

South-Race Question

"we will not move"



the struggle for crossroads

a nusas publication

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this publication was put together by a group of interested people under the auspices of nusas. nusas will gladly consider the publication of similarly interesting material.

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MAP OF CROSSROADS

PROB-95



CROSSROADS 1977

ROADS

CHURCHES

SHOPS

SPECIALS - MAKING & MENDING

VENDORS

SCHOOLS



editorial

So much has been written and said about Crossroads. Much research has been done into the community. Many appeals have been made to Government and local authorities. Why then produce more?

It is felt by many that the Crossroads people themselves have not really been heard before. This dossier is an attempt to record their comment and protest, an attempt to focus on those areas not covered by the mass media and to help us all understand the significance of the debate by structuring it in "chapter" form.

For those who cannot easily visit Crossroads and speak to the people to find out their opinions and for those who have only recently become involved with the debate, this document hopes to clarify thought and action.

The material covers the early days from mid 1975 to the present (30 September, 1978). It is not intended to be comprehensive as much has probably been omitted. If this document proves useful, another one could be produced in the future. The Crossroads scene changes almost daily. The basic dilemma of the people remains - ie the choice between families starving in the 'Homelands' and the men, the workers living in single sex hostels OR attempting to live as families near their places of work risking harassment and prosecution.

The authorities have stated that Crossroads will go before the end of the year as humanely as possible. However, increasing raids and intimidation suggest a more prolonged, subtle means of dispersing the community without necessitating the use of bulldozers or front-end loaders in the immediate future.

before crossroads:



THE DEMOLITION OF MODDERDAM

THE SCENE at Modderdam Road on Monday afternoon after the bulldozer has bogged down in the mud — a field of twisted iron, shattered wood and crushed possessions of people in flight. One recalls those newscasts on Angolan refugees crossing the Namibian border, meagre utensils in tow, flashed across SATV news screens (The Commentator's voice: "South Africa will never deny assistance to the refugees of their countries". Or of Latin American villages devastated by earth-quakes.)

On the pavement next to the camp student politic's comment wryly "scenes from under-development." What strikes one is the brutality in dispossessing this community. Now a resident — now a refugee.

There is an atmosphere of distilled horror — the metallic cacophony of homes wrenched apart by the front end loader; the yapping of the police dogs unleashed on screaming

people to clear the way for machines, police and BAAB officials.

After a while these noises assume a permanence, a kind of background stridence merging with the noise of passing traffic. Thousands of people are massed on the pavement looking into the camp, their mood—stunned moroseness. Police distinctive in their blue uniforms and their air of tense amusement patrol the camp. Some sit on the roofs of houses looking into the camp, secure in coercive possession.

One's immediate shock and anger dissipates and the situation become vaguely amusing in the same way as the theatre of the absurd can be. People pile their spilled possessions, evacuated before the bulldozers into mounds fresh territories of possession, transitorily secure. Pink and purple bedspreads lie folded in the gray dust with packets of Omo, tinned food and glazed coffee mugs —

like a department store turned out into the desert.

On the sand dunes crowds of people form. There is no sense of resistance yet; snapping police dogs led along the pavement undermine the unity of the crowd. The bulldozer is still bogged down in the mud in the corner of the camp. Its yellow garishness clashes with the subdued tones of sand and the blue-coated police guarding it.

A BAAB official in suit and tie picks his way into the camp among the rubble. His highly polished black shoes dull in the dust. In tow are seven or eight thickset bodyguard types. He inspects his defeated machine.

Later a tow truck is brought into the camp to heave out the front-end loader. It bears the name HEAVIES, an ironic annotation to the atmosphere. On a dune nearby hard core Modderdamers gather, cheering as the front-end loader bogs deeper down in mud, despite the efforts of HEAVIES to free it.

FROM S.A. OUTLOOK AUGUST 1977

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The police move away from it, a blue huddle among the overturned beds and armchairs. The atmosphere becomes changed with the suddenly unleashed violence of the police dogs which is to characterize the next three days. People spill backward upon each other in terror, as a way is again cleared to allow the tow truck out of the camp.

At the opposite end of the camp, the frustration of the day is dissipated in a large hymn-singing congregation of women and priests. From its centre a drum throbs, the harmony of the hymns again stemming out of place against the intensity of the damage around. As it grows louder, however, the crowd eddies around the pulsating drum. It becomes a pivot of action, the hymns the central articulation of the confused and violent day.

Later at about 6.00 pm the UWC social work department arrives in the rector's sleek black Merc. In their serving of soup and water there is a confrontation of class. The students in wranglers, bright scarves and neatly pleated denim skirts with (imitation) pearl necklaces and copper bangles jangling as they dip into soup pots to serve the print skirts and grey karos's of the homeless workers.

There is the sudden pathos of a white woman, also of the soup-kitchen sisterhood halt mincing, half stumbling her way in calf length suede boots, skirt and cape. She dips and sways as though burying, finally, her conscience, amongst selected rubble and upturned shanties.

The next day, the mood is stridently different. Bulldozers have possession of the camp. A metallic cacophony of shattering metal rises out of the dunes — in tow the blue lines of reinforced police. This is the pulsating heart of a community under assault, no longer its fringes.

Workers had stayed at home to witness the inception of homelessness, some to resist it. From the centre of the camp a human chain passed chairs, beds and crockery, refugee utensils cluttering the pavement. On the hillocks around people stood etched against the sky, sticks and stones in hand, chanting against the wind tension builds up, the noise growing from the dunes and the police face into the camp in long lines from the pavement. White students become the focus of their immediate hostility, hassling those with cameras, sometimes arresting the more determined. Those of us who talk to residents find that we quickly acquire shadows in safari suits. Again the rows of police in great coats now against the icy winds weave in and out among the dunes. A policeman, less weary than his fellows becomes separated from them. A rock is aimed at him. Shocked into realisation of his isolation, he scuttles away sheepishly protesting "Ek is nie kwaad nie, ek is nie kwaad nie." There are other lighter moments. A woman makes a wide and nervous circle around a police van from which a police dog bays through the wire. Then again the violence as the police line a dune top and drive the people down its slopes with dogs and batons into the depths



of the camp. Their voices, angry, shouting and chanting, rise over the dunes, the sounds moving as the centres of confrontation shift within the camp.

Later a Xhosa interpreter warns people to evacuate their homes, over a megaphone. He is surrounded, before the metallic words die, by an angry group, sticks and stones borne in fists, drawing fingers across their throats.

We come back again that afternoon, the emotions of the earlier day at harrowing intensity. Petrol bombs thrown at the bulldozers miss their targets, firing the shacks. The camp, its outlines dulled in swirling black clouds of smoke and flames etched at its heart, is a confusion of sound. Crackling flames leaping among the corrugated iron sheets, screaming people, the splintering of furniture dumped in the haste of escape from flames, and the wail of fire engines. But above it all, the relentless sound of metal falling before the bulldozer. Some police emerge unscathed from the smoke with someone they have arrested.

We come for the last time the next day. The camp is virtually deserted, bombed out it seems, as countless shacks burn. Black plumes of ash and soot hang over the area, passing cars switching on headlamps as if entering a suddenly imposed underworld. The pavements are virtually empty, crowds gone. The police, sycophants of the bulldozers, secure in their possession of destruction. As we turn to walk back they block off the pavement obstructing the way "Walk to Bellville and take a bus home." We wait, morosely conscious of our voyeurism. Later we hitch past the barricade, and leave behind the smoking skeleton of the dying community.

THE DEMOLITION OF WERKGENOT AND UNIBEL

TO THE RANKS of the 12 000 blacks who lost their homes in the destruction of Modderdam and Werkgenot last winter will be added a further 10 000 refugees from Unibel squatter came in Bellville South. Some of them may be refugees for the second time, for Unibel probably housed many veterans of Modderdam and Werkgenot.

This week's demolitions will not make the problem disappear. At the last official count by the Cape Peninsula Bantu Affairs Administration Board (Penbaab) (about July last year) there were 17 squatter camps in the Peninsula housing 51 600 blacks in 7 343 pondoks. According to published information not more than 1 000 people have been repatriated to Transkei and Ciskei.

It was significant at Unibel this week that, when it became clear that the efforts of concerned white intercessionists would not stay Penbaab's US made Michigan front-end loaders, black families did their own dismantling and made off with their building material to seek homes elsewhere.

So, in a few months time, the American Michigans will have to be called in again and thousands of people will once again redistribute themselves throughout the Peninsula, like cards in a pack.

Last winter, when the letters column of *Die Burger* was inundated with letters expressing outrage (and some condonation) at the destruction of Modderdam and Werkgenot, Deputy Bantu Affairs Minister Willem Crywaghen said: "I wish to reiterate the assurance that the matter (of demolition and removals) will be handled with sensitivity and regard to the human considerations affecting the families involved."

This assurance led groups like the Urban Foundation to believe that, in dealing with remaining camps like Unibel Penbaab would establish some kind of pecking order in sifting the status of squatters before breaking down the homes of those without any kind of legal *locus standi* under the pass laws.

There even appears to have been an agreement between Pretoria and Umtata that demolitions and removals would not take place until alternative arrangements had been made to 'repatriate' or rehouse affected people.

The peremptory destruction of Unibel shows that government is no longer sensitive, if it ever was, to what anybody may think of its efforts to de-Africanise the Western Cape.

The Urban Foundation has made private attempts at high level to persuade government to re-think Cape Town's squatter situation. But it will not press such efforts to the point of public challenge (bringing in the Press for example) since this may, it claims, jeopardise advances in getting government to agree to 'normal' land tenure for blacks.

But that plan, expected to be given formal substance with the introduction of an enabling bill during the forthcoming session of Parliament, will probably exclude the Western Cape.

So where does that leave the 50 000-60 000 African squatters in the Peninsula whose heads of household are determined to resist government's demand that their labour is only welcome on a 'single' basis?

The question government will have to answer is whether it believes normal family life can be denied indefinitely to people whose only 'crime' is that they are black and willing to work.

Financial Mail 20.1.78

UNIBEL HAS GONE BUT SQUATTERS HAVE NOT

THE DEMOLITION of Unibel was completed yesterday but most of the 10 000 squatters who lived in the camp have not left the Peninsula. About 7 000 are thought to be still here.

According to the chairman of the Peninsula Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Brigadier J H van der Westhuizen, only 885 squatters — out of the total Unibel population of 10 000 — have accepted free rail tickets to Transkei.

As some private vehicles from Unibel are reported to be returning to the Ciskei and Transkei, the number of squatters leaving the Peninsula is uncertain, but is unlikely to be more than 1 500.

Most squatters questioned by the *Cape Times* yesterday said they would try to find accommodation in Langa and Guguletu.

Mrs Barbara Versveld, organiser of the Black Sash Advice Office, said that no squatters had come to the advice office for assistance since the start of the demolition operation on Monday.

Brigadier van der Westhuizen said that the BAAB had no indication that the people from Unibel "are squatting elsewhere in the Peninsula"

Mrs Versveld said that it was likely that most of the squatters had filtered into other camps and African townships in the Peninsula. "Many must have moved behind the next sand dune," she said.

Earlier this week, police were stationed at the nearby Crossroads squatter camp to turn away squatters from Unibel. Yesterday, although no police were guarding the camp, a *Cape Times* investigation revealed that no new squatters had arrived there.

Many squatters are still camping in the open at Unibel, and when questioned, most said that they were unsure of their next move. Many said that they would stay in Langa and Guguletu before making further plans.

Mrs Elsie Boy said that her family of five would stay at Langa "until we have sorted

things out". She could not say where the family would move to, but was adamant that they would not return to Transkei.

By yesterday, none of the members of the Unibel squatters action committee had left the camp, although their houses have been demolished. A member of the committee told the *Cape Times* that they were sleeping in the open after leaving their belongings at Unibel, and had no immediate plans to leave the devastated camp.

Cape Times 21.1.78

MORE MOVE TO CROSSROADS — REPORT

CLEAR evidence that as many as 3 000 squatters from the Modderdam and Werkgenot camps — demolished last year by the BAAB — may have moved into the Crossroads camp was given to the Divisional Council's Health Committee yesterday.

According to a report by the Medical Officer of Health, Dr Frank Mitchell, this estimated increase took place in spite of the fact that 100 shacks were demolished at Crossroads.

After the bulldozing of Modderdam and Werkgenot last year, the Bantu Affairs Administration Board reported that the squatter situation had returned to normal.

In his report to the Health Committee yesterday, Dr Mitchell said that after 100 shacks were demolished at the Crossroads camp one would have expected a drop in the population of about 500.

"It appears, however, that at least some of the occupants of demolished shacks have simply moved in with friends.

"It is clear, too, that an influx of lodgers took place when the squatter towns of Modderdam and Werkgenot in Bellville South were demolished in August 1977."

Dr Mitchell said the impression gained by his staff that the population had increased was supported by the cleansing staff of the engineer's department "who report a significant increase in the total quantity of nightsoil being removed" from Crossroads.

He estimated that the present population was between 18 000 and 20 000. Before the demolition of Modderdam and Werkgenot the population of Crossroads was 16 900.

Dr Mitchell also reported that the Lourdes Farm squatter camp grew from 588 shacks to 625 during the last six months of 1977.

He said: "The community at Crossroads appears to be reasonably happy. The people co-operate well with the health staff.

"There seems no reason to fear any special health hazard either to the residents themselves or to the general population of the metropolitan area, providing the present services are continued."

Health and social conditions at Lourdes Farm were also satisfactory.

Cape Times 19.1.78

FROM S.A. OUTLOOK AUGUST 1977

WHAT HAPPENED AFTER THE TRAIN LEFT BELVILLE



The following letters and extracts from letters, have been written by people who used to live at Modderdam, Werkgenot and Unibell. They are recorded in the hope that they give an impression, fragmentary of course, of how life has treated those who left the Western Cape. They seem to indicate that there is a need for concern to be maintained, and they raise the question whether we can send people away because there is no work or housing here, without first making sure of their security in the place to which they go.

(1) From the wife of a migrant labourer who has been working in the Western Cape for many years:-

September 1977: We are all well at this side wishing you the same over there. I arrived safely with the pupils at this side. The journey was pleasant although it was raining here.

December 1977: We are very happy here hoping you are the same there. Here at Lady Frere there is no health at all, because of starvation and hunger. Now I want to be there so help me about the ticket because my children were hungry. Greetings to all church members. Please help me about ticket money.

April 1978: The children are well now. Please give me shoes. I have no shoes to go in church. Please give me only R10. I want to buy shoes.

(2) From a widow who had lived in Cape Town since 1959:-

December 1977: I am very glad to have the opportunity of writing you these few lines, still alive under the circumstances of Transkei. I just let you know that I had a nice journey, and I am not settled yet, but I have got hope of a room. I am very upset about my children, because I didn't buy anything for them to wear, because I haven't got money, and they are not at school. Please pray for me and my children.

February 1978: I am very sorry! I received your letter very late, because I was away for about 1½ months looking for the right place for me and my children. Because this place I stay in now is not mine, it's

my cousin's house, and she's got a lot of family, now I am still going up and down. But now I am writing this letter. I am at Cotimvaba. I have got a room. It's R12.00 a month. I am glad as long as I get the shelter. Please pass my regards to my church friends.

(3) From the wife of a man who had come to the Western Cape in 1970 as a migrant worker. She had been in the last stages of pregnancy when Werkgenot was demolished, and their child was nearly four months old when their new abode in Unibell was demolished.:-

April 1978: I wish to let you know about the death of my child three months ago. The child was born at Cape Town. On my arrival here I took him several times to the clinic, and he later passed away.



(4) From a man who lived with his family for three months after the demolition of Unibell in the bushes nearby. He eventually left, having been paid off from his work, but leaving his wife and children behind because she has family in Malmesbury:-

May 1978 : Ek gaan goed en is mooi geloop. Nou is ek by die huis. Jy moet vir my kom bid by Jesus esseblief. Jy moet nie worry van ek kan nie mooi skryf nie. Ek het nie geld nie, en ek woet nie of die mense hulle vir jou daie geld gegee het.+Dankie Jesus. Hy moet vir jou kom help. (+This refers to money that he had lent to relatives still living in the bushes, and which they had promised to send on.)

(5) From a man who had worked for many years as a gardener in Cape Town, and who had a paralysed daughter, receiving regular hospital treatment:-

Greetings in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. This is to let you know that we arrive here safely. Secondly we thank you very much for your help in Unibell. I shouldn't have anything if it was not for your help. My child who is paralysed should have been dead. May our Lord Jesus Christ bless your work.

(6) From a young man who had come to the Western Cape as a contract worker, and who is trying to complete his studies up to Standard 10:-

November 1977: I am happy to tell you that I had a very very pleasant journey indeed. I have not yet found a job for myself, though there seems to be a hope for that. I have already sent the deposit for my lectures, and I hope I will be writing the examinations next year in November.

February 1978: I am sorry to tell you that I have not yet found a job for myself here. I have tried many places and without any success. Last week I was hoping to find a clerical job in the Escom Company, but I am just being informed that there are no vacancies available yet. The college has also stopped sending its lectures to me owing to delay on tuition fees. This gives me worry because the time is passing away and I have done nothing so far that can be counted to progress in my studies. Would you please be so kind to me, and see how you can assist me in this problem. You could even send the money to the college yourselves, and that is why I suggested to send all necessities to you. I could have made use of that R30.00 I had in my bank book, but chances could not allow me. The members of the family had run out of money last month because of the expenses they made during the circumcision celebration. So we were out of grocery and I had to sacrifice R25.00 out of it, to assist buying grocery. I had to give that kind of assistance for I am having here free accomodation and food. Wanga uThixo anganawe side sibuye sihlangane - May God be with you till we meet again.



INTERVIEW WITH A FORMER RESIDENT OF MODDERDAM

- Q. "How are you today?"
 A. "No, we are fine."
 Q. "Do you mind if I ask you some few questions?"
 A. "No, go ahead."
 Q. "How many are you in this house?"
 A. "We are five people in the house."
 Q. "Who is owning it? Are you owning it, or one of the five people?"
 A. "Actually I'm staying with my relatives. I don't have a house, and I can't own a house."
 Q. "What makes you to say you can't own a house?"
 A. "Oh, it's because my child I don't have the books to be in Cape Town, and so I am illegal, I'm termed as an illegal person, in this area of Cape Town."
 Q. "For how long have you been in Cape Town now?"
 A. "I have been in Cape Town since 1953."
 Q. "So you mean for 25 years?"
 A. "Yes."
 Q. "And, having stayed for that period you can't get a house? I mean you can't officially get a house from the BAAB offices or something like that?"
 A. "No, I can't, because I don't have the pass to be around here."
 Q. "Before coming to this place where did you stay?"
 A. "Oh, I've been staying in too many places, in fact the last place I stayed in was at Modderdam."
 Q. "Modderdam, that's very interesting. Now tell me what happened to the people who were staying in Modderdam?"
 A. "Well, most of them took some tickets to go to their home places, and others are scattered all over the show."
 Q. "I am interested in knowing what happened to you in particular. After the demolitions what happened to you?"
 A. "Well after the demolitions we were taken to Rondebosch by some Ministers who were sharing our pain and suffering, and they erected some tents for us and we stayed in those tents temporarily because everybody did not know what to do and where to go."
 Q. "And what happened to you at Rondebosch?"
 A. "Well the BAAB officials followed us and we were raided there until living conditions were made very much unhappy and impossible for us to stay in those areas. So most of us managed to go to the offices and get ourselves some tickets to go back home. I was one of the people who went to the BAAB offices to take a ticket to go back to Ciskei."
 Q. "Your home area is in Ciskei? I mean you are coming from Ciskei?"
 A. "Yes, I'm coming from the Ciskei."
 Q. "What town in Ciskei? King William's Town?"
 A. "No. I'm coming from Thornhill."
 Q. "So you took a ticket from the BAAB offices and you went back to Ciskei. And when you arrived at Thornhill, tell me what happened, and explain to me what the living conditions were there."
 A. "Well, my child, I took a ticket and went back to Thornhill. When I got there things were tough for me because the place is dry, and there are no jobs, it is just impossible for a human being to live under those conditions. So I only stayed for two months in Thornhill, and after that I felt I couldn't take it any longer, and I forced my way back to Cape Town."

- Q. "So you thought of coming back to Cape Town? Didn't you think of being arrested again? of being harrassed by the police?"
- A. "Well, I did think about such things, but they came secondary to my mind because the most important thing was the starvation I was experiencing and my children were in school, and time and again I would get letters that fees are being demanded by the Principal, and also they wanted some money for uniforms, and all such things. Myself, I was finding myself in a horrible situation where I would go for months with one dress, and other days with practically nothing to eat. So I forced my way down to Cape Town."



- Q. "So you came to stay with your relatives?"
- A. "Yes, they gave me a place to stay."
- Q. "How do you find things now? Are you working now? Or are they supporting you? What is the situation?"
- A. "No, I am running a very small business. I am selling 'secondhand clothing, and I am selling some fruits at the school for the children, and fat cakes, you know I am just managing. I am now in a position of educating my children. I can buy them clothes. I eat. I also dress. I feel although you know I know that I do not have a pass to stay in Cape Town but I am fulfilling my basic financial needs."
- Q. "Have you ever been arrested by the police since you came back?"
- A. "No, I was never arrested, although they are raiding this place time and again, you know what we are doing, we would hide under the beds, hide in the bathrooms, and hide, and just run away, I mean we are just living that type of life. But fortunately for me I haven't been arrested yet."
- Q. "Now a last question I want to ask you, what do you think about the people of Crossroads, should Crossroads be demolished?"

- A. "Oh, I'm feeling very, very, very sorry for the people of Crossroads, because really most of them are finding themselves in the same situation in which I am."
- Q. "Can you tell me the types of people who are staying at Crossroads? What I am trying to ask is the people who are staying at Crossroads mostly are they women who came to stay with their husbands, or people who came down to look for jobs, something like that?"
- A. "Well, my child, you find all these people in Crossroads. You find people like me in Crossroads, widows who have children to educate and to clothe, you find men who have come down to look for employment, you find women who have come down to stay with their husbands as families together with their children."
- Q. "Should Crossroads be demolished what do you think will happen to those people? Do you think all of them will go back home to the Transkei and Ciskei?"
- A. "Well, I don't think the demolitions will solve the problem. I am a hundred per cent sure that if they do go home, if they will be forced to take the tickets and go home, still the conditions will force them to come back, because they did not come to Cape Town simply because they like it, they came to Crossroads because of pressing needs that were there and are still existing in Transkei and in Ciskei."
- Q. "Thankyou for all these questions. Thankyou for the time you have given me."



