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SASH



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Contents:

Issue on
Resettlement

EDITORIAL	1
THE HIDDEN STORY OF APARTHEID John Kane-Berman	2
THE FUSE BURNS SHORTER	5
A POLICY OF HUMAN DISLOCATION Sheena Duncan	9
THE VICTIMS OF THE POLICY — Case-studies	
PAGEVIEW PEOPLE Eleanor Anderson	14
WALMER — A LOCATION UNDER THREAT B. Melunsky	15
THE BATLOKWA — WHY MOVE A VIABLE COMMUNITY? Seamus Cleary	16
WEENEN AND FARM LABOUR REMOVALS Cheryl Walker	17
GLENMORE — WHERE PEOPLE HAVE NO FUTURE David Forbes	19
DISTRICT SIX — APARTHEID WINS, THE NATION LOSES	20
ZANYOKWE — FOR BETTERMENT OR WORSE Marian Lacey	21



POSSIBLY posterity will view the year 1979 as a watershed in the history of South Africa. Certainly it was a year which saw the reiteration of the promise to do away with racial discrimination and to recognise the rights and the human dignity of all the diverse peoples of our country.

The change in Government leadership brought with it a change in emphasis, an apparently growing willingness to recognise at least some of the flaws in Government policy over the past 31 years, and some constructive action.

Some hotels were opened to all racial groups, though with the retention of certain restrictions. More hotels, restaurants, theatres are to be opened, though with the retention of a form of the permit system. Blacks are to be permitted to participate in Trade Unionism, though this is to be subject to a variety of controls. Job reservation is to be curtailed, though the Act remains on the Statute Book.

Crossroads was not demolished and Alexandra is to provide family as well as hostel accommodation, though residents of both these areas must still conform to the requirements of the pass laws. Apparently what remains of District Six is to be finally lost to the Coloured people.

The Schlebusch Commission is presently considering a new Constitution for South Africa, though Government thinking to date is based on division of the racial groups into separate legislatures, with blacks restricted to the 'homelands', but with the possibility of provision being made for urban blacks.

Cracks have appeared in the Nationalist juggernaut. Dissident voices have been heard. The Information scandal, the exposure of the power of the Broederbond, events beyond our borders, pressure from the outside world, and, perhaps, the increasingly articulate black anger have all conspired to introduce an element of doubt into the ranks of the emotion-and-blood-knit National Party. This was reflected in 1979 by more pragmatic and less ideology-bound words and deeds on the part of the Government than have been apparent in all its previous years in power.

But no-one should be misled. The pass laws remain on the Statute Book and, despite the three months' moratorium declared by Dr Koornhof, continued to be administered more stringently than ever during 1979.

Detention without trial, particularly of black leaders, continued unabated, the Government still preferring to silence than to listen.

Millions of black people have lost their South African citizenship, and in 1979 Venda became independent, swelling still further the ranks of those who have been so deprived.

Under the pass laws, the Group Areas Act and the 'Black Spot' removals scheme just over 2 115 000 people had been forcibly uprooted and removed by 1978. At least 1 727 000 people were still to be removed and during 1979 these removals continued apace.

Our country has been carved up, at immense cost in human suffering and with only negative returns financially, economically, socially and from the much vaunted point of view of the security of the state. Having embarked upon a giant redistribution of the population to make the map of South Africa conform with its ideology, the Government con-

tinued to push people around with scant regard for the pain caused and with total disregard for what the actual people involved have to endure. The year 1979 saw no change in this respect.

The pass laws, the Group Areas Act and the Homelands Citizenship Act are essential elements of the Government's fundamental policy of separation, of Apartheid, and as yet there has been no indication of any intention to abolish such legislation or to cease its enforcement.

Unless positive steps are taken in 1980 to fulfil the promises of 1979 and to give them tangible effect, in a form acceptable to blacks, in order to establish the sincerity of all those statements which have issued so uncharacteristically from the lips of Government leaders, the frustrated expectations of 1979 might prove to be the beginning of the end rather than the end of the beginning — the final destruction of all hope for peaceful change rather than the beginning of a new era of trust and co-operation between all the people.

