

house community youth programmes, the Black Sash Advice Office and a clinic have been damaged or destroyed. The more optimistic see a settling of private scores at the root of at least a part of the destruction, and argue that some of the trouble over the festive season can be attributed to migrants coming home for their annual holidays and the demon drink.

Much of the preceding paragraph is speculation — a summary of the beliefs of people in and near the black community. Whether the broad outlines or the details are true may never be known until some crucial survivors record

their memoirs — what is significant is that the people believe certain things to be true and act accordingly. Perhaps the most depressing aspect of the beliefs is the despair and the paralysis that they engender. The police are seen as the agents of the oppressive power and hence are unavailable as a source of protection or help, while the shadowy local groups, be they criminal gangs or agents of the known organisations, cannot be resisted, no matter what sacrifices they demand of the workers or pupils in the townships. And the good people **can** do nothing.□

by DOT CLEMINSHAW

FROM CROSSROADS TO KHAYELITSHA TO . . . ?

White settlement at the Cape has always relied on an industrious black labour force. By 1900 some 10 000 blacks resided in Cape Town, some renting, others owning their homes. They married local women, or brought their wives and families from the rural areas. In 1900 Africans (blacks) could still qualify as voters in the old Cape Colony legislature. But over the years they have lost what few rights they possessed, and to-day there are no blacks in Cape Town who are not legally foreigners or aliens, even 2nd and 3rd generations born here. They have been made citizens of Ciskei or Transkei.

Black people, whose forebears resided in the centre of Cape Town, have steadily been pushed further from the city. With the advent of the Afrikaner Nationalist government in 1948 their physical control has been tightened by pass laws and influx control, and categories of "legal" and "illegal" imposed, the latter being forced back to rural areas. From Cape Town they were moved to Ndabeni, to Langa in 1923, to Nyanga site-and-service in 1946, to Guguletu in 1959.

A disastrous social experiment began with the Eiselen line in 1955, creating a Coloured Labour Preference area in the Western Cape. In August 1984 the University of Western Cape held a seminar calling for an end to this policy, and later Prof. Sampie Terreblanche (of the Theron Commission) concurred, saying of his original support for the Coloured Preference policy "I was wrong". Recently the decision to withdraw this policy was announced by Mr P.W. Botha.

Increasing emphasis has been placed on migrant labour (one-year renewable contracts) for black males in W. Cape, and it was deliberate official policy not to build family housing. Employers were permitted to build men-only hostels in the townships, but the State built no family

units from the mid-60's for a period of 10 years while the black population increased by over 60%

Pressures of rural poverty brought many workseekers illegally to Cape Town, and combined with the natural increase among the legal residents, overcrowding soon created many squatter camps the best known being Crossroads. The saga of its survival in the face of sustained attempts by the Government to wipe it out by means of demolitions, arrests, night raids with armed officials and police, dogs and tear gas (and the fencing of empty sites with barbed wire), made of Crossroads an international issue.

POPULATION

Official estimates of Cape Town's total population (all races) are 2 million in six years' time, and 3 million by 2000 AD. The Department of Co-operation and Development estimated the black population in Western Cape in January 1984 to be 229 000, of which 169 687 were legally here. So over 59 000 or 26% (but probably many more) were here illegally. Meantime the official estimate of the maximum number that could be accommodated in the existing townships of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga without overcrowding was 87 214 (mostly in houses, but 25 030 in single quarters). So by official admission, available housing could accommodate only half the "legal" blacks here, demonstrating a major factor in the growth of squatter communities. Mr J. Gunter, Chief Director of the W. Cape Development Board, was quoted in the **Argus** on 8 Aug. 84 as saying that statistics proved influx control had failed to stem the tide of black urbanisation, with the result that there might be up to 100 000 blacks illegally in the Cape, with possibly half of these living in Crossroads. On 10 Jan. 85 Prof. S.P. Cilliers called for the ending of

influx control and a "reconceptualization" of separate development.

