

2.7 SUMMARY OF RELOCATION (EASTERN CAPE)

2.7.1 Known removals 1948-1982

BLACK SPOTS, PRIVATE LOCATIONS, HOMELAND CONSOLIDATION

Origin	Pop. estimate	Destination	Comment
1948 - 1969			
Inverthomas (Cathcart) ⁽¹⁾	-	-	Our only source of information for this period is <u>Assembly Debates</u> , v 25, cols 324-326 (1969), a reply to a PQ listing 'black spots cleared since 1948', with no other details.
Nubble (Cathcart)	-	-	
Winkel (Cathcart)	-	-	
Armoed (Elliot)	-	-	
Arisiag (Elliot)	-	-	
Donnachadbhan (Elliot)	-	-	
Cibini (Elliot)	-	-	
Mfantaskloof (Elliot)	-	-	
Nqumenikloof (Elliot)	-	-	
Sunart (Elliot)	-	-	
Windhoek (Elliot)	-	-	
Rondeboschrivier (Humansdorp)	-	-	
Delville (Indwe)	-	-	
Lichfield (Indwe)	-	-	
Naauwpoort (Indwe)	-	-	
Roodehoogte (Indwe)	-	-	
Stilfontein (Indwe)	-	-	
Lot 19 (Komgha)	-	-	
Lot 21 (Komgha)	-	-	
Lot 48 (Komgha)	-	-	
Kwelerha commonage lot 11 (Komgha)	-	-	
Ditto lot 32 (Komgha)	-	-	

BLACK SPOTS, PRIVATE LOCATIONS, HOMELAND CONSOLIDATION contd

Origin	Pop. estimate	Destination	Comment
1948 - 1969 contd			
Kwelerha commonage lot 35 (Komgha)	-	-	
Ditto lot 46 (Komgha)	-	-	
Ditto lot 47 (Komgha)	-	-	
Farm 211 (Komgha)	-	-	
Farm 245 (Komgha)	-	-	
Farm 356 (Komgha)	-	-	
Farm 358 (Komgha)	-	-	
Old Kei Drift outspan (Komgha)	-	-	
Craigmore (Maclear)	-	-	
Soga (Stutterheim)	-	-	
Grootboom (Uniondale)	-	-	
Pronksberg (Wodehouse)	-	-	
Waschbank (Wodehouse)	-	-	
1970			
Portion 1 of farm 247 of Farm 19S (East London) (2)	60	-	PQ reply given in <u>Assembly Debates</u> , for 22.04.80, col 613
Paardekraal Sections 15 and 15A (East London)	50	-	
Stand 1 of XXXIV (East London)	69	-	
Paardekraal (East London)	35	-	
Bulls Run (Stutterheim)	95	-	
Rietfontein (Uitenhage)	60	-	
1971			
Antelope (Stutterheim) (3)	76	-	Ditto, col 614
Bromley (East London)	301	-	

BLACK SPOTS, PRIVATE LOCATIONS, HOMELAND CONSOLIDATION contd

Origin	Pop. estimate	Destination	Comment
1971 contd			
Stand 10 of Farm 16 and 22 S (East London)	14	-	
Section 28 pf Paardekraal (East London)	69	-	
Stand 18 of Farm 37 S (East London)	101	-	
1972			
Dunnville (Cathcart) ⁽⁴⁾	300	-	Ditto, col 615
Greenwood (East London)	299	-	
Section B of Stand 11 of Farm 19 S (East London)	45	-	
Remainder of Stand 11 of Farm 19 S (East London)	36	-	
Stand 17 of Paardekraal (East London)	83	-	
Craven (East London)	98	-	
1973			
Stand 16 of Paardekraal (East London) (5)	101	-	Ditto, cols 615-6
Stand 43 ditto (East London)	16	-	
Section 11 ditto (East London)	21	-	
Section 12 ditto (East London)	110	-	
Section 13 ditto (East London)	90	-	
Section 18 ditto (East London)	120	-	
Section 22 ditto (East London)	30	-	
Farm X19/21 S (East London)	26	-	
Section 8 Kommietjiesleegte Commonage (East London)	21	-	

