

Page 10 Aliwal North, in the north, through Queenstown to the Kei River. All this land should be returned. Admittedly, the historical argument led to conflicting claims but in the Ciskei's case the large black population required a minimum amount of land on which to survive.

Independence would not be refused in principle but to secure enough land the black spots would have to be consolidated and form part of the Ciskei with their surrounding areas.

He was one of the founder members of the Ciskeian National Independence Party in the early 1970s. Independence was envisaged at some future time. Consolidation and more land were among their aims. The body of chiefs in the Ciskei owed their people a successful solution to the land problem.

Commitment to independence without adequate provision for land for the generations to come would be an irresponsible act.

Tremendous changes were taking place in the Ciskei's traditions and culture. Many boys now went to hospital to be circumcised and chiefs were going to university.

#### 8. INTERIOR SECRETARY MARAIS

Of the activities of his department, probably of most interest to the commission would be citizenship questions. Inadequate statistics were a major problem. Estimates of the numbers of Ciskeians outside the Ciskei could be very inadequate. South African statistics were not always channelled through his department. The only figures available were registered voters and registered workseekers. Even the South African government computers would not be able to give the number of Ciskeians living and working in South Africa. A major problem was the allocation of Xhosa-speakers to the Transkei and the Ciskei. In terms of Transkei legislation the definition of a Transkeian would include just about everybody who was black and Xhosa-speaking.

The distinction was important because a man had to have certain qualifications before he could become a citizen of either the Ciskei or the Transkei. The Ciskeian attitude towards citizenship, compared with that of the Transkei, might mean that the man wanted to identify himself with the Ciskei rather than the Transkei. His department had so far issued 350 000 citizenship certificates for the Ciskei, and there were still 80 000 to 90 000 in the pipeline. Citizens of the other black states were not generally keen on being identified with their homelands and the unusual Xhosa situation was probably the reason Ciskeians wanted to be identified. The Ciskeian wanted to be identified as belonging somewhere, but not to the Transkei. In international law Ciskeians were still South Africans. However, unless special arrangements were made, those Ciskeians who had queued to get citizenship certificates so that they would not be classified as Transkeians would equally lose their South African citizenship if the Ciskei became independent.

There was certainly a strong desire for national identity among the Ciskeians. One example: Urban as well as rural, Ciskeian as well as Republican areas, there was this strong feeling of identification with a homeland - the Ciskei in this case - which was not true of, for example, Transkeians. The registration figure for voters was about 478 000 out of an estimated total population of one million to one and a quarter million. The qualification for a person to become a voter was being 18 years old, male or female. It would be possible to determine from the schedule of voters, for instance, the number of voters registered in the Zwelitsha electoral division and how many of these actually registered in Zwelitsha, and how many in other places but for the Zwelitsha constituency.

A survey of a sample of houses in Mdantsane should not be too difficult and might produce more accurate population estimates than were now available. However, it would depend on how the questions relating to the number of children were phrased. The "extended family" would need to be taken into account.

Of the 80 or 90 members of his department, nine were white. The staff did not include labour inspectors as this work was done through seven magistrates' offices and some 52 tribal labour offices which fell under the tribal authorities. Recruiting was done by these tribal offices. The number of unemployed people in the Ciskei would be unknown, but the number of workseekers could be ascertained by reference to the magistrates' offices and the tribal labour offices. A typical daily figure for Zwelitsha would be 400 to 500. For the past three years attempts had been made to get a proper labour bureau system implemented, but there was simply not the staff to do it. The mines had their own labour recruiting system and quite good statistics were available on the number of Ciskeians on the mines. For the past three or four years they had been very keen to work on the mines, the reason being the good working conditions. The Chief Minister and Cabinet had recently been invited to look at the conditions on the mines and they had been pleasantly surprised at what they saw. R3 million had been sent to the Ciskei by the mines in 1977 in respect of deferred pay. Last year there had definitely been an increase due both to increased wages and to an increase in the number of people going to the mines from the Ciskei.