

81 82 85 89. Mr N. Singapi, Mrs Mabel Cetu, Mr C. Kapi, Mr R. Vantyi

Chairman: We hope you'll be able to help us. You come from the Community Council of Port Elizabeth. Would you like us to question you or would you like to make a statement, would you like just to give us your ideas?

Lalendle: Mr Singapi, what is your view about the independence of the Ciskei? Actually this question is directed to all of you here. You can express your different views. Is independence acceptable to you? If it is acceptable - why? If it's not acceptable - why?

Singapi: First of all, Mr Lalendle, this question is not as simple as you say it is short. First of all I must say all people as a whole would like to be independent, more especially the black people having had ... frustrations but the question is going to arise as to the type of independence .. the Ciskei When we speak of this independence do we mean economic independence, do we mean political independence? And as soon as I fix those two points I come now to priorities. What is priority number 1? I just want to use an example of our own: children will always want their bit of freedom from the parents. If their parents say 'OK, you're on your own' and the parents withdraws whatever perks the child had. Ostensibly the child is free, but can one call that freedom? I'm drawing this point because I maintain that independence of the Ciskei should revolve **really** on economic viability and the other comes as a result of that. how big is our Ciskei? Number two: what is the population of our Ciskei, taking into account the Ciskeians that are also in the urban areas? How attractive economically will our Ciskei be? And having known another independent state like the Transkei, will our independence also be run along those lines, that is, shall we be restricted in the same manner as the citizens of Transkei are?

Chairman: What do you mean by restrictions?

Singapi: In the sense that it is common cause that when Transkeians are in town, for instance when it comes to work - I have come across a lot of cases that they are not given preference when they want to go in for work, that is if they are carrying their documents because there are two types of Transkeians: there is the Transkeian who carries the reference book and there is another Transkeian who has a passport. Immediately you carry that passport invariably you come against some restrictions when it comes to work. I don't know whether perhaps it is because of certain laid-down procedures - I don't know. I have a case now in my office of a child coming from Johannesburg, having worked in Johannesburg during the time she had a reference book, but the minute she changed her reference book into a passport the employer was not interested in her.

But we thought
Lalendle: /... that if one is independent he is treated in the same way as other Africans of dependent states. Do you deny that?

Singapi: Well, as I say, I've got a case in point.

Lalendle: Is that the only case on record?

Singapi: There are other cases, such other cases, but this particular case actually came to my office for assistance.

Chairman: Mr Singapi, would that be just an isolated case? I mean, is it just the thought of the official, or is that, do you think, the government policy?

Singapi: Well, I queried this myself because I like to keep abreast with activities. I said to this child: 'I cannot understand the position because according to what I see in the press there should be no restrictions, but the fact of the matter is that there is.'

Chairman: What then do you see - I know there are all these alternatives, but what do you see, what would you think is the solution to the problem which there is at the moment?

Singapi: Do you mean in relation to this case?

Chairman: No. In relation to the whole attitude. The question Mr Lalendle asked you to start off with.

Singapi: That is why I say before one can answer that question, one would have to look at what is

Chairman: What do you think?

Singapi: Personally I believe that ^{if}/I can be economically strong there is nothing to stop me from being politically strong. Now, the thing is: will our Ciskei be economically viable? Because if it is economically viable, then it will be an attraction, there will be an exodus from the cities including the Ciskei and these difficulties that I was talking about, there will be no need for people to leave an economically viable area for an area where there are restrictions.

Chairman: How would you make the Ciskei economically strong?

Singapi: Well, there's just one way. The government must make the Ciskei strong by providing employment. More money should be poured into the Ciskei, thereby opening more avenues for work.

Chairman: What sort of employment?

Singapi: Industries.

Chairman: Industries and just the matter of money. It's a matter of knowledge too.

Singapi: I accept. Our position as Ciskeians and as Blacks -- I take it, for the foreseeable future, we still must rely on the Whites' skills but there must be a genuine sharing, I hate to say there must be a genuine attempt, but there must be a genuine sharing so that the Blacks can take the skills and in time to come the Whites who are in the Ciskei can be replaced, those who are replaceable.

Lalendle: What other alternative or option do you have? For instance, if we find that this economic viability is not possible at present, must Ciskei remain where she is? If, for instance, as I say, this economic viability requisite is not possible, what is the other alternative?