BLACK SPOTS, PRIVATE LOCATIONS, HOMELAND CONSOLIDATION contd

Origin	Pop. estimate	Destination	Comment
1973 contd			
Stand No 3 (Komgha)	20	-	
Stand No 35 Kwelerha Location (Komgha)	35	-	
Towerwater (Uniondale)	60	-	
Waschbank (Wodehouse)	400	-	
1975			
Section 18 of Farm 19 S (East London) (6)	47	-	Ditto, col 616
Stand 8 of Farm 19 S (East London)	32	-	
Riemvasmaak (Upington, N Cape)	215 (1)	Welcomewood	Agricultural, small plots; community all Afrikaans-speaking
1976			
1976-78 Doriskraal Location, Fingo Location, The Gap, Palmietrivier Location, Snyklip Location, Wittekleibosch Location, Witte Els Bosch (Humansdorp)	2 800 (2) 1 097 (3) 2 - 4 000 (4)	Elukhanyweni	Illegal removal to closer settlement, regularised 12.06.82. Compensatory land to Transkei, in the plan.
1979			
Klipfontein (Alexandria)	1 460 (5)	Glenmore	Due to go to Peddie
Yellowwoods (Stutterheim)	1 057 (6)	-	
1980			
Wooldridge (Peddie)	550 (7) 1 040 (8)	Kammaskraal	Removed to Peddie
1982			
Alsatia (Cathcart)	200 (9)	Frankfort	First White Corridor removal

URBAN / SMALL TOWN LOCATIONS

Origin	Pop. estimate	Destination	Comment
1964 +			
Duncan Village (East London)	1964-72 48 258 (10)	Mdantsane	Continuing
	1970-79 83 025 (11)		
	1964-82 110 000 (12)		
Western Cape	60 000 (13)	Mdantsane	
1967 - 73			
Western Cape & local	12 000 (14)	Ilinge (Glen Grey)	Incl. banishments & some farm people
1968 - 72			
Middelburg, Burgersdorp, & other Karoo and NE Cape removals	30 000 (15)	{ Sada Dimbaza (formerly Mnxesha)	Incl. banishments. Both camps declared 'self-contained Bantu towns' in 1969.
1970 +			
Mlungisi (Queenstown)	1970-79 10 127 (11)	eZibeleni (Glen Grey)	Ceded to Transkei
South End (Port Elizabeth)	1970-73 10 200 (16)	? elsewhere in Port Elizabeth	Area cleared for prestige white development, still pending in 1982
1979			
Fingo Village etc (Grahamstown)	100 (17)	Glenmore	Due to move to Peddie
Silvertown (Zwelitsha)	3 000 (18)	} Phakamisa	Due to move again ?
	2 000+ (19)		
Zwelitsha	1 500 (20)	Ndevana	
1981 - 82			
Riebeeck East (Albany)	480 (21)	Alicedale	Continuing
Walmer (Port Elizabeth)	702 (22)	Zwide 4 (Port Elizabeth)	Continuing

SQUATTERS

Origin	Pop. estimate	Destination	Comment
1975 +			
Port Elizabeth (coloureds and africans)	Some thousands (23)	Bethelsdorp etc in the PE area, and elsewhere	Continuing and likely to increase especially in Soweto
East London (coloureds and africans)	Some thousands (24)	Chalumna, the Transkei border and elsewhere	Continuing especially in Ndende Street (Duncan Village)
1979			
Coega, Colchester, Cannonville and Alexandria	1 500 (25)	Glenmore	Due to move to Peddie

RELOCATION AS RESISTANCE

1976 - 77			
Herschel	} 40 000 (26)	Ntabethemba (Thornhill etc) & Zweledinga (Oxton etc) and Sada	Thousands still to be finally 'settled' i.e. moved again; others have already been moved again.
Glen Grey			
	65 000 (27)		

FARMS

1958			
White farms	1 066 (1)	Kayaletu (Alice)	
1964 - 69			
West & Eastern Cape farms (e.g. in 1969, 20 770 to Sada from Boland, Karoo and Midlands (20))	Thousands	{ Sada Ilinge ? Dimbaza	Farm families continue coming, but on a more voluntary basis.