BAAB = Bantu Affairs Administration Board.

crossroads: a history ¹²



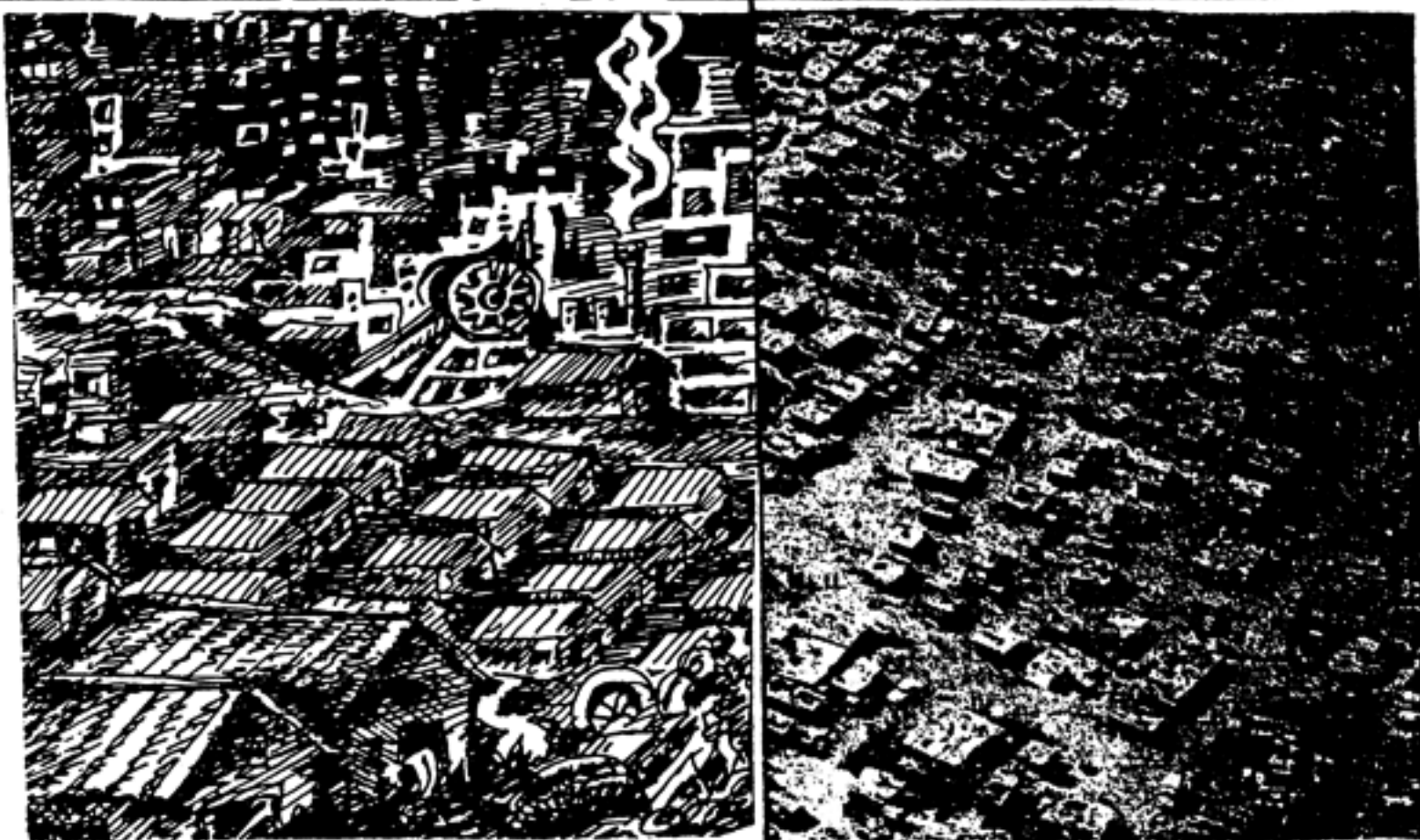
AN INTERVIEW: ON THE ORIGINS OF CROSSROADS

We used to stay in the locations' and zones' bachelor quarters because of the scarcity of places to live, so we ran into the bushes and built our houses there, because there was not sufficient place for us to live. We didn't live in one bush, we lived in different bushes. There we were told to move by the Inspectors. They told us to come here to Crossroads, because our rights we'll get here, because this is the place for blacks. So we built our houses here. So much so that they told us that when we come here we'll find the Coloured people. We found them here. They were told to move out and we started to build our houses. So we lived here till now. First of all we were given numbers, the Administration Board gave us the numbers, so we hoped that they will leave us alone then. But after that they came and arrested us. They sent some of us home. So now they told us we have no right to stay here. That surprised us. We went to the Black Sash. The Black Sash sent us to higher courts so we have got in and out, and eventually we succeeded, we won the case. They told us that we could stay. From then this was declared an emergency camp. So we stayed here until now. They gave us over to the Divisional Council. It is still the Divisional Council that has control over us. The Divisional Council gave us also numbers. Our first rent was R10, when we complained they reduced the rent to R7. We are still paying a rent of R7. They are again now back and they tell us that we have no right to stay here. So we got this question to them What do they mean when they say we have no right to be here because they sent us here and we pay rent, and they promised to fence this place in. They gave us people to collect the toilets and they gave us taps for the water, and we've got clinics as well. Everything that the locations have got we've got. Now we are surprised that we are told that we've got to move out. And what embarrasses us is that now they arrest us and they are so harsh with us now. They shoot us. They set dogs on us. We don't know the real reason for this because what we know we've got the right to stay here as long as it is an emergency camp. Sometimes we think the government makes some mistakes because the inspectors sent us here.

Crossroads started in 1975, 20,000 people. Some are self-employed inside Crossroads. We pay the rent to the Divisional Council, R7 a month, for every family. Most of our men are legally here, most of the women have no rights. When we go about looking for jobs the people are afraid to employ us, because of the pass business. So we have no rights and we have come to our husbands who are legally here. The reason why we are here is because our husbands do not go home, have no chance to go home. A man must have a period of about three years without going home, so we decided to join them. If they get holiday, only three weeks holiday, in their homes. And our husbands are very far away, it takes three days in a train, before we get to Cape Town. We come from the Ciskei and Transkei. During the 3 weeks holiday I can only say it's 2 weeks actually because the first week is spent here in Cape Town preparing to go to the country, which means

that our children never know their fathers, and we as women take the wrong way just because we miss our husbands.

We have 8 taps around, for 20,000 people. We have buckets for toilets the Divisional Council collects them twice a week. We have two schools in Crossroads, the first school which they called Sizamile was built in 1976, and in the same year that school was demolished. But we again built it. We are allowed to build it again. We have so many children that we had to build another school which they call Noxolo. So the second time they demolished Sizamile the first time, so they were bound to build the



school, the Divisional Council itself. Even then these two schools are not enough. There's a lot of children outside Crossroads still waiting. When they gave us this place they promised us a lot like building roads, electric, you know, but nothing has been done yet. What we see now is these arrests, dogs set on us, shock, bullet wounds, and last week they came about 1 o'clock last week on Thursday morning the police came, but because a week ago this raid started and we are waiting for them every night from then. At that 1 o'clock we were standing on hills waiting for them to come. Actually every night we wait for them. Another thing they were so angry to see us waiting for them that's why they shot us. Tear gas, and they shot one of us dead, and we buried that one on Sunday. Others are sick from that raid, lying in their beds. There's one thing that does not make us happy, if they came and told us what they wanted, then we wouldn't worry, but they came like animals, they came and they started fighting with us, hitting us, setting dogs on us, and shooting. When they came in they didn't even demand for passes, they came and started to fight with us, what we no longer know they told us when these passes started they told us when a man works 10 years in one place then the wife qualifies as well. But now I think that law is not working any more, I don't know. When we bring them our certificates by our marriage certificates or divorce they don't want to know.

What I mean is that even though they want to separate us from our husbands, that is divorce, even you or the wife, you've no rights, they send you to the country and the man must stay in Cape Town. That is divorce.

My husband arrived here in 1951. I came to Cape Town in 1959. I used to stay in different locations and these arrests have been going on all the time. When I came here I was from Philippi, the Inspectors led me to Crossroads, but now they arrest us and they want us put off the place, and yet they told us that this place belongs to the Blacks. They tell us that we must go home, we women, and that the men must go to the bachelor quarters. All just because they are human beings or husbands. They are going to get children outside their marriage, who is going to look after the children from outside the marriage and who also want the money they work for. One of the Committee found her husband staying with another lady when she came from the country. I want to make sure that this separation I mean what they are doing like sending the wife to the country and sending the man to stay at the bachelor quarters, that is divorce they've practised that law with me. I was born and bred in Beaufort West and yet they sent me home. When I married that husband of mine they told me that a man has no right to stay in Cape Town. So I told them that if I knew that I had to choose only a man from Cape Town I should have done it but anyway I love this one from the country. So I have to go from Court to Court, anyway I usually lost the case so I had to go home. The reason is these people the authorities because they tell me it's the law. I spent a short time at home in the country, only I'm not used to that life. I lost many children in the country. It was very hard with me, life was hard with me, so I had to force my way to Cape Town. When I came to Cape Town my husband stays with another lady, so I couldn't blame him he's also a human being. I had to struggle a lot to let them apart, so we stayed in different places, in bushes. From the bushes the Inspectors sent us to Crossroads. I was so glad to see the white people themselves sending us to Crossroads because they told me they belonged to the law. So I was pleased about it, because I knew that if the white people send us here then it is all right we can stay here. But now things are happening the opposite side. They arrest us now. But now I think this is the last we shall not move to any other place. They can do whatever they like we have no other bush now. Our husbands are legally here and it is through them that we have come to Cape Town. I don't think they would like this if it would happen to them. But just because we are blacks anything can happen to us. It's not that we want to act against the law but I mean when you are married you are meant to stay with your husband. It's God's law that a wife and her husband stay together.

We just want to stay here. We spent most of our time in Cape Town. A lot of them are about 20 years, 15 years in Cape Town. I am old enough to get a pension if I am staying in the township but just because I am in Crossroads they take no notice of me. If they must send me to the country they do not know me there because I'm mostly here in Cape Town. All my years. I'm supposed to get my rights in Cape Town because I'm longer here in Cape Town.



THREE INTERVIEWS: THE EARLY HISTORY ¹⁵



OF CROSSROADS

MR T.

I am a family man. I have my family staying with me here. we have nine children. And as it is I have to feed this whole family. I try by all means to bring up these children and to educate them. From the meagre salary that I get, I try to stretch it. And apart from the children staying with me there is the extended family of two children in the country. The little salary that I get definitely does not extend to the needs all over, but I do my best to reach every need.

As far as schooling goes, I went as far as Std 8. The reason that I could not go further than that is this: that as early as I reached Std 6 I parted from both my parents, both in the same year. Throughout the struggle to survive I managed to complete Std. 7 & 8 on my own. So the main reason that I left school was because of lack of means; nobody was supporting me. It was clear to me that if I tried to look for means to further my own schooling they would suffer, suffer from nothing to eat because even at this time I was like a parent to them. The death of my parents made me a parent. I had to seek work. I started to seek work in the Transvaal, in the mine compounds of Nigelat Matyvale Mine Compound. It was 1945. I worked there for six months. I went home. I then left Maryvale in 1950 and went over to Randfontein, in the compound of Venterspost (?). There I worked at ? station. And then I became a policeman in the mines. There I worked for a year. I then left the compounds in the Transvaal. I came to Cape Town. I came in 1951. When I came here I worked for the dairies, joining for the passbook: the Welcome Traders Dairy. Joining for a pass meant that I did not qualify to be in the Cape, coming from the Transvaal. I had to work in various places to qualify. At this dairy where I started working, it is there that I was registered to be a legal worker in Cape Town. I worked there for a year and left for health reasons, because when you work as a milkman you go out whatever the weather to work. You cannot say, no, I can't go. I had health problems and so I left that job. And then I went to work at Wingfield. There I worked for ten months. I left on my own. And then I worked for this firm and then that and then I started regular employment when I worked for Christian and Neilson. I started in 1952. There I worked for 12 years.

I worked as a timekeeper, for all those. I then left in 1966 and worked for Murray and Stewart. After 9 months I left to work for Fraser & Chalmers. I again worked as a timekeeper. I then resigned from Fraser & Chalmers and worked for Grinaker, ocoover there at ? vlei, at the time of the earthquake. I worked there for a year and then I joined R.H. Morris, in 1971, April, doing the same work that I have always done. My salary is R45,00 per week. The reason I left Murray and Stewart was because I was bitter about the low salary. I was getting R60,00 per month. I worked at Fraser & Chalmers but there the job ended. It was finished. At Grinaker the work also ended, the job we set out to do was completed. The reason I moved from one job to another is this: when you sit here and look at your piece of bread, but when you do get that piece of bread and time passes, then it becomes a small piece of bread and that is the essence of our life.

In 1959 when I came to Cape Town we stayed in Kensington, because there there was a settlement just like Crossroads. There I stayed with my uncle: 51,52, 53 and then I parted from my uncle because of the conditions of my work, as my work used to take me to places like Walvis Bay in South West Africa. And then my uncle went over to stay here in Gugulètu. When I had returned from S.W.A. they had already left. That is how I came to stay at the zones. Even then my name was just on the books but I wasn't actually staying there because in 1959 my family came to join me. Then we had to move from one place to another as sub-tenants. We started at Langa, at Sigcau Ave for three months. Then we were not compatible with the owner of the house. Then we went to Moshesh Avenue. There I stayed for five months. There we also had problems with the owner of the house and so went over to Harlem Ave. All the places I mention are in Langa. There we stayed for two months. We left there for Papu Square where I built myself a pondokkie. There we stayed for 7 months. I went home for a while and my family remained in the pondok. When I came back that pondokkie had been demolished by the Council. It was illegal to have one.

When I came to Crossroads the committee was already in operation. Because I am a person who does not like to stay in darkness I searched for light and then I found that there were some people who had organised themselves into a committee, a committee elected by the residents of Crossroads. I can say the functions of the committee include, inter alia, ordering the life of the community, maintaining peace and settling disputes when they occur. An example: where husband and wife come into conflict in one house, some of the committee members go there to restore peace. On being called upon to come forward, say by the head of the family. The committee members then call the couple together and discuss with them the problem and try to solve it. At all times they are reminded about the special nature of our living here at Crossroads, that at all times we must conduct ourselves properly because after all we know the law of community 'umthethó ubuntu' because all we lack is accommodation. Our minds are fully developed from the places from which we come we are used to living according to law without anyone guiding us. Therefore there is no reason for us to behave wildly at this our hiding place. The Committee looks after the welfare of the community in general as you know that, as in the townships, we have the home guards, people who patrol the area looking for thieves and robbers, especially, starting from Friday evenings, protecting people who come late from work. They go around the area because there are thieves and robbers even in our ranks, and those coming from outside. All such tasks are the responsibility of the home guards. The Committee not only serves as a broad eye, because where-ever anything unusual happens you as a Committee member must attend to it. You yourself as an individual try to solve it but when you see it is above you you take it to the Committee. This also includes the function of building schools. We started the schools from humble beginnings, being helped by ministers of religion, who were sympathetic and made a contri-

bution, and by certain organisations, that help communities like our community here at Crossroads. I can mention in particular the Urban Foundation, and some other organisations that I cannot mention by name. The names of these organisations are known by the Ministers who've helped us. The Ministers supplied us with some building material and that is how we moved the school from where it was to where it is, that is Noxolo. Here at Crossroads we have two schools: Noxolo and Sizamile. They have been built by the people themselves. The reason for the existence of two schools is because of the growth of the community, the expansion of the area. The community is quite large and even the two schools are not sufficient. We were aiming at having three or even four schools but the council is refusing. The council says that two schools are sufficient. As a result many children cannot go to school for lack of accommodation. Noxolo starts from Sub A to Std. III and has four teachers. The total number of children is 352. In paying for the salaries of the teachers we are being helped by the organisations that I have mentioned already. The children pay fees at the rate of R1,00 per child. These school fees are supplemented by the other organisations to pay teachers and in the running of the school.

When I came to Cape Town to find work was one of my greatest expectations. That is why I came. In order to support my home. As I said earlier on I was left parentless at an early age, having younger brothers and sisters as dependants. In my working experience I have noticed mainly two things: that if as a worker you fix your mind at remaining a worker you get pinned down to that; whereas if you have broad aims of becoming an independent, self-reliant person, your mind moves away from being perpetually dependent on work. You aspire to become independent. From my experience of being a worker all the time I view the people who earn an independent living as being open-minded. They are definitely different from an employee or from one who is employed. One who is employed is like a plant that germinates under a big rock because in growing such a plant follows the direction of the rock under which it grows. It cannot grow upwards. It must follow the direction of the rock, and the rock bends it. Or it's like a wheelbarrow, which, even when it is going on a downward slope it cannot go on its own, but has to be lifted up. Whereas the independent person knows that his survival is in his mind and hands, and that if he fails the family which looks up to him will starve because he has brought nothing. The brave and the courageous one will survive because he works with a non-agrieved heart, that is with a happy heart. I must say that it is a painful experience to be employed because the word employed is like a bridge on a horse because a horse cannot then go where it wants to go. Such is the life of the person who is employed, under employment. He cannot go where he wants to go. If your salary is fixed at R50,00 a month, it stands there. Whereas if you are a person of independent means you do not keep looking up at this fixed income. If you earn, say R20,00 a week and the following week nothing, the third week you might treble your weekly income in one day. That is why I am impressed by a person who earns an independent living, because such a person is like a plant which has been planted in soil which has been worked upon, or well looked after. A soil that is well-looked after usually produces a good harvest, good fruit. It has been worked with different fertilizers. That is why I make a distinction between an employed person and a person of independent living. Even if they were to run the same race the one who is independent will go forward because his mind is broad. He is not instructed. He instructs himself that now he must jump in this direction or in that direction. Whereas with the employed he is told 'you must stand here, John!' So he does not conduct his own life until he knocks off work. Here I am trying to explain my views on the employed and the independent person.

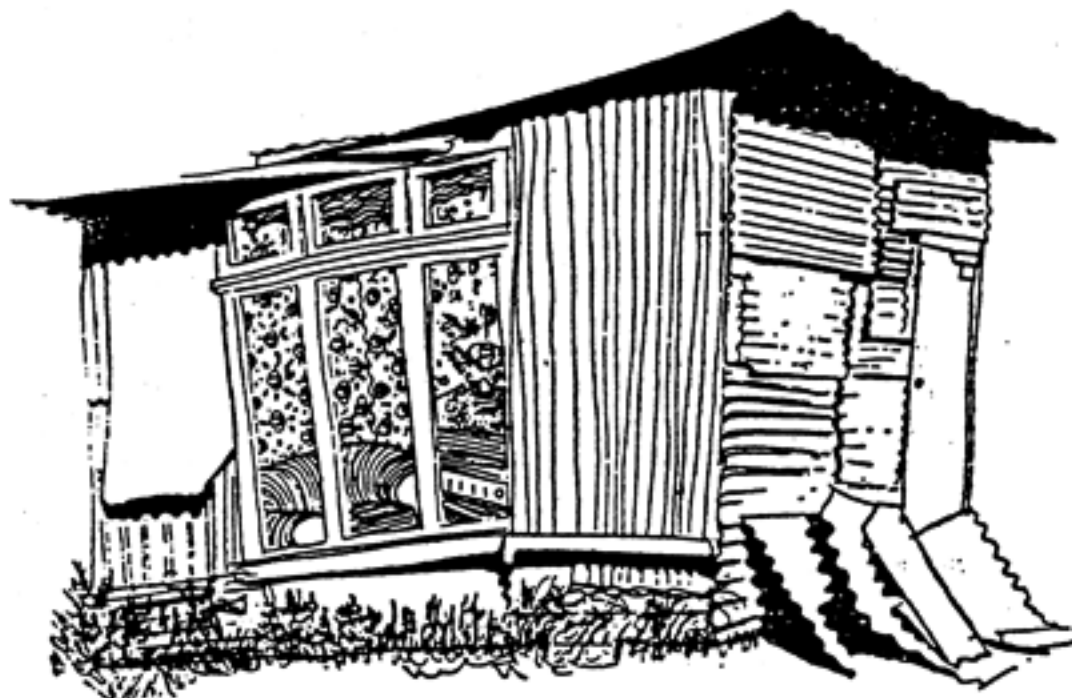
When I first came to Cape Town the contract system had not been introduced. When I came I started with this Welcome Traders Dairy and where

I got registered as a legal worker in Cape Town (even though I only stayed with them for one year), and I moved from there to Wingfield and Mutual. The reason I moved from place to place is if I stand here I look at the person over there and you compare with the eyes the bread he's holding and you wonder and you see that the bread he has is larger than the one I have and you try to reach the larger piece of bread. And even when you get the larger bread you find that you still have to go further. The reason is not that one is lazy to work but it is the question of always comparing the size of bread that you might get. You say to yourself that you may find more satisfaction there rather than here and at times you do find it. But as time goes on and the cost of living rises you realise that even there you must go onwards.

With reservations I appreciate M & S but I must say I regret that I have to say that I am bitter with them. M & S looks only on one side of things; I do not envy their mental skill, if it thinks it has mental skill at all, in the way they express it. To me it would have been better if it had been another firm which had done what M & S have done. Another firm would have taken cognisance of both sides of things. M & S is building for single men, boys one should say, knowing full well that it has in its employee both single and married men. While it is so keen to build single houses for single men, what does it think of its married men? Why does it not build for them? For if it has occurred to them to build for their workers it should remember that it has both single and married workers. Why has it not occurred to them to build for married men? It has milked from the undried out teat of the cow's udder, for its married workers. Therefore I am not impressed with the mental skill of M & S, in building for its workers. Therefore I am not impressed with the mental skill of M & S in building for its workers, because it has annihilated its married men, by reason of having failed to think where their wives and children will stay when they come over. Married people are important because they are the pillars of the nation and produce the citizens of the future. It is this family life that the honourable M & S hold in contempt. That is why I am critical of its approach because it neglects the very core of nation-building. It is not that I am critical because of their attitudes towards family life. When I came to Cape Town Mr. Rogers, was superintendant here. Because of my moving from one job to another I once had my pass terminated. I appealed to Mr. Rogers, the superintendant, and I requested to ask him a question and he allowed me to do so. I asked him where I must go when I am told that we are too full here in Cape Town. He said it was necessary to decrease our numbers here. My question to Mr. Rogers is: "Mr. Rogers, I am born in the Transkei, in the Cape Province. As you know there are four provinces: it is the Cape Province in which I was born, the Orange Free State, Natal and the Transvaal. When I am being expelled from here, my home, how much greater will it be from these areas, where I was not born. Because when a person is expelled from outside, he runs back home. I then see myself being totally thrown away when I am expelled from my home. I cannot be accepted in the OFS because they will tell me I come from the Cape Province. The same would happen to me in the Transvaal and Natal. Therefore I am critical of your approach Mr. Rogers for you to expel me from the very place which is my home, to be eaten up by wild animals in the forest or the wilderness." It was by this argument that I regained my pass from Mr. Rogers.

In relating one day of my life to you I could do it in many ways: for these reasons: at the times in one's life one experiences days of pain and frustration. You also experience days of smoothness. For example: if you leave your house, say at 6 a.m., if you go to work at that time, and as you reach your work you happen to clash

with your employer, for one reason or another, the whole of that summer's day you, as a worker, are worried about tomorrow. You wonder as this man is cross, how will he end my day because at the end of your working time he may come with all your belongings and say to you "Here are your wages, foolish worker." This is the parting between you and your employer. That whole day is a bad day for you. Whereas, if, as you arrive at work one morning your honourable master tells you: "James, I've made an increase for you" the whole of that summer's day your heart is floating in fat. That is how I put the day which you ask me about, in these two ways.



MRS N.

Having been directed by the inspectors to come and build here we came by car. Then we went to look for some zincs in the scrapyard and then we were able to put up this pondok. It was on a clear day in February. There were a few coloured houses in the area. I would imagine there were about six. But to a great extent the area was bush. I am one of the first residents here at Crossroads. The BAAB inspectors actually pointed out to us that this was an area allocated for Africans. One white inspector especially came to us and told us that.

We worked very hard to build this home. We cleared the bush, then we laid down mats. We initially built up a shelter to prevent the wind from blowing at the primus stoves. On the first night we were not able to put on the roof (the zincs) and we were told to build some toilets ourselves. Then we were only able to get water pipes installed after three months, as a result of some nurses, I would think. We had to fetch water from the Coloured families on the other side of the road.

The first people who came with us were the people who were staying there with us at Brown's Farm. Then people came from the airport area. And then more and more people came from various areas as individual families but we came as a village/settlement from Brown's Farm. I still have the same neighbours with whom I came. Some people came from the townships, some were women who were staying with their men in the 'single' quarters. They come with their husbands here and built their homes. There were some people whose houses were demolished by the Board Inspectors.