The Government must cease all removals forthwith, abolish the pass laws and the Group Areas Act, permit freehold property rights for all and provide an equitable educational system if it is to honour its promises in the eyes of black people.

Resettlement and Influx — The Grand Design

THE HIDDEN STORY OF APARTHEID

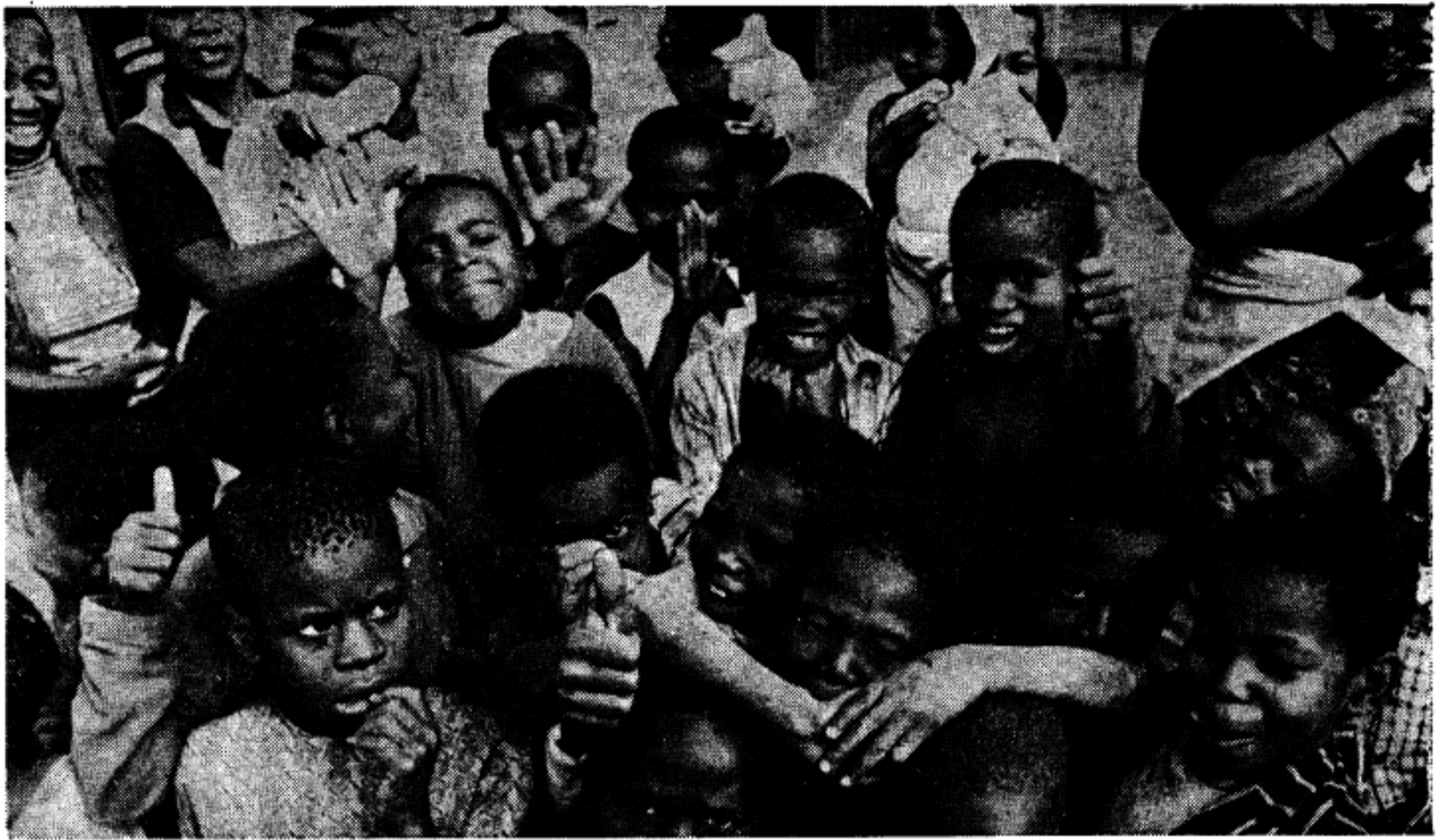
By John Kane-Berman

WITH the influx control and migratory labour systems, resettlement is the most destructive of all the policies which make up apartheid.

