

particularly anti-worker stance and has moved the employers away from conciliation to a "take it or leave it" offensive.

The director has in a number of meetings of employers sniped away at the validity of the poverty datum line.

This in an attempt to evade the fact that African wages are poverty wages. It is not quite certain what was discussed at a number of "private" meetings held between various employers and employers' associations but one strong current of thought is opposed to setting the poverty datum line as a target for African wages, proposing rather, wages between R12

and R15 for the male wage earner. The current poverty datum line as estimated by Professor Lawrie Schlemmer is R19,30.

Some employers have taken advantage of the strike situation and fired the whole labour force and then taken them on again at lower wage rates. A very deeply-felt bitterness is being built up.

If the employers are not prepared to realise that a new situation has developed and that the time has passed for quibbling about African poverty, the mass strikes of the past weeks will be only a forerunner of further mass discontent.

Removals

BARBARA WAITE

If one spent sufficient time one could perhaps give a fairly accurate account of the removals that have taken place since 1971 and predict those that will happen in the next few years.

What one could never do, given all the time in the world, however, is to convey the anguish and horror, the heartbreak, the agony and anger, the bitterness and rage that these removals cause.

As a White wife and mother, I could never claim to have any inkling of the intolerable tensions and frustrations of hope of the mother whose son has little opportunity for education and even less for employment; whose teenage children fall into bad company, become layabouts, thugs or prostitutes because of boredom, frustration or hunger; whose husband is now in some hostel because my new homeland township is too distant to allow for daily or even weekly commuting and so cannot share my burden of raising and disciplining the family.

I have never experienced the horror of seeing my home reduced to rubble by a Government bulldozer, of being given a free ride in a Government truck and accepting, with humble gratitude, the magnanimous gesture of a free tent.

I have never had to beg a meal, let alone to accept month after month my packet of mealie meal, margarine, milk and mealies and with it swallow the story that it is dished up by a pious Christian Government.

I only know that I am White, that the burden of guilt is beyond bearing and I pray God that I may be forgiven.

In 1971 it was said in Parliament by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development that 311 "black spots" remained to be eliminated. (Hansard No. 3, February 17, 1971.)

In February 1972, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that in Natal, 300 000 people (Bantu) still had to be resettled and re-housed. (Hansard No. 4, February 22, 1972.)

On February 24, 1972 he gave figures of removals and resettlement for the last 10 years. Between April 1, 1970, and June 30, 1971, (i.e. in 15 months) 65 481 people had been moved and resettled. (Bearing in mind that organised sports on Sunday are forbidden it works out to about 165 people per day.)

● The most recent removal that we know of was reported in the Rand Daily Mail, September 19, 1972. Two thousand Africans were moved from their homes in the Hobsdale area near Ladysmith to Ezekhene, 40 km away. At Hobsdale they were living on $\frac{1}{2}$ acre (20 sq. m.) plots; at Ezekhene they will be living on $\frac{1}{8}$ acre (5 sq. m.) plots.

● It was reported in the Rand Daily Mail (August 14, 1972) that 2 000 squatters were evicted from the outskirts of Komatipoort to Naas township, 35 km. away, at the end of June and during July. They have been provided with one-roomed, corrugated iron

huts on concrete bases 3,7 m. x 3,7 m. Each family gets two of these at a rental of R2,80 a month. The nearest shops are at Komati-poort, 35 km. away. The lowveld sun beating down on corrugated iron...

● At the end of July about 500 families were moved from Ruigtefontein near Wasbank to Ekuvukene, 29 km. away near Limehill. One man and his three brothers had 44 acres at Ruigtefontein. At Ekuvukene he has a plot 30 m. x 15 m.

● About 433 families of the Batlhaping Tswana tribe were occupying part of a reserve about 65 km. west of Kimberley, through which the Vaal River runs. It was decided in 1968 that they should eventually be moved in order to consolidate the Tswana homeland and straighten the border.