One of the important events which happened upon our coming here was the harrassment and arrests. People were continually arrested and their houses demolished and that troubled our lives for some time. We were maltreated for some time and I was also arrested. They used to send people who were speaking on our behalf. We spent sleepless nights, would see some torches in the early hours of the morning and we knew that they were arresting: kubomvu (to raid). They used to come as early as 2 a.m. We would see about 16 or 17 vans surrounding the area. And the whole area would be lit up as if there was electricity at Crossroads, whereas there is none here at Crossroads! They would light up with the vans, and then use the torches, so that it was as if it was daylight.

I like staying here at Crossroads very much. I like it because now we pay rent, water has been installed and they are servicing the toilets. I have a certain measure of security, and I'm not thinking of moving anywhere. Though at this moment in time I have been informed that I must move from here, and this is a problem for me because life here at Crossroads is quiet. Life is not the same as it is in the townships because, you, see, here I am breeding chickens and I couldn't do this in the townships. I have a purpose for breeding chickens and even these dogs. They help us. They keep away troublemakers and in the townships, this you cannot do. In the township you cannot do what you like.

The question of me moving over to another area is still a problem for me and I do not know how it will resolve itself. There is definitely a difference between Crossroads and KTC. One noticeable thing is the smallness of the plots allocated to people at KTC. Here we more or less allocated areas to ourselves but there they are allocated for them. As a result we have somewhat bigger houses than they have a KTC. I have been informed that I'm going to be moved. I feel powerless to resist though I am renting here as a resident. If I could resist I would but I know they are going to use the pass issue as a leverage to force me to go especially when I have to go and change it. In that way then they may be able to force me because they may refuse to renew my pass when it is due. It goes absolutely against the grain to leave this place. I have no intention. It hurts me to know I must leave.

With women who have come here to join their husbands I think it is right and just that they should stay together. Quite some time ago it was said that it is permissible for a person who qualifies to marry anyone from any area and come and stay here in Cape Town. Nowadays I observe that married women are harrassed and arrested. I would imagine this is because we are the oppressed race. But according to the law of truth the wife is supposed to be where the husband qualifies to be. Wives are supposed to be alone with their husbands.

At the time that I was arrested we were sixteen people. And then I had to stand for the case and the magistrate said that he found me guilty but there was no basis for sentencing me, because he is supposed to sentence and he said that he himself was not clear. According to the questions of the lawyer I was said to have rights to be here but I was charged for trespass. The question is how could a person who has rights be accused of trespass? But it was clear that the magistrate had to sentence me, find me guilty, and he did. I was fined R10,00 or 14 days, and I paid R10,00. It was quite a painful experience to go through because I felt powerless. They could do whatever they wanted to do, and I couldn't stop them. And I was thinking that could also demolish my house and make me stay in the open without a house.

My belief is this: that when you are married to your husband, whether he be working in Cape Town or whatever, according to standards of refinement or culture, you should stay together where he is working. Stay together. Because you are depending on this husband for food, for clothing, for shelter and in case of illness. Because it is difficult for a male person to be away from his wife. It does happen that men will have a girlfriend, they'll have children during the time that you as a wife are in the country. By the time you wake up you discover that you are incompatible with your husband and that he has problems of maintaining other children. Even though he may not marry the other girl he is legally supposed to support those children because he found himself in a situation of temptation during the time that you were not together. It is the law that separates that is to blame here. Because husband and wife are supposed to be together at all times.

Before I came here to Crossroads I spent many years as a sub-tenant in Guguletu. I stayed in NY 55 and also Section 64, and at Section 2 in NY 50. And in the end I resorted to staying in the bush. The reason why I went to the bush is because there are all sorts of problems staying as a subtenant. It is that there is you, your husband and your children. If there are no problems between the two families in that way it might be about cooking, problems around organising and paying for groceries because you may not have equal means and in most instances the owner of the house, even if he doesn't have money, expects to eat, and quite often he is not to blame for not having money. But the tenant is.

I once had the experience of the house I lived in being demolished. It was in Guguletu, the pondok in the backyard. Also on Brown's farm, when we had to move over here, the house was demolished. At Guguletu they told me when I went to renew my pass that I must remove the house and they warned me again and again, using the rights of my pass as a way to making me do it. They demolished it whilst I was at work. Also at Brown's farm we were informed to move away. And whilst I came over here to build this house here they were busy removing the houses there. When I came back I found my belongings in the open.

Fortunately I had my children with me because they removed all the building materials, the zincs, leaving my furniture and my suitcases in the open. In this instance they did not specify when they would demolish but when I came back there was no house. Though my spirit was troubled there was nobody there that I could ask but I knew that it was the act of the inspectors. I felt very bad and I heard from my coloured neighbours that the inspectors came and demolished.

It does seem that the black nation is always regarded as a child. History has been this: that those who regard themselves as adults have been making laws whatever their nature, just or unjust, and we have always been receiving them because we cannot say 'no'. We have no voice to speak. You are not asked whether you like this. You are told 'do this' (Yehza nje John! T.) We are forced to do things like that.

Crossroads is supposed to stand.. It is proper for it to stand. Crossroads is in the area of the XHOSAS. I do not see why it should be demolished because even the office where Guguletu people pay rent is in the area here. It cannot be said to be a coloured area. The area is absolutely/definitely Xhosa. Mostly because nothing was done in this area. That is why the Divisional Council placed us here. I think then that since we have been paying rent, allowed

to rent, that we should be allowed to continue to do so, instead of being tossed about, pushed around. This is still part of Nyanga East in as much as KTC is part of Nyanga. Life will definitely be different at KTC from what it is here and I won't be able to breed my chickens. Here we had enough space and I fenced around, though KTC does not have the same facilities as the townships life seems to be the same in these two areas. I am particularly concerned about the size of the plots and the houses are too close to each other. Here we were told to allow space in between the houses to prevent fire from spreading easily.



MRS B.

I am married. I got married in Cala. Civil marriage, according to civil rights. My husband comes from Cala. We were married in 1958. My husband came to work in Cape Town in 1948. I came in 1964. We have seven children. Three are in the country, staying with my mother and four with us. On holidays they come to visit us. My husband went as far as Std. 2 at school. And he is working now at Dorman Long. He started working for Dorman Long in 1971. Before that he was working for Consanie Engineering. He worked for 20 years for Consanie. The first place he worked was at Block, a place where they were producing bricks. After that he worked for Consanie. I came to join him in 1964, at the place made of corrugated iron and wood like the houses you see here and the Administration offices used not to be where it is now but in Mau Mau location.

On my arrival I got a temporary permit to stay. And this permit was extended all the time until it expired when my house was demolished, after I came to Crossroads. It would expire from time to time but they would renew it. Throughout the time I was staying at Elsie's location.

I gave birth to a child that was ill. It suffered from polio at nine months. It was because the child was ill that I was granted the permit to remain in the area.

At the time of the demolishing of my house in Crossroads in 1976, they made my permit expire two months before. From that time I stayed in Crossroads without it and never bothered to go back and apply for it.

When I lived previously in the country, life was easy-going especially before I had children. After I started to have children I began to feel the hardship. For example, if a child fell sick it would take time for me to write to my husband and for him to reply and all the time the child would be getting worse. By the time I received money from my husband to pay the doctor the doctor would be angry that I had not brought the child before. Perhaps I would be able to purchase only one bottle of medicine with the money I was sent and then not be able to take the child back to the doctor. This happened with my first child but when this happened with my second child my husband advised me to come to Cape Town. So I stayed at Elsie's but when my permit was taken away I went to Elsie's River, the 'coloured' area. I stayed there from 1965 until the second half of 1967 and then I had to go and see my parents. I left then for the country but only stayed there for a short while, as one on holiday, and then came back to join my husband. From 1968 when I was back at Elsie's River with my husband, there were raids and we had to return to Elsie's. We stayed there and as my child was receiving attention at the hospital the hospital gave me a letter to obtain a permit and I got a permit for 1970. In 1971 the child was admitted to hospital and my permit for 1971 was extended from time to time. At the end of 1971 they terminated my permit.

At this time I was staying with my brother at the old location in Nyanga and I went back to Elsie's location, for 1971, '72, '73, '74 and then in 1975 we were told to come here to Crossroads from Elsie's. An inspector came to Elsie's and demolished the house of a neighbour and we felt threatened, and we asked for clarification. We asked them to give us time. This same inspector came again; this time a white inspector and a coloured inspector. And they indicated to us that here at Crossroads there is an area that is being allocated for Africans. They told us that only those women whose husbands were qualified to be in Cape Town should go to that area. And we asked for direction to this area. The directions were that if you go behind the administrative offices you are on Klipfontein Road and then on the other side is Lansdowne Road. Behind that office you will see a path that leads into the area and you'll see a few houses.

My husband and I organised transport to go over. We hired a van to remove our goods and when we arrived at Crossroads we found there were a few Coloured families in the area, and a few African families. We looked for a site on which we would build our house. They were also getting people to flow from Phillippi and the first people that my brother brought were led by an inspector's vehicle. They also started building and we built together. And after we had been in the area for four months there came a group of white people. I do not know whether they were inspectors or not because they were in private clothes. At this time we also had the people who were coming from the airport bush. They asked us whether we had been given any papers when we came there. Most of us said no. We were only directed to come here and we came. They warned us that if any of us were given papers we should cling to them because in the future they will help us.

On May 1st we were raided and they were arresting husband, wife and children. We were all dropped at the police station and there we were questioned individually as to where we came from. They recorded all we were saying and later we were released. We were still shocked by this first arrest and then the Board Inspectors came and demolished some houses and arrested some people, after issuing some papers. Then they numbered the houses. Because the houses were numbered we were under the impression that we would be allowed to stay and also because they had previously told us that this was an area for Africans. The houses were numbered in yellow but the papers surprised us because they said that we had to leave in a fortnight's time. We were surprised because we had been told that this area was for Africans. We could not take these notices seriously, because we had been told by some other inspectors to come here. When these notices expired the inspectors arrived and on arresting the people they were not taken to the police station but ordered to take out and tie together their belongings. And they would proceed with demolition. This happened to three women. And after that we came together and decided to take up the issue with bantu affairs in Observatory. We were a group of 58 women and made our plea to Mr. Botha, Mr. McLachlan and Mr. Petersen. And they refused to grant us our request saying that we were given sufficient notice. They gave us about another month to stay. Then we approached the Black Sash. We had already made previous contact with the Black Sash. From then on we were arrested, would appear in court, be arrested again, several times, until 1976 on August 15th they came

MRS B.

I am married. I got married in Cala. Civil marriage, according to civil rights. My husband comes from Cala. We were married in 1958. My husband came to work in Cape Town in 1948. I came in 1964. We have seven children. Three are in the country, staying with my mother and four with us. On holidays they come to visit us. My husband went as far as Std. 2 at school. And he is working now at Dorman Long. He started working for Dorman Long in 1971. Before that he was working for Consanie Engineering. He worked for 20 years for Consanie. The first place he worked was at Block, a place where they were producing bricks. After that he worked for Consanie. I came to join him in 1964, at the place made of corrugated iron and wood like the houses you see here and the Administration offices used not to be where it is now but in Mau Mau location.

On my arrival I got a temporary permit to stay. And this permit was extended all the time until it expired when my house was demolished, after I came to Crossroads. It would expire from time to time but they would renew it. Throughout the time I was staying at Elsie's location.

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to me and took me by surprise. They came early in the morning, and ordered me to take out my furniture. I asked how can I do so? My child is receiving treatment in hospital and they asked for the paper to prove this. I couldn't find it. I had misplaced it at the time they wanted me to produce it. And Inspector Lockson took me to Mr. Theron, the head inspector, who said he was tired of my long story. He had been listening to me for a long time and they phoned the hospital to confirm what I was saying. It was Looksen who said they should phone the hospital but Theron said that was not necessary as he had been listening to her stories for a long time. They then took out my belongings themselves and they were all over the place in front of my house, and this very child who was attending hospital for treatment had an attack in front of them. As the child had the fits only one of them came forward to help the child. When the attack subsided they took me away in the van. And as I left they were dismantling the house. I felt very frustrated at the time. I felt bad. I felt bad because I had told them about the child receiving treatment from the hospital. And secondly, I could not leave because here in Crossroads I stay with my husband. He only gets one weeks leave at the end of the year. A week or two at home. He spends all his time working here. They did not listen to any of that. They just took me to the Langa office. We left Langa at 5.45 p.m. heading for Bellville station. There were two other women with whom I was taken. They also had babies. Even at Langa I had asked them how they had expected me to provide water for the children, as we left early in the morning, without preparing food for the children, and house being demolished, and the belongings lying all over the front of the house. And Mr. Barnard of the Divisional Council was around when the house was being demolished. He conducted the demolition of my house in collaboration with the Board inspectors. When I asked in Langa for water they said that we would get it in Bellville. I asked in Afrikaans. And when we got to Bellville my daughter asked in Afrikaans if she could go to the toilet and she was accompanied there. When I asked for water again in Bellville they said we would get it on the train. They then put us on to the train. As the train was pulling out of the station the child experienced another fit and I was worried. As the train reached Klappmuts I jumped off, because the child was sick, I didn't have money and I was taken in the absence of my husband. Apparently some efforts were made to contact my husband at work, by the neighbours, but by the time he came I had left. At Klappmuts, between 8 & 9 p.m. I approached one person and asked them to take me back to Crossroads. They charged me R7 which I borrowed from my neighbours as my husband was not there when I arrived. Apparently when he had come back from work he had found the furniture and belongings all over the place, scattered around and he went back to work to report not knowing what to do.

Very soon thereafter I had an appointment to take the child to the hospital and again I was given a letter to be taken to the office. I did not go to the office. Feeling bitter I kept the letter with me. I then made attempts to recover my furniture and belongings

through the Black Sash and the lawyers. The officials were still under the impression that I had left. When I came to Cape Town for the first time I expected to stay until my husband left this place.

Comparing life in the country to life here I would prefer to stay here because the hardship which I felt in the country is still there if I go back. Life in the country is hard, especially with children, because we do not work. And you only have money when your husband sends it. You write a letter to your husband. By the time it reaches him you or the child is sick. By the time he writes back the child is very sick or has died. And then I decided for myself that it is better to stay with my husband.

This was my only demolition experience because at Elsie's I had hired somebody else's house.

I cannot say what the future holds for Crossroads at this point in time, because of this confusion and uncertainty all the time. Before I came here I had an idea of the type of problems we would experience. That's why I made attempts to get a permit from home. And as I came here I realised that it made little difference as to whether I had a permit or not. And for long periods I would stay without it because they would refuse me. I intend staying here for as long as my husband stays. That is, our lifetime. Regarding the future of our children my husband and I would like them to be educated so that they can have some knowledge.

If they demolish our padocks here at Crossroads, I will remain here because I have no other place to go. Because they will not allow us to stay in the mens quarters. I will stay here even if I have to stay under a bush. I have no intention of going back to the country. Because at home I will be facing hardship and starvation. If we were allowed to stay here I would like to see schools for adults as well as children, lessons in sewing, cooking, lessons for mechanics and carpentry.



CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS AT CROSSROADS

27

February 1975

The first shanties are built in the area to become known as Crossroads. Its residents are people evicted from other squatter camps around Cape Town. Although many of these people are legally entitled to be in the Cape Town area, the Bantu Affairs Administration Board (BAAB) views Crossroads as temporary - a "transit camp" to the "homelands".

March 1975

Officials of BAAB serve eviction orders on Crossroads residents. No date of eviction is fixed as yet.

May 1975

142 people are arrested on charges of trespass and the "harbouring of wives" in a raid on Crossroads. This is the first in a series of such raids.

June 1975

Some demolition in terms of the March eviction orders takes place. A group of squatters petitions the Supreme Court for an interdict restraining BAAB from demolishing further homes. The interdict is granted in terms of the Illegal Squatting Act, which requires a court order before any structure can be demolished. (An amendment to this Act subsequently removes the necessity for a court order.) Several trespass trials take place.

August 1975

BAAB officials put women, the wives of men legally employed in Cape Town (but not themselves legal residents) on trains back to the "homelands".

October 1975

The test trial of Lilian Peters takes place in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court. Although legally resident in Cape Town, she is charged with not being housed in a recognised Proclaimed Bantu Township - a form of trespass. Found guilty, she appeals.

February 1976

The Peters appeal is upheld on the grounds that BAAB cannot establish who owns the ground on which Crossroads is situated. The charge of trespass is therefore invalid.

March 1976

An amendment to the Illegal Squatting Act is passed in Parliament. Heavy penalties are established for landowners who allow illegal squatting on their land. The relevant authorities no longer require court orders to demolish shacks.

April 1976

BAAB pass raids continue - during the nights and early mornings.

May 1976

The Divisional Council appeals to the Supreme Court to demolish Crossroads on the grounds that it is a health hazard. (The application still goes before court as the amendment to the Squatting Act only becomes law when gazetted in August.) Residents oppose the application, presenting evidence to justify the declaration of Crossroads as an "Emergency Camp".

June 1976

The court upholds the squatters' application. In the same month the Divisional Council resolves to declare Crossroads an emergency camp, laying on water facilities, refuse removal and sanitation. Shanties may not be enlarged and their number is limited to three thousand. Any new structures will be demolished. A R10 levy is imposed on the squatters as monthly dues for the services. The Noxolo School, built by the Crossroads residents, is opened to meet the scarcity of educational facilities in the area.

September 1976

An adult education project is set up in Crossroads, followed by a literacy programme. The Noxolo School expands to 300 pupil capacity.

February 1977

Eviction notices are served at Modderdam Road squatter camp.

August 1977

Modderdam Road camp is demolished.

September 1977

BAAB carries out a number of raids in Crossroads to net former residents of Modderdam seeking refuge at Crossroads.

November 1977

The Noxolo Community Centre is opened.

16 January 1978

The shacks of 10 000 squatters are demolished at Werkgenot and Unibel.

19 January 1978

Press reports estimate that as many as 3 000 Modderdam, Werkgenot and Unibel residents may have moved to Crossroads.

21 January 1978

About 7 000 Unibel squatters are thought to have remained in the Cape Peninsula. Only 1 055 have applied for rail tickets to the Transkei.

26 January 1978

Crossroads residents are warned to pay overdue sanitation fees, or face demolition. This is the first indication of new tactics in pressurising the people of Crossroads to move.

8 February 1978

Brigadier J.H. van der Westhuizen of BAAB states amidst rumours that Crossroads will be demolished - that no decision has yet been taken on the future of the camp, but it is common knowledge that most people in the camp are illegally there and cannot be left there indefinitely.

A SALDRU (SA Labour and Development Research Unit) report finds that 50% of the heads of households qualify to be in the area - furthermore the average Crossroads resident had lived in the Peninsula for 18 years or more.

14 February 1978

Reports that BAAB have conducted a census in Crossroads increase fears of impending demolition.

17 February 1978

Warnings are served on Crossroads residents that those in arrears on the rent levy of R7 per month will have their homes demolished if the dues are not paid within 7 days. (This is clearly a further tactic short of mass demolitions to force people to move.)

Residents have argued that the levy is higher than rentals for some established homes in the official townships with running water and other basic facilities supplied. Further, many residents are leading a hand-to-mouth existence, due to a rise in the cost of living and recessionary wage freezes. They are unable to afford the compulsory levy.

20 February 1978

A prayer meeting is held at Crossroads for those facing demolition.

21 February 1978

Crossroads residents apply to the Supreme Court for an interdict to stop demolitions on the grounds that the levy notices are unlawful. On the same day Mr. A.J. Kriel of the Cape Divisional Council says that Crossroads will now definitely be demolished before winter.

21 February 1978

Deputy Minister of Plural Relations and Development, Mr. Vosloo, states that Crossroads will be treated in exactly the same way as Unibel.

23 February 1978

In an out-of-court settlement, the Divisional Council agrees to a temporary reprieve on demolition in terms of the rent levy eviction notices.

28 February 1978

New notices are served, giving squatters 21 days to pay levies in arrear. Vosloo states "every method available to the government would be used to make them move."

15 May 1978

Crossroads residents receive notices ordering them to break down their shanties and return to the "homelands". "All inhabitants are to make timeous arrangements to dismantle their structures and leave Crossroads before large-scale dismantling is commenced."

Two shanties are demolished in Crossroads in terms of the levy eviction notices.

18 May 1978

Postcards of Modderdam are banned.

27 May 1978

A new school - the Sizamile School - is opened at Crossroads.

29 May 1978

Mr. Ngxobongwana, Chairman of the general Crossroads committee representing the residents, states that the camp would fight for its survival by continuing to improve facilities for its inhabitants.

5 June 1978

Police fire shots to disperse stone-throwing crowds, while BAAB carry out an early morning raid, arresting more than 50 people for offences under the pass laws. Teargas is also used to break up crowds.

7th and 8th June 1978

Further Police and BAAB raids are carried out in Crossroads.

36 people arrested on 5th appear in the Langa Court charged with pass law offences. On the same day 200 women from Crossroads form a delegation to BAAB to protest at the raids.

13 June 1978

BAAB announces a reprieve on demolition until the winter is over.

14 June 1978

Raids continue. A further 63 people are arrested.

The raids seem to be a form of harassment aimed at forcing as many people out of Crossroads as possible before mass demolition actually takes place.

17 June 1978

Worldwide church and anti-apartheid groups respond to the call for an international Day of Prayer and solidarity for the people of Crossroads, to focus attention on the impending destruction of this community.

3, 4, 5 July 1978

On 4th July the presiding officer of the court of the Department of Plural Relations and Development at Langa says the "court is here to help officials clear Crossroads" while delivering judgement on a Crossroads resident for being in a "prescribed area" without permission.

6 July 1978

Secretary for Community Development, Mr. Louis Fouche, says in Grahamstown that the Government believed the Squatting problem could be solved and had no intention of tolerating existing squatter settlements.

13 July 1978

Chief Commissioner for the Western Cape, of the Department of Plural Relations and Development, Mr. F.H. Botha, objects to the "Case for Crossroads" presented in a series of articles in the Argus newspaper.

15 July

A Survey by Janet Graeff and Kim Weichel shows that more than 50% of those Crossroads residents questioned have been working in Cape Town for 20 years or longer.

3 000 people of Crossroads sign an appeal to authorities not to demolish Crossroads.

21 July

"Save Crossroads" Petition launched for signature of Western Cape residents.

23 July 1978

Afrikaans newspaper, Rapport, warned against inflaming world opinion by demolition, and suggested the State allow Crossroads camp to remain until permanent accommodation could be provided.

26 July 1978

Brigadier J.H. van der Westhuizen addresses University of Cape Town Student meeting, and brands Crossroads as a "fire hazard and crime area" and accuses residents of being the reason for increasing unemployment.

28 July 1978

Brigadier van der Westhuizen says that if Crossroads is not demolished, other squatter camps will grow and spread to the outskirts of existing suburbs.

29 July 1978

International response to Day of Prayer. Telegrams arrive from overseas bodies.

30 July 1978

National and International Day of Prayer and Solidarity with Crossroads - 4 000 people attend service at Moxolo Centre in Crossroads addressed by Dr. Sam Euti.

August 1978

1st.

Chairman of the Peninsula Administration Board, Brigadier J.H. van der Westhuizen, condemns "attempts to whip up emotions over the Crossroads squatter camp which are backed by simplistic arguments that often ignore the facts", while reacting to the interdenominational service.* He says it is impossible for 20 000 people to be accommodated in Crossroads. (Die Burger 1 Aug 78).

* Argus 1 Aug 78.

2 August 1978

S.A.T.V. screen programme on Crossroads with slides and interview with Paul Andrew of U.P.R.U.