It is also the great hidden story of apartheid: from time to time reports of removals

reach the Press, but we really have no idea of what has happened to the great majority of the people removed.

By their very nature, removals generally entail shifting families from homes too close for white comfort and resettling them



Resettlement creates villages of old people, women and children.

Picture by GRAHAM HAYMAN

in remoter parts of the country. It goes without saying that this process of tidying the apartheid map and driving the races apart means that it is the blacks who don't believe in the policy who have to do the moving, not the whites who do. We are sometimes told that such-and-such a removal is taking place at the request of the people who are to be moved: such claims bring to mind the Russians' claim that they were invited to Afghanistan.

Removals are also the quintessence of apartheid. Just as the real story of Nazi Germany is the death-camps, not the boycotts of Jewish shops, so the real story of apartheid South Africa is the pass-migrancy-resettlement constellation, not segregated lavatories.

It is against the backdrop of big apartheid, not petty apartheid, that change should be judged. There have seldom been such high hopes of change in South Africa as there are now. A recent opinion poll showed that even many black people think the Prime Minister is doing a good job.

At the same time, there is no sign that the resettlement programme will stop before 'white' South Africa has been wiped clean of 'superfluous' blacks. And, following the widely-misunderstood Riekert Report, the pass laws are being enforced more brutally than ever before.

There are many constructive proposals in the Riekert Report, and their implementation will better the position of many blacks. But there are also many damnable ideas, whose implementation is already worsening the situation of many black people.

The Press has a lot to answer for in having engendered in the public such an uncritical, almost euphoric, acceptance of the Riekert Report. When the pros and cons of the report are weighed up, a strong case could be made out for concluding that the latter out-balance the former.

One of the most important implications of resettlement is that the policy is promoting 'financial apartheid'. This policy is

already at work in the 'white' urban areas, in the sense that the thinking in Pretoria — endorsed by Dr Riekert — is that the black townships must be financially self-sufficient.

With the best will in the world, the West Rand Administration Board could do little to wipe out housing and other backlogs in its townships because it could get no grants from the State.

Under resettlement programmes, a similar policy of financial apartheid is in the making. Removing black communities from 'white' areas to the bantustans means that the responsibility for their welfare — for housing, pensions, hospitals, schools, parks, sports facilities, and even jobs — is being taken off the shoulders of the central government and foisted upon bantustan governments.

Pretoria already characterises the grants it gives these governments as foreign aid. General Sales Tax — it is quite clear what

is happening: the haves are gradually being divested of their financial responsibilities to the have-nots.

Resettlement, along with the laagers which tougher influx control is erecting round the 'white' industrial areas to keep out the unemployed, is putting those responsibilities on to the bantustans instead.

In other words, Pretoria is exporting problems like unemployment, the housing and schools shortages, and inadequate social and health services.

We are told, in defence of this, that blacks already get back from the State more than they put into it because Pretoria's grants to the bantustan governments are larger than the income tax it receives from blacks. But this argument appears to leave out of account the money Pretoria gets from blacks through GST and customs and excise duties. It also seems to make the assumption that company tax is somehow 'white'.

Just as the real story of Nazi Germany is the death-camps, not the boycotts of Jewish shops, so the real story of apartheid South Africa is the pass-migrancy-resettlement constellation, not segregated lavatories.

The Transkei is already bankrupt. A Kwa-Zulu minister has already complained that resettled children are putting extra pressure on education facilities. Who is going to provide for the 18 000 people from Crossroads who are to be deported to their putative 'homelands'?