FARMS contd

Origin	Pop. estimate	Destination	Comment
1976			
White Corridor/Coastal	5 000 (28)	Potsdam	
1977 +			
White Corridor/Inland	60 000 + (28)	Ndevana	
White Corridor/Inland	3 000 (28)	Gobityolo	
Tarkastad area/OFS	10 000 (26)	Ntabethemba & Zweledinga	
1978			
Cape farms	20 000 (20)	Chalumna	? to be moved again - area needed for people to be moved from Kwelerha, Mooiplaats and Newlands.
1979 +			
Eastern Cape farms	6 000 (28)	Tswele Tswele (formerly Qura)	Continuing
Eastern Cape farms	1 200 (29)	Glenmore	Moving again to Peddie
(date unknown) Komgha	? (30)	KeaNciya (nr King Wm's Town)	Due to be moved on to Braunschweig
1980			
Thornhill farm (Alexandria)	450 (28)	Kammaskraal	Moved to Peddie
Local farms	? 600 (28)	Braunschweig	

SECONDARY REMOVALS (THOSE REMOVED FOR THE SECOND OR FURTHER TIME)

Origins	Pop. estimate	Destination	Comment
1976			
Ilinge (Glen Grey)	? 2 000 (28)	Silver City camp (Whittlesea) and Sada	A 'resistance' move from Glen Grey, incl. in that item above.
1977 +			
Same group: Silver City and possibly some from Sada	500 + (31)	Oxton transit camp nearby	Due to be moved to Whittlesea North, on the old Silver City site (the commonage)
Thornhill/Loudon farms	Many thousands	Final sites in Ntabethemba e.g. Tentergate, Spring Grove, Mitford	Originally from Herschel in 1976/77, this vast group is still being resettled on final sites.
Zweledinga/Pavet area	Some thousands	Final sites in Zweledinga e.g. Haytor, Yonda	People originally from Glen Grey, as above.
1982			
Kammaskraal	1 000 (28)	Peddie commonage	To be joined by those from Glenmore

NOTE This list indicates the scale of removals but is certainly not complete. The main gaps are in the areas of farm and squatter removals. Figures tend to be conservative. Some alternative estimates are given where we cannot assess them, or they look significant.

- 1 N Charton, 'Resettlement in the Ciskei', unpublished paper, 1982
- 2 SPP estimate based on questionnaires and observation
- 3 Assembly Debates, 22.04.80, cols 617-8
- 4 EPH, 27.12.78 - 11.11.82
- 5 EPH, 19.05.79 and 25.06.80
- 6 Assembly Debates, 22.04.80, col 619
- 7 SPP estimate based on 85 families said to have been moved
- 8 Evening Post, 10.10.80, said 172 families, an overestimate
- 9 DD, 14.07.80 (26 families)

- 10 Wilson, 1972, p 61
- 11 Assembly Debates, 22.04.80, col 620
- 12 Estimate in February 1982 from the Border region of the SAIRR
- 13 Gordon, 1980, p 15. The government plan to move 10 000 families to Mdantsane from the Western Cape seems to have been carried out and also catered for (cf Star, 9.09.67, reporting that 5% of future Mdantsane houses were to be for families from the Western Cape). The big gap here is in not knowing where the others came from. Quail estimated Mdantsane's 1980 population as 250 000. Assuming most of the 110 000 from Duncan Village had arrived by then, and that 60 000 had come from the Western Cape, and even allowing for a large natural population growth, this still leaves many thousands of people unaccounted for, and some of them may have come under pressure.
- 14 NCW News, September 1973
- 15 This includes 203 families from Middelburg, 67 from Burgersdorp, and 39 from Cape Town (Bantu Administration and Development statement in parliament on 4.03.69). The overall figure is from Charton, cf (1) above.
- 16 1 540 coloured families were moved, plus 326 asian and 133 white (SAIRR Survey 1973, p 122).
- 17 EPH, 24.04.79, a move of 13 families later confirmed in Grahamstown
- 18 473 families, according to the Government Gazette 8204, 14.05.82, p 16
- 19 EPH, 5.03.80
- 20 Ed. Charton & Nash, 1980, p 72
- 21 EPH, 29.08.81 and 24.09.82
- 22 PFP estimate for removals between December 1981 and June 1982 when they stopped for lack of houses in Zwide 4. Observers discount the removal figure of 2 348 given in the Weekend Post, 6.11.82.
- 23 e.g. SAIRR Survey 1980 reports (p 347) that 410 squatter huts (say 2 500 people involved) were demolished 2.10.75 - 30.09.79 in the coloured sector alone. Many african squatters have been raided too, certainly more than coloureds. The press has told of demolitions at Veeplaas, Guguletu, Dustpan and many other squatter settlements, and in 1982 in Soweto particularly.
- 24 Numbers unknown even to local observers. The two main waves of removal - roughly August 1978 - February 1979 and November 1979 - early 1980 - were intended to clear some squatter settlements especially from Duncan Village's Mpuku Street, Parkside and the Tip, and others in the surrounding East London bush.
- 25 EPH, 20.04.79 and 21.04.79; Evening Post, 23.04.79 and 25.04.79; and EPH, 25.06.80.
- 26 DD, 13.10.80, quoting Gary Godden, agricultural adviser to the Ciskei, who presumably accepted the Bantu Administration and Development figure of 21 000 for the Herschel group (Sunday Express, 16.01.77).
- 27 DD, 27.06.80
- 28 SPP estimate. In the case of Potsdam, we understand the firstcomers were from areas being cleared for Mdantsane - the 992 people who came between 1969 and 1972. Another 1 750 followed from Komgha etc (cf (20) above). Where the others originated we do not know.
- 29 EPH, 28.11.81
- 30 DD, 10.07.82
- 31 DD, 4.11.77