Singapi: I would have to come back to my other point - as I said: what is the size of the Ciskei, what is the population of the Ciskei? It is an accepted fact that:(1) We can't all be in Ciskei, just as the English cannot all be in England but those English people who have left their homes to go and work don't come up against restrictions. In other words, what they earn overseas can always go back home by way of developing the area. What I'm trying to say is, even if there can be no large industries in Ciskei the movement of the Ciskeians should not be tampered with more than it is now ..(Masked by coughing). As I said, will there be no restrictions? I want to cite another case. In the urban areas there is this talk about the 99-year lease. Now, if/a Ciskeian, as I am, what is going to happen to my children. I cannot force my children. Say my children don't - say the Ciskei becomes independent tomorrow and I have property here. It is in writing that if you don't live in the area, your children can only benefit ~~by~~ from a sale of property.

Chairman: They can't inherit?

Singapi: They can't inherit. What will happen then if Ciskei is independent? I already carry a citizenship and I don't see myself now withdrawing already I am 25 myself, but I am still worried about my children: what is going to happen to my children? Because I have my roots here; my children may not want to go to the Ciskei and being Ciskeian, will they not be debarred now from inheriting? This is now the point.

Chairman: Inheriting your property in the Ciskei?

Singapi: No, in the white area.

?: I'm interested because I'm also interested in the geography of the Ciskei. There is the question of transport for instance. Let's take the railways: what is going to happen to the railways situation? Because there's a point where our railways go through the Ciskei ... negotiations with the Republican government which would create more

job opportunities. I've read in the Riekert Report that, I suppose the commissioners are also thinking about the establishment of these labour bureaux in order to get people from these black states. And although it is not very clear to me, it's not that these labour bureaux would be in the black states themselves but very near the black states so that the black states can bring labour into the labour bureaux to come and work in the white areas. Well, being an urban black, those are other things which we don't really accept. They are there, but we don't accept them. But because they are sort of imposed on us and because we cannot do anything, we just have to work in the And if now the Ciskei is going to be independent, would not it be wise that the citizens of the Ciskei be treated like citizens, like other white citizens from other areas? The whole thing revolves on this ... Those would just be my points, but the big thing is that all people want to be independent but you cannot just accept independence anyhow. You want to be satisfied that your position will not go down, instead you will be elevating your position.

Chairman: Do you want to speak, Mr?

?: I think my argument sort of revolves in the same manner as ^{agreed?} Mr Singapi. First of all it will be a land issue ... with the Ciskei. How are the people of the Ciskei going to be affected by Ciskei independence - that is part one. Transport-wise already in Transkei there is the question of passports. By the look of things we're now going to have Ciskei next to Transkei and it means that an urban black from Ciskei if he wishes to go to Transkei will have to cross two borders - more than two borders, that is, he will have to cross South Africa ... twice or thrice, with the present layout of Ciskei.

Lalendle: What is your view on the corridor?

?: It must go. The corridor must go.

Chairman: To whom?

?: To the Ciskei. It is in the Ciskei. It is just a natural -

there shouldn't be any talk about it. It is Ciskei land and it must go to the Ciskei.

Chairman: Do you think

?: From experience, already there are some other black states which are closed in, that is interland with no seaports. The only way of going out of that black state is if you cross another black state.

They have no way of - as I have said they are interland states so they depend, even if they are independent they still depend on other states.

?: Other states? Lesotho?

?: but it is still dependent because it depends And there's the question of restrictions. As I have already quoted other black states, for instance, if - I'm sorry about this - if it's a Transkeian or any other black who is in this urban area, Port Elizabeth, wants to have a business licence a long ^{procedure}/.. should be involved, though he was born and bred here, because ^{his} /father or grandparents belonged to Lesotho - there should be a long procedure. Application should be done to the Minister of Cooperation and Development and he should approve. But the man has all the rights in Port Elizabeth. There are those restrictions you find that priority has been given to urban blacks who have not attached themselves to any other black state.

Lalendle: How is the pass situation - do you find a lot of people being arrested because of passes?

?: That is another thing You know, there are present Ciskeians who are working but those Ciskeians, their children and their families have no right to be here. A man is but unfortunately he never had a chance of having a dwelling-place. He came in here at 10 years old, 25 years and he left his family in the homeland. And now he is having ^{the} /difficulty of breaking the family. The family cannot come to Port Elizabeth because, firstly, the children were not registered, the wife was not registered. So

you find the situation whereby a man is having more than 10 illegitimate children because he is a human being. But because the family is not permitted to come, you will find that he is having another illegal wife, more than one. And you will find the situation where his proper children are not

Lalendle: If one says both types of independence are not that is, independence the Transkei way and the other type of independence, what other options do you suggest to the Commission?

