and of trying to create more employment opportunities will be tackled.

Secondly, apart from that I consider this myself as one of the most important and serious problems in the whole of South Africa, the employment opportunities in the whole of the Ciskei and this region. The Honourable the Chief Minister himself has believed in establishing a new core here in the Ciskei consisting of young Ciskeian people, and Mr. Raath, the Secretary of the Department of Co-operation and Development, and myself, have now requested the Minister of Finance to make available in this Budget 30 million rand for the purpose of establishing such a Youth Core in the Ciskei and some of the other National States, and I have good reason to believe

that the money will be given for this purpose.

So, please, do not lose hope!

With regard to the most important problem at Glen Grey, Herschel and Thornhill, I have requested the Deputy Minister, Mr. Greyling Wentzel, to investigate the whole question together with the Cabinet and the Honourable the Chief Minister. They have submitted a report, the findings of which have been accepted by me and the Government. And in order to dispose of this whole problem of Glen Grey, Herschel, and Thornhill, the Greyling Wentzel report recommended that in the -

first year an amount of R3 387 000 1980/81

R4 710 000 1981/82

R2 500 000 1982/83

a total, therefore of  $\mbox{\ensuremath{R10}}$  597~000 will be spent on these projects.

Now, I am very happy to announce to the Caucus - as I announced to the Cabinet this morning - that, instead of spending in this year three million three hundred and eighty seven thousand rand, we have decided to spend R3  $947\ 000$  in the first year for this project. That is, i.e.,  $1.789\ \text{million}$  rand

for the development of Ntabathemba;

clinics at Sada and Thornhill R120 000;

health services

R425 000 -

that is five type two clinics and two mobile tuberculosis units and ten hospital vehicles and ambulances;

for Tribal Administration R252 000 in this year - that is for office accommodation R200 000;

for Tribal Authorities' use R 32 000 rand;

another item  $R20\ 000$ ; that gives you  $R252\ 000$ .

Then for the backlog in class-rooms

R210 000;

infrastructure, drinking water, etc.,

R650 000 -

in other words, a total of R3 600 000 for this purpose of the Glen Grey, Herschel issue.

Now, the second issue is the most important issue, namely the drought conditions in the Ciskei. We know that this is not a normal situation, it is a very abnormal situation and it will be dealt with as such by us. We have decided that Famine Relief must be made immediately available here, and we have given the O.K. this

morning that the different departments of the Ciskeian Government can immediately, as from today, proceed to extend certain monies to bring immediate relief. We have, furthermore, decided to send, at the beginning of next week, a senior man from Head Office to act as coordinator of this whole Relief Scheme. If necessary we will assist with food and with mealie meal and with other things and in any other way which will help in this project of Famine Relief. We have been requested to do it by way of fortified mealie meal. I will personally attend to the question of making available as soon as possible military water tankers; we have been told that, if we could make available thirty such tankers, that will bring great relief as far as the water situation is concerned. We will immediately go into the question of assisting with fodder if that is considered by the different departments as priority, and we will look seriously into the question of making available certain farms, trust farms at certain places for grazing. So I hope I have said enough and it will drive home to you that we consider this as a very important issue, that a proper programme will be worked out for Famine relief and that your Cabinet can immediately proceed with this relief as from today. have given them the necessary approval that they can extend certain funds immediately, also to utilise such funds to create employment opportunities in certain areas where it is considered necessary to do So we will do whatever we can, and I want to repeat again that we are requesting in our prayers that God Almighty will bring relief Himself by way of rain in this area.