2.7.2 Removals pending

SECONDARY REMOVALS (THOSE REMOVED FOR AT LEAST THE SECOND TIME)

From	Pop. estimate	Destination	Comment
Glenmore (Victoria East)	4 200 (1)	Peddie commonage	Imminent (Nov 1982) - as soon as Glenmore is consolidated into the Ciskei. To join Kammaskraal group on the Peddie site.
Phakamisa (Zwelitsha)	3 000 (2)	? Frankfort	Rumoured, despite plans for permanent settlement in extradition agreement.
Oxton (Zweledinga)	7 000 + (3) 10 000 (4) 25 000 + (5)	Whittlesea North	First group expected to be moved to this new site, ? end of 1982 or in 1983. To share it with many others. The 4th move for some.
Zweledinga transit area	3 000 (3)	Bushby Park, Price's Dale, Yonda and Haytor/Esibonile	Permanent sites, for the last of the Glen Grey group who like Oxton have been waiting since 1977. Expecting to go end of 1982 or in 1983.
Thornhill area	Some thousands	Rocklands, Ntabethemba Town and perhaps other sites in Ntabethemba	Final settlement of the last of the Herschel group. Nt. Town is called one of the 2 projected 'cities' of Hewu. (Whittlesea North, the other)
Kea Nciya (Zwelitsha)	? (6)	Braunschweig	A general reception point for many squatter groups

BLACK SPOTS

Mgwali (Stutterheim)	4 700 (7)	Frankfort	Includes 152 title holders. Wide opposition heavily suppressed.
Wartburg (Stutterheim)	3 400 (8)	Frankfort	Includes title holders. Also heavily suppressed.
Goshen (Cathcart)	1 200 (9)	Whittlesea North	Includes title holders.
Lesseyton (Queenstown)	4 500 (10)	Whittlesea North	32 title holders & squatters. ? some to get agric land.

BLACK SPOTS contd

From	Pop. estimate	Destination	Comment
Kwelerha	4 900 (10)	Chalumna	Tribal land. Opposition in villages to removal plan. Chief Jongilanga's people.
Mooiplaats	12 600 (10)	Chalumna	Tribal land also under Chief Jongilanga.
Newlands	6 900 (10)	Chalumna	? all tribal land, under Chief Jongilanga. These 3 areas not under imminent threat, as Chalumna would still need to be cleared of squatters and prepared.
Gubu Dam (Pirie)	?	?	Area seems to have been promised to local white farmers (unverified).