FACTIONS AMONG SQUATTERS

Misery wrought by official policing of squatter camps was intensified during 1983 and 1984 by conflicts between leadership of different factions. The earlier, admittedly tentative, unity between the so-called Mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and Mr Oliver Memani collapsed over issues such as their separate lists of who qualified to be regarded as recognised residents of Crossroads — this in the post "Koornhof-agreement" era. As people living in overcrowded conditions in the townships scented the possibility of a new dispensation arising from that agreement, many crept in under the Crossroads umbrella. Several other factions developed. There were the Cathedral Squatters, who, having starved themselves for weeks in St. George's Cathedral, eventually moved to Nyanga Bush, awaiting a promised solution from Dr Koornhof. There was a series of occupations of the area called K.T.C. (after a nearby shop, the Kakaza Trading Co.) and which was to have been the site for Phase II of the New Crossroads scheme promised by Dr. Koornhof.

At the end of December 1983 the factions of Ngxobongwana and Memani clashed violently. A number of Memani supporters fled from violence in which several were killed and many injured, houses were burnt and possessions lost. They congregated on dunes at K.T.C. next to the Methodist Church. Authorities insisted they could not remain there. They refused to move — either to the newly erected Fletcraft huts at Khayelitsha, the new "model city", or to alternative sites allocated at Crossroads (fearing renewed attack from the Ngxobongwana faction). A campaign of shelter demolition and mass arrests began and extended over the next 8 months. Armed police with armoured vehicles prevented violent retaliation. Mr Riaan de Villiers, whose dedicated reporting of the black community's struggle for housing and labour rights in Cape Town has been invaluable, commented that the people had shown tremendous determination and perseverance in rebuilding shelters, some destroyed and rebuilt at least 30 times. Somehow family life continued and children were generally well cared for. (Cape Times 8 Jan. 84). Finally in August 1984 the raids stopped and since then shacks have mushroomed, so that by the end of November 1984 there was a huge new squatter settlement at K.T.C. between Mr Memani's group and the road bordering on Nyanga to the west. Many of these people were "legals", having had to move from backyard shacks in the townships demolished by order of the authorities. Some of this was said to have been triggered off by the actions of Mr Archie Siqaza, a member of the black Community Council, who however denied having given permission to people to erect shacks, but found himself between the twin pressures of demands from "legals" and inaction from both the Western Cape Development Board and the Community Council, which simply did not deal with his letter asking for action on the issue.

COMMUNITY COUNCIL

The failure of Government to respond adequately to black housing needs as demonstrated by a series of ad hoc decisions and cancelled undertakings by Dr Koornhof (who finally resigned as Minister of Co-operation and Development in August 1984, when squatter camp demolitions

