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It is most regrettable that a Commission of this nature is conducted when frustration, impatience and blood shed has been experienced by the Blacks of Southern Africa. I suppose we can console ourselves by the saying "better late than never".

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Frustration : My analysis of frustration is the fact that the very idea of the homeland governments was not the will or choice of the Blacks either than its imposition to them with a view of dividing them into Ethnic groups so as to fight amongst themselves over a dummy institution. The 1976 riots were a clear demonstration of impatience of our Black youth who could no longer tolerate the "system" as they call it as a result of blood shed where many of the lives of the Black people were claimed - was it comfortable and a beautiful scene or an ugly one - when most of our Black people lost their homes, business concerns, schools etc. during the sad and breath taking era in the history of Southern Africa.

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Blacks have no cause of being reminded about the homelands, this concept was accepted by us long ago, but not at the expense of the Urban Blacks who have been born and brought up in the Urban areas - it is just as good as giving a French person, Jamaica as a land of his birth which is not realistic, France being the land of his birth.

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There has been an Urban and Rural dweller and these rural dwellers moreso the male folks migrated to the Urban areas for mere employment and went back to the homelands during summer season to join their families without any compulsion or contract labour. Are these homelands the instruments of the iniquities law that is the Influx control which is partly a causal for the disintergration of family life amongst the Blacks? When on the contrary other racial groups more freely work, live, study at places of their choice in this our Republic of South Africa. I wonder if the Lord Almighty appreciates that his human beings be discriminated upon .

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Elections : Were the last Ciskei elections not meant to frustrate a certain party of the Ciskeians when the very candidates were detained with a view of destroying

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another party. May I pose a pertinent question if this type of treatment is applicable to other racial groups among their elections. Does such an attitude demonstrate the realism of the existence of these homeland governments when the one party state is clamored by foul means - in fact the Ciskei is the homeland that has one party state which is an exception to the rule and codes of properly organized politics. Does this warrant such a government to be given independence when it shows its instability in the political arena.

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Homeland Citizenship : This part of legislation is a definite that our homeland leaders legislated for with a view of depriving the Blacks of their Republican citizenship which is our birth right because even the very Negro people of America say Africa the home of our forefathers which is a clear indication that the Blacks have a legitimate claim to the citizenship of Southern Africa or Africa justequally like other racial groups. It becomes more breath taking when one sees how falsely and ignorantly the majority of our Black people have been forced into applying for this document of identity without knowing its meaning and consequences. As for an Urban dweller of a homeland becomes independent in five years time he/she loses his/her South African citizenship which Blacks are jealously guarding against and proud of. It is really realistic that men/women who have never stayed in a homeland be registered voters of such a place. In any election one votes for a constituency which is your domicile not a fake of a domicile as the case is with the homeland Government e.g. the majority of Urban Blacks have been given Victoria East as their district of origin which is a fake. In fact the homeland politics have created more hatred amongst the Black people both in the Urban Areas and the homelands. How much more if Ciskei opts for independence.

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Home Ownership : One has heard a lot of Blacks in the townships of Mdantsane and Zwelitsha etc. being in possession of title deeds in freehold properties but interesting enough their deeds registrar is in Pretoria instead of Cape Town as the case is with property owners of other racial groups. According to my knowledge of Native Administration I have known these townships to be trust deeds unless a drastic change has taken place which I will need to be educated about. The 99 year lease which is offered to the Urban Blacks instead of freehold is a clear indication that it is not any intention of the Republican Government to offer freehold facilities to the Blacks even the very 99 year lease is still having some

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teeting problems to implement, ofcourse it is still half a loaf.

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Education : There is a talk that Urban children are admitted to schools in the homelands - if one could take the statistics, many of these children are roaming around the streets of the townships because they cannot gain admission to these schools as the priority is given to the children of the homelands. With the Missionary Institutions of the then Healdtown, present Lovedale and the St. Matthews this was not the case, most of the Urban children have graduated in these schools as teachers etc. I will have failed if I cannot mention the hazard of a bill i.e. the Bantu Education bill which has relegated the education of the Blacks to a lower degree as compared to that of other racial groups. This has been confirmed by the Catholics who have been good Samaritans as to admit our Black children to their schools where they have been victims of demotions to a previous class because of the inferiority of the Bantu Education which is producing nothing but students who are a misfit in the international world because of their inability to express themselves in English which is a universal language. Even admission of the Black children to these schools is just a drop in an ocean because it has to get a sanction of the Government.

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The Black universities are just tribal colleges because they admit students who are also products of Bantu Education. It is breath taking to know that Fort Hare although it is situated in the homelands has produced great men like Sir Seretse Kama, the President of Botswana and many other graduates of the African states are a product of this college which used to be non-racial.

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It is now regrettable that another problem has been caused by the imposition of homeland citizenship being forced under our throats, now great men have missed representing South Africa in great and important conferences overseas because they were not given passports or travel documents until they were in possession of a homeland citizenship. Even application of a document of identity has a homeland citizenship, the 'denti' as the old people call it - even registration of children's births must have it as a prerequisite. It is a pity our home-leaders are committing us to the homelands through such a steady setback. Some of our important leaders have chosen to flee the Ciskei because of the iniquities R252 which has caused them to be detained and when they fled their families they left behind were victims of circumstances.

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I do not see any feasibility and practicability of the Ciskei being independent if I may quote yesterday's Herald where the Chief Inspector of the Ciskei says when he travels the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa Mr. P. W. Botha he will seriously speak of mainly for the development of the homelands, lack of employment opportunities resulting into social problems and will ask the Central Government to take some steps to alleviate this problem.

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How many Blacks have suffered from hunger at the resettlements of Sada and the type of unhealthy housing in these areas. Infact even these homelands that have opted for independence are still an appendage of the Republic Government because they are not economic viable.

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The above comments are a clear indication of my personal feelings and that confirm the impossibility of the Ciskei being independent or any of the other homelands as this is not a realistic situation. The four provinces of the Republic of the South Africa have no homeland government for each province but one parliament. No country has parliament within parliaments. Let us ^{pull} build our ^{RESOURCES} province together and have a non racial government of Southern Africa ^{SA} for the people of South Africa

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