

After their questioning of Belewa the commissioners concluded that because of his recent arrival in the western Cape, or for other reasons, his evidence was not of great value. His evidence included statements that the Ciskei government and the properly housed Ciskeians in the western Cape were very unhappy about the Crossroads situation, but that the answer for people there was to give them proper housing, preferably closer to their jobs, but not to expect them to want to go back to the Ciskei where there were so few jobs; that the present unicameral Legislative Assembly in the Ciskei was the right one, as chiefs ought to mix with commoners; that, on the evidence of the last congress of the CNIP attended by twenty one thousand Ciskeians, the land question was fundamental to independence, and Ciskeians in the western Cape would prefer their government not to opt for independence unless the towns and the corridor area became part of the Ciskei; that whites in the enlarged Ciskei should be offered Ciskei citizenship but be allowed to stay with security of tenure and opportunity even if they preferred not to take Ciskei citizenship; and that guarantees of non-nationalisation of industry in the Ciskei, of the whites being able to participate actively in the politics of his country, and the absence of all discriminatory laws might all be sufficient inducements for whites to join the Ciskei experiment.

MR TINDLENI

This witness, previously a Ciskeian from the Herschel district, was forceful and articulate. His vision of South Africa was as a federal united states of South Africa. He was utterly opposed to the homeland concept because it separated black South Africa from white South Africa. In the inevitable confrontation between the two, ethnicity would disappear and the black groups would combine to oppose the whites. If his ideal could not be achieved there were still other options which would be acceptable. The first was that the Ciskei should retake its place as an integral part of the Cape Province under the same franchise provisions as existed before the Separate Representation of Voters Act. Today there would be so many more qualified blacks with the franchise in the Cape Province that political integration could evolve peacefully if the situation were to be possible. But if we were talking about a black state - and to survive it would have to be internationally recognised as being independent or be part of a South African federation - then that black state must consist of the Transkei and the Ciskei together, united and including the corridor area and the port of East London. He was convinced the political difficulties could be overcome. They were only transitory. On its own the Ciskei had no chance. It was not

economically viable and there was nothing else to smile about either: educational facilities were minimal and the political representatives were vastly less skilled in administration than their counterparts in the Transkei, who had had long training in the central council which was to have led to a united Transkei and Ciskei government. He debated history with CHTL and said that in his view there was little historical reason for a family split causing a long-term separation between the two Xhosa people. It was very much a case of personalities, and if Mabandla had still been Chief Minister he felt that the move towards unification would have grown in strength. It was true that there was little talk about amalgamation among the Xhosa in the western Cape, but this was because the urban Ciskeians still tended to follow the lead of their home government. The western Cape Transkeians and Ciskeians got along remarkably well. Only a small minority in his view did not retain close ties with the homeland area.

He was the first witness to attempt to give chapter and verse to the charges of discrimination against Transkeians in the urban areas. Responding to PK's summary of the alleged discriminatory practices in the labour market and the government's clearly stated standpoint that these should not exist, he said that discrimination certainly existed in the western Cape. The western Cape was a coloured preferential area and all blacks were disadvantaged, but the citizens of Transkei - and now Bophuthatswana as well - were more disadvantaged than others. What happened was this. The moment a Transkeian or a Bophuthatswanan lost his residence right - or was found not to have it - he was endorsed out, whereas the Ciskeian, for example, was permitted to report to the labour office daily in case a job vacancy occurred. Section 10(1)(a) and (b) rights could be lost by losing one's job and in any society there had to be a reasonable opportunity to get another. At the black-coloured job interface, he said that a black with a job offer in his pocket actually had to go to the coloured labour office to check whether there was no coloured who wanted the job. He said there were very few exceptions to this procedure - one or two job categories were freely open to blacks, and a black domestic of long standing might be able to hold off the coloured competition for her job.

Apart from being picked up by the police and endorsed out if he had no right to stay, the urban Transkeian and Bophuthatswanan in the western Cape was subject to harassment in the labour offices and in the courts. In the labour offices discriminatory treatment occurred not only at the work-seeking level but when it was necessary to change one's "pass". In the courts - and Langa was the example he chose - the harassment of the Transkei Xhosa was no different from that of the Ciskei Xhosa or anyone else. This was a bantu commissioner's court, and his job, and that of the prosecutor,

was seen by them as dealing with the court roll as quickly as possible. The Page 31
administration board inspectors might pick up a hundred people in one day.
They would come into court, be asked if they were in the area legally, be
asked whether they were guilty or not, and often before they had a chance
to reply, the interpreter would say "guilty". They would then be fined R55
or so many days. If the commission did not believe that serious and daily
miscarriage of justice was taking place at the Langa courts, he urged the
members to go and see for themselves.

PROFESSOR D. PAGE

(He began by describing the Ciskei national plan and the coordinating committee
for putting it into effect. This is summarised in the Ciskei conference
volume, and he also promised to let the commission have all the volumes of
his report within the next two or three months.)

The area that had been planned was the Ciskei, including the existing
consolidation proposals (Seymour and Peddie, even though all these areas
might not be purchased for some time). (He believed very strongly that
Middledrift would be successful as an industrial growthpoint. Even if East
London were to form part of the Ciskei - and that had not been part of his
brief - a single industrial growthpoint on the periphery of the whole area
would not necessarily be as successful in the long term as an area such as
Middledrift, which was in the heart of the Ciskei, and with good access to
labour and other resources. Berlin, Mdantsane, King William's Town, Zwelitsha
and even Dimbaza, were too close to the existing industrial stronghold of
East London to be satisfactory as alternative industrial growth areas. Certainly
it would cost a great deal to develop Middledrift - perhaps R100 million -
and with the limited funds available it would be difficult to complete the
infrastructure very quickly.

He agreed with EJM that the present expenditure in the Ciskei was not conducive
to rapid development. EJM quoted figures of R12 million on education, R12
million on social services and only R4 million on income-generating
development projects. Page agreed that the development of job opportunities
should absorb the greatest expenditure and that educational opportunities
should only follow once there was a demand. What money there was should be
concentrated on a single project of much higher priority, but this did not
mean that there was not a great deal to be done in the Ciskei in the
encouragement of small-scale cottage-type industries, and he would like to
see the authorities devote more attention to small facilities in a new
industrial estate.

He supported control, at least in the early stages, of the Ciskei's