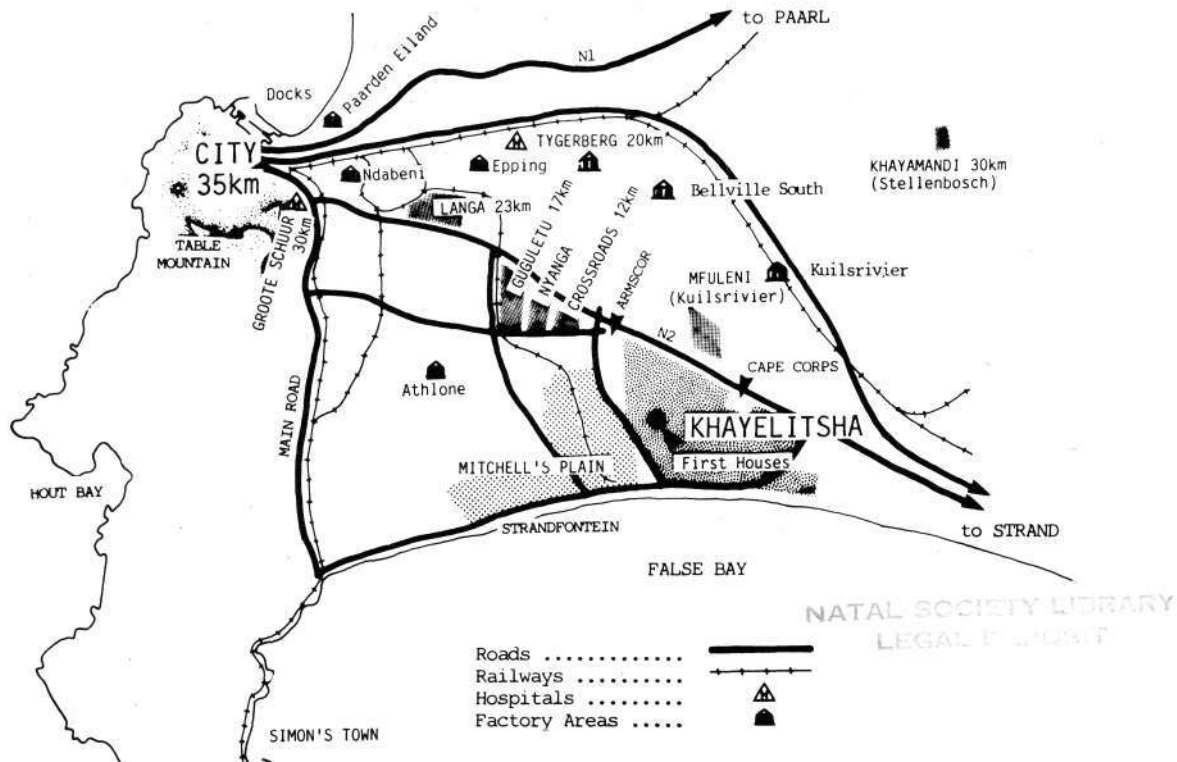
became an issue for Mr Heunis' Department of Constitution and Planning) leads to the question of the effectiveness of the black Cape Town Community Council. In brief, it has proved as impotent and unrepresentative as similar councils elsewhere, for the usual sorts of reasons. The new, higher status of Local Authority has not yet reached our black communities. In November 1983 the black residents voted for the re-election of the Community Council. The percentage poll was 11,6 compared with 27% in 1977. A boycott campaign promoted by the U.D.F. undoubtedly assisted the result, but it is clear that the generality of black people reject these bodies which are no substitute for democratic involvement in central government. The then "Mayor", Councillor Mr Elliot Lubelwana, in an attempt to counter the boycott campaign, imposed a ban on all meetings in the townships. (Mr Lubelwana was murdered in 1984 by unknown assailants who fired shots at him outside his store one night.)

The ban had a continuing deleterious effect on public discussion, so that when the controversial Khayelitsha ("Our New Home") was announced, groups opposed to it, or simply wishing to share information, could not find venues, township halls requiring permission for use from reluctant Community Councillors. Even ministers of religion refuse the use of church premises in the black townships from fear of official disapproval. In fact, a great ecumenical service on 24th June 1984 had to be held in a tent in the grounds of a Lutheran church outside the townships, which must have brought home to the many visiting European and American dignitaries present just how unfree people are to say what they think. In a situation of oppression, where conditions simply do not exist for democratic elections, unrepresentative and frustrated leadership slides easily into authoritarianism and corruption, whether the leaders are councillors or squatter camp heads, whether black or white.

KHAYELITSHA

When Dr. Koornhof announced the decision to build Khayelitsha (in the Assembly on 30th March 1983), some cautiously welcomed it in the hope that it would be an additional, totally free option for blacks wishing to move there, even though still conceived within the framework of Grand Apartheid. However, on 25th May 1983 Dr. Koornhof stated that Khayelitsha was intended to provide for the consolidated housing needs of the black communities in the Cape Metropolitan area, and that as people voluntarily moved there, the possibility of other race groups being accommodated in the older black townships would be considered.

Other than through the rejected Community Councillors, the residents of Langa, Guguletu, Nyanga, Crossroads, Mfuleni (Black-heath) and Khaya Mandi (Stellenbosch) were not consulted about the decision. Information of the detailed, unvarnished kind required by the average sensible person to assist in assessing the proposed new "satellite city" was very hard to come by. A Guguletu friend remarked "Khayelitsha has nothing to do with the black people", meaning it had been conceived, planned and commenced without consultation with the very people the Government intended should live there, and that even the decision to do so or not would not be for the black people to make. Officials held news conferences, presenting the most favourable image of Khayelitsha, and at one stage even dropped estate-agent-type leaflets from a



helicopter, but to little effect. Very soon Khayelitsha was being condemned on all sides. If Khayelitsha had been designed for the white group, there would have been a long series of informative presentations and public meetings to discuss the project, and many forceful opinions conveyed via M.P.s and M.P.C.s to Government. The question as to why such channels are not open to black people goes to the heart of the matter.

WHERE AND WHAT IS KHAYELITSHA?