Given the direction in which fiscal policy in South Africa is now rapidly moving — holding down the growth of government expenditure, cutting down the income tax rates of the (predominantly white) middle-class, and shifting a disproportionate share

of the tax burden on to the poor through

From tax on gold-mine profits alone, Senator Horwood will rake in about R1 500 million in the financial year just ending (1979-80). Anyone arguing that the tax money is 'white' will have to prove that gold-mine profits are generated without the assistance of 450 000 black miners who dig out the gold.

Such an exercise would be as absurd as believing that the two or three million resettled people might not one day fight to get back the land — and the country — that has been taken away from them.

THE FUSE BURNS SHORTER

Emergency Report

Johannesburg Advice Office

ON November 8, 1979, the Prime Minister said that a reckless or careless Government could turn South Africa into a powder keg within a matter of days.

In the Advice Office we are now watching the fuse to that powder keg burn shorter by the day.

Never in the 16 years since this office was opened have we experienced such anger expressed by black people or such a sense of impending catastrophe. Never have we felt more urgently the need to try to communicate to white South Africans the realities of what is happening.

The pass laws have always been one of the main causes of black alienation but if historians who in the future write of our times are able to isolate the final straw which precipitated disaster it may well prove to be the 1979 legislation introducing the fine of R500 which can now be imposed on the employer of an unregistered worker.

The significance of this legislation has been obscured by the three month moratorium and by the general delusion that the Riekert report was to be welcomed as a tremendous step forward. The fine is a direct result of Dr Riekert's recommenda-

tion and goes hand in hand with the implementation of another of his recommendations that "Labour Bureaux should exercise strict control over the admission of contract workers . . ."

COMPELLED

Up to now the only saving factor for the people controlled by the pass laws has been the total inefficiency of the system. All the vast, ponderous and expensive structure of influx control and efflux enforcement has not been able to prevent people from moving to places where they could find work. They have been impelled by the necessity of earning a living for themselves and for their survival of their children, and illegal jobs have been readily available.

The Financial Mail of October 12, 1979, published a table prepared by Dr Jan Lange of UNISA showing how workers benefit from urban work even if they have to go to prison as a consequence. There is a 702,7 per cent improvement in living standards for a worker from Ciskei who works illegally in Pietermaritzburg for nine months and spends three months in prison, a 170 per cent improvement for someone

from Lebowa who works six months in Johannesburg and spends six months in prison, and a 28,5 per cent improvement for a person from BophuthaTswana who works only three months in Pretoria and spends nine months in prison. Someone from Ciskei who works illegally in Pietermaritzburg for three months and spends nine months in prison improves his living standards by 234,2 per cent.

As far as we know Pietermaritzburg has never been shown to be a city where employers pay exceptionally high wages. Such vast percentage increases in living standards, won at such high cost, can only mean that living standards in the Ciskei are standards of such abysmal poverty that 'living' is probably the wrong word to use about them. The Ciskei seems to be the most poverty stricken of all the homelands because of the extent of the dumping of 'superfluous' black people from so-called white South Africa which has taken place there but the other homelands are not far behind in the poverty stakes in all those many areas where large scale resettlement has taken place.

The new fine means that there will be **no more illegal work** available. Approximately 50 000 people have been registered on one-year contracts in terms of the moratorium. Many of them will probably not be in the same job at the end of the contract period and so will not be able to register again. Some have already lost their jobs and have been endorsed out.

Thousands did not fulfil the necessary conditions or did not find a job or lawful accommodation in time to be registered. To these must be added the thousands of new homeland job seekers who will be precipitated into the labour market at the end of this school year. There will also be the many labour tenants who are currently being removed from land in Natal where they have been able to grow crops and keep cattle into closer settlements where they only have a suburban-sized garden with no readily available water and where no livestock is allowed.

They are thus being rendered entirely dependent on jobs which they are not al-

lowed to take. They will swell the great army of jobless, hopeless, poverty-stricken people in rural areas.

Over and over again during the last few weeks men and women have said to us: 'But my children have no food.' 'My children are hungry.' 'What will my children eat?' Poverty, hunger and the diseases of malnutrition have been a way of life for thousands of South African families for many years. Workseekers in the homelands are not allowed to move to the cities to seek for work and, if they do so, are not allowed to register in jobs they have found. The only way in which they can obtain legal employment is if they are recruited or requisitioned from the labour bureau in their home area. Such recruitment is now being strictly controlled and cut back.