URBAN / SMALL TOWN LOCATIONS

Stockenstrom	7 000 (3)	Unknown even by Community Development.	Coloured freehold area due to be consolidated into Ciskei in Jan 1983. Total uncertainty on this group.
Duncan Village (East London) - africans	37 - 40 000 (11) 60 - 90 000 (12)	Mdantsane	Continuing (since 1964). R5 800 000 budgeted for removals in 1982 (RDM, 3.06.82). NU 15 & 16 are being laid out now, Nov '82.
Braelyn Extn 6 (ex Duncan Village) - coloureds	3 000 (13)	Buffalo Flats Extns 2 - 7 (East London coloured area)	Coloureds were moved into Braelyn, now to vacate the area for indians to move in.
North End (East London) - indians	700 (14)	Most to Braelyn Extn 4, some ? to Extn 5	c 21 families due to move to Extn 4 by end of 1982. Rest as planning funds permit. North End rezoned for light industry.
Walmer township (Port Elizabeth)	6 000 (15) 3 200 (16)	Zwide Extn 4	Mixed feelings: some want to go for better house, others fiercely oppose move.
Riebeeck East	120 (17)	Alicedale	The last resisters out of about 600 people. Move delayed for lack of houses in Alicedale.

URBAN / SMALL TOWN LOCATIONS contd

From	Pop. estimate	Destination	Comment
Bathurst	2 000 (18)	Port Alfred	So hotly opposed by all, it may be being reconsidered. Otherwise, plan may be for c 1985.
Kenton emergency camp	1 088 (19)	Kenton Township - new	Only 1 088 permit holders allowed in new township, + 101 lodgers. c 400 may be dumped in Ciskei.
Grahamstown - indians	200 (20)	New area in Grahamstown	Divided interests among the families as to the site which may be fixed by 1983
Hillside Location (Fort Beaufort)	250 (21)	?	Won through a threat in 1979 but still uncatered for and uncertain
Mlungisi (Queenstown)	?	?	Part proclaimed coloured, africans being cleared out. Numbers unknown.

SQUATTERS

Bushman's River (Klipfontein Farm?), Boknes & Cannon Rocks (Alexandria coastal)	128 (22)	Kenton Township - new	Only workers/Section 10 holders allowed. Unknown number of others may be pushed to Ciskei. In late 1983/1984?
Addo area (nr Port Elizabeth)	2 000 (23)	Addo Township - new	Township planned in 1974. Other land proclaimed white.
Chalumna	20 000 (24)	?	Area planned for people from Kwelerha, Mooiplaats and Newlands, so squatters to be cleared off.
Blue Rock/Arnoldton (nr East London)	400 (25)	?	Plans uncertain
Madakeni (Dimbaza)	5 000 (26)	Extension to Dimbaza	760 families being housed under Ciskei extradition agreement
Kubusi, Cenyu, Cenyu Lands, Kalogha, and Ohlsens (Stutterheim)	5 400 (27)	Frankfort/ Braunschweig	

SQUATTERS contd

From	Pop. estimate	Destination	Comment
Kubusi etc as above	5 200 (27)	Mlungisi Township (Stutterheim) - new	Locally employed; also includes 111 landowners and their families.
East London: esp Duncan Village and bush outskirts - africans	Many thousands	? 'Legals' to Mdantsane	Some in Duncan Village have Section 10 rights. Overall, the number is vast and unknown, perhaps some not really threatened at present.
Port Elizabeth - coloureds	28 000 (28)	? most to Bethelsdorp area (Port Elizabeth)	Number uncertain
Port Elizabeth - africans	100 000+ (29)	3 new PE townships (= 21 000 sites): KwaMagxaki, KwaDwesi and Motherwell - and possibly many will be endorsed out.	New townships primarily for employed/Section 10 families on housing waiting list. Many squatters won't qualify. Removals likely to start in 1983. (Waiting-list people not listed here.)

FARMS

Peddie South	Many thousands (3)	Wesley Township (nr Hamburg) - new	Apparently to clear area for Peddie South agricultural scheme.
Bambani 62, Tabata 63 and Xuma 77 (Queenstown)	?	? Whittlesea North	Tabata is near Lesseyton, so they may be part of that removal plan. Unknown, resettlement mentioned in <u>Gazette</u> 8204, p 75.
Existing surplus Cape farm pop.	50 000 (3)	?	Direct and indirect pressure likely on many.
Emerging surplus farm pop. in Eastern Cape	90 000 (3)	?	Ditto
Emerging surplus farm pop. in Western and Central Cape	10 000 (3)	?	Ditto

NOTE Figures here are, if anything, underestimated. The main gaps seem to be in the areas of squatter and group area removals in towns, especially on the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage side, and groups being shifted around inside the Ciskei.