To those who have only viewed Khayelitsha on SATV, filmed on a fine sunny day with a tantalising glimpse of *blue sea in the background, it could seem like a veritable heaven, let alone "new home". In reality, the relative isolation of Khayelitsha (about 35 km from Cape Town centre), and its situation between the sea (False Bay) to the south, a no-go area of "wetland" (the Kuil's River flood zone) to the east, the SADF Cape Corps Training Centre to the North, and Armscor land northwest, the place has an uncomfortable camp-like or enclave atmosphere. There is only one entrance/exit road, and no direct access to the N.2 highway. Sited in an area of high white sand dunes, except for a narrow coastal series, soon bulldozed flat (making for cheaper large-scale building), Khayelitsha resembles the Sahara desert in a sandstorm when the wind blows.

Khayelitsha is planned to comprise 4 towns, each divided into 4 villages of approximately 15 000 people. Each village is to house a neighbourhood centre, and each town a suburban centre, with the main city centre located in the geographic middle of the area. Clean water is to be provided to each house, stormwater drainage has been laid, and waterborne sewerage (temporary, to be renewed after 5 years). There is high mast street lighting and tarred roads (now rather sand-covered). Apart from initial fletcraft huts, Phase I covered provision of 1 000 sites, Phase II a further 5 000 sites, and Phase III a further 10 000. The

first 5 000 "starter core" houses are expected to be ready by March. These core houses are about 28 m², built by three contractors to 3 or 4 basic plans which are modifiable a few ways. Each consists of a small area with toilet and a tap (for basin or shower), a kitchen area with tap, and a small living room. The idea is for the owner to build on one or two extra rooms at his own expense, using approved building materials and advice from a resource centre provided (present cost about R400 per room). Bitter complaints about the small size of the rooms (which could never accommodate the double beds and wardrobes of some Crossroads shacks) were made by some of the first people to move into the core houses. A visiting engineer wrote that he and 7 friends had no difficulty standing together in one of the rooms. A Black Sash member replied that what was required was lying down space for granny, husband and wife and 4 children, let alone any furniture. The houses have no floors, ceilings or plaster.

Rentals for the core houses are heavily (R6,5 million over 2 years) subsidised at R20 per month. Even this is too high for many black families to pay. An incredibly high sum was approved in Parliament for the clearing, levelling, infrastructure and building of the Phase I houses (R80,5 million). Building tenders estimated at R40m escalated by 50% after contractors had commenced building, to some R60m in June 1984. It transpires that up to 60% of the total black housing budget for 1984/5 had been taken up in the provision of Phase I (5 000 core houses and infrastructure) at a cost of almost R100 million.

Various other facilities and amenities are planned, the only question being whether they will ever be built. Plans are there for 13 primary and 4 high schools, of which 2 primary and one secondary are built. In addition plans exist for nursery schools, clinics, a day hospital, commercial centres, shops, sites for churches, and public open spaces, with grassed sports fields and tree planting. A projected railway line is being studied.

When will these things be built? The sad fact is that fun-

*Phase I houses are 3½ km from the sea as the crow flies (maybe 2 hours' walk for a toddler?)'

dinq is now a problem; the Government has realised it cannot complete the scheme without help from the private sector, and has invited their participation. It would have been far more productive to have spent money developing the existing townships, building on empty sites (particularly the useless "buffer zones" decreed to separate the races) and redeveloping badly used sites.

Khayelitsha is designed to accommodate some 280 000 people, mostly in houses, but some in "Single Sex" hostels, at an average residential density of 120 persons per hectare (against 50 per ha. for "coloured" and 35 per ha. for "white"). Even the committee which produced the 1984 Draft Guide Plan for the Cape Metropolitan Area (including the above density rates) indicates that in the long term there might be a further need for land for blacks. Other more realistic assessments are that two Khayelitshas would be required in Government terms.