?: For instance, as I have said, the viability of Ciskei, economic, as I am a Ciskeian the question was posed: how would you suggest to make this viable economically? Presently there are only two irrigation schemes, that is Tyer^fu and Keiskammahoek, and the rest of Ciskei is arid, is being affected day in and out by droughts while there are people who are presently in Ciskei agriculturally-wise they are solely dependent on rain. Rivers run to the sea. There are no man-made dams in other areas, except the ones I have quoted, to catch these rivers so that the people living in the rural area are able not to depend solely on rain but also on water from the rivers.

Lalendle: Did you ever consider the possibility of a federation, ..., or a military type of government or a confederation? What are your views on this? In the event of Ciskei not opting for independence what other types of government must Ciskei consider?

?: What type of federation? A type of black federation, of black states? Or a federation of the Republic of South Africa and other states?

Lalendle: I want to ask which one you prefer.

?: Well, federation of black states because there are corridors so it means really even if they are federated they still have to cross and it would depend

Chairman: I think it would. It would have to be a federation of the white states and the black states, ~~which include~~ Botswana, Ciskei - what do you think of that?

AS: Yes, that's a federation.

?: You see, the whole thing falls on people's honesty. The white South Africans must just be honest. It's an accepted feature: we have not got the money, as Blacks, but we've contributed to the wellbeing of the country by virtue of having worked and by virtue of And I suppose our sweat should be taken as a form of contribution and the Whites' skills should also be taken as a form of contribution. There is now this question of the which we don't know where it goes. I am a Ciskeian. I am paying for everything so I am contributing to the work of a Republic. Here are my brothers in the Ciskei, they But my money is here. So if there were to be a confederation it would have to be and, as Mr Vantyi says, 'I am weak, this one is weak, why must we come together?'. It's just a mockery because we will still remain in the same position whereas what we are trying for is an upliftment of our standards. And, as I've said, we have got a stake in the land. We don't want to just go out of the Republic and leave our money here. If we are to go at all, let us carry our money into our areas.

AS: Mr Chairman, I wonder if Mrs Cetu has anything to say?

Mrs Cetu: I have the same feelings as Mr has just expressed. As touches the I think that the feasibility of our independence has economic problems. Economically speaking we don't have a leg to stand on, we do not. We still depend entirely on the South African government. Now we have the introduction of industries,^{for} which of course we have to thank the friends of the Minister of the Ciskei and his cabinet. And let's now look at it from this angle. If this continues, how are we going to manage if we do not have the brains of the people who are supposed to run the industries that we get from the assistance of overseas countries? We would not have any schools to train our children. Our children are always taught, they circle around nothing else but teachers and no arts and crafts and things like that and we do not have the schools whereby we can teach the

children on business lines. That should be our major problem. We must have the manpower to man these industries when we do have them. And now my worry is this: are we going to be accepted by the world outside? We must look at that point because we've already seen that up to now the states that are independent are abused by overseas countries, they are looked down upon. Why? I suppose they have good reasons. They tell us(Masked by coughing) subjects of apartheid which is not practical because as far as I'm concerned it's as old as the hills. It is always even with the Blacks against the Blacks. You find that there is apartheid from our birthright. A Fingo never ever liked a black Xhosa. A black Xhosa never ever cared for somebody who comes from the Transvaal. ... funny names ... 'Your daughter is marrying a' Just because his daughter is marrying somebody who comes from the Transvaal or Lesotho or other state. So, as far as I'm concerned, I think it's as old as the hills and we should just cut it out. But how are we going to overcome our problem of getting our assistance which we so much need from the outside world? Let us look at it from the social point of view. Just recently there has been the great/^{Miss}Universe Competition. Even if we had had somebody socially over there, it would have been madness because we do not feature yet. I don't know, there is something that we should correct before we step into independence. And as the gentlemen have spoken now I think we should I'm not going into their side of the thing because they know far more than I do about and all that, but to my knowledge there has always been somebody arrested for being illegally in the area. It's supposed to have been discontinued some time ago but not materially; it's just talk; it hasn't happened. And geographically speaking we do not just know how big a Ciskei we have, although we are so proud of the Ciskei, shouldn't we just look into the size of our Ciskei and see how much we can really boast of our dear Ciskei. I'm terribly in love with the Ciskei. It's one place that I think