3 August 1978

Prof. M. Njisane, Transkeian Ambassador to South Africa before ties between the two countries were broken, says that his country is not prepared and not able to accommodate "so-called Transkeians in the Crossroads Squatter Camp." (Argus 3 Aug. 78)

Prof. R.E. Kirsch, Associate Professor at University of Cape Town Medical School, challenges impression created by Brigadier van der Westhuizen that Crossroads Emergency Camp presented a serious health hazard. (Argus 3 Aug. 78)

6 August 1978

Sunday Times comments on why Crossroads could be the crossroads for South Africa too.

8 August 1978

Crossroads "very low crime rate reported". (Cape Times 8 Aug. 78)

9 August 1978

Mr. F.H. Botha, Chief Commissioner for Western Cape, warns that Black employees working legally in Cape Town, but who brought their wives to Cape Town illegally, could in terms of the law have their employment terminated.

10 August 1978

Prof. G. Ellis responds to the "Case Against Crossroads" as put by Mr. F.H. Botha and Brigadier van der Westhuizen.

15 August 1978

Mayor of Cape Town, Mr. Ted Mauerberger, and Executive Council, support appeal not to demolish Crossroads until alternative accommodation can be found. Administration Board officials serve notices on "plus minus 105 families" who possess the "necessary" documentation to move to the K.T.C. camp at Nyanga.

16 August 1978

Clergyman who spoke at Crossroads Prayer Service threatened with prosecution - because meeting was "illegal".

Brig. van der Westhuizen replies to criticism of his handling of the Crossroads situation. (Argus 16 Aug. 78)

17 August 1978

Disclosed that employers of "illegal" Blacks in the Western Cape could face fines. (Die Burger 17 Aug. 78)

Crossroads Women's Committee warns that people will not move, and points out that the K.T.C. Camp at Nyanga is an uncertain alternative. (Argus 17 Aug. 78)

18 August 1978

Brigadier van der Westhuizen accuses people of Crossroads of intimidating those who wish to leave. (Die Burger 18 Aug. 78)

22 August 1978

Mr. P.W. Botha, addressing the Cape Provincial Congress of the ruling Nationalist Party, says that the Government could not allow the Crossroads Squatter Camp to continue because of the bad conditions there. (Argus 22 Aug. 78)

23 August 1978

Dr. Connie Mulder, Minister of Plural Relations and Development, announces at the Cape Provincial Congress of the Nationalist Party that Crossroads would not be tolerated; regardless of campaigns being organised locally and abroad for the squatter camp to be sanctioned. (Cape Times 23 Aug. 78)

24 August 1978

Argus reports that the Ciskei has no homes for evicted squatters.

Top City businessmen sign plea for Crossroads. Members of the legal profession also sign plea.

25th August 1978

Die Burger reports that Crossroads is a danger to its inhabitants.

25th August 1978

Article published in journal "Social Dynamics" points out that "African workers in the Cape Peninsula with rural ties are men without choice, forced to work here, whether legally or illegally, by economic necessity." (Argus 25 Aug. 78)

Four summonsed to appear in court, or pay R30 fine, for being at a wrongful and unlawful gathering - Rev. Abel Hendricks, Rt. Rev. Ernest Green, Rev. Moses Moletsane and Mr. Johnson Ngxobongwana.

26th August 1978

30 000 residents of the Western Cape have signed the Petition for Crossroads.

28 August 1978

Charges dropped against the clerics who attended the 30th July Prayer Service.

31 August 1978

City Council back the Mayor of Cape Town on appeal to authorities "not to uproot and disturb the people at Crossroads till there was further accommodation for them."

Urban Foundation discloses that for more than a year it has been making representations to the Government on the Squatter situation.

September 19783rd

Twelve-hour Prayer Vigil at Noxolo Centre at Crossroads.

6 September 1978

400 men, women and children are arrested by Police at Crossroads in raid which began at midnight and continued until 6 a.m. Police in standard uniforms, camouflage uniforms, and plain clothes, involved in raid.

7 September 1978

Claims of brutality and damage to property in midnight raid at Crossroads rejected by Police.

230 men and women appear in the Commissioner's Court at Langa charged with being in the Cape Peninsula illegally and not having travel and identity documents.

57 people from Crossroads appear in Athlone Magistrate's Court charged with "wrongfully and unlawfully" helping their relatives to remain in the Peninsula.

13 September 1978

Tally of Petition signatures reaches 35 000. Decision taken that delegation ask for interview with Prime Minister to hand over Petition.

U.S. Congressmen step up pressure on Congress for bi-partisan support for Crossroads.

14 September 1978

- 2 a.m. Raid by 600 Police - a number of Crossroads people are arrested. - Sindile Ndlela shot dead.
- 4 a.m. Police withdraw and disappear from Crossroads.
- 7 a.m. Police second raid - over 500 people arrested, including Crossroads "Mayor" Mr. Johnson Ngxobongwana.

15 September 1978

Die Burger accuses English-language press of being shockingly one-sided in news reports of the Police raids and claims that the Police "had to shoot" ("polisie moes skiet")

16 September 1978

Langa Court - nearly 300 people appear on charges of being in the Cape Peninsula illegally.

Letter sent to Prime Minister requesting him to receive a Crossroads Appeal Committee deputation to discuss the issue.

General Geldenhuys accuses newspapers of wild and sensational reporting.

17 September 1978

Crossroads people compile eye-witness accounts of alleged police brutality during raids on the camp during the week.

Deputy Minister of Plural Relations, Dr. Willie Vosloo, says Government is determined to clear Crossroads Squatter camp of people by the end of this year - whatever it takes. He says "Time will determine what method we will use. There are many methods, but everyone is trying to put the words 'bulldozers' and 'front-end loaders' into my mouth." (Sunday Times 17 Sep. 78)

Rapport newspaper calls for new thinking on Crossroads (17 Sep. 78) and for ways to defuse a potentially explosive situation.

Crossroads Crisis prayer service at St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town.

Crossroads Committees issue Statement, in response to statement made by the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, regarding police action during raids. Appeal includes "we appeal to the Commissioner to tell his men not to come to us in the middle of the night."

18 September 1978

Brigadier van der Westhuizen blames loss of life at Crossroads on Squatter organisations and their "spirit of resistance".

19 September 1978

22 members of the House of Representatives in U.S.A. ask President Carter to intervene diplomatically to discourage the South African Government from "attacks" on the Crossroads Squatter community. (Argus 19 Sep. 78)

20 September 1978

Brig. van der Westhuizen says that the recently published report of an Employment Survey of Black workers living at Crossroads conducted by the Urban Problems Research Unit at the University of Cape Town is "entirely unreliable"

Cape Times says "Brigadier van der Westhuizen is seeking scapegoats for the failure of Nationalist policy and suggesting that certain 'churches and organisations' are to blame" for the situation at Crossroads.

21 September 1978

The Students' Representative Council of Stellenbosch University criticises "clergymen and others who incited the people at Crossroads" and calls upon the Government to take steps to prevent further political exploitation of Crossroads.

22 September 1978

Milnerton Town Council and other local authorities are warned, in a letter from the Administration Board (Peninsula Area) to be on the lookout for squatters trying to build shacks in other areas after Crossroads is demolished.

General Synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk calls on the Government not to break up families at Crossroads or to return married women to starve in the "homelands".

Dr. Connie Mulder, the Minister of Plural Relations and Development, is reported to have visited Crossroads on Wednesday, 20th September. He says that it is in the interests of all those who live at Crossroads that the camp be cleared.

(Argus 22 Sep. 78)

23 September 1978

Ban on Crossroads film, made by Mrs. Lindy Wilson, is reported.

27 September 1978

A Survey by Mr. N.W. White of the University of Cape Town Medical School, indicates that from a health point of view, Squatter children in Crossroads are much better off than the children of migrant labourers, whose families remain in rural areas.

(Note: B.A.A.B. (Bantu Affairs Administration Board, subsequently referred to as the Peninsula Administration Board) is a central government agency which administers apartheid legislation e.g. the pass laws. The Cape Divisional Council is a local authority administering services at the Crossroads squatter camp and other areas. Both bodies have powers of demolition.)



LEGAL HISTORY OF CROSSROADS

1. According to the accounts of residents, people began converging on and settling at Crossroads Emergency Camp from early 1975 onwards, after they ^{were} directed there by Divisional Council inspectors. Prior to this they had been squatting in dispersed areas in the Cape Town area.
 2. During 1975 many squatters were arrested and charged with illegal squatting in the Crossroads area in terms of the Illegal Squatting Act No. 52 of 1951. Some obtained legal representation after seeking assistance at the Athlone Advice Office and it was agreed with the State these prosecutions would be held in abeyance pending the outcome of a test case in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court. The accused in this case was Mrs Lilian Peter, and in late 1975 she was found guilty of squatting in the area illegally. During the course of the trial extensive expert evidence was led to expose the evils and hardship inherent in the migratory labour system, and to show also that the process of urbanization was a natural and inevitable phenomenon. In February 1976 the Supreme Court heard the Appeal of Mrs Peter against her conviction and it was held, for technical reasons, that the accused was unlawfully upon the land known as Crossroads. The Appeal was accordingly upheld and prosecution under the Illegal Squatting Act, with the result that residents of Crossroads earned some respite from prosecutions on this particular charge. It is to be noted that at this time a dispute existed over the question of who owned the land constituting Crossroads - whether it was the Divisional Council, ^{of the Cape} or the Bantu Affairs Administration Board.
 3. In May and June of 1976 the Divisional Council of the Cape brought an application for the Chief Magistrate, Wynberg in terms of the Illegal Squatting Act No. 52 of 1951 in which they sought an order for the demolition of Crossroads and the removal of the inhabitants by the Bantu Affairs Administration Board, upon the grounds that Crossroads constituted a serious health hazard. The application was fiercely contested by the Bantu Affairs Administration Board, who did not wish to be saddled with the responsibility of undertaking this task. The residents themselves entered the arena when they too opposed the application in the name of Mr. Johnson Muzi, the then unofficial Mayor of Crossroads, and called upon the Court not to order any demolition or removal order, or alternatively, if it had to make such an order, to do so before it had ensured that alternative accommodation had been provided for the residents of Crossroads with suitable facilities to ensure that no similar health hazard would ever again threaten.
- The application before Court amounted to the Divisional Council and the Bantu Affairs Administration Board squaring off against each other and was to involve the unpleasant task of demolishing Crossroads. This buck passing sometimes places the two agencies in somewhat ridiculous situations as, for example, when the Bantu Affairs Administration Board asked the Court to report that "it is not confined and denied" that Crossroads constituted a health hazard, since the Court ruled that the prevention of Illegal Squatting Act did not give rise to a situation such as prevailed at Crossroads, that is, an appeal to the Court's power to order the demolition for the sake of a community, without having regard to the question of where people could be accommodated.

Accordingly it refused the Divisional Council's application.

Prior to and during the course of these proceedings the legal representatives of the Crossroads residents had brought pressure to bear upon the Divisional Council and the Bantu Affairs Administration Board to invoke that section of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act which provided for the establishment of emergency camps in such areas and enabling the local authority to administer them with some degree of order.

4. Eventually on or about the 30th July 1976 it was announced that the Divisional Council had declared Crossroads an emergency camp. Shortly thereafter regulations providing for the control of the camp were published in the Provincial Gazette. These regulations provided inter alia for the number of houses at Crossroads to be frozen, and for the paying by each household of a service levy to the Divisional Council to cover the rudimentary services which they provided to the camp.
5. For some months a relatively quiet period was enjoyed by the residents of Crossroads. The Divisional Council ^{strictly} policed the camp and where new dwellings were erected, or where householders fell heavily into arrears with their service charges, their "Squatter Control Unit" demolished the offending dwellings. Negotiations took place between the residents' legal representatives and the Divisional Council whereby some latitude was extended to those residents who were unable because of financial difficulties to pay their service levies. With the coming of the New Year it appeared that the Divisional Council was stepping up the rate of its demolition of dwellings where householders were in arrears with their service levies to the extent that some household heads who had not paid their current month service levy (payable in advance) were given 7 day notice of impending demolition. In February 1978 approximately 10 of the residents brought proceedings in the Supreme Court seeking an order interdicting the Divisional Council from demolishing their dwellings. Before the matter could be heard in open court the parties settled their differences and a more equitable policy was thrashed out allowing latitude for those who fell behind in payment of their monthly levies.

Meanwhile in June of 1976 and 1977 the Illegal Squatting Act was amended inter alia making it a criminal offence for owners or lessees of land to allow people to "squat" upon their land, grant to various officials wide powers of demolition without having to obtain Court orders, shifting the burden of proof to the squatter should he ^{attemp} seek an interdict, ^{and} rendering certain relief and judgments obtained by squatters prior to the amendment of the act null and void. The general effect of the amendments was to widen and intensify the measures which could be used against squatters. None of the amendments provided any relief for people who were forced, for whatever reason, to "squat". These amendments did not however apply to the residents of the camp because it had already acquired a unique status inasmuch as it had been declared an emergency camp.

Ever since Crossroads came into existence, those of its residents who were not possessed the necessary qualification to reside legally in the Bantu Urban Areas of the Bantu Urban Areas Act No. 25 of 1949, have at all times lived with the threat of being arrested by either the South African Police or the Bantu Affairs Administration Board inspectors, and fined or imprisoned. In the majority of these cases (contravention of the "pass laws") the sentence imposed upon offenders is a fine of R 6 or imprisonment for 10 days. This sum is approximately a third of the monthly wage of the African wage-earner. The majority of the women of Crossroads do

not have the requisite permission to reside in the Cape Town area.

6. On the 6th and the 14th September 1978 hundreds of policemen launched huge "crime prevention" raids on the Crossroads Emergency Camp in the small hours of the morning. Many hundreds of people were arrested in these raids, the vast majority on the statutory offences of not having permission to reside in the Cape Town area. An insignificant number appeared on charges under the common law. On the morning after the second raid, in which one of the residents was shot dead by a policeman, more than 50 residents were arrested when they and hundreds of others gathered to mourn and to sing hymns for the deceased man. They were charged with attending an illegal gathering in terms of ^{the} Riotous Assemblies Act No. 17 of 1956, and their trial is pending.

The present situation is that Crossroads can be deproclaimed as an Emergency Camp by certain government Ministers any time. As soon as this is done the authorities are legally entitled to demolish the camp regardless of whether the inhabitants have alternative accommodation or not.



IN THE MAGISTRATE'S COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF WYNBERG
HELD AT WYNBERG

In the Application of :

THE DIVISIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CAPE

In terms of Section 5 of Act 52 of 1951 Applicant

NOTICE OF OPPOSITION

BE PLEASED TO TAKE NOTICE that we, the undersigned, duly instructed thereto, intend to oppose the above application on behalf of NTOYI JOHNSON NDAYI who resides at Shack No. 818, Crossroads (more fully described in Applicant's application) and that the annexed affidavit of the said NTOYI JOHNSON NDAYI will be used in support thereof.

DATED at CAPE TOWN this 20th day of MAY, 1976.

MALLINCK, RESS, RICHMAN & CO.

per: 

(M.J. Richman),
7th Floor, Mobil House,
Hans Strijdom Avenue,
CAPE TOWN.

To -

The Magistrate,
WYNBERG.

And to -

The Applicant,
c/o Fuller, Moore & Son,
4th Floor, N.B.S. Building,
Greenmarket Square,
CAPE TOWN.

And to -

The Bantu Affairs Administration Board,
Goulbourne House,
Goulbourne Centre,
GOODWOOD.

THE DECLARATION OF AN EMERGENCY CAMP
AT CROSSROADS

IN THE MAGISTRATE'S COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF WYNBERG
HELD AT WYNBERG

In the Application of -

THE DIVISIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CAPE

In terms of Section 5 of Act 52 of 1951 Applicant

A F F I D A V I T

I, the undersigned,

NTOYI JOHNSON NDAYI

do hereby make oath and say that -

1. I am a resident of the area known as "Crossroads", more fully described in the application of Applicant, residing at Shack No. 818, and carry a Bantu reference book No. 2308648.
2. I was born in Kingwilliams Town on the 5th August, 1916 and came to Cape Town in 1942 in which year I registered with the authorities so that I qualify for residence within the Western Cape prescribed area, in terms of Section 10(1)(b) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945, as amended.

3. / ...

3. I am in full-time employment with Security Assignments (Proprietary) Limited, stationed at the Royal Observatory, since in or about August, 1974.
4. I am married and live at Crossroads with my wife and five children, all of whom were born in Cape Town between 1960 and 1974.
5. I came to Crossroads in and during February, 1975, having been told that inspectors in the employ of Applicant were directing people to go there. I heard the story repeatedly from people who had been squatting in other areas that the Divisional Council inspectors had told them to go to Crossroads and, indeed, it appeared that the authorities were content to allow people to establish dwellings there.
6. Because I am an elderly man and one of the early residents of Crossroads, people living there seem to regard me as someone to whom they can bring their problems and talk to and I am, therefore, perhaps in a better position than most to speak for the inhabitants of Crossroads and to try to convey to this Honourable Court the circumstances prevailing there.
7. I am not able to say what the precise number of people is who live at Crossroads but I would not argue with the estimate that approximately 10.000 people live there in about 2.300 dwellings. It is also true that with the passage of time the population at Crossroads has increased substantially and I do not deny that there exists a health hazard. However, I do wish to make the following observations with regard to the allegations made in support of Applicant's application -

- 7.1 There is a strong community spirit amongst the people at Crossroads who tend to help one another in many different ways and whilst there is naturally a degree of crime and vandalism, I believe that the crime rate is far lower at Crossroads than in many other parts of the Cape Peninsula.
- 7.2 The people at Crossroads are in the area because one or more members of the household work in the Cape Peninsula. There are many people like me who are lawfully in the area who simply do not have another home to go to and there are many families who have come to join husbands who work as contract labourers in the area and likewise, have no other accommodation within the Cape Peninsula. It is true that many of the people are illegally in the Cape Peninsula but the fact is that the vast majority of them have been here for some time and regard this as their home and I believe that if they are removed from Crossroads they will simply squat somewhere else nearby, not because they wish to defy authority but simply because they wish to remain together in family units and have nowhere else to go.
- 7.3 Because virtually every household has a breadwinner, people in the area are, for the most part, financially able to care for themselves and in particular, children have adequate food and clothing and are well cared for by their parents.
- 7.4 Whilst the dwellings can be described as shacks, they are for the most part well constructed with tin and zinc materials, having flooring and they are sealed against the elements.

7.5/...

- 7.5. As stated above, it is my experience that there has been a great deal of co-operation amongst people at Crossroads, particularly in the construction of dwellings so that much ingenuity and varied materials have been employed to bring into existence habitable dwellings.

- 7.6. The community spirit has also manifested itself in co-operation in keeping the area clean and tidy. Hitherto, people were careful about using litter bins and used the facilities provided in the form of bins and lavatories. Unfortunately, as time passed, the authorities have taken no interest in providing adequate facilities and more and more people have come to Crossroads so that the water, latrine and refuse removal facilities, which were never adequate, are now hopelessly inadequate.

- 7.7. If inadequate water, latrine and refuse facilities exist, then any community affected will become a health hazard and Crossroads is no exception. On the other hand, if these facilities are installed, the health hazard will, I submit with respect, be removed in a very short space of time.

- 7.8. Because of the co-operation in the community, to which I have referred, I verily believe that people will co-operate in every way necessary or desirable to alleviate the existing health hazard should the authorities seek their co-operation. People will certainly use any facilities that are provided and if some dwellings have to come down in order to establish these facilities, I believe that the people concerned will be prepared to move.

- 42
8. Presumably, this Honourable Court would not grant an order for the removal of people from Crossroads unless and until it is satisfied that alternative adequate accommodation exists at the place to which they are to be removed. I submit that it would be a vast undertaking to find alternative accommodation in the short space of time and, indeed, it would appear to be unnecessary. The Crossroads community exists as a fact and with the goodwill and co-operation of the authorities, I submit that the health hazard could be removed at relatively little cost and at vastly less cost than would be incurred in removing the community to another place.
 9. I have been informed and verily believe that there is some confusion surrounding the ownership of Crossroads. Applicant states that it is the registered holder of the property but that the Bantu Affairs Administration Board ("the Board") has become the owner under the deeming provisions in Section 12 of Act 45 of 1971. I believe that in a recent case (The State v Lilian Peter) the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa found that the Board had not established ownership under the above enactment. I submit, however, that the question of ownership of the land should not be an obstacle in the way of solving the immediate problem, namely the removal of a health hazard, if the Applicant and the Board are prepared to co-operate to that end.
 10. Section 6 of Act 52 of 1951 provides for the establishment of emergency camps for the purposes of accommodation of homeless persons and I respectfully submit that Crossroads falls squarely within the kind of community that the legislature had in mind when passing that enactment. I submit that there is no reason why Crossroads, itself, cannot be declared an emergency camp which would enable Applicant -

- 10.1. to make regulations, with proper approval, providing for the administration, maintenance, sanitation and health of the emergency camp and the control thereof;
- 10.2. to levy fees or charges in respect of the accommodation of people at Crossroads and the provision of services which I, myself, know they would be more than willing to pay;
- 10.3. to lay down penalties in respect of the contravention of such regulations which would have the force of law,

These very powers are contemplated and provided for in Section 6 and would enable Applicant in conjunction with the Board to remove the health hazard.

11. If the emergency camp is established as suggested above then, I respectfully submit, that there can be no room for misinterpretation by the Courts, for the providing of facilities will take place in terms of and pursuant to the provisions of Section 6 of Act 52 of 1951.
12. In the circumstances, I respectfully submit that there can be no good reason for the Orders sought by Applicant in this matter and humbly pray that the application be declined by this Honourable Court. Alternatively, I humbly pray that this Honourable Court make no Order for the removal of persons at Crossroads or for the demolition of dwellings unless and until this Honourable Court is satisfied that alternative accommodation is made available to all the inhabitants of Crossroads which, should enjoy all the necessary facilities to ensure that no further health hazard will come into existence.

Johnson Indayi

OFFICIAL NOTICES SERVED AT CROSSROADS

INFORMATION TO BANTU ILLEGALLY SQUATTING

1. A notice, in terms of the provisions of the Prevention of illegal squatting Act, Act 52 of 1951, has already been served upon you, to the effect that you should vacate the building or structure before or on a certain date and that the owner or occupier of the property intends demolishing same.
2. You are thus warned of the consequences of ignoring the notice, irrespective of whether the building or structure be locked or not, namely, that the possessions will be removed therefrom by the property owner and left on the site, whereafter the structures will be demolished and the material as well as other possessions, if necessary, will be removed to a place of safekeeping.
3. If you qualify to remain in the urban area in terms of section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, Act 25 of 1945, you may request the Bantu Affairs Administration Board to refer you and your family, if they too qualify for residence within the urban area, to another area where you may reside legally.
4. If you do not qualify for residence as specified in paragraph 3 above, you and your family must return to your place of origin and the Bantu Affairs Administration Board Peninsula Area in conjunction with the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner is prepared to render such assistance as may be considered necessary under the circumstances to help you return to your place of origin.
5. You are furthermore warned that should you, with or without your family, or your family separately, settle on any other place within the urban or prescribed Area in contravention of the Prevention of illegal squatting Act, Act 52 of 1951, the same action will be taken against you and your family and all unauthorised structures, erected and in the process of being erected for this purpose, will be demolished by the property owner without notice.

INFORMATION TO BANTU ILLEGALLY SQUATTING

24 HOUR EVICTION NOTICE

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EXTENSION:

THE DIVISIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CAPE

P.O. Box 1073
Telephone: 41-3266

44 Wale Street,
CAPE TOWN.
8001

DATE: 22/8/77

Mr./Mrs. G. HOBBS
Structure No. 370

Dear Sir/Madam,

PROPOSED DEMOLITION IN TERMS OF SECTION 3B OF THE
PREVENTION OF ILLEGAL SQUATTING ACT, 1951 AS
AMENDED.