Now the last important issue which the Honourable the Chief Minister told you that I will discuss with you is this question of I spoke at length during my Vote in Parliament during citizenship. the last few days in Cape Town on this issue too. I myself called this a package deal which is now to be negotiated, that we are moving into negotiations where integrity and trust will play a very, very decisive role. If you are interested you can get it in the Hansards of Parliament in Cape Town, but there has also been much about it in the news over the last day or so. I have given the Honourable the Chief Minister and the Cabinet this morning the full facts regarding this very important question of citizenship. I told them what my own views of this are and also that of my Department, how strong we feel that there should be a citizenship of a specific National State, but also that the person must be able to be a national of the wider confederal set-up. That is my view. That is also the view of the Secretary of my Department, as well as Mr. Myburg and my whole Department of Co-operation and Development, and that is what the Honourable the Chief Minister, on behalf of you, protested from me, that is the fact.

Now there is a second fact about citizenship, and that is that, as far back as April last year, I took this whole question myself to the Cabinet of the Republic of South Africa; that question was first referred to a Working Committee, and then certain agreements could not be reached, and then it was referred to a full time Commission under the Chairmanship of Professor Nieuwoudt of the Pretoria University. This Commission on this question of citizenship is comprised of Professor Nieuwoudt, Professor Olivier from Bloemfontein and Professor Cilliers from Port Elizabeth, plus three senior officials, one from the Department of Co-operation and Development, one from Foreign Affairs and one from Internal Affairs. Therefore, the second fact is the institution of such a Commission to deal with this question of citizenship and to report back to the Parliament in Cape Town.

Now the third fact about citizenship is that this Commission had certain meetings, they have set dates for two more meetings here in this month of May and I was informed just before I came to the Ciskei that they think that they can finalize this report by the end of this month, then it will be referred to the Cabinet of the Republic of South Africa which will then take a decision on it.

Now these are the three facts of citizenship, and this whole question was threshed out from all points of view this morning and we have decided that it may be a good thing. Here the Honourable the Chief Minister will appoint one or two people, and if he wants to do it himself and testify to this Professor Nieuwoudt personally within the next week, and to ascertain, if possible, from the Chairman of this Commission whether they can give an indication which way their thinking goes on this question of citizenship, it is my personal hope and wish that this question will be threshed out in the very near future to the satisfaction of the Chief Minister and to your satisfaction and also to my satisfaction, because on this issue you all and myself and my Department are thinking alike.

Now I sincerely hope - as I said in the beginning - that you will be blessed and that you are, in fact, on the threshold of important economic development in the Ciskei. My best wishes go with you and your children and your people. I sincerely believe that the few words of building up a peaceful South Africa is "co-operation". I honestly hope that, if there is real trust and if there is real faith and if there is real co-operation, then the problems of all the people of South Africa can be solved and resolved in a peaceful way, and I often speak about it in public that, unless you and us can provide real hope for the future to the young Black people in South Africa, then there is, to my way of thinking, no hope of peaceful solution to our problems, and I do not want to talk about it so much, we must do the deed and give the young Black people in the Ciskei and in other places in South Africa real nope for the lack people in the is not beyond us if we co-operate. I know young Black people in the personally have great faith in the young Black people of this country. It is true that they are restless in some places and maybe on occasion also in the Ciskei. I think personally that it is normal for young people to be restless if they are not assured of a good future, and, therefore, let us co-operate to achieve this great aim because, if we do, then we stand a good chance of solving the problems of this part of the world.

In conclusion may I pay warm tribute to your Honourable Chief Minister, Dr. Sebe; I honestly think that he is a great philosopher and I honestly think that he is a great man and that he is a great Leader, that he will lead the Ciskeian people on fine ways ahead, and I pray that God will bless him with good health, with wisdom and patience to solve the many problems.

Now, may I conclude with this Prayer which I would like to leave with you on this occasion?

Lord, make me an instrument of thy peace Where there is hatred let me show love Where there is injury, pardon Where there is discord, union Where there is doubt - faith Where there is despair - hope Where there is darkness - light

and where there is sadness - joy
Oh! Master, the righteous Master, grant that
thy might not so much seek to be consoled
as to console
To be understood as to understand
To be loved as to love
For it is in giving that we receive
It is in forgiving that we are pardoned
and it is in dying that we are born
to eternal life.