MAIN CRITICISMS OF KHAYELITSHA

Prof. D. Dewar and Ms V. Watson of the University of Cape Town's Urban Problems Research Unit made the following points of criticism of Khayelitsha at an early stage. Summarised, these are:-

- * enormously high costs of development, providing services, building, in a new area 35 km distant from Cape Town would result in unaffordable rentals requiring State subsidy.
- * Khayelitsha had no chance of becoming a "city" but would be a dormitory bantustan populated by low-income people.
- * There would be few local jobs, hence large-scale daily commuting to Cape Town, an increased load on already traffic burdened roads and transport systems, the costs of which would escalate.
- * Working parents would be absent from children for even longer hours, with adverse effects on family life, leading to increased delinquency and crime.
- * All goods and services would cost more, including food, clothing, household furniture, education and health bills.
- * Regardless of plans to build future amenities, few would eventuate in this isolated area, whether commercial, social or recreational.
- * the proposal to include "self-help building" was a cynical prostitution of the concept. Provision of the starter core houses, using officially designated materials and designs, was totally inadequate.

At first there was no offer of leasehold tenure. Later it was stated that 99-yr. leasehold would become available at Khayelitsha and a few other (unspecified) places. The latest statement from Government is that it is prepared to negotiate freehold rights with those granted 99-yr. leasehold. However not one 99-yr. lease is yet held by any black person in Cape Town, and the whole area is fraught with problems, the most important of which undoubtedly is that security of tenure is being held out to blacks as a carrot to get them to move "voluntarily" from the townships.

One of the sticks was a total freeze on all development in the townships, lifted slightly for 2 or 3 projects.

VOLUNTARY REMOVAL IS A MYTH

Black spokesmen (and women) have made it clear they will not move to Khayelitsha, and only those most hard-pressed for housing have gone and will go there. Observers who imagine that a new township must be preferable to overcrowded squatter camps do not see Khayelitsha as

black people do, against the three co-called Bills of 1983, namely

- * Black Local Authorities
- * Black Community Development
- * Orderly Movement and Settlement of Blacks (suspended).

Black people know that even if freehold rights are given in several places in the Cape, limits on the provision of housing will continue to be used as a modern form of influx control. They note with scorn the Government's use of the words "full property rights" when the Group Areas Act segregates the races, and there is no real choice as to where blacks may buy or sell property. Dr. Koornhof stated on 8th June 1983 that people moving to Khayelitsha would not lose their "section 10 rights" (under the Blacks in Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945) as Khayelitsha fell within the "prescribed area" of the Cape Divisional Council. Will this statement, like others, become "the dead hand of the past"? What is the future of the Divisional Council under proposed Regional Services Councils? People in Kwa-Mashu and Umlazi lost their section 10 rights when their townships were moved and became part of Kwa-Zulu.

All Xhosa-speaking people in Cape Town now have citizenship of states unrecognised by the rest of the world (Transkei and Ciskei) and are subject to deportation (3 000 Transkeians were so deported from Cape Town in 1981). What exactly does the latest Government offer about citizenship really mean? Until such questions are satisfactorily answered, Khayelitsha has slight chance of acceptance.

NIGHTMARE

When Senator E. Kennedy visited Crossroads on 10 January 1985 he failed to extract an assurance from top official Mr. T. Bezuidenhout that nobody would be forced to move to Khayelitsha, or that "illegal" blacks would not be penalized. The new Minister of Community Development, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, reaffirmed the government's intention to move all the Crossroads squatters, legal and illegal, to Khayelitsha. The intention is to house the "legals" in core houses, and to give temporary site-and-service to the "illegals", pending their redirection, presumably to the rural areas. Opinion is divided in Crossroads - some will go to Khayelitsha, others demand recognition of rights before moving, while yet others want both housing and rights at Crossroads. Recent fresh outbreaks of faction fighting and demonstrations against increased rents in Crossroads has seen the arrest of several squatters. Both Mr Ngxobongwana and Mr Memani are in police custody awaiting trial on charges relating to this unrest. Women leaders like Mrs Regina Ntongana and Ms Nomangesi Mbobosi (who is also on trial) have had their homes in New Crossroads burnt down.

A nightmare scenario haunts those who are opposed to the move to Khayelitsha - a post-Sebokeng scene in which Administration Board officials arrive at dawn with lorries, Crossroads is sealed off by police and SADF soldiers, the area is declared "operational", and newspaper reporters and TV cameramen are excluded. Section by section the people are moved to a similarly sealed Khayelitsha, "legals" moved into houses and "illegals" processed away from Cape Town. This has happened elsewhere in the country, why not at Crossroads? But then not all nightmares really happen.□