24 hours

Please note that within 7 days of the date hereof my Council
intends to demolish the structure which you are occupying
without legal permission in contravention of Section 1(a) of
the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act No. 52 of 1951, as
amended and to remove the material thereof from the land.

Yours faithfully,

for W.R. VIVIER
SECRETARY

I hereby certify I have served a copy of this letter on

B. DANU

Place: Cross Roads

Date: 22/8/77

SIGNATURE

5 HOUR EVICTION NOTICE

66



THE DIVISIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CAPE

P.O. Box 1073
Telephone: 41-3266

44 Wale Street,
CAPE TOWN.
8001

DATE: 5/10/77

Mr./Mrs. W. M. Moryen
Structure No. 402

Dear Sir/Madam,

PROPOSED DEMOLITION IN TERMS OF SECTION 3B OF THE
PREVENTION OF ILLEGAL SQUATTING ACT, 1951 AS
AMENDED.

Please note that within ^{5.ive} 7 days of the date hereof my Council
intends to demolish the structure which you are occupying
without legal permission in contravention of Section 1(a) of
the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act No. 52 of 1951, as
amended and to remove the material thereof from the land.

Yours faithfully, *Cum phume lekanga nemigoge ye kansi
ye kungahlawu imali efekansile
elu kwazise de kunggabala*
for W.R. VIVIER
SECRETARY

I hereby certify I have served a copy of this letter on

Mr. Angelina Moryen

Place: Gqeberha

Date: 5/10/77

[Signature]
SIGNATURE

RE: UNAUTHORISED STRUCTURES

RE: UNAUTHORISED STRUCTURE.

Dear Sir/Madam,

You have erected/are erecting a structure without plans having been approved by Council. In this connection Regulation No. 163 of the Building Regulations reads as follows:-

"163 (1) It shall be an offence for any person to erect or to make any additions to any dwelling, hut or other structure.

- (a) without plans thereof first having been approved by the Council, or
- (b) in conflict with plans thereof approved by Council, or
- (c) in the case of any structure erected under the provisions of Regulation 150, without a permit first having been obtained thereunder.

(2) It shall be an offence for any person issued with a permit under the provisions of Regulation 150, to fail to remove or demolish the structure in respect of which such permit was issued, upon the expiration of the period of validity of such permit.

(3) It shall be competent for the Council, additionally or alternatively to the institution of a prosecution for a contravention of sub-regulation (1) or sub-regulation (2), to serve upon the person who is alleged to have contravened the provisions thereof a notice calling upon such person:-

- (a) to remove the dwelling, hut or other structure or addition, or
- (b) to demolish such work as may have been done in contravention of this regulation, or
- (c) to alter such work as to bring it into conformity with plans approved by Council within a time specified in such notice. Should such person upon receipt of a notice as aforesaid neglect or omit to comply with the requirements thereof within the time stated to such notice the Council may remove such dwelling, hut or other structure or addition or cause any work which may have been done in contravention of this regulation to be demolished or altered at the expense of such person who shall have caused such work to be done, and the expense so incurred shall be recoverable from such person by the Council".

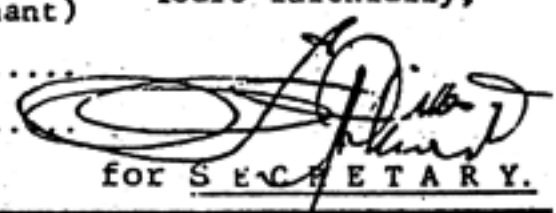
*You are required to-

- (a) demolish all work done in contravention of this Regulation;
- (b) ~~to submit plans for the work carried out, within TWENTY (21) days~~ from the date hereof. In the event of your failure to comply, the Council, through its officials, will enter upon your property and demolish all work carried out in contravention of the regulations at your cost.

BY REGISTERED POST/PERSONAL SERVICE.

Mr/Mrs/Miss OCCUPIER (Owner - Tenant) Yours faithfully,

POSTAL ADDRESS SHACK NO D 34
CROSSROADS


FOR SECRETARY.

*Delete whichever is not applicable.

NEW STRUCTURE DETAILS OF UNAUTHORISED STRUCTURE.

ERP No. D 34 TOWNSHIP CROSSROADS

STREET No. NAME OF STREET

SUBURB PHILIPPI PROCLAIMED ROAD YES/NO

OCCUPIERS NAME

No. OF OCCUPANTS (SPECIFY)

STRUCTURE: (a) SIZE (b) USE DWELLING

(c) TYPE OF CONSTRUCTION WOOD AND IRON

DISTANCE FROM ALL BOUNDARIES (a) FRONT (C/L OF ROAD

(b) SIDE (i) SIDE (ii) (c) REAR

SECTION 9: EVICTION NOTICE

BANTU AFFAIRS ADMINISTRATION BOARD, PENINSULA AREA.

TO: Mangqongwana James Tano. 1/2570324/c
ADDRESS: Knorr Road, Nyanga East 3

WHEREAS you are a Bantu, not exempted under sub-section (2) of Section 9 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945, as amended, and who resides or is housed within the Urban Area of the City of Cape Town but outside a Location, Bantu Village or Bantu Hostel.

I, the undersigned, being an officer duly appointed by the Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Peninsula Area for the purpose, HEREBY GIVE YOU NOTICE, in terms of sub-section (5) of Section 9 of Act No. 25 of 1945, as amended, that I call upon you to take up, within a period of 5 days from the date of the service of this notice, your residence in

Langa Railway Compound
in which accommodation is available for you.

You are further notified that, if after the expiration of the period set forth in this notice, you reside outside the said

Langa Railway Compound
you will be guilty of an offence and liable to criminal prosecution.

Dated at NYENYEN this 27 day of July 1976

OFFICER APPOINTED BY THE
BANTU AFFAIRS ADMINISTRATION BOARD

IPONDO LENCANI YIKAPA.

KU: _____
IADRESI: _____ N.I.NO. _____

NJENGOKO ungumntu oMtsundu, ongakhululanga phantsi kwesiqendwana (2) sesiqendu 9 somthetho wabaMtsundu (ezidolophini) No. 25 ka 1945, olungisiweyo, ohlala okanye onikwe indlu yokuhlala kumhlaba wedolophu yesixeko sase-Kapa kwindawo engaphandle kwelotishi, kwesixekwana okanye umzi wabaMtsundu.

Mna, obhalwe ngezantsi, oligosa elimiselwe oko ngokwimfanelo ligunya lolawulo lemiciabi yaba-Mtsundu, ngokwamaqondo esiqendwaneni (5) sesiqendu 9 somthetho No. 25 ka 1945, olungisiweyo, ndikuyalala ukuba ukuhlala, ngexesha eli-
apho indawo yokuhlala ayilu-
njiselwe khona.

Uyaziswa kwakhona okokuba, ukuba liphelile ixesha elikwesi saziso, usahlala ngaphandle kwindawo exelweyo
ayakuba netyala lokuphula umthetho we sesichongi sokubanjwa njengomphuli-mthetho.

Ngasuku e, _____ lombala _____ ka _____ 19____

S. A Railways
Langa Compound

IBASA NIKHATI ICUNYA LIPHODI
MIBUSO YIBI BI YABANTSHUDI

NOTICE: REMOVAL OF PERSONAL

49

Director of Labour and Community Services,
Bantu Affairs Administration Board,
Peninsula Area,
GCODWOOD.

Dear Sir,

REQUEST TO REMOVE PERSONAL BELONGINGS FROM SHACK NO. 189
INDEMNITY

I the undersigned hereby request that my personal belongings listed hereunder be removed by officials of the Board from shack No. 189 which I occupy to the nearest Railway goods station for transfer to my place of residence at Cabin...

I understand that there will be no charge made by the Board for this service and I hereby indemnify the Board against any damage or loss to my possessions which may occur in effecting the removal.

I hereby certify that the items listed are my personal possessions.

Mavis Dazo Mavis

SIGNATURE of
owner of items listed hereunder
or - Thumb print

Dated at Crossroads, Nyanga this 1.1... day of December 1975.

WITNESSES: 1 J.M. du Toit
2 H. J. ...

ITEMS

<u>DESCRIPTION OF ITEM</u>	<u>QUANTITY</u>
1 Single bed (hand made)	1
1 Ironing board	1
1 hand made wooden table	1
1 piece imitation leather	1
1 pair of shoes	1
2 plastic buckets with	2
boots, pans and kettle	1
1 angle	1
can starter	1

BELONGINGS FROM SHACK

STATISTICAL AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Crossroads is a large area, south of D.F. Malan Airport, bordered by Klipfontein Road, Nyanga in the east and Lansdowne Road in the South. It is known as Nyanga East extension.

The land is owned and serviced by the Divisional Council of the Cape.

It is estimated that about 20,000 people live at Crossroads in nearly 3 000 shacks (2803 at 31.05.78 according to Divisional Council Agenda).

Estimated number of households with at least one employed member:
80 - 90% (Maree and Cornell, 1977).

Estimated number of households engaged in informal sector activities, either part-time or full-time: 40 - 50% (Weichel, et al, 1977).

Average length of stay in Cape Town:

- (a) Head of household - 18,2 years
- (b) Spouse - 11,7 years (Maree and Cornell, 1977).

Average number of places lived in Cape Town before moving to Crossroads -
2 - 3 places (ibid).

Previous place of residence:

- (a) townships - approximately 45%
 - (b) other squatter areas - approximately 30%
 - (c) elsewhere in Cape Town - approximately 15%
 - (d) Transkei - H/H - 2%
- Spouse - 15% (ibid)

solidarity with crossroads

51

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES

In response to pressures placed on them by the authorities, the Crossroads community called for a Day of Solidarity on the 30 July 1978. Meetings were held throughout the country in support of Crossroads as well as in various centres throughout the world. At Crossroads itself a meeting attended by over 4 000 people was held at the Nxolo School. It was addressed by Rev. Sam Buti among others. During the week preceding the Day of Solidarity a focus on Crossroads was held at Universities of Cape Town, Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Before and after the Day of Solidarity various messages of support were sent to the community at Crossroads. The Archbishop of Canterbury and world bishops attending the Lambeth Conference overwhelmingly supported the stand of the people of Crossroads. Messages of support were also received from the Reform Church of Meiringen of Switzerland, the United Church of Canada, the Anglican Church of Canada, and Union Church of Chicago, and the Project of the Canadian Churches for Global Economic Justice. A telegram was received from the latter, saying "We support your struggle." The Anti-Apartheid Movement in London organised a solidarity meeting for the 30 July. More recently there has been support from other local communities. After the raids on Crossroads two weeks ago it was reported in the press that groups of Soweto schoolchildren were boycotting classes in support of Crossroads.

Who will stop the dirty work at the Crossroads?

LONDON TIMES 22/7/64

I am not normally much of a one for Days of Prayer, whether designed to end droughts or to soften the hearts of tyrants; I am always too conscious of what Beethoven scribbled beneath the exercise submitted to him by one of his pupils, who had piously written "Finished, with God's help" at the end: "Man, help thyself".

All the same, the prayers of the free world that are invited for Sunday next, July 30, which will match those being offered on the spot at a place in South Africa with the almost unbelievably apposite name of Crossroads, seem to me well justified. For what is to happen at Crossroads if it is not stopped either by prayer or by the pressure of outside opinion, sums up, symbolizes, reflects and adds to the catalogue of cruelty and selfishness for which South Africa has been responsible with what is perhaps the vilest of all her policies, the one that goes under the euphemism of "resettlement".

This is the practice of descending upon a place where Africans live, throwing them out of their dwellings (in rural areas also stealing their livestock), bulldozing the area, and deporting the population either to remote and infertile areas, called—with a foul jocularity that recalls the sign over the gate of Auschwitz, "Arbeit macht frei" — homelands (many, if not most, of the Africans thus removed have never seen, let alone lived in and come from, the "homelands"), or to the strictly con-

trolled "townships" that provide white South Africa with cheap black labour.

The present South African regime has been responsible, since it came to power, for the forcible removal, in this fashion, of more than two million human beings, among whom the rate of hunger, disease or death has been appallingly high (for a detailed account of the consequences, see Cosmas Desmond's *The Discarded People*). And now it is to happen at the shanty-town called Crossroads, which is near Cape Town.

Crossroads is in many ways (though not, as we shall see, in all) typical of many such settlements in South Africa. It originated, ironically enough, in official South African action: the inhabitants of a number of smaller camps in the area were rounded up early in 1975 and dumped there, being told they could build themselves homes. Crossroads has since grown through accretions from Africans unable to find anywhere else to live near a city and facing starvation in their "homelands", and also from those who refuse to accept the separation of families involved in the South African policy of granting residence permits only to an African man or woman with a job and insisting that the rest of the family live elsewhere.

The authorities soon realized that they had made a mistake in creating Crossroads, and harassment of the inhabitants began within a few months of its foundation. As early as May 1975, there were arrests

on grounds such as "introducing" or "harbouring" wives and children (a criminal offence for blacks in South Africa). A group of concerned individuals, white as well as black, organized legal defence for the persecuted, with some striking successes, notably that of a woman who proved that she had been officially told to go and live in Crossroads, and who, though convicted, won an appeal. But after a suitable pause the policy continued and was intensified: orders were obtained for the deportation of some of the Crossroads dwellers, and these were carried out by force, an added South African refinement being the immediate destruction of the shacks of those deported, together with all their belongings.

Again, some legal successes slowed the action, and eventually the authorities realized that even the emasculated South African courts could not be relied on to do the government's political bidding in defiance of the law. So legislation was introduced to remove the administrative decisions of the authorities from the ambit of the existing law and to make it impossible for the deportations to be resisted; the new legislation was made retroactive (hallo there, Messrs Cullaghan, Healey and Barnett—I hope you enjoy the company in the boat you were rowing the other day with your own retroactive tax-legislation!), so as to nullify the earlier legal decisions.

Now for the way in which Crossroads differs from many



such shanty-towns in South Africa. An exhaustively detailed investigation there, carried out by a research unit of Cape Town University, found that, so far from Crossroads being the hazard to health, safety and order that the government had been insisting, it is a stable, law-abiding and well-administered

(self-administered) community. Religious observance, family cohesiveness, self-help education flourish there; crime and drunkenness do not—indeed, their incidence is lower than in the officially approved African townships. In other words, the government has no valid reason for wanting to destroy Crossroads and deport the pop-

ulation (now about 20,000): ideology and spite are the only springs of its action. (And, incidentally, the same investigation showed that Crossroads could be converted into a stable and self-supporting area, with an expenditure very considerably less than the destruction and deportations would involve.)

The authorities hid their time, partly because of growing criticism both inside and outside South Africa and partly because even the new legislation proved to contain loopholes, through which courageous judges allowed Africans to succeed in establishing their rights. But gradually, the government closed in, its action preceded by a whipped-up campaign against the dangers and illegalities involved in shanty-towns all over the country.

The campaign included various typically South African incidents. In February 1977, for instance, the Minister of Community Development, Marius Steyn (a man apparently cast in the same mould as South Africa's Minister of Justice, Kruger), announced that in Modderdam (another shanty-town) the squatters' shacks would not be demolished; in August the same year they were. Raids, arrests and other harassments were intensified, the new legislation being more and more extensively (and successfully) used.

By the beginning of this year, various officials and departments had announced the government's firm intention of destroying this healthy and decent community. That the action is near is suggested by the fact that three weeks ago Mr Rommel Roberts, the "coloured" South African who has been instrumental in organizing the International Day of Prayer (he is a full-time church worker) was arrested.

The British contribution to the Day of Prayer will be made centrally (though no doubt elsewhere in the country at the same time) at St Martin-in-the-Fields the day after tomorrow at 3 pm. Two South African Bishops will take part. I may as well conclude with the prayer for Crossroads that is being offered:

O God, our Father, who made of one blood all people on earth, we pray at this time for the healing of South Africa. We lift up to you the people of Crossroads Camp. Send your Holy Spirit to be a power of hope and faith in them. Protect and save these your people, that they may rejoice in you, Father, Lord of all. Bless them and strengthen them as they seek to live in peace together as families, in obedience to your command: Those whom you have joined together, let no one put asunder. Father Almighty, stay the hand of those who seek to scatter your sheep. Touch the hearts of all in authority, that they may hear your Word and find your Son, Jesus Christ, in their neighbour. Lord, hear our prayer, and let our cry come unto thee.

Lord, have mercy. We have failed in love of our neighbour, failed in our love of you, Lord. Cleanse us, rid us of fear, indifference, selfrighteousness, and a sense of hopelessness.

Fill us with your Spirit of hope, with faith in your power to save and transform, and with your love which enables us to do all things—offering our very selves that we, your people, may find and build your peace and justice—free in fellowship one with another.

We praise you, O God, we give thanks to you. Your will be done. Your kingdom come.

Amen.

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SPEECH BY REV DR BUTI AT DAY OF

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The Rev. Dr. Sam Buti, Minister of the NG Kerk in Afrika in Alexandra, Johannesburg; Secretary of the General Synod of the NG Kerk in Afrika; President of the South African Council of Churches; Secretary of the Executive of the Broederkring of NG Churches. Dr. Sam Buti is widely travelled; and is highly respected in ecumenical circles. He is also Vice Chairman of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod.



The Rev Sam Buti, President of the South African Council of Churches and Moderator of the Ned Geref Kerk in Africa, who was the main speaker at yesterday's gathering at Crossroads. He said a law that persecutes people living as a family unit was not a law at all.

SCRIPTURE READING: MATTHEW 25: 31 - 46

TEXT: MATTHEW 25: 40 & 45

"I tell you, whenever you did this for one of the least important of these brothers of mine, you did it for me!" It brings us to the theological question of Anselm "Cur Deus Homo". He came to liberate man to be true man for & of man.

My dear brothers and sisters in Christ Jesus, I would like to thank the Ministers' Fraternal of Langa, Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga for having invited me to conduct this Ecumenical service here at Crossroads this afternoon.

How pleased I would be if I could say something joyful to the people of the Crossroads, and the people of the entire South Africa. If I could say something you could afterwards carry back to your homes and community to comfort and encourage you. Unfortunately, I haven't got the words myself, but this afternoon I will ask God to speak to us through the

SOLIDARITY - 30 JULY

message of Jesus Christ in the parable which we have just read. Christ's message in this parable is very clear. This message is the acid test. It is the acid test placed before the church of Christ. It is the acid test placed before the rulers. The conclusive proof of one's LOVE for Christ is found in the concrete expression of one's compassion to one's fellow-man in need. To neglect this, or to refuse to identify oneself with the need and suffering of the oppressed, the poor, the hungry, the naked, the stranger and the imprisoned is the conclusive proof of one's total lack of love.

Cape Town and Cape Peninsula is in need of the labour of the people living in Crossroads. Without them the wheels of industry which churn out the riches, the dividends and wealth for those who possess the money, would not be possible. The sweat of the black labour is indispensable to the sweet life of the white management. But Christ wishes to point out in this parable and elsewhere in the scripture:- that you dare not accept a man's sweat and labour and at the same time reject him as a person; you dare not view him purely as a labour unit and dismiss or ignore him as a human being. If you accept him as a human being, then you must accept his normal basic needs, and make provision for such needs as: family life, housing, transportation, medical care, recreation and education. Anything less than this is exploitation - in fact it could even become another form of slavery.

In the history of our country we have a number of such acts of removing and resettling people which have cast a stigma on the name of our land; I name the following, there are so many of them, Where is Sophiatown? Where is Lady Selborne? ~~Robevew~~ and Alexandra, the area in which I live. And today we stand before Crossroads: the name which is symbolic of the road which can lead to the Cross, the cross of suffering and pain for the inmates of the squatter camp if they are again driven out into the wilderness, or should I say into the sea of frustration which our rulers themselves are afraid of. But it could also become a Cross for the rulers who would be responsible for driving the community out of their living area. My fellow Christians how much more must happen in this way of suffering, this via dolorosa, before the consciences of the white community and rulers of this country cry out loud and clear:



After the service, a group of chanting residents, raising their fists in the black power salute, marched out of the Noxolo centre, into Landsdowne Road and after a while, dispersed.

"Stop! It is enough!" or - if this does not happen - how much longer will it be until the wrath of God calls down judgement on the white rulers of this land by saying: Mené, mené takel parsin - numbered, numbered, weighed found wanting and removed (Daniel, 5:24).

The writing is on the wall, the wording and the message is clear for everyone to read, the criteria of Christ's test has been spelled out; Love your neighbour as yourself. "I tell you whenever you did this for one of the least important of these brothers of mine, you did it for me!" Matthew 25:40.

My brothers and sisters, I agree and I am sure you agree with Saint Aquinas, that: An unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in the eternal law of God and the natural law. Any law that uplifts human personalities is just and any law that degrades human personality is unjust. And in Saint Augustine's words: "An unjust law is no law at all!" - It must be stated clear here and now to our rulers that a law that persecutes people for living as husband, wife and children together is no law at all, it is sin. There are some instances when a law is just on its face but unjust in its application. There are a lot of instances which can prove this. The law is unjust when people as these at the Crossroads are being persecuted for living a normal family life here in Cape Town near their place of work.

I appeal to the white churches, I appeal to all Christians, more especially the Dutch Reformed Churches, to make a plea to the government on behalf of the people of the Crossroads. Remember the judgment is upon the Church as never before. If the Church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early Church it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of thousands of its adherents, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning.

I call upon the government of the Republic of South Africa, let Justice roll like waters, and Righteousness like a mighty stream. Will the people in authority and power hear and heed the writing is on the wall, the wording which is vivid: "I tell you, whenever you did this for one of the least important of these brothers of mine, you did it for me."

My brothers and sisters, this is the deep theological meaning of the text we have read. Christ became Man, Man for God, He became Man, Man for men. He has come to liberate us from the bondage of selfishness. I appeal to all Christians, Come let us identify ourselves with the people of the Crossroads. In conclusion, I address myself to the people of the Crossroads. God showers upon you words of hope. You should not despair. Keep courage. "Comfort my people" says our God. "Comfort my people." Amen.
Amen.

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY EXCHANGE FUND

250 000 BLACK SQUATTERS OUTSIDE CAPE TOWN

A quarter of a million black squatters (African and Coloured) live less than 15 kilometres from the heart of South Africa's parliamentary capital of Cape Town. Their homes are pieces of corrugated iron, wood and cardboard which, though in some cases ingeniously put together, provide little protection against the bitterly cold winter weather. The squatter camps have only rudimentary sanitation, refuse-removal, piped water and no electricity.

The reasons for this vast squatter development are to be found in the implementation of the nationalist government's apartheid policy. In the case of the Coloured squatters — who constitute the majority — it boils down to the eviction of large groups of Coloured people from areas re-zoned for white occupation and the subsequent failure on the part of the government and the local authorities to provide adequate alternative accommodation. Those houses that are provided in the government established townships are badly designed and overcrowded and the crime rate is extremely high with established bands of gangsters operating in most townships.

The main reason for urban Africans squatting is the desire to live with their families. Most of the African men in the main African squatters camp, 'CROSSROADS', close to Cape Town's international D.F. Malan airport are legally entitled to live in the 'bachelor-quarters' in the township of Nyanga. They are officially classified as migrant labourers or, as one national party spokesman put it quite bluntly, 'labour units'. According to the doctrine of separate development (apartheid) their families are expected to live in the Bantustans where there is widespread poverty. A small percentage of the women and children of African families are legally entitled to live in the townships but the vast majority are not.

Squatting provides an alternative. The squats are cheap but lack almost all essential facilities. When it rains the camps become mud-baths. The pools of rainwater are used both for cooking and washing. There is a constant threat of a disease epidemic. However, despite these obvious drawbacks, Africans living there are able to lead a family life which they could not do otherwise. Furthermore, the crime and violence rate in the squatter camps is very much lower than that in the government administered townships. To anyone used to a moderate western standard of living the conditions in these camps would be intolerable. Yet for the squatters it represents a last ditch attempt at living normal lives in a society which attempts to deprive them of this right.