should be developed. I like the Ciskei very much and at the same time I'm very anxious, and strictly speaking everybody is feeling very proud of the mere fact that there is even a commission to look into the feasibility of independence - it hasn't happened anywhere and it is happening here. So we feel perhaps that there's going to be a difference in the independence of the Ciskei just because of this commission. We hope so. We are looking forward to a better independence I do not know whether perhaps I have said my say, but I have a feeling that we are being misled. There is a big misleading stage between the homeland people who are homeland-proud, who have the background of being homelander, with the people in the Republic - I'm sorry to mention this - who have lost their birthright. If I have to be open, I have always felt we are terribly being misguided people like the Coloureds. The Coloureds are fighting a battle of loss of identity. You can't place a Coloured. You go, you place a Coloured and you just end in the air. And now, because the Coloured has lost his identity, it is They are very anxious to see us also lose our identity. There is always that friction of "here we are, we must join the federation" where do they lead us? We are homelander, we have an identity, the Xhosa will remain the Xhosa. And we have fought in the battle of being Xhosa. and of course we have lost those two tribes ... those are the little things that I think personally are misguiding the black people (this is said in a prophetic and slightly conspiratorial voice!) because we are inclined to think that these people are our friends, they are siding with us! And you will find that people will come and talk federation to you. I am not encouraging apartheid to the extent perhaps of saying that the people must shun each other, but we can't just..you are black, I am white. I am so proud of being black! ... But my main thing is this: we should introduce in the Ciskei schools whereby we shall be able to produce professors of all types(?) of knowledgeable subjects in the line of industry so that we won't have to be clamouring for assistance from other nations, and we will be able to ...our children to know that there is .. it is only recently that our people have been taught the value of the soil. It is today that such organisations as Zenzele have taught the womenfolk and the people in the urban areas that the soil is there for you to till and you can live on it. That is my feeling and I don't know whether there is something else that I should say.

CHTL: about Ciskeian citizenship. We have heard a lot about this, from newspapers, officials, that people should take Ciskeian citizenship. What is your opinion about this?

GPQ: I wonder if Mr Kapi would like to answer that question?

CETU: Allow me to. (Yes, do.) I think, Mr Lalendle, anybody who has citizenship of the homeland that he belongs to or she belongs to .. to have a Ciskei citizenship is an honour, you should feel proud to be a Ciskeian, and the people who are suggesting that we shouldn't take out Ciskeian citizenship because we are going to lose our identity as urban blacks are just plain silly, because they were the first people to take out Ciskeian citizenship. So I am very proud to have it, and I took out Ciskeian citizenship because I am married to a thoroughbred Ciskeian.

KAPI: Mrs Cetu has said everything, and by adding anything I will be spoiling the whole thing. I support her wholeheartedly. ... recreation and education is very important. A nation without education can never exist, and you have to have recreation, it is for the mind and everything that it is good. But I wonder whether there is any provision for instance, you go into a township, and you find them playing right in the road, palying something called "dixie" - some of them are killed by cars, because they play in the streets ...

CHTL: Lack of recreation both in town and Ciskei?

KAPI: Yes.

PK: Mr Chairman, I just want to clarify this. I hear you saying that independence is the conditions of economic viability ... there are problems of citizenship for urban blacks because there are problems of international recognition. My question is, assuming that all these problems at some point are resolved, and you have a free choice, would the choice be to take complete independence from South Africa, which would involve giving up the claim and eventual success perhaps, in being a multi-racial state of South Africa. I just want to make sure that everybody here does want independence rather than a long-run union in South Africa, Eventually a multi-racial state might be achieved.

KAPI or VANTYI : and because, now when you say independence, there is a tendency.. for instance Mr Singapi is a and by virtue of him being born in Port Elizabeth, he knows no other place than Port Elizabeth, but he is a Ciskeian, and now if he has a choice of ... having identified himself as a Ciskeian, when Ciskei becomes independent, will he have a choice now to choose where he goes then?

EJM: Could I just ask one question? Mr Singapi, from what I hear from you now, I understand that you all identify with the Ciskei, you want to be Ciskeians, you are proud of the fact that you are Ciskeians, but you have problems. When the Ciskei were to become independent one day, the type of problems that are so well put by our friend here, if these problems are solved now what part of the population in Port Elizabeth do you think, of Ciskeians in Port Elizabeth, feel like yourselves? Identified with the Ciskei, feel that they are Ciskeians,

associated with the Ciskei, but not lose the rights that you have. You would like to retain your position in white South Africa. But I would like to know how many of you feel yourselves Ciskeians, still feel attached to the Ciskei? Or how many of them have become complete internationals. They don't belong to the Ciskei, they don't feel attached to the Ciskei?