Also, the Spitzkop Dam, when completed would inundate the area. Many of the men worked in diamond diggings in the Barkly West area. Chief Moseki opposed the eventual move to Vaalboshoek, 80 km. away, because of distance from centres of employment and because of transport inadequacies. His recognition as a chief was withdrawn, the Government closed the school, withdrew social pensions, demolished the tribal court and finally bulldozed the homes. The area to which they were moved, near Kuruman, is semi-desert.

● Pampierstat is a large township being laid out by the S.A. Bantu Trust in the Taung homeland which is part of the Tswanastan. About 1 200 African families have been gradually moved there from Jan Kempdorp, 29 km. south east. Previously, people were moved there from Hartzwater (18 km. away) and from the diamond diggings in the Barkly West and Windsorten areas further south. Because of distance, some of the workers probably only go home at weekends now.

● At Machaviestad, near Potchefstroom, was a group of about 40 families of the Barolong tribe who fought their removal for about 20 years, saying that their land had been given them by President Kruger.

Last year those who had refused alternative offers of land (they numbered about 140) were forbidden to plough, their grazing fees were raised, their livestock was impounded on three occasions, the school was closed, a gate was put across the road.

Finally, they were resettled at Rooigrond, near Mafeking, where there was no land for ploughing, no schools, no clinics and no local employment. (See S.A.I.R.R. Survey, 1971).

● Mafeking's Bantu Residential Area was abolished in April, 1971, and everyone has been moved to Montshiwa in the Molopo Reserve.

● Zeerust's municipal township has recently been abolished and all Africans are being resettled at Le Hurutsi (13 km. west) near the Botswana border.

● Brits is a border industrial area. All the Africans in the municipal township are being moved or have been moved to the new trust township (13 km. east) called Muthutlung.

● At Potgietersrus, the residents of the old township were moved to Makwelereng (5 km. north west).

● From the municipal township at Pietersburg, the Africans have been moved to the new township nearby, Seshego, which is the temporary Lebowa capital.

● In about 1969, the Africans at Groblersdaal were moved to Motetema, 11 km. north east.

● From White River, the Africans were all moved to Kabokweni, a township 20 km. east.

● All of Nelspruit's 2 600 African families have probably been moved by now, 23 km. east to a farm Nyamsaam.

● Madadeni and Ozisweni, near Newcastle, are continually being used for the resettlement of African farm squatters and labour tenants around Utrecht and from "black spots". The municipal township at Newcastle was to have been abolished by the end of 1971.

● All the Africans at Howick are being resettled at Mpopheni, 13 km. away.

● Mabopane, about 29 km. north west of Pretoria is being developed to house people of Tswana origin employed in Pretoria and also for workers at the border industrial area of Babelegi. About 5 150 houses have probably been completed by now. By October, 1971, 419 families had been moved there from the municipal townships of Atteridgeville, Saulsville and Mamelodi where building developments have not taken place for several years.

● The municipal township at Douglas, 225 km. south of Kuruman, was (in terms of Government Notice, August, 1971) declared abolished. The Africans are to go to Mothibastat, 7 km. from Kuruman.

It is unlikely that employees at Douglas will be able to travel home at weekends, as the distance is over 200 km.

(The same may apply to Griquatown and Postmasburg.)

● More than 4 000 Africans are to be moved from Christiana to a proposed new township in the Taung homeland.

● The Bantu Residential area of Bloemhof was declared abolished (Government Notice June 2, 1972) and the Africans from there will probably be moved to the new township in the Taung Homeland.

(The same may eventually apply to Vryburg and Schweizer-Reneke).

● From Delareyville and surrounding small towns, families are to be resettled in a new trust township called Marotzi, about 19 km. north. It will become a very large township, serving the proposed new decentralised industrial area.