The control of the squatters camps falls under the Bantu Affairs Administration Board (B.A.A.B.) where Africans are involved, and the divisional council where it concerns Coloured people. The Bantu Administration Board has for the past three years attempted to 'solve' the 'squatter problem' by sudden evictions — bulldozing and burning down the squats while the inhabitants are away at work in the city and generally harassing the squatters. African men have been charged under Section 11 of the Bantu (urban areas) consolidation act, No. 25 of 1945 for 'illegally harbouring their wives and children'

Now the South African Government is determined to evict the inhabitants of Crossroads. This to the national party is an important matter of principle as they no longer regard many of the squatters as South African Citizens but see them as foreigners from the 'Republic of the Transkei' to where they are offered free rail passes.

The community in Crossroads has therefore decided to call for maximum publicity of their position and have called a National Day of Solidarity to be held on July 30th, 1978. They are hoping to get a hearing during the 10th year meeting of Lamberth (Anglican Bishops from all over the world) which is to be held from 22nd July to 13th August, in the UK. They also held a briefing session for the Diplomatic Corps on 12th July and have been visited by the Ambassadors of the USA and the Federal Republic of Germany. Diplomats from the UK, France and Canada have also visited the camp.

The issue of Crossroads is the blunt issue of Apartheid and we call on you to act in solidarity with these 250 000 people who are refugees in their own land.

STATEMENT

SANA BULLETIN 1978/4

THE SQUATTER CAMP AT CROSSROADS - A RESPONSE TO APARTHEID

Squatter camps like the one at Crossroads in the Western Cape Peninsula are a growing threat to the state and its Bantu Affairs Administration Board. Situated some miles outside the city of Cape Town, alongside the "legal" townships of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu which house single migrant workers and those families with the very fragile legal right to residency. Crossroads is a living contradiction of the labour policies of the government. More than that, by their demonstration of self-reliance and determination under extremely harsh conditions to remain in an urban area, the citizens of Crossroads undermine one of the bastions of South African capitalist ideology, namely that the working class is only marginally urbanized and would feel more at home in the Bantustans.

In an attempt to avoid some of the dislocations that would result from the maintenance of the contract labour system in the era of expanding industrialization, the government declared its intention to reduce the number of Africans in the Cape by five percent per year. This has proved to be a fiasco. Since 1966, when the attempt was first made, the number of black workers in all sectors of the Cape Town economy has risen sharply. According to Dr Francis Wilson, senior lecturer in economics at the University of Cape Town, over the years 1968-74 the number of contract workers in industry and commerce has more than doubled, in construction it has trebled and in the government sector it has more than quadrupled. (Sunday Times, 7 April 1978). Along with the contract workers have come wives and children, who have found life in the Transkei and Ciskei literally untenable. A survey published in the South African Medical Journal, 3 December 1977, found that in a Transkei village the mortality rate for infants in the first year of life was 20 percent, with nearly 30 percent dead before their second birthday. Wives and children are technically-speaking illegal immigrants in the Western Cape and are not permitted to live with the bread-winning member of their family. The response to this has been to erect their own houses nearby the existing townships. This has laid them open to pass raids by officials and policemen, to the burning and bulldozing of their houses, forcible repatriation and all the hardship and misery this entails.

In 1975, Crossroads was declared an emergency camp, thus granting it a temporary respite. However, the threat of the bulldozer still hangs over it, and the various welfare organizations that have involved themselves in the life of this community make regular and frequent representations to the national and local authorities to delay execution. Official attitudes

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are that squatting is "such a serious social evil, its elimination required drastic measures." (The Secretary for Community Development in his report to Parliament, 1978). "Crossroads will have to be demolished like all the other squatter camps" said the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the Western Cape in September 1977. Early this year the community received yet another reprieve until the winter is over. At the present moment, the government is pondering ways of dealing with the issue in what is described as a humane manner. This does not mean much. In one well-documented case, the humane method entailed using front-end loaders rather than bulldozers to demolish a camp.

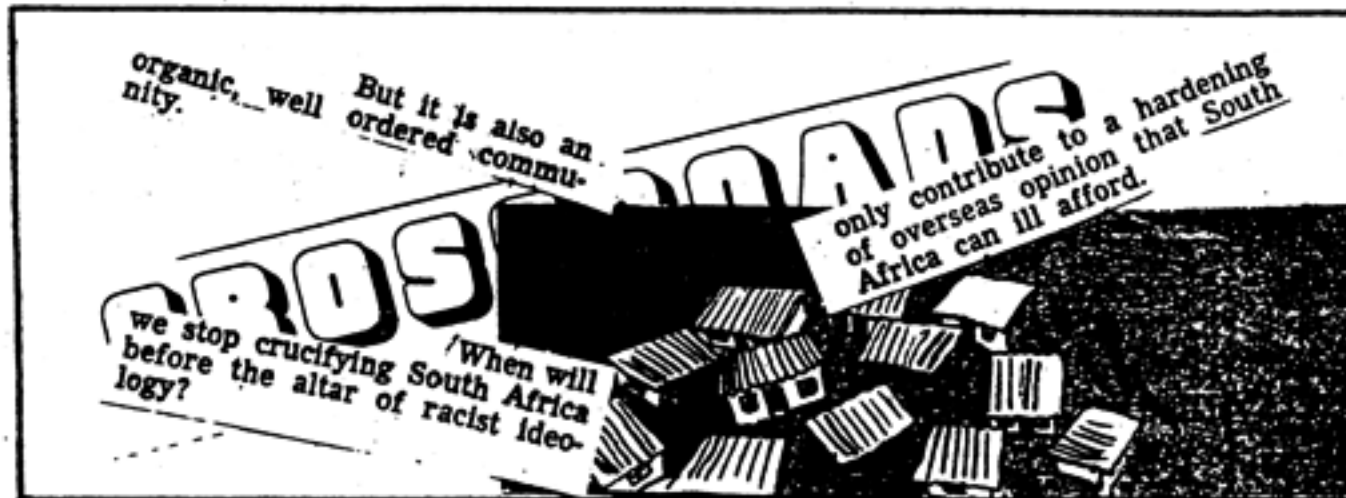
In spite of the threat of destruction, Crossroads flourishes. 20,000 people live in some 3000 houses, all erected by the occupants. Since it was recognized as an emergency camp, the Cape Town Divisional Council has provided water, a rubbish and night-soil removal service and a medical clinic, for which the community pays R7.-- per dwelling per month. At the end of last year, 73 percent of the men and 25 percent of the women were formally employed, while a further 11 and 25 percent respectively were self-employed. A report by the Urban Problems Research unit of the University of Cape Town states that the average weekly income of household heads is R35.--, compared to R32.-- for Nyanga. The community has evolved its own laws and has a 30-member elected committee to run the area, which is further divided into wards with their own committees. Patrols carried out by appointed "peacemen" serve to deal with the small amount of crime that there is and a justice system exists to reprimand people who have committed minor offences. There are numerous churches and two schools - the Noxolo ("peace") lower and higher primary school and the Sisamiele ("we have tried") lower primary school. There is a strong community spirit and in the daytime a hive of economic activity. Several clubs, literacy classes, sports groups and co-operative self-help schemes all serve to demonstrate the ability of these people to establish a viable and vibrant community.

What is the government going to do about Crossroads? On the one hand it can continue to deal with the matter as it has done in the past. This means that the community will be demolished and people either rehoused or repatriated, the latter case being the option for the majority, since they are illegal residents. The housing schemes presently being generated continue to ignore the fact that the majority of "homeless" people and squatters are a permanent fixture and will not tolerate repatriation. They will simply return to Cape Town at a later date. Houses are being built for coloured workers who are squatting with their families and who enjoy right of residence in the Western Cape, which leads the Community Development Secretary to say that the solution to the "squatter problem" is in sight. The department's projected plans do not include houses for Crossroads people and is therefore no solution at all.

A more imaginative solution would be to encourage the creation of such squatter communities and provide financial assistance to people wishing to build their own homes. However, the implications of such a step are such that they would deny the validity of present labour policies, and moreover, would accept the principle of permanently urbanized Africans. This strikes at the heart of Apartheid, since it would inevitably lead to the reproduction of labour power within the city, rather than in the homelands. This would not only mean that the capitalist system would more directly have to bear the costs of such a process, but also that the working class would be in a powerful position to organize and defend themselves. It is highly unlikely therefore that the state would follow such a course. For this reason, squatter camps are likely to remain a thorn in the flesh of the government for some time to come.

SPEECH BY AURET VAN HEERDEN NUSAS PRESIDENT⁶⁰

AS PART OF THE UCT CROSSROADS FOCUS WEEK.



Before I describe what I think the real cause for the demolition of Crossroads is, I want to warn people to be very careful of responding to people like Brigadier van der Westhuizen - people who can respond to the demolition of entire communities with trivial jokes about dagga and lovers and wives - in an emotional, holier-than-thou fashion.

The problem with a superficial, moralistic response is that people tend to ignore the underlying causes of phenomena like squatter demolition and what it represents: they think in terms of 'the irrational responses' of those 'nasty Nationalists', and dump conveniently the real problem of this country - that of racial exploitation - at the door of the Afrikaner Nationalists.

I reject this response as an unrealistic attitude; I think a cursory examination of South African history shows that the very people levelling these moralistic responses reap the benefits of the sort of violence that has characterised South African history, used to establish the current status quo, of which these very people form part.

In avoiding the causes underlying the system of Apartheid, and the exploitation it justifies and makes possible, people talk about Crossroads in terms of urbanisation, and the ebb and flow of labour: very vacuous concepts in a South Africa of market regulation and the supply and allocation of labour. We have a system controlled as tightly as possible by influx control, pass

laws, the Group Areas Act, labour bureau system, etc., all ensuring that concepts like market regulation of labour have no applicability in South Africa, and the violence of demolition forms an integral part of control over the supply and allocation of labour. So if we're going to talk about phenomena like Crossroads and squatter demolition, let's at least be rigorous about it, and try to move to a more systematic level, and look honestly at the precise reasons for them.

The questions of dialogue, of conciliation, of wanting to have a 2-year moratorium in which they can discuss Crossroads and in the meantime improve services I find very shortsighted in terms of what is happening in South Africa today; to suggest dialogue for the next 2 years ignores the questions of power and class, which underlie the necessity for the State to take these violent actions against communities like Crossroads.

If we examine the underlying reasons, we find that the system of Apartheid has its roots in the pattern of economic growth took in this country.

I'd like to preface any further discussion with some comment on the nature of the system from which we've all been produced; Crossroads has to be located in that context of a particular form of racial exploitation. I justify the use of the term 'racial exploitation' by taking the way in which the labour supply was created in South Africa, the way in which taxes were enforced to force people off the land. The amount of

land open to black people in this country was consistently reduced to the by now infamous 13% for 87% of the population. Measures were justified by terms like 'teaching the native the dignity of labour', and men like Cecil John Rhodes saying that "for these measures the native can give thanks for his wise government", created ideological justification for these very efficient means of forcing people from their land into the mines or the farming sector; having established this labour system, locking them into a compound system, into mechanisms like the Master and Servants Act, the Pass Laws. Control over their movements and their stay in urban areas is complete. The manner in which they are removed from their land to the manner in which they live on the mines or industrial sector, and the manner in which they're dumped when their usefulness to that sector is ended, have all been institutionalised in the form of Apartheid legislation, which we bandy about every day. Terms like the aforementioned Pass Laws, Group Areas Act, etc., are the form by which the system of creation, allocation and supply of labour has been finalised.

This system has culminated in the Labour Bureau System: this country's own de facto forced labour system. Every black youth, on turning 16, is forced to register at his local Labour Bureau, and is arbitrarily classified into one of 28 job categories. He is then locked in his 'homeland' or rural area until there has been a specific job request for labour of that category from an employer. If he is one of 5, 10 or 100 required, he may, if he's lucky, be granted his passport to enter the urban areas and take up employment. Until then, he is locked as a work-seeker in the particular area of desert or scrub allocated his 'hereditary homeland'

This forced labour system is justified by very 'irrational' ideological concepts like the 'Swart Gevaar' - we can't have these enormous black communities on our doorstep, can we? Even the most 'progressive' members of the opposition community wouldn't argue that the so-called Swart Gevaar isn't a real threat; it's far more convenient to dump them and

lock them in a rural area until they are again necessary to the white system. A British sociologist very aptly described this as the most efficient form of labour exploitation ever devised.

Even a slave has to be kept alive in a poor season; he becomes a liability to his employer, who has to keep him alive. In this system, we have far more efficient methods: we simply banish him to a homeland, endorse him out of the urban areas, so he can no more form the anomalies which characterize our society, and which are represented by communities like Crossroads.

The reasons behind this particular form of violence and bureaucratic machinery are not rooted in irrational ideological responses on the part of Afrikaners to people with dark skins, but in economic rationality

If we're going to oppose the system, let's oppose it at its real, economically rational roots, and stop talking about dialogue, about conciliation and 2-year moratoriums, and recognise the real structures which this system represents: structures which balance on a system of coercion and violence hitherto unprecedented in this country. These sorts of action - the bulldozing of houses, police using teargas, guns and dogs on crowds - have become the pillars on which this society rests. I don't think they have merely replaced pillars like academic freedom and freedom of speech - these have become superfluous luxuries the system can no longer afford, and instead we have unmasked at last the true pillars of South African society. If we're going to oppose them, let's oppose these real pillars and stop clinging to outmoded, mythical concepts.

Many people talk of the squatter camps themselves in terms of urbanisation, the ebb and flow of labour, the 'bright lights theory' drawing people to urban areas, where because of inadequate accommodation they have been forced to put themselves up in squatter shacks.

I think instead these shacks must be seen as a very real form of resistance on the part of people who reject a sys-

tem of single-sex hostels, of continuous pass-raids, of an extremely alienated and poor life in over-crowded, smog-ridden townships, of their families having no right to be in the same area with them; the area from which, upon



losing their jobs, they are likely to be endorsed out of. Instead, they have set up communities which the state is now about to destroy.

So let's not talk about 'these poor squatters who need better facilities'; let's not have our examination tinged with any emotionalism or paternalism: what we're talking about is a very real form of resistance, which the state is finding itself pressed to destroy, and which it finds very necessary to destroy.

The struggle for the salvation of Crossroads is not a struggle for better conditions or better opportunities. It is a struggle for very real workers' rights, for freedom from exploitation in this country; for a system in which black workers, the most suppressed and exploited class in South Africa, can enter into some sort of equality in a just and free society.



GET READY FOR ELIMINATION - ARTICLE IN

- "Crossroads will definitely be demolished." - *Mr A J Kriel of the Cape Divisional Council.*
- Crossroads "will be treated in exactly the same way as Unibell" - *Dr Andries Treurnicht, Deputy Minister of Plural Relations and Development.*
- "Bulldozers have possession of the camp. A metallic cacophony of shattering metal rises out of the dunes - in tow the blue lines of police. This is the pulsating heart of a community under attack." - *Comment in Varsity August 1977 on the demolition of Modderdam.*



"VARSITY"

In the middle of last year's winter the large squatter communities of Modderdam, Werkgenot and Unibell were demolished.

Armed police with dogs supervised the destruction of nearly 4 000 homes by front-end loaders. More than 30 000 people were put to flight.

In June this year the authorities confirmed rumours that Crossroads - core of the peninsula's squatter community - also faced the demolition squads. The decision to demolish is the most recent aspect of a failed campaign of harassment aimed at forcing Crossroads residents out of the area.

Arrears in the levy on services provided by the Divisional Council - refuse removal and pit latrines - have become a powerful weapon in this campaign.

PASS RAIDS

In other circumstances these services would normally be cut off or reduced. In the Crossroads context it has become a case of "your money or your house". People who owe on levies have already had their houses demolished.

There have also been the usual pass raids - the most recent of which was prolonged over three days. BAAB officials surrounded the camp checking the documents of all people passing out of the camp.

Women interviewed at Crossroads said: "We are starving since Monday - the camps are surrounded. When we go to collect water they arrest us. We cannot get water. We cannot go to the hospital or clinic. Officials will not let us go out. Our husbands have not gone to work. Since Monday we also could not go to work."

Harassment took other forms. In January some people returning from Christmas holidays in the Transkei found their homes knocked down in their absence.

TRAUMATIC

But a mass demolition in Crossroads will supersede these immediate forms of harassment and its people now face the traumatic fate of those at Modderdam and elsewhere.

A number of things are significant about the latter events and the decision on Crossroads. Although more than 200 000 squatters have been living in the Peninsula for a period of three years or longer, the mass demolition are a recent and specifically post-Soweto phenomenon.

If the demolition as a response to the issue of squatting are partly a result of the 1976 unrest then their rationale must be found in the nature of the events themselves.

While the issues of the rebellion which seized the country remained centred on the "Bantu education" system and its protagonists were black school pupils, the state was prepared to resort to normal methods of repression to "resolve" demands - bullets, teargas, mass detention. It was content to regard the pupils as a sectional group egged on by agitators.

Then a more cautious approach became apparent when pupils drew in other sectors of the community - most importantly workers. The bullets were stayed for example during the rent boycotts in Soweto in April 1977.

VICTORIES

Pupils had made an issue affecting workers their own and had marched with the support of the broader community. The subsequent decision of WRAB to suspend rent increases was one of the few victories of the rebellion.

Workers remain the group with effective political impact - the ability to cripple South Africa's economy upon which the wealth and power of the ruling class is based.

A slight inkling of the implications of a mass withdrawal of labour was felt during the mass stay-aways of September 1976 which shut down factories, closed shops and commercial institutions.

In the Cape Peninsula it was all the more significant in the unprecedented solidarity of Coloured and African workers.

Sharing an increasingly common experience of inadequate housing, evictions under var-

ious race laws, depressed wages, inferior education and growing unemployment, the gap closed in a united strike.

STRUGGLE

It is the potential of workers and their aspirations to become drawn into the broader political struggle that it has become the immediate purpose of government policy to obstruct.

So it is with a significant proportion of workers - squatters.

Referring to Crossroads earlier this year a spokesman for the Divisional Council pointed out that "site and service schemes (like Crossroads) are not favoured. It is difficult to control the influx of persons and these unstable conditions could be a serious hazard in times of unrest."

Squatters are in fact workers, who in chasing to squat express a primary form of resistance to the web of labour influx regulations (the pass laws, migrant labour policy and homelands citizenship controls) which rigidly determine their lives as labourers in South Africa's system of racial capitalism.

STARVATION

Crossroads comprises a complex population of such "resisters"; migrants living with their families in opposition on the one hand to the starkly grim single sex hostels in Langa, and on the other to starvation in the homelands.



The wife of a Ciskei migrant worker said when interviewed: "If they demolish our pondoks here at Crossroads I will remain here because I have no other place to go. Because they will not allow us to stay in the men's quarters.

"I will stay here even if I have to stay under a bush. I have no intention of going back to the country.

"Because at home I will be facing hardship and starvation"

There are also the migrants who after losing their jobs or terminating contracts have escaped the policed streets of the townships. The only chance of obtaining a job is to remain in the city.

To be endorsed out by a stamp in the pass book is to face the unemployment and impoverishment of the reserves.

There are those who chose to squat to avoid the gross overcrowding of the townships where an average of people fill each house.

The shanties of the Cape Flats have become for many workers the only acceptable alternative to an expressly political system of accommodation where housing is designed to reinforce the pass laws.

SUPERFLUOUS

Only the economically active are housed. These are superfluous to the need for labour - the unemployed, wives, children, the aged and sick, the widowed - must return to the homelands.

And by government decree these areas are not the responsibility of the State or employers, but of tribal authorities.

The working class as a cohesive whole is in this way split up and their ability to organise for control of their own lives is undermined.

workers' perception of their poverty.

Dependants are increased by friends and relatives retrenched by employers. Employers in turn freeze wages to maintain the level of their profits - while the cost of living and of staple foods rises.

Cape Town newspapers recently reported that growing numbers of people from squatter camps and migrant hostels were resorting to sca-



So squatting begins to throw into contradiction the functions of influx control, migrant labour and more, upon which South Africa's wealth the ruling class is based.

While migrant labourers are confined to compounds removed from their families, their employers need not feel responsible for their subsistence.

Located in some distant homeland, the housing, education, health social security, transport and recreation of his workers' dependants are not his concern.

The worker's wage packet need include only enough to support the single worker's needs - and these are minimal where all but working hours are spent in the compound.

BANK BALANCE

Profit and a growing (Swiss) bank balance hinge of the smooth functioning of influx control and migrant labour.

But in the growing squatter camps workers live with their families.

The educational and security needs of the dependants of each become more immediate. And the inadequacy of wages becomes more pressing in the face of these needs. With the suppression of trade union

movements in South Africa it is unlikely that demands will come from the factory floor itself.

But while living in a self-organised community a concerted and powerful demand for higher wages, schooling, health and welfare becomes possible at a community level.

It is a prospect which threatens the inequities necessary for the maintenance of privilege and wealth.

South Africa's present economic recession has sharpened venging at the Guguletu dumps to supplement what food they could afford.

COLLECTIVE

Transport costs and rents rise too.

The danger exists that workers will turn to other forms of articulation, rent boycotts and bus boycotts.

The State cannot afford another Soweto, nor the stay-aways which followed in 1976.

Demolishing squatter camps, the October 19 bannings, suppressing trade unions and detaining community workers are of a kind.

Workers must, the State sees, be obstructed from lending their collective support to a mass political movement.

 UNITED NATIONS PRESS RELEASE

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Press Release

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GA/AP/878
 28 July 1978

STATEMENT ISSUED BY VICE-CHAIRMAN OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

Following is the text of a statement issued today by the Vice-Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, Serge Elie Charles:

On behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I wish to express grave concern that the apartheid regime is continuing the forcible demolition of so-called "squatters' camps" around Cape Town, which house tens of thousands of African families. The regime hopes thereby to expel the families to the bantustans and force the working men to live as migrant labourers in "bachelor quarters".

Towards this end, it has bulldozed and burnt down numerous houses, built by the African workers, and then charged them with "illegally harbouring their wives and children". These demolitions have led to strong protests by the African people, which have been met by police violence.

The regime is now proceeding with plans to demolish the "Crossroads", the main African "squatters' camp" with 20,000 inhabitants, and to expel most of the residents to the bantustan of Transkei as illegal aliens. It may be recalled that the so-called independence of the Transkei has been denounced by the entire international community.

The community in "Crossroads" has appealed for a National Day of Solidarity on 30 July, and for maximum publicity all over the world. The South African Council of Churches and many other church bodies in South Africa are observing the day as a national day of prayer for the people of "Crossroads".

On behalf of the Special Committee, I appeal to all Governments and organizations to condemn this new crime of the apartheid regime and express their solidarity with the African people subjected to inhuman oppression under the diabolic bantustanization scheme.

the raids and some community responses

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ARGUS THE WOMEN

'We are not going to fight with the law but we are not moving' — Regina Ntongana, chairwoman of the Crossroads Women's Movement.



● REGINA NTONGANA

● ALEXANDRIA LUKE

● MARY GWABENI

Photographs JOHN-YELD, LES HAMMOND

The Crossroads Women's Movement has become a powerful and active force in the 20 000 strong community. After last week's protest, when 200 women gathered at the Administration Board's offices at Goodwood to object to harassment, they formed a seven member delegation to represent them at further meetings with the Board.

Regina, mother of six children is a determined and respected woman. She said that nothing had come of the meeting that day with members of the Administration Board. Representatives of the group were told to put their grievances in writing or send a properly chosen delegation.