Some of you might have recognized this; it is a prayer of St. Francis; that is my prayer for myself; it is also my prayer for you.

God bless you, and thank you for your hospitality and the kindness shown to us on this occasion.

THE CHIEF MINISTER: You have heard, and above all that, hearing that you have been told to what extent things have been undertaken. And in the end you have been elevated and you rode to the mountain tops.

Therefore, my fellow men, should anyone among you have a question, should anyone want a point clarified, it is now the time for such questions or explanations.

In point of fact, it is most unusual for a Minister of the Cabinet to come and discuss with a Caucus such delicate matters as these, because I know that you were without hope. I, therefore, without wasting much time, wish to request my fellow men to speak and relate whatever they feel is relevant to the cause at issue, to speak within the contexture of the message brought by the Honourable the Minister.

At ten minutes to six the Minister has to fly back home, and I will, therefore, request that you bear with me if I time you whilst you speak.

Would the Speaker of the House, at the end of this discussion, in the meantime prepare a vote of thanks on our behalf?

I will now call upon Chief Malefane from Thornhill.

CHIEF M.E.P. MALEFANE: Honourable Mr. Chairman, Honourable Members of the Ciskeian Cabinet, the Honourable Minister from the Republic and his colleagues, as well as the Commissioner-General of the Ciskei and Honourable Members of the Caucus, I will be brief, Mr. Chairman, and why I will be brief is because there are different pictures here which have been quoted and for which we are very, very thankful. But now, Sir, I want to speak in a very low tone. If we remember those people at Zweledinga and Ntabathemba, their arrival at those places four years ago, this will now be the fourth winter and about 50% of those people are still without shelter and only about one third of the population are more or less settled. They are living in mud huts that resemble ant heaps which have no windows, which are overcrowded, mainly due to the fact that they are not yet

resettled. Especially with Chief Bebeza's people not a single person is on his or her building site. Then about half of Chief Hinana's people are not yet resettled. This is truly speaking the truth, Sir. The same thing applies to Zweledinga near Hewu.

Now, because of all the promises that were made - that is why these people moved over to the Ciskei - and for four years none of these promises have been fulfilled, and most unfortunately we never find out anything as to when some of these promises would be fulfilled.

Sir, it is not that I do not trust you, but you must realise that, Sir, when we go home today we must be able to tell our people that you are definitely coming to help them and to raise their hopes.

There is no shelter for many people, no wood, no water; people are not yet resettled. They do not even have poles to put mud around to make some sort of shelter, and another winter is here.

THE MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (DR. P.G.J. KOORNHOF): Sir, I have listened very attentively, and the one word that I don't want to hear - with all due respect, and I want to thank the Honourable Member - there is one word, Honourable Chief Malefane, there is one word that I don't like, and that is to hear that promises were made and they haven't been kept. I was not around four years ago so I can honestly say that it is not from my doing that those promises were not kept. I was not in this Department four years ago. But what I want to say, and on a more serious note, is that I am sure that, out of the 3,6 million rand that I have been allocated, assistance for the purpose which the Honourable Chief mentioned should also be available, and I will undertake to have a man from Head Office come and investigate the position which the Honourable Chief has mentioned to me and to see if there is anything else that has to be done (INTERJECTIONS).

The Co-ordinator to whom I have referred earlier on should be here by Tuesday or Wednesday next week. I request him now, in your presence, that the Chairman will convey to him when he arrives here that one of the issues which he must look into is this question which the Honourable Chief has mentioned. That will be done and I sincerely hope that the people from Thornhill should be to a large extent alleviated before the winter starts.

THE CHIEF MINISTER: I will give a chance to only two speakers, and then the Honourable the Speaker will give a vote of thanks because this is the last 'plane at ten to six which the Honourable Minister is going to be able to take (THERE IS AN INTERJECTION FROM THE HONOURABLE DR. KOORNHOF: THERE IS NO OTHER 'PLANE). I am sure that, in the meantime, I will approach the Honourable Minister of Agriculture and Forestry and there will be some poles made available for these people.