- 1 EPH, 28.11.81
- 2 473 families, according to the Government Gazette 8204, 14.05.82, p 16
- 3 SPP estimate, 1982
- 4 DD, 2.06.82
- 5 EPH, 7.10.80
- 6 DD, 10.07.82
- 7 DD, 23.04.82, quoting Botha in parliament. But the Mgwali Residents' Association say this figure is far too low for the five villages of Mgwali proper. On top of that, they add, it omits the people of Heckel (described as a Trust farm nearby) which the MRA say has about 28 landed families (say 150 people) and a mass of squatters.
- 8 DD, 23.04.82. Again, the MRA say the figure is too low. They explain that the officials who counted in early 1982 were actually driven out of one of the villages and so their total is definitely incomplete.
- 9 DD, 23.04.82. Freeholders apparently handed in their title deeds in February 1982 under great pressure from the Cathcart magistrate, to be returned after photostating within a week. They were given unstamped roneod receipts. The magistrate was then reported as saying he was keeping the deeds safe in his office and that he could not photostat some of them because they were 'old and brittle'. (EPH, 19.04.82) Koornhof later said the deeds had been given willingly. We understand the people had been acutely reluctant to part with them, and last news (mid-1982) was that they were alarmed about not getting them back.
- 10 DD, 23.04.82. The Mooiplaats figure may include Kwenxurha, not listed here.
- 11 DD, 27.02.82, quoting Morrison's official estimate
- 12 Unofficial estimates
- 13 Estimate of the Border region of the SAIRR (498 families)
- 14 Ditto (c 110 families)
- 15 PFP estimate (Nov 1982) calculated from the remaining 390 houses and 1 431 shacks in Walmer Township
- 16 ECAB estimate (Nov 1982)
- 17 EPH, 24.09.82
- 18 EPH, 5.06.82 etc - the mayor of Bathurst's figure
- 19 ECAB statement to EPH in Nov 1982
- 20 Grocott's Mail, 19.10.82

- 21 41 families according to DD, 25.04.79, understood in mid-1982 to be still there
- 22 ECAB statement to EPH in Nov 1982. This group may include a few families who resisted going to Glenmore in 1979.
- 23 EPH, 15.05.82
- 24 Ed. Charton & Nash, 1980, p 72. Numbers may have shrunk - observers in 1982 gave lower estimates, but just as guesses.
- 25 60 families, according to DD, 15.07.82
- 26 760 families, according to the Government Gazette 8204, 14.05.82, p 16
- 27 Estimated by planners of new Mlungisi Township, Stutterheim
- 28 4 522 registered squatter huts due for clearance in 1980 (SAIRR Survey 1980, p 347). Some will have been cleared by now, but we guess many more had not been registered and give a round figure based on the official 1980 total to indicate the rough size of this group.
- 29 Numbers are vast and nebulous. Squatters in backyard dwellings in the established townships are said to number many thousands. Savage (for the PFP) put the squatter population of Soweto at 60 000 in 1982, and Louis Rive, government adviser on the housing crisis, later put it at 90 000. As well as this huge squatter settlement, there are many small ones.

2.7.3 Total estimate 1970-1982

We offer a tentative list of totals here, based on the two lists above despite the gaps and many vague items, to suggest the scale of relocation in the Eastern Cape. The table here differs from estimates in Chapter 2.3 above which are drawn entirely from census statistics. Moreover, this table refers to all relocation into and within the Eastern Cape, whereas the earlier one concentrates on relocation into the Ciskei and Transkei.

MINIMUM ESTIMATE OF KNOWN RELOCATION & THREATENED REMOVALS,
EASTERN CAPE, 1970 - 1982

Known relocation	Category	Pending
9 000	Black spots, private locations, 'homeland consolidation'	38 000
121 000	Urban/ small town locations	86 000 +
12 000	Squatters (mainly urban)	170 000 +
50 000	Relocation as resistance	-
109 000	Farms (incl. some squatters)	150 000 +
30 000	Secondary removals	33 000
331 000	TOTALS	477 000