'They asked for seven,' Regina joked. 'They're afraid of more of us.'

The delegation is planning a meeting this week. 'We want to know about the demolition. We don't want tickets to Transkei

— we don't want new stories.'

'In 1976 we had trouble. When they came into Crossroads, we ran. We had to stay like baboons in the field and then come back.

'This time we're not running. It's our aim to stay. We'll stand in our houses.'

Regina Ntongana has reason to feel strongly about the fate of Crossroads. Her husband is in Cape Town legally and she has lived here since 1965 with the exception of three years when she was forced to go to Transkei.

Two of her six children died there, of malnutrition.

While she was away, her husband lived with other women.

'I couldn't blame my husband,' she said.

'I have nothing to do with Transkei. I was born in Beaufort West. What are we going to do in Transkei, separated from our husbands? There's nothing there for us.

'I'll tell them my story.'

Momentarily she looked dejected: 'They know my story.'

Regina took us to the home of Alexandria Luke. In a tidy, sunshine filled room we spoke with her and Mary Gwabeni, two more of the seven member delegation.

Alexandria, mother of six, said over and over:

'Our worry is our children's future.'

'We are not fighting, we are asking.'

'The children write exams in September. If they demolish in June, what happens to their education?'

The three women are frustrated: 'We don't know how to convince the Administration Board that we have no place to go. We try to explain but... We don't know how they feel about us. The Government is unfair. Do you mean they can live without their husbands? With children?'

'They'll never do to their own nation what they do to us.'

Alexandria was born in 1931 in Cape Town. Her parents were born in Cape Town. Mary, a widow with seven children, was born in Elsie's River.

Regina talks about the children: 'They feel sad. We have to explain to them why it is like this.'

'I say to them: "You know what? Why it's like this? It's like this because we haven't got rights. But God will make a plan."'

There are signs of the work that the Women's Movement have done to improve living conditions at Crossroads. Many of the houses are now painted in bright colours, — orange, purple, pink and green — and the new schools Noxolo and Sizamile, are a great success. They are raising funds to help pay outstanding rents.

'We're confident,' said Regina. 'We'll go back and talk again and again.'

KERI SWIFT



"WE ARE NOT MOVING"
 An account of the Women of Crossroads delegation
 to BAAB - following police pass raids on the camp.

On June 7, 1978 more than two hundred women from the Crossroads community met to discuss the harassment experienced in and around their 'squatter' camp over the previous few days. They decided to go to the Bantu (Plural) Affairs Administration Board's office in Goodwood to present their grievances in person. Within a couple of hours they had organised transport and arrived on the pavement outside the offices. While they were mounting the steps, officials of the BAAB/PAAB instructed them to send in their leaders. The women replied that they had no leaders and that if their offices were not big enough to take all of them, the officials should come out to talk with the women. They were told this was not possible and that they should choose some women who would speak. Finally, seven women stood forward saying they were not afraid. They were taken to an office where 12 officials met them and asked for their names, house numbers and passes. The women said that they had not come to discuss that, but that they wished to know why their husbands were being arrested as they left the camp for work in the mornings, why they were being stopped from working, so that they did not have enough money to eat or pay the rent (as their houses are demolished if they do not pay rent/service levy), why they were arresting women who went to fetch water at the taps and generally why they were being harassed.

They were told that they were illegally in Cape Town; that they were illegally living in Crossroads; that Crossroads was going to be demolished and why did they not go back to the Transkei.

In reply the women said that they knew they were here 'illegally' but that many were born and bred in Cape Town, that they wished to live with their husbands and families and that most had nowhere else to go.

On being asked who had 'put them up to come', they replied 'when your life is bitter, YOU do something', you do not have to be told that you have nowhere else to go, no land to cultivate, no work and no money in a 'homeland'.

The women were not afraid; they refused to be intimidated. No one was arrested, but they were told that in future they should write a letter and make an appointment and that they should not talk to reporters.

When they returned to the large group waiting on the pavement, they found that the police had appeared, but that they had not touched the dignified group of waiting women who then returned to Crossroads.

We have nothing to lose, they said. We are here 'illegally', we are not thinking of the future, all we worry about it today, is to live in peace. If we are told we are illegally here, that is bad. We did not make those laws; we will stay here.

Approximately ten days later, these seven spokeswomen were requested to visit the local Divisional Council office next to Crossroads, to be interviewed by police officials and to give a statement on the incident. They were given to understand that they would be arrested shortly.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT STATEMENT FOLLOWING RAID

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It is hurting us really because we have lost a friend and we are still mourning. I am sure Brig. should shame himself to say things like this - to attack harmless people through the newspaper.

The Brigadier says we are resisting. We are resisting because the Inspectors said, "This is your area". We weren't brought here by the churches. The inspectors brought us here. They told us this place was for Black people. Brig. is not telling the truth we never came here through the churches. Put the churches and ministers aside. Where there are people, there must be ministers. The Brig. is acting as if this is the first shack Town. There are also shacks in Athlone and Retreat. The Council took the people who were staying among Coloured People and brought them here. It is because we have no place. We want to stay with our husbands. Women have lost their husbands before - we don't want to lose our men.



Mrs Regina Ntongana, chairman of the Crossroads women's committee, with members of the committee.

There was even a White inspector who told us to go to Crossroads. We were not aware that they were going to kill us here. We were in other areas and they said "come to Crossroads".

The Brigadier talks of the 5th June. When they arrested the people as they left for work, we know nothing about any inspector who was attacked.

on 17th August when the notice was distributed the home guards were doing their duty as usual. They saw someone who had robbed a shop.. They were doing their work. If someone says he was hurt, let us see him.

On 13th September we did not attack the Police. We were waiting because we are always waiting for something to happen to us. We never went to them. They came to us to make trouble. If people did stone Police, they were defending themselves, because they were upset about the dead man.

It is not the Committee who have made this trouble. Is it because we are Black that we are punished when we want to, live with our husbands? We are tired of talking to the Brigadier. Isn't he a parent? Doesn't he have a wife? Why doesn't he understand? His heart is hard.

What is wrong with us? Why are they killing us? We Blacks can also think. Our hair might be short outside but our brains are long. God created man and women to stand together.

It is hard to be Black.





WOMEN'S COMMITTEE - STATEMENT SEPTEMBER
15th

We are not happy about what has happened. In the beginning when we came into Crossroads, it was like this, but now it is worse. They are even arresting men with passes. Now there are a lot of women with babies in jail. The Government is putting us in a tight corner. We are hurt, because we believe the government is training their dogs. Really they act as animals on us. While we were sleeping they woke us up breaking in our doors. They know that what they are looking for, we haven't got. This camp is an emergency camp. We know that the Government knows that we are here. If they are training their dogs, they must not train them on us. We are not dogs. Our people are dead, are raped through his dogs - our people are torn through his dogs.

We don't feel good. We are hurt. Three month old babies, and eleven year old children are in jail - Pregnant women, and sick people. This really hurts us. We really don't think a child who is four months old is at fault. In jail, little babies are being fed on nothing but water all day long. Babies are crying. One man asked for some food for the children, and he got beaten up.

We are families. We don't think it is fair. We don't think you as Whites have ever been woekn in the early hours of the morning. Why are you doing it to us?

We don't expect them to say, "yes, this is true, we are beating them up", but they didn't admit about Biko either. We don't expect that people should be beaten up like that. We are human beings, and we'll keep on voicing our pains.

Even if a man is guilty and is in prison, the police must look after their prisoners, and mustn't let them fight. Don't kill the people. It is their work to see to the prisoners.

A woman went to see her husband in prison. The man has been so beaten up that he could not speak. He is being kept in Pollsmoor, and is appearing on the 14th.

They took one girl, and left her sisters and brothers. This man left with her alone. She went to the vans. So this man said, let us not go to this van, but to that van. Every time he would bump into her and say 'ekskuus'. He sent her back after a while and said "Don't tell anyone".





A CROSSROADS resident shows his torn pass which was allegedly damaged by one of the officials who took part in last night's raid on the camp.



THE front door to a man's home — allegedly kicked in by officials during a raid on the Crossroads squatter camp last night and early today.

STATEMENTS ON POLICE ACTION IN RAIDS

"Wednesday morning early, the police knocked and came in. I opened the door. I first thought they were skollies because I could not recognise the way they were dressed. I took my knobkierie. These were police. They went out.

Another group came around. They kicked everything in the house and went out. I thought they had left. I heard knocking on the walls. The whole house was shaking. They came in a third time. I dressed. This child and another daughter of mine dressed. One is 15½ and the other is 16. I said, "Baas, what do you want? Where are you taking these children?"

"Baas, where are you taking the kids?" "Come with us. Where is your wife?" "She is in the Homelands." I got dressed. They took the children. On Saturday one daughter was bailed out at R46.

I am not well. My trouble is a bad chest. Because we were crowded in the room, I kept on fainting. Both prisoners and police were hitting us at Pollsmoor.

The first night I slept at Bishop Lavis, the second at Pollsmoor. People were told, if you plead not guilty, we are going to hit you. On Thursday we were fined, and taken to Pollsmoor.

I am still bleeding through one nostril. They hit me hard in the chest, with the fist. They took my name down wrongly, and I did not respond when they called it out. Because I did not respond, they hit me. They way they hit people, no one could see who they were. At one time, when I was being undressed, I was completely upside down. My legs were in the air. There were a lot of policemen there, but it was hard to see which was which. There was only one young policeman who said, "He is an old man, let us be careful with him."

I suffer with asthma. In the Langa court I had to appear 3 times. I'm sure they did not know what they were doing. My daughter who was taken with me had a one year old child with her. Altogether I had to pay out R92 for my daughter and myself."



"I dunno what the fuss is all about. In the cause of routine crime prevention I simply gave him a routine tap over the head with my baton."

RAID 17/9/78

1. "The child was on my back, he became loose and fell to the ground, and other people fell on top of the child. I then pulled the child from under the people. While the child was on the ground the police were hitting the people. He is a patient at the Retreat Hospital for Cripples. Born 1974. I am 9 months pregnant. After this happened I had pains and leg pains. I was supposed to attend the clinic at Guguletu on Thursday but I was too afraid to go because of the police." This lady has still not come forward because she is too afraid.

2. "The riot squad first set a dog on my husband, the whole group of about 30 came back and hit him, they were still hitting him when they tried to stop one another. They handcuffed him with his hands behind his back, they put him in the van and he spent the night in the police cells at Langa. His front teeth are loose, the dog bit him on the arm and both legs, his head is full of wounds. His whole body is blue. It happened behind this house, about 2 a.m. He is 46 years old.

3. "I left the house and ran over the hill and they threw tear gas. The house was closed, it choked me so I opened the door of my house. I ran away in the direction of the riot squad. Then I couldn't speak, I was falling here and there and my knees couldn't keep up. I felt weak. People picked me up and brought me to the house, gave me milk to drink. I vomited. They took me to the doctor. He asked me what the reason was, and I told him the tear gas choked me. Since then I feel weak in my body and I don't want to eat. I have a headache all the time, and my legs are giving in, weak. The tear gas canister fell about 2 metres from my door."



4. "The police were standing on the other side there, and they were throwing, shooting at people while they were running. The tear gas did come and fall in front of my house here, it goes in my chest, I couldn't even breathe. Then I went inside to come and fetch some water, and put it on my face and drink it, but I can still feel it inside. I did not go to the doctor." "This lady's eyes were still red and painful."

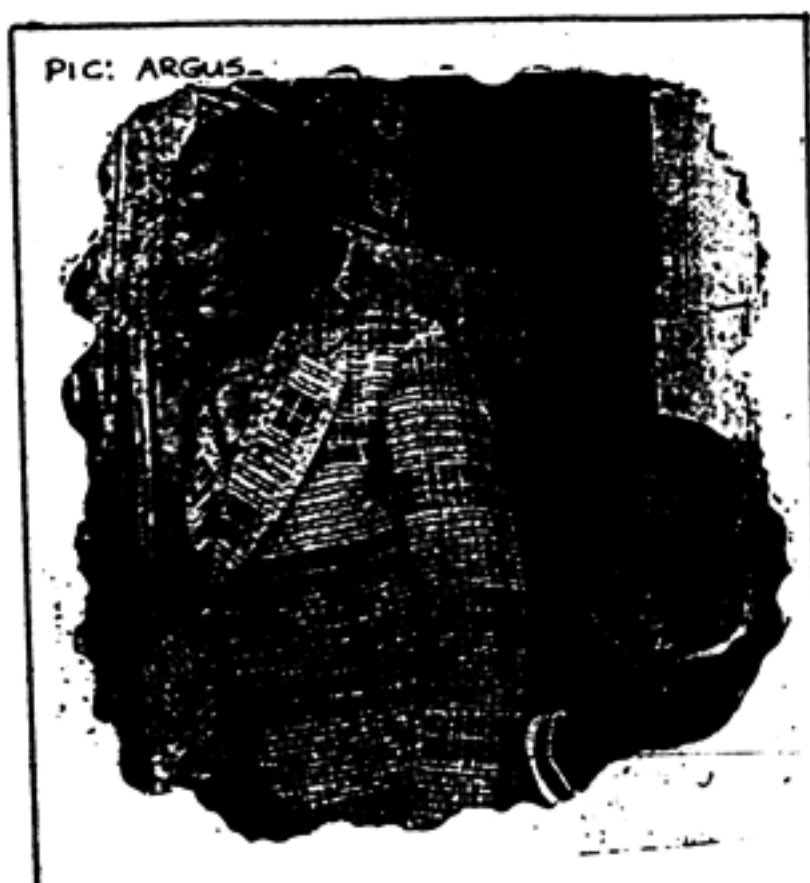
5. "On Thursday the police came rushing to the shacks right inside, they were in a row towards Noxolo Centre, and then they saw us standing near the crowd, not inside the crowd, standing near Noxolo near the crowd. Then a certain policeman approached us, we were just a group of 5 women carrying babies at our backs, also having some little kids with us. This police said 'You had better leave this place, not go to this crowd because we are going to beat them.' We didn't move. They went right into the crowd, surrounded the whole place and after some minutes they went into the crowd and beat everybody. A policeman was holding a woman, let me say taking a stick and hitting a woman right at her back with the stick. It was quite sad to see a man facing a woman beating a woman with a stick. An unarmed woman."

6. and 7, -two different eyewitness accounts of the same incident:-
"We were in the Charge Office at Manenberg police station, filling in forms. There was a man lying on the ground. The riot squad took him to the other side, first gave him water to drink, poured water all over his face. He tried to walk on his own. Then they took him to the cells."
"He lay on the ground with his face on the cement ground. The mouth was foaming, foaming, that white stuff, so we were busy talking between each



other whether this man was not dead. Another white policeman hit the fainting man, 'Stand up!' They turned him on his back and pickpocketed him. They took a small piece of paper out of his pocket, read it, when he finished put it back into the man's pocket. Then again they put the man on his stomach. I cried, I screamed, Oh my God, whose son is this they are working over. They made him sit up, they poured water on top of his head and tried to make him drink. They put him on a chair, and the man was fainting all the time. He was struggling for breath, his neck hanging helplessly, so we didn't know where they took the man to."

8. "All I can say is I am sick because the police took me outside Noxolo school, they took me on Thursday, they kicked me on my chest, they got a big stick and hit me on the back here, accident here, (pointing to his jaw, near his ear), something is broken, so the doctor said I must go to the hospital again on Wednesday. I do not feel well now, you can hear in my chest so there's something wrong, a fracture, you can see yourself. They treated me well at the hospital."



Botwani Mcimbi was visiting Crossroads from 6p.m. September 13 until 8a.m. September 14, 1978, when he was arrested for being illegally in the area.

- 1) He works legally on contract for MONTFORT Poultry Farm
- 2) He sleeps legally in single quarters at Nyanga
- 3) His Reference Book, which was in order, was in his room at Nyanga
- 4) He was not allowed to fetch his Book
- 5) His story that he was legally employed was not believed or checked
- 6) He was taken first to Manenberg, and then held at Guguletu police station until Friday evening (from 8a.m.), 15 September, by which time he had only had bread and water
- 7) He was moved to Pollsmoor on Friday evening and held until Tuesday September 19, when he was bailed at R50
- 8) He appeared in Court on Monday 26 September, when the Charge was withdrawn.

JOINT COMMITTEE STATEMENT TO STATEMENT OF GEN. MIKE
GELDENHUIS, COMMISSIONER OF POLICE. 17TH SEPTEMBER 1978

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The police say they came on a crime prevention operation. If they come to us to ask for criminals, we could help them. We also do not want criminals here. The 300 people who were arrested, were they criminals? Is our Chairman, Mr. Nxobongwana who was beaten up a criminal?



A squatter woman leads her crying child out of the path of hundreds of people fleeing dogs and police during the raid Crossroads yesterday.

The man who was killed by them had no weapon. The woman whom they do not acknowledge was wounded fell to the ground after she had heard a shot and felt a sharp pain in her arm, while being chased by police. The other man who was shot was dragged into a police van. He is supposed to be in Pollsmoor, but no one was allowed to see him. We still do not know whether he is dead or alive.

In 1975 when the raids in Crossroads were widespread it was similar to the other night. People had to run from one side of the camp to the other to avoid arrest. Everybody was frightened. People were not hostile when the police first came.

Those people who were here on Thursday did not behave like policemen but like terrorists. These men asked no questions when it was dark, or when they returned at daybreak. We are asking the Government to search and see who these men were who say they came in the name of the law.

Brig. Rossouw asks for eye-witnesses to come forward and lay charges. In 1976 people were killed or beaten and charges were laid at the police station, but nothing came of it. Our sworn statements are with our lawyer. We are not willing to give names over to the police.

Brig. Rossouw says that the police had used some "necessary" force to restore order. The police never restored order. There was perfect order before they came. After they came there was no more peace.

Every day, every hour, every minute when they come we are waiting to die. We're waiting to die because they are killing us.

We appeal to the Commissioner to tell his men Please not to come to us in the middle of the night. If you want something, please come in the day time and we'll give you full co-operation. Please let your men show us their police identification when they come.

RECENT EVENTS

Recent police action against the people of Crossroads in the form of raids "to clear up crime" certainly needs comment.

Innocent people who were beaten up in the two recent raids and dragged off to jail were not given any reason for their arrest or assault. The treatment they got, was in short, the treatment one would expect from thugs who came quietly in the dark to do the work of darkness.

Eye witnesses will attest to the fact that the people during the 2nd raid were on the alert because they were frightened. During the 1st raid many of them had been unjustly beaten. If any stones or other objects were thrown by the people, it can be said without fear that this action was because people felt trapped and unjustly treated, and experienced the very real need to defend themselves against hostile strangers who came in the night to catch them unawares, armed with rifles and guns, dogs and tear-gas which poisoned their little babies for days.

The "illegal gathering" which several people are being charged with, was yet another example of trouble being provoked where, before police appeared, there was perfect order and harmony. People gathered together because they were afraid of being alone against these heavily armed men. People sang



Policemen holding staves after the raid on Crossroads last week.

hymns and prayed to keep calm in the face of the terror of arms, vicious dogs and the possibility of needless death.

I condemn in the strongest terms this kind of uncalled for aggressive action which certainly does everything to encourage racial hatred in our country where Black people are already writhing in the pain of accumulated injustice.

If we persue this course of madness, we can only expect that their pain will erupt into violence, and we will have no one but ourselves to blame.

STATISTICS OF ARRESTS IN RAIDS

September 6th 1978 - approximately 450 people of whom 58 were charged in terms of Section 11 of the Bantu Urban Areas Act at Athlone Court ie "harbouring"/"introducing" Africans who do not qualify into the Western Cape.

The rest of the people were charged at Langa Bantu Commissioner's Court in terms of Section 10(4) of the same Act ie being in the Cape Town area "illegally" and were fined R50 or 50 days.

September 15th 1978 - approximately 350 people arrested.

- a. Three seem to have been charged with "criminal" offences:
 1. Mr. Silwane charged with assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm - case remanded to 24 October 1978.
 2. Mr. Simongesi was charged with having a dangerous weapon - acquitted on 26th September.
 3. Mr. Ntsane - charge unknown.
- b. Riotous Assemblies - 56 Crossroads people charged; 11 Whites and a township Minister - case remanded to 12 October.
- c. About 330 people charged in terms of Section 10(4) of the Urban Areas Act; some were found to be legally within the area and charges were dropped.

This information is vague as it has been extremely difficult to obtain access to court files. Little co-operation was forthcoming, so figures are based on numbers of people being defended by lawyers.



Brigadier Van der Westhuizen

the state on crossroads

SPEECH BY BRIG. V.D. WESTHUIZEN
TO AUDIENCE AT UCT -

Mr Chairman, Dr. Nash, Dr. Wilson, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I thank you for the opportunity of being able to take part in this debate where we can discuss this question quietly and in the calm atmosphere that prevails. I thank you for the opportunity given to me by your coming here today to listen to a few facts which I am glad to be able to provide. In what I prepared I already have an amount of an answer for most of the arguments that have been used here. But there is one which I do not touch on in my little address and I would just like to answer to that at the moment. The state of affairs as it is at the moment, where money obtained as profits from liquor outlets, the state of affairs is very very drastically blamed on a moral basis. I would like to stress just one or two points in respect of that, and that is, that all the money that is required by this Board to administer these townships and to provide for what they should be provided has to come from somewhere. You have to decide whether you want this to come from government pockets or government coffers, in that case it comes from the general taxpayer; or you must decide that you want it to come from the people who employ black labour in this part of the world. I think the latter is the correct one. They are not willing to pay higher salaries than they are doing at the moment. They are not willing to pay higher fees for the administration work that has to be done. Therefore an amount of the money, part of it, is being obtained as a result of the profits that come from liquor outlets. You must remember that if you do not, or if we do not, use that money in this way, it means that the money will be going into the pockets of private businessmen who then use it outside and not for the purpose that it is being used today. Just those few words.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there is also in the case of Crossroads and other squatter camps a funny side, there is a joke that can be told here and there. I find that we are fairly serious this afternoon, and concentrate a great deal, but there are a few other pictures in life which would interest you. Firstly, I would like to tell you about the old gentleman who was a member of a squatter camp committee that came to interview the individuals of the, the officials of the Board, very often, and in due course they began to decide that they had seen him before. He is rather well known. In the end to make sure what the position is they asked him "But how is it possible we think we have seen you in the townships that you are living in the squatters camp now?" He said "Yes, that's easy, that's easily explained." This Board doesn't want to give him a house for his second wife, so he's got to take her and live with her in the shanty in the squatter camp. Another gentleman was one day laying a charge for armed robbery, and he blamed officials of the Administration Board. Questioned about what happened he said Well, he was at home. "Who was with you?" "My girlfriend." It turned out that this was a position where a fellow with a fairly large amount of dagga in his possession found others came to him, took his dagga, went off with it. He laid a charge: Robbery, armed robbery for R800 or more in cash. The culprits were of course caught, but it was definitely established that the stuff that was robbed from him was dagga. He was charged in the courts afterwards.