SINGAPI: This question was put to me by one of the government committees. The position of Port Elizabeth is that there is a great majority .. the great majority of the people in Port Elizabeth comes from the Ciskei. When I say that they come from the Ciskei I mean even if they were born here, the father came from the Ciskei. I don't know. Even when you are at school, we always said to our friends from the Transkei "You Transkeians". It was a way of looking down upon them, but never did I come across "Ag, you Ciskeian" said in a degrading manner, and I do feel that a lot of our people .. for instance, when it comes to voting, everybody in the township goes to the Ciskeian election. One never likes to lose identity in your work, and immediately one touches upon a person's employment, he is inclined to withdraw, because he knows that if, tomorrow, he were to be ushered to the Ciskei, then he would work (?) . But otherwise, the Ciskei enjoys an equal (), there is no gainsaying that.

CHTL: I would like you to clarify something. Some people have said here that many people vote for the Ciskeian~~d~~ government, many people participate in Ciskei affairs because of their fear of R252.

SINGAPI: R252, yes ..

CHTL: And then some say that they fear that if you don't carry a Ciskeian citizenship certificate you will be deprived of certain ... grants and many other privileges. As chairman of the community council, who is approached by people day and night, do you support this statement?

SINGAPI: There is no such thing .. it is nonsense. When you apply for a travelling document, for instance my daughter applied for a certificate, and then my citizenship certificate was called for. I produced it and the papers were issued. Otherwise, there is just no truth in that story. You mentioned R252 and disability grants, there is a lot of ignorance there, because R252 does not apply there, and I can't see how one could have that ..

CETU: May I add to that Mr Singapi? How long has this R252 been in operation, to become a bogey-man, it shows that there is no truth in it.

SINGAPI: And voting is something secret. Who knows who voted for whom? So how could it be averred that people are under that fear of R252? Nobody is forced to go and vote.

QUAIL: Is there anything more you would like to add?

EJM: Mr Singapi, the community council in Port Elizabeth, how is that working

at present, fairly satisfactorily? Is it helping you at all in solving the problems of the community, or are there still weaknesses associated with it?

SINGAPI: It is coming along well. It has its impediments. It is simply that our people are used to a certain , and here again it is a question of bona fides on the part of the administration board. People are not impressed by us sitting in meetings day in day out, people want to see things happening. They want to see me identify myself, as chairman, with all the other chairman of other local authorities, that is what they want, and they would like to taste being ... that is workwise, because you ^{still} have the white man. They still feel there is no credibility when these people who are supposed to take over from us ... but as I see it, leadership, well ... Yesterday we were dealing with the transfer of land and I had to make the councillors understand that when I ^{looked} at stuff I did not look at the man's face, that is, the colour, I look at him as ... if one of our ^{resolutions} is wrong, it is only fair for me to say he's wrong, and if he has a point against my brother he must just come and say, here is my point.

AS: (indistinct)

SINGAPI: That point was raised by Mr Vantyi. Let me cite the case of the man ..this man has been in Port Elizabeth for plus-minus twenty years, and he is therefore qualified in terms of This man applies for a visa, but because he is going to Lesotho, we were very reluctant to grant him the right to stay, because of his allegiance to another state and a lot of them in fact had to change, to take Ciskeian citizenship, so as for them to be granted.

(Here he becomes very repetitive, and I am leaving it out)

I don't know, there is a tendency of the government to make Soweto a masterpiece, and neglecting other cities, for instance that Soweto should be electrified, so many thousands of rands were given to them for such and such, and nothing has been said about the other places, when you know for a fact that not only one place should benefit.

End of this group.

Presbyterian

(No number) The Rev GLADWYN PENYE, ~~Anglican~~ minister from New Brighton, Port Elizabeth

PENYE: I have been here since 1977, and before that I was in Somerset East.

GPQ: You must know the feelings of your congregation?

PENYE: No, this is the one thing one cannot describe, because you don't know who is for a thing and who isn't.

GPQ: Are the members of your congregation all Xhosas?

PENYE: Yes.

RPS: I must tell you that both Mr Singapi and Mr Koch both thought that you were a very senior and authoritative spokesman of your people, and that is why we asked