 $<sup>$\</sup>operatorname{CHIEF}$  H. ZULU: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Members of the Cabinet and Members of the Caucus.

Mr. Chairman, the way in which the deliberations have been completed and brought in front of us has put us in a "spot", but as the Honourable Minister said that his wish is

"that, where there is no hope then hope should be created;

where there are tears there will be joy;

where there is darkness light will shine"

we also wish this, together with our Chief Minister, a man who stays for weeks without a night of sleep because of the cries of the Ciskeian children. I think it is our privilege that we leave everything to our Chief Minister now, he will communicate with the Honourable the Minister of Co-operation and Development. He knows the problems of all these Chiefs here and we trust in him that he will put all the problems of the Ciskei in front of you, Sir, and that the wishes of the Ciskeian people will be accomplished. We will not go further, we trust you, Chief Minister, because you know us.

MR. W.J. MFAKU: Mr. Chairman, Honourable Chief Minister, our Honourable guest, his Secretary, the Honourable Commissioner-General and all our other guests, Members of the Cabinet and Members of the Caucus, I wish to second Chief Zulu with reference to the words that he addressed to our Chief Minister. In addition I wish to say that the apostles of old abandoned their boats and followed our Lord Jesus Christ because he proved to be a man of truth and because he was a man who nurtured the souls of the apostles. In the same fashion we trust Dr. Sebe.

The great issue that you have brought to us today, for that he will be responsible, not only to us but to posterity, and I express the wish that God the Father may so arrange things that, after you have left us, we shall have no cause for complaints or blame on you.

Today I have seen you face to face for the first time, while in the meantime I have only been hearing about you. If I am not mistaken you are the person responsible for organizing things so that rugby matches or all sport should be multiracial; this was introduced by you.

In the same spirit we hope that Chief Sebe will do things for us in such a manner that nobody can lay any blame on you in any manner. Thank you.

THE MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (DR. P.G.J. KOORNHOF): Mr. Chief Minister, may I just thank the Honourable Chief Zulu and the Honourable Mr. Mfaku for the kind words which they have just said? I share with them the faith they have in the Honourable Dr. Sebe; no man can intercede on behalf of the Ciskeian people than I have experienced him doing on your behalf for a long time since I have become Minister with my officials.

Lastly, it took us seven years to normalise sport in this country; I was Minister of Sport and Recreation for seven years and now at last we have been rewarded.

In Parliament for the last two days I have been pleading, through Parliament, to all the people of South Africa that we must now normalise race relations between Black and White, and not have White and White and Black and Black in South Africa. I can see no reason why race relations cannot be normalised, and I am looking forward to a day when we can rejoice in having race relations normalised in South Africa. I will devote all my energies and my time with my Department towards that aim. We have set it as a target to do away with offensive and hurtfull race discrimination in legal terms and in other terms, and we are committed to do it and we are working very hard. We come to Parliament next year with certain legislation and it will be the beginning. I hope also to do it in that respect.

 $\,$  I, therefore, thank you most sincerely for the warm hospitality you have shown me and the kind words spoken by these two honourable gentlemen.

THE CHIEF MINISTER: Sirs, may I please know if, what has been expressed here, represents the consensus of the Caucus?

SHOW OF HANDS TO THE AFFIRMATIVE:

I thank you, Honourable Gentlemen, and I wish now to call upon "Jongilizwe", the Honourable Chief Mabandla. Dr. Koornhof is very well known to Chief Mabandla, and Chief Mabandla knows Dr. Koornhof pretty well. I remember once during the time when the Guzana buses where on sale. We approached Dr. Koornhof and in rather strong terms we inquired of him as to why an Indian should be introduced into our Territory buying these buses, and in a mild manner he gave us this advice, saying,

"Look, there are some old men who are somewhat troublesome, e.g., the Schoeman type of person. Just hang on a little".