● Lichtenberg is negotiating on behalf of Carletonville, Coligny, Fochville, Hartebeesfontein, Klerksdorp, Leeuwdsoringstad, Orkney, Ottosdal, Potchefstroom, Sannieshof, Stilfontein, Ventersdorp and Wolmaranstad, with the Department about the laying out of a township Itsoseng (35 km. west of Lichtenberg), to which all the Africans of these 14 towns will be moved. It is to be a "labour reservoir". The 14 towns will probably build hostels for their workers.

● The African residential areas of Nylstroom and Naboomspruit were declared abolished towards the end of 1971 but the destination of the families is unknown as yet.

● All the African families at Louis Trichardt are to be accommodated 35 km. north east at Setooni.

● There is a possibility that the Africans at Piet Retief will be moved to Ncotshane, in the reserve to the south, north of the Pongola River.

● At Richards Bay about 6 000 people in Reserve No. 6 will be displaced when the township is developed. No final decision has been made about them yet.

● All the African families from the municipal township at Vryheid are to go to Mondlo, 24 km. south. The present population at Mondlo is 7 864. It has a clinic with two district nurses in daily attendance and a medical officer who visits once a week. Patients are treated at Nqutu, 18 miles away. (See Hansard No. 12 of 1972, col 930.)

● The African families at Estcourt are definitely to be moved to Wembezi, 12 km. south-west of the town.

● Zandbult is to be established by the S.A. Bantu Trust near Limehill.

Families living in the municipal township of Sobantu at Pietermaritzburg will eventually be

moved to Imbali, an urban Bantu residential area which extends into a homeland, west of the town.

● Klaarwater at Pinetown has been zoned for Indian occupation and about 2 800 people from there will have to go to Kwa Ngendezi, south west of Clermont.

● Margate's municipal township, housing about 2 000 people is to be abolished. They are to be moved to Gamelakhe, 10 km. away. Some have already been resettled there.

● Matatiele's Bantu residential area was declared abolished (Government Notice June 30, 1972). The people are to live in Maluti, 10 km. away in the Transkei.

● Queenstown's municipal township of more than 1 000 houses is to be abolished. All the residents are to go to the Queensdale area, adjoining Ilinge, 10 km. south.

● All the residents of Uitenhage's municipal township, Kabah, are to be moved 6½ km. to Kwa Nobuhle on the south bank of the Swartkops River.

● At Grahamstown, the Fingo Village was proclaimed Coloured and about 5 500 Fingoes living there are to go east across the Fish River to a place called Committees Drift in the Peddie area. This is to be a "model" township with a potential population of 100 000 to 200 000. It is 52½ km. from Grahamstown.

● All the Africans from Stutterheim are to be moved, probably to a new township, 18 km. south.

● At Springs, the municipal township of Payneville has been declared a Coloured group area; 635 more houses are to be built at Kwa Thema to accommodate some of the families displaced but the rest will have to go to a homeland.

This picture of removals is not completed. But it gives an idea of how the Blacks of this land are pushed around (voluntarily, of course) for the benefit of the Whites. This is our "South African way of life".

THESE ARE some of the towns which have stopped building family housing, despite lack of accommodation for families with rights under Section 10(1) of the Urban Areas Act:

Dordrecht; Sterkstroom; Fort Beaufort; Philipstown; De Aar; Colesburg; Hanover; Middelburg (C.P.); Humansdorp; Upington; Prieska; Harrismith; Graaf Reinet; Oudtshoorn; Pretoria (Atteridgeville, Saulsville, Mamelodi); Roodepoort (at Dobsonville).