The case for Crossroads is a case for abolishing influx control. If ever there was a reason for retaining influx control then Crossroads is it. There are still at least 2 million or more people in Transkei and Ciskei that would want if allowed to move into Cape Town and its outskirts as fast as possible for the same reasons that have been advanced in the addresses here so far and in the press in the previous few months. There are at present more than 400 people from Nyanga, Langa and Guguletu unemployed, to be precise their number is 4,234 today. There are at least 400 heads of households amongst these who have their dependents and who are unemployed and without an income with which to support their household in Cape Town today. In 1975 there were only a few, since February this year they have increased from 2,981 to 4,234 today. These people are living legally in the area. There are today 15,260 men who were contract labourers in Cape Town until the last few years who are today unemployed. The number of contract labourers, in other words, in Cape Town, has decreased by 15,260 or by 45% in the last couple of years. In April 1975 there were 33,702 contract labourers in Cape Town, and in April 1978 there were



18,436. 15,260 men did not have their contracts renewed. They were unable to obtain these jobs again, and they are now waiting in the homelands for an opportunity to work again and earn a living. We are told that the population of Crossroads is at the moment 20,000, although I have seen quoted in an article in The Argus in the last few days as 30,000, and that 90% of them are in the area illegally, and those that work and are working are here and working without being registered in employment as the people of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu and the erstwhile contract labourers. They have taken the food out of the mouths of people that were working before. The first illegal squatters occupied Crossroads early in 1975, and immediately an unprecedented influx into Crossroads commenced. At that time few people foresaw what was going to happen, and what the real results would be. I did mention the possibility to a Minister of Religion who interested himself in this aspect at the time, and I asked him to discuss the matter with the people and ask them to go back where they came from and to prevent the influx which was due to take place. He refused. The result of Crossroads

came quickly. When the situation at Crossroads was frozen on the beginning of 1976 by the Divisional Council there were 3,000 illegal squatter structures. Beginning of 1975 none at all. With very few black people squatting. (tape changeover), Immediately afterwards this tremendous illegal influx diverted itself to Modderdam Road, Wergenoet and Unibell, and afterwards to Tableview in Milnerton. One year later, in these areas there were 3,500 or more new illegal structures in these areas alone, apart from Crossroads, 3,500 new illegal structures. The result of the so-called success of Crossroads. When these camps were demolished there was an extensive protest. Today people are still objecting. They are the same and they intend to make it the last in the least a last stand at Crossroads, no matter how much harm is done and what the consequences may be. What is it that is asked for? Hands off Crossroads, leave Crossroads alone. Leave illegal squatter camps alone. Also others, like Modderdam Road, Wergenoet, Unibell and Tableview and others that may still come. If the people want to come illegally let them come despite the fact that there is no work for all, and despite the fact that they occupy ground illegally, even if they occupy private land. In the end how can you prevent them from coming and occupying houses or any building that they find they can take over? (laughter). In the end how are you going to prevent the situation now developping in England where you cannot go on leave but find that people take over your house in the meantime, in Tableview or Constantia or Bishopscourt, and despite the fact that they take the food out of the mouths of others. you must allow them to come. I don't blame the people for trying to better their circumstances, but I am arguing with people who say that it's right and you must allow it to continue.



What is it, what is Crossroads? Let us examine Crossroads. The picture of Crossroads in the press is not a true picture at all. Crossroads, at first the community isn't crime free as is being stated every day. More than one case of dagga smuggling in large quantities (laughter) have been traced to Crossroads. (laughter). In addition to this on June 12 1978 the Honourable the Minister Dr. Vosloo, Deputy Minister of Plural Relations and Development, said in the Senate that there were in the preceding four months 51 cases of assault, 8 cases of housebreaking, 26 cases of theft, 4 cases of robbery, and 1 of murder. One person was caught with 30 bags of dagga in his possession in May, (laughter). The same month two black men came from Crossroads, who came from Crossroads, were arrested with large quantities of dagga outside Crossroads. In March three black men were arrested with 15 kgs of loose dagga. (laughter). This speech was hardly reported in the press. A great deal is made of the fact that there are only 6% household heads in Crossroads unemployed. All right, the others are all employed, some of them perhaps in these activities that I've just mentioned, are they also employed? Overcrowding at Crossroads: An investigation carried out by Mr Mat... the engineer of our Board revealed that if you allow for 50 families to live on one hectare of land, I think that would be the minimum standard, it could only have 2,000 plots, with the other ground for roads and public businesses and buildings, then you provide for 12,000 people and have to rearrange the whole area of structures. Recent articles in the press gave an entirely different picture, With 20,000 people you will have 25 people on each of the plots available. You must therefore remove about half the population to rearrange the remainder. The health position is provided in the report of the Medical Officer of Health of the Divisional Council dated 4th July 1978, from which I quote: "In a period of six months the number of births was 465, a growth rate of 1,000 per annum. There are 20 water taps, for the whole population, wastage of water remains a problem, there is always a certain amount of litter, night soil in 3,000 pails have to be removed twice weekly, and the diseases the following are given: pulmonary TB-47 cases, primary complex TB cases- 63, under-five positive reactors- 13, TB meningitis- 2, TB other forms- 1, Typhoid fever- 1, Diphtheria- 1, Leprosy- 1, Cerebro-spinal fever- 3, non-notifiable diseases admitted to hospital- 38. The number of unofficial shops increased during the time under consideration, and by no stretch of imagination can these shops be regarded as conforming with normal standards of hygiene. I am almost at the end of what I am going to say. The existing dry conditions favour the multiplication of rats and the spread of intestinal diseases. The spread of typhoid fever and other dangerous diseases must constantly be borne in mind. There is an ever-present hazard of fire which, if it started in a southeaster, would be likely to spread rapidly and erase the whole township. Food is being sold in the open, without the slightest provision for hygiene. It is overcrowded to the extreme and many huts will be standing in water in a rainy season. What is offered to these people in the meantime on any day is that for the 105 families present there who qualify to be in the area they could come over to a Site and Service Scheme in the black townships where they could erect, and they would get the assistance for it, of their shacks, and they can live there until they obtain a permanent house. To the others the offer is, that they can obtain free train tickets to where they came from. These train tickets will be available for themselves, for their luggage, for their overweight luggage, for their furniture, and for the material out of which the shacks have been built. In other words they can take them to where they came from and re-erect them there. They will not be without housing when they get back there. The fact is, though, that almost every single one of those people still have a home where they came from. You will find that quoted in a letter in The Cape Times this morning. I am not the author. I thank you.

"Fellow students, I think we have had one of the clearest expositions of how the State wishes to deal with unemployment, and one of the clearest expositions of the function of 'homelands', and how they are dumping grounds where the unemployed can be hidden away....."

Q: The questioner asked why the government doesn't use the money for improving the services instead of trying to get rid of the people.

Brigadier W.: "I do think that it seems a bit difficult to understand that the government could be asked to provide all those services, reconstruct the whole camp and bring it into line with the type of living that they will have to have there; and then I want to quote you that in an article in the the South African Outlook of, if I am correct, February this year, Doctor, Oh no Sister Benigna, who is working there, she has been working there for 2 years, she says that they are living there under sub-human conditions which is a shock to the visitor. Now you have to provide all those services for all the people on that site, how much is it going to cost? In the meantime, you have 4,000 heads of families, people for who those services are now provided, out of jobs, must that be done, I cannot see that that could be done?"

Q. "You do it for unemployed whites."

Brigadier W.: "I do not know so much about doing it for unemployed whites. I am sure that what was done so far for the other townships have been provided for people who are working and can pay their way. We are not doing it for anyone who is unable to pay. And now you must create a community here of black people who are unemployed but providing all the services, and then they tell you "We have no work," and then you'll have to provide for that. It's left in the hands of the public, if they have sufficient money to do it let us do it that way."

Q: "These crime figures, unemployment figures, dagga quantities, and various other things, it almost implies that these things are endemic to Crossroads and squatter camps, and this is probably one of the reasons why you bulldoze it. Well, I suggest that BAAB should move up to Hillbrow (Johannesburg) and go and bulldoze the whole of Hillbrow, because Hillbrow... (the rest lost in clapping.)"

Brigadier W.: "Now it was the last impression that I wanted to create that that is why we are going to bulldoze Crossroads. It's definitely not what I said. The fact is that I said "There's been a picture created in the minds of people in Cape Town during the last few months which is not the correct picture, it's not a true picture. Add to that picture the particulars I provide today and then make up your mind. I don't say that is why it is going to be bulldozed."

Q: "Do you agree with your Minister, Dr. Connie Mulder, as reported in the last parliamentary session, that no black people have the right to live in the Western Cape, because they can only trace their origins back to about 1890, that's only 90 years, while the whites and so-called coloured people have been living here for over 300 years-do you agree with that?"

Brigadier W.: "I don't think I can be called upon to criticise or to agree with what a Minister has said. I leave it to the (laughter) audience to decide what they think of it. If you think it's right, agree with it, if you think it's not right, then you don't agree with it. I have my own opinion about it, and I have to decide today whether it's right when it's said that so long and so long so many people and such people have been living here, I want to first of all to to a book or some authoritative publication to assure myself that what is said is correct. I haven't had the opportunity to do that, I am not interested in that today, that is not what I base my arguments on."

Q: "This is one of the very rare occasions on which the SRC has actually invited someone to put." (Lost in noisy reaction) "I am very glad because Brigadier van der Westhuizen has given very valuable insight into the problem from his point of view, irrespective of which" (more noisy reaction)-called to order, "I would like to raise a serious issue, so please if the humour could subside, I'd like to ask Dr. Wilson, his reply to Brigadier van der -is it Brigadier?" (Loud laughter). "I would like to ask Dr. Wilson's views on the point which I thought was a very cogent point put forward by the Brigadier on the question of heads of families in Nyanga, Langa and Guguletu, and also contract labourers



in the homelands, not having employment as a result of the jobs for the people of Crossroads. I want to ask Dr. Wilson what his reply is to this point, which I think is a valid one."

Dr. Wilson: "Thankyou very much indeed for the question. I think ^{that} there are two points to make about this, first of all that in the most recent survey, and it has been very carefully cross-checked and so on so that they are the best figures we've got, it is found that 60% of the sample interviewed of those working in that sample of 1,000, that 60% of those people were actually paying rent somewhere else in the peninsula. In other words they were living, paying rent on the railway compound, or in Guguletu, or in Nyanga or somewhere else. In other words that the primary reason for the existence of Crossroads is that it is providing a place in which contract workers who are employed in Cape Town may live with their families. That's point number one. The second point is with regard to unemployment, and I don't want to say that this is unimportant at all, as the Prime Minister himself has said, it's one of the most serious problems in the country, and is particularly damaging to the black community, I mean we are in the middle of a great depression as bad as the early 30s ^{were} as far as the white community were concerned. But implicit in so much of what has been said today is that the way to solve the unemployment problem is to ship the unemployed back to the Transkei. Whereas in point of fact, given ^{the fact} that there is widespread unemployment, and there is widespread unemployment, all the evidence suggests that the informal sector becomes enormously important as a means of helping people to bridge the gap, and that the informal sector in Crossroads is particularly important. Indeed it would seem to me that the second function of Crossroads is precisely that it is more capable of creating jobs for the unemployed than the whole of the Transkei; that it is in the informal sector on the edges of cities, where people are able to run backyard radios, mechanics, knitting machines and all the rest of it, and it is very much more difficult to do this in the country districts. let's say in the middle of
 simply because there's far less money coming in; whereas in Crossroads there is money coming in, and you can then start generating a whole lot of new jobs. And so that I would argue that Cross-

roads, and indeed the squatter communities around Pretoria and Durban, are important, a) because they enable existing contract workers to live with their families, and b) because they are particularly efficient at helping to create employment in a situation of massive unemployment. Thankyou."

Q. "I would like to ask a very simple question. Are the BAAB officials the same people who were at Modderdam Road camp last year? Are these men armed? Do they carry guns?"

Brigadier W.: "The men that worked at the Modderdam Road squatters camp, Werkgenot and Unibell last year and this year, there are various photographs available which show that they have been armed."

Q: "What is the purpose of them being armed?"

Brigadier W.: "The purpose of them carrying arms is the following:- They found that very soon after they started work there, and at Modderdam Road the very first time, there was a tent set-up there, for doing welfare work amongst these people, and out of this tent a large amount of stones were thrown at them. I don't know if that is... I would like to have the opportunity to complete my answer - yes, because I was interrupted - I don't know if that was generally known, but the fact is that they were actually attacked. Stone throwing was employed. Therefore I think it was reasonable to expect them to be armed, just to make sure that people who would attack them again, or who would think of attacking them, would know that they are armed and that they can defend themselves. So the attacks don't take place after that."

Q: "I would like to address myself to Brigadier van der Westhuizen. He mentioned that very few people were squatting in Cape Town in 1975, that one year later there were 3,000 in Crossroads, and another 3,500 elsewhere. I would like to point out that this does not mean that there was a massive influx of people from the Transkei and the Ciskei, that there is a great deal of evidence to show that the majority of these people, or at least 50% of these people, as one survey has shown, were from the townships. If you like, they were squatting in the townships. They had been living there as families in the townships. And further surveys have shown that on average the men have been there for 20 years, and the women for 12-15 years, as Francis Wilson has already said. The Brigadier smiled at these figures, he probably doesn't believe them. I know that the Administration Board has done a certain amount of research, and I as a research worker, and other research workers, have tried to find out what information this Board has come up with. But this information is not being made available to us. It has therefore been left to us to do our own research, and we have done it in as scientific a manner as possible. And in fact I would like to make a public appeal to the Brigadier, as Chairman of the Board, to release the information found in that survey done by the Board in January of this year in Crossroads. Every household was interviewed. I have seen a copy of the questionnaire.. I would like to make an appeal that the Board release not only how the survey was done in detail, what questions were asked, but also the statistical results obtained."

Brigadier W.: "Mr. Chairman I've heard the appeal. I've also been blamed because I smile. When I frown I am being blamed for that. If I arm myself I have been blamed for that. If I go unarmed I'll be blamed for that. I find it difficult to realise and to find out what I should do. I've heard the appeal. I'll take note of it. I don't reply to it now."

Q: "We've had facts and figures from the floor, but people must realise that the people in Crossroads are in fact people. We must get gut reaction from people. I want to know in terms of South Africa, Brigadier, being a Christian country, surely you must also see in terms of how God is looking at the situation. There is no possible doubt in my mind that God says that families are to be able to live together. It is also certainly wrong to destroy homes and to destroy families. Surely

there should be some type of responsibility in seeing people as people not merely . . . getting rid of the problem. You've got to see them as people, as individuals like ourselves, not just 'things' to be shunted off."

Q. "My question follows, much the same point, that you have and you are responsible to your superiors. Can you not make a report to your superiors that brings in the moral content of the action. Would you be happy to have done to you what has been done to people at Crossroads, Modderdam and Werkgenot, and what is going to be the situation for our country when people talk about people trying to live together in peace when we perpetrate such acts of violence as was seen at Modderdam. It looked like a bomb site, it looked like civil war come to our country."

Brigadier W: "I'm being asked to convey to you my personal reaction that would be if anything like that would happen to me. I'd like you to realise that I'm serious when I'm talking about this now, because a very serious element has crept into the discussion at the moment. It's been taken over to the situation where we are faced with the question, "What do you think God is thinking about this?" I would like you to consider the question. What does God think of people who encourage others to ignore the provisions made in Romans, the Epistle of Romans, chapter number thirteen. That's one of it. The other one, I will not have that sort of thing done to me because I will make sure that if I move to a certain area that I know what's going on there, and I will make provision for where I go to live, and if I cannot do that I'll remain where I am. Because, ladies and gentlemen, make sure that you know this, that the people that came to squat in Crossroads, as you said just now, the contract labourers, and who are not coming there to earn a living, were earning a living, and they were sending back supplies of money to their people in the homelands all the time. They were not dying of starvation."

Q. "I am one of the residents of Crossroads. I have been here since '68. I was living with my husband in bachelor's quarters. BAAB got after me every now and then. I couldn't eat my lunch, I couldn't eat my supper. I was hassled all the time. I begin to stay in the bushes. Just because I was following my husband. They turned and hindered our getting married and were hassled. I said I would stay with him up to the end of my life. To have a squatter camp, Crossroads, is to keep our life, to be our family, and grow up our children in a good partnership. Our husbands have contract to have work here in Cape Town, therefore we are following them, we are not trying to grab work from people of Guguletu, Nyanga and Langa. We are not trying to do that. Our husbands have qualification to work in Cape Town. Some of them were born here in Cape Town, then they married some girls from the country. Those husbands have no rights to stay in Cape Town. Those are the reasons makes Crossroads to stay where it is. Therefore, we don't think to demolish Crossroads. We suffer too much. Because we won't get moved away from our husbands. Thankyou." (Loud applause.)

"Thankyou. We've had much talk about criminals. One day our own society, when everybody is represented in it, will decide what were criminal actions and what were not."

REPORT COMPILED BY BRIG. V.D. WESTHUIZEN

A number of arguments are usually used to persuade the public that Crossroads should not be demolished. Herewith answers are provided to a few of the arguments usually used.

The argument is first quoted and then the facts.

THE LABOUR OF THE MEN IS REQUIRED IN THE CAPE PENINSULA

In the Peninsula there are 4 000 black labourers unemployed. They are permanent inhabitants, not squatters.

A large number of the men in Crossroads (at least 3 000) are employed illegally, in other words they are not registered and not entitled to registration. These people are taking the opportunities away from those legally present. Since Crossroads has come into being the demand for black contract labour has further decreased with 45% (approx 15 000).

THE COMMUNITY OF CROSSROADS IS HOMELESS

The people of Crossroads undoubtedly had homes (some form of accommodation) before they departed for the Cape Peninsula. They do not qualify for housing in the black townships and therefore they squat.

The Government is prepared to transport squatters and their household goods and the building material of their huts back to their homelands at government expense.

Alternative accommodation in the Cape is not required as these people are here illegally.

THE COMMUNITY OF CROSSROADS IS LAW-ABIDING AND VIABLE

On 12 June 1978 the hon dr. Vosloo, the deputy Minister of Plural Relations and Development said in the Senate that in the preceding 4 months 51 cases of assault; 8 cases of housebreaking; 26 cases of theft; 4 cases of robbery; 1 of murder and at least 2 cases of dagga were reported. For the enhancement of the image of Crossroads it is necessary to give the impression of a crimeless community and thus crime is not always reported to the police and the mass media.

Regarding the viability of Crossroads, the following quotations: Sister Benigna who has worked in Crossroads for the past two years says in "South African Outlook" that the people are "living under sub-human conditions, which shock the visitor".

The medical officer of Health of the Divisional Council states the following with regard to the unofficial shops in the area "... by no stretch of imagination can these shops be regarded as conforming with normal standards".

BIBLICAL OBJECTIONS EXIST AGAINST THE DEMOLISHMENT OF CROSSROADS

In order to create the impression that the word of God requires that the wife must live where the man works. St Matthew 19:6 is quoted: "Man must not separate, then, what God has joined together".

This verse refers to a Bill of Divorcement, which is based on the Mosaic Law and does not refer to the case of a man who leaves his wife at home to work elsewhere. The man intends to return to her and is at liberty to do so at any time so that married life can be resumed.

Here it must be taken into account that the contract system is not unique to South Africa and is practised all over the world. The individual, knowing the implications has the choice.

In this type of argument the content and meaning of Rom 13:1 is conveniently forgotten: "Everyone must obey the state authorities, for no authority exists without God's permission, and the existing authorities have been put there by God"

THE MEN CANNOT FIND EMPLOYMENT IN THE HOMELANDS AND THEREFORE CAME TO CAPE TOWN TO EARN A LIVELIHOOD FOR THEIR FAMILIES

The argument that all men cannot obtain employment at present in the Homelands is understood and for that reason they are granted contracts to work in the Peninsula. The contract implies that the man, without his family, be employed in the Peninsula and that he be accommodated by his employer or the Administration Board in a black township. This contract is binding on both parties and can be renewed on an annual basis. Contract workers return their earnings to their families in the homelands.

The existence of a squatter camp such as Crossroads disturbs the balance of employment. The result will be that labourers will bid lower and lower to obtain employment, which will make it impossible for them to provide for their families.

CROSSROADS IS NOW AN ESTABLISHED COMMUNITY AND SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO REMAIN --

It is often claimed that "the average household head has been living in Cape Town for 12 years and his wife (legal or illegally) for 12 years". This is untrue as above mentioned was a limited survey, whereas a total survey has shown that 61,7% has resided in Cape Town only after 1975.

If Crossroads is allowed to remain there is no moral right to continue to prevent thousands of other people coming from the Homelands to squat around the perimeter of Cape Town.

RESOURCE LIST ON CROSSROADS

<u>TITLE</u>	<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>OBTAINABLE FROM</u>
1. Slide show on Upgrade Proposals	Paul Andrew	S.A.I.R.R.
2. Video of Mod demolitions		IMP / Veritas
3. Video of "Community at Crossroads"	Martin Udwin	IMP / Veritas
4. Tape of Revd. Sam Buti and A. van Heerden speeches		IMP / Veritas
5. Photographic Exhibition		Veritas
Posters, leaflets and car stickers available from		IMP / Veritas

S.A.I.R.R.	in Cape Town: 5 Long Street, Mowbray 7700	Tel: 66 6645
Veritas	in Cape Town: Cowley House, 126 Chapel Str., Cape Town	Tel: 22 1930
IMP	in Johannesburg: 80 Jorissen Str., Braamfontein	Tel: 724 4450 724 4058
	in Durban: Diakonia, St. Andres Centre, Durban.	Tel: 63460 312609

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- | <u>AUTHOR</u> | <u>PUBLICATION</u> |
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(These reports give background information on squatters and squatter communities) |
| 12. South African Outlook
Tel: 66.6645 | i) Crossroads. April, '75 (Price 30c)
ii) Squatters, Aug. '75 (Price 30c)
iii) Habitat, June '76 (Price 30c)
iv) The Squatter Problem. March '77 (Price 40c)
v) Modderdam Squatters in Cape Town Aug. '77 (Price 40c)
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vii) Crossroads, March '78 (Price 40c)
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| 15. Newspaper clippings on Squatter Communities are available at the

Argus Library, Argus Building, 122 St. George's Street, Cape Town.

Black Sash

S.A.L.D.R.U. | 5 Long Street, Mowbray

U.C.T. (Beattie Building) |
| 16. Information has been collected by SHAWCO specifically on medical findings in Crossroads. For details telephone: 51-4871. | |
| 17. Race Relations News: June 1978 - article on Crossroads. | |
| 18. Erupt Survey of Black Workers Living in Crossroads, Cape Town, June 1978 | Research report by J. Graaff & K. Weichel; UPRU & SAIRR (Price R1,50) |

19. Platzky, L. Crossroads: What is Happening?
Paper presented at the University of the Witwatersrand
17/9/78
20. Andrew, P. & D. Japha Low Income Housing Alternatives
in the Western Cape (UPRU 1978)
21. Measdorp, G. Alternatives to the Bulldozer:
An Economic Approach to
Squatter Housing (University
of Natal, Durban 1977)
22. Granelli, R. & R. Levitan Urban Black Housing (UPRU 1977)
(Price R7.00)
23. Varsity Extra UCT SRC (July 1978)
24. Work in Progress Vol. 1,2 & 3 University of the Witwatersrand
25. Actions No. 1 & 2 UCT SRC

IV. LEGAL AID:

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| 1. | <u>Athlone Advice Office</u> , 5, Long Street, Mowbray | 693150 |
| 2. | <u>Black Sesh</u> , 5, Long Street, Mowbray | 653513 |
| 3. | <u>SHAWCO</u> , 12th Avenue, Kensington | 514871. |
| 4. | <u>State Legal Aid</u> , Amelia House, Athlone | |

V. CHURCH GROUPS:

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. | <u>Anglican Board of Social Responsibility</u> , 5, Long Street
Mowbray | 615616
666645 |
| 2. | <u>Roman Catholic Commission for Justice & Peace</u> ,
12, Bouquet Street, Cape Town | 452823 |
| 3. | Numerous denominations are catered for by a variety
of small, informal churches within the community | |

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| VI. | <u>WOMEN'S MOVEMENT FOR PEACE</u> makes regular contact with the
women in Crossroads, and has started prayer meetings and
crafts classes. St. Saviour's Office, Brooke St.,
Claremont | 618994 |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|

VII. FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS:

Crossroads Emergency Fund,
Veritas,
Cowley House,
Chapel Street,
Cape Town.