He was Minister of Transport in those days, that is Mr. Ben Schoeman, because it was the habit of those old timers to call and look upon Dr. Koornhof as young boys who must keep quiet, they must not be heard but they must be seen only.

Chief Mabandla, please.

CHIEF J.T. MABANDLA: Mr. Chairman, Honourable Dr. Koornhof, our Chief Minister, Honourable Commissioner-General and Mr. Raath and Mr. Myburg, my personal friend.

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In the first instance, before I pass a vote of thanks, for the information of those who do not know this I want to say that the present stage of self government that we have reached was started by Dr. Sebe and myself; there are others also like the Honourable Mr. Nkontso, the Honourable Chief Zimlindle, I have in mind the Executive of the Territorial Authority as it was then known.

Dr. Koornhof, Sir, I feel I must thank you for just being

able to come. Please convey our thanks to the Honourable Prime Minister of the Republic for having allowed you to come to us. Please pardon me, all of you fellow Members, should I pass on to mentioning those things which should have been mentioned by the Honourable the Chief Minister. I have in mind in particular the fact of your wives having come here in the near past to create a bond of friendship between them on the one hand and on the other the Ciskei.

In the days of the now defunct Territorial Authority I know I was regarded as one of the more moderate Leaders, and, in fact, that is what I was. In saying this the intention is not to provoke Dr. Koornhof. The thing is that, during those days, we were labelled as "sellers of the Blacks", and in point of fact basically our aim was this "detente", this coming together to discuss common problems. In fact, now that we have played the restraints like being prevented from doing things like Ben Schoeman, I will not go into it any further, I will just pause there.

When I look upon you, Dr. Koornhof, and I look upon the Honourable Prime Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, I do not think you are doing this out of your own wisdom, but to me it is as if this wisdom is bestowed upon you from above. I want to state openly that South Africa in common is our country, to both White and Black, and if we are not careful we shall then give room for the outside enemies to divide us, to come into our country and divide us, yet if we are united such elements have no chance to come among us. We are perturbed, we are not happy, neither are our children happy in our country. Their methods of going about things are not our methods, yet that is not to say we cannot see their point what they are struggling for.

Seeing that Dr. Koornhof made no reference to the consolidation of the Ciskei, I consider that the Cabinet in their wisdom deliberately said nothing about this ... (INTERJECTION BY THE CHIEF MINISTER: WE DID TOUCH IT). We thank you, Sir.

As a nation we Xhosa people accept with both hands that which a person hands out to one. In this case you are handing out to us a mere promise; let us hope that this promise will, in fact, be fulfilled within a short time.

On resuming my seat I wish to say to you, Dr. Koornhof, that, in the light of my experience as Chief over my people, I know, as I am standing here, that there are certain families who go without food or bed. Money or funds which should come to us in order to provide employment for our people would be indeed of great help to such people and ourselves.

I thank you, Sir.

THE MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (DR. P.G.J. KOORNHOF): Mr. Chief Minister, I feel it is my duty here to stand up and to say, with regard to consolidation, we discussed it in the Cabinet this morning. The facts of consolidation of the Van der Walt Commission are hoped to be concluded before the end of our Parliamentary Session. The Regional Committee have been here and the Honourable Chief Minister is informed of what they had in mind, and, therefore, there is nothing that we can do in the meantime or

that I can do or what the Honourable the Chief Minister can do. We shall just have to wait for another month or so when we hope that the final dicision of the Van der Walt Commission will become publicly known, and then we all will know what the findings are, and we are very near that position now.

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY: After the Honourable the Minister, Dr. Koornhof, has left, will the Cabinet please remain behind for a short while?

THE CAUCUS IS CLOSED BY SINGING OF A HYMN, AND THEN DR. KOORNHOF, THE MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT, AND HIS ENTOURAGE LEAVE THE ASSEMBLY CHAMBER.

THE CAUCUS ADJOURNED AT 17h45

UNTIL THE ASSEMBLY MET

ON MONDAY, 12TH MAY, 1980

AT 10h30