SOME OF the towns which are building, have built or plan to build hostels for migrant workers and the size (where known) are:

Delareyville (Men's Hostel — 800 beds); Lichtenberg, Carletonville, Coligny, Fochville, Hartebeesfontein, Klerksdorp, Leeuw-doringstad, Orkney, Ottosdal, Potchefstroom, Sannieshof, Stilfontein, Ventersdorp, Wolmaranstad. All families from these towns are to be moved to Itsoseng, 35 km. west of Lichtenberg; Potgietersrus — Some houses in new township, Matiwelereng, are being used as hostels; Nelspruit — 100 houses in existing township to be converted into hostels, each for six men; Louis Trichardt — Has Hostel for 512 men; Stanger — Hostel accommodation for 160 men, 30 women; Madadeni (near Ladysmith); Vryheid — hostels to be built in municipal area; Ladysmith — hostel beds eventually for 1 800 men; Dundee; Durban — Glebe township has been converted into hostel accommodation for men; Aliwal North — hostels to be built for men and women; King Williams Town — Dwellings in municipal township being converted into men's hostels; Humansdorp; Stellenbosch (See Government Gazette 10/4/70); Strand; Blackheath; Hermanus; Bloemfontein; Harrismith — for men — 300 beds; Bethlehem; Fouriesburg; Middelburg (Tvl.) — hostel beds for 3 312; Witbank; Standerton; Bethel — 400 men; Ermelo — 528 men; Port Elizabeth — 13 000 men at Zwide; Uitenhage — there will be 2 512 men at the new township; Delmas (See Government Gazette 24/12/70); Grahamstown (See Government Gazette 28/8/72); Pretoria — Ga Rankuwa — about 200 dwellings used as hostels for men, Mamelodi — 16 500 beds, Atteridgeville — 600 beds; Boksburg; Volksrust — 500 men; Johannesburg (excluding mining compounds) — Soweto — 5 hostels, 21 476 people, Meadowlands and Diepkloof — 12 945 beds, Alexandra — eventually to be for hostels only. First two opened have beds for 2 834 females and 2 642 males. Plan for 21 hostels with 32 000 beds to be extended. At present 15 000 men in single quarters; Roodepoort — Dobsonville, hostel for men planned; Krugersdorp — hostel for 2 250 men to be built; Westonaria; Sebokeng (Vaal triangle) — to have 2 100 hostel beds for men eventually; Cape Town (excluding hostels

built by private firms for employees) — hostel beds for about 4 428 men; Kimberley — 1 020 men.

THE Bantu Investment Corporation, as reported in *The Star*, June 20, 19972, "exists to promote development by fostering industry and commerce inside the homelands". The main growth points are: Babelegi near Pretoria; Letaba near Tzancen; Seshego near Pietersburg; Sitebe in Natal; Mantshiwa near Mafeking; Witzieshoek near the Lesotho border. Other growth points: Zeerust; Rustenburg; Potgietersrust; Richards Bay; Newcastle — the third Iscor work is being developed here; Ladysmith — a new dam to be built here; Berlin and De Aar and Upington for Coloureds.

BORDER Industrial areas come under the Industrial Development Corporation. They are: Brits; Pietersburg; East London; Phalaborwa; Harrismith; Rosslyn near Pretoria.

THE MUNICIPALITIES of the following towns have been given authority to build African family accommodation for either a limited number of families or as much as is required and are keeping their townships — Bantu Residential Areas:

Rustenburg — the borders of an adjoining homeland were extended to include Thlabane; Winberg — granted authority to extend township; New housing schemes are planned at — Warden; Heilbron; Bethulie; Rouxville; Fouresmith; Welkom; Nigel — retaining Duduza Township for Africans who are to be moved from areas proclaimed Coloured; Reitz. TOWN building limited family accommodation — the "excess" probably have to find accommodation in a homeland:

Stanger — building 200 new houses — 250 are needed; Hofmeyr — building for 62 families — 270 families will have to go; Middelburg (Tvl.) — building 150 dwellings, 250 families are on the waiting list; Volksrust; Charlestown; Port Elizabeth — 5 500 semi-detached, 4-roomed dwellings being built — 10 600 needed; Molteno.

NOTE: The information for this account was taken from Muriel Horrell's invaluable paper on "Housing Schemes for Urban Africans in Municipal Areas and in the homelands"; "A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa" published by the Institute of Race Relations in South Africa; newspaper accounts; Hansard; and Government Gazettes.