HUNGRY PEOPLE

Until this year people have been able to find illegal work and so have survived. Now, for the first time in all our experience, we have no hope and no comfort to offer to the unregistered and the endorsed out. Always before we, and they have known that they would be able to go on somehow even if it meant arrest and imprisonment from time to time. All hope has now been removed and when you take hope away all that is left is rage and anger, bitterness and hatred.

This anger is not going to be confined to the homelands. People are not going to go and sit to watch their sons and daughters die of hunger. They will remain in town and, as they are hounded from their places of illegal accommodation (another of Dr Riekert's recommendations), their rage will be fuelled to fuel again the rage of those who are legally in town and to whom so many promises have been made but not fulfilled.

Dr Koornhof has said that Dr Riekert's recommendation that Section 10 qualified urban people can move from one town to another provided they have a job and accommodation is already in operation. The West Rand Board is endorsing them out. (Does the bureaucracy deliberately misinterpret or obstruct ministerial promises?)

Dr Koornhof has said that if a man buys a house his wife can come to town to live with him. Neither the East Rand nor the West Rand Administration Board has initiated any schemes for low cost housing. WRAB's cheapest house for purchase costs R6 600. We have been told that ERAB tells people who apply to buy that the cheapest house requires an immediate deposit of R1 600. Neither Board will accept a man on to the waiting list to rent a house unless his wife has a permit to be in the area and she cannot get that permit until he has a house.

NO HOUSES

In any event the waiting list for a rented house in Soweto is **nine years long**. People who have been on the list since 1970 are told that they will never get a house unless they buy one and most do not earn enough to make that even a remote possibility. They are presently watching with bitterness the wealthy who can afford to buy jumping the queue.

Only the few who can afford to pay for their privileges or who work for very large companies are experiencing any benefits from the changes which have been so much talked about.

Apart from all questions of justice and morality could anything be more dangerous? The present visible alliance between Government and big business in the 'total strategy' which is seen to be causing immediate personal disaster to thousands of individuals can only result in the black/white political conflict becoming irrevocably identified with the Marxist/Capitalist economic conflict. Any so-called free enterprise system which totally denies all freedom to the majority of the people cannot possibly survive. Those who believe that the benefits of capitalism and free enterprise can be spread through the whole population and can bring about justice must prove it and must do so **now**. Tomorrow will be too late.

The following cases are not just a few horror stories selected for their shock value from months of work. They all presented themselves during the last ten days. They are all typical of many others. They

are all people who are suffering, entirely hopeless, and very very angry.

Mr Z. was endorsed out on November 8. He has a wife and three children at Nqutu where he lives in a closer settlement. He used to have three cows and the use of land to grow crops but was resettled in 1972 and forced to sell the cattle. Now he has nothing. His last contract expired in October 1978 and he has remained working illegally in Johannesburg since because he has no alternative. Now he can no longer find illegal work and is refused registration in his present job.

Mrs S. is a widow. She came to Johannesburg from Groblersdal in 1965 and was previously registered in employment to March 20, 1978. She then worked illegally but on October 1, 1979, began working for a new employer who tried to register her. She was endorsed out — ordered to leave Johannesburg within 72 hours — on November 6. She did not comply with the terms of the moratorium because she had been registered for some of the time during the previous three years and it only applied to those who had been **illegally** employed. Her employers tried to register her too late but it would have made no difference had they been in time. She has one child, two others have died, a blind father and two blind siblings to support.

Mr M. was endorsed out on November 2. He belongs nowhere at all having been born on the farms at Heilbron, worked in Vereeniging from 1940 to 1963 and in Johannesburg since then, sometimes registered and sometimes not. His wife is a Johannesburg person who has been living legally in the emergency family accommodation provided by WRAB in the Meadowlands Hostel since the Kliptown floods of 1977. For this sordid accommodation she has to pay R45,60 a month because the family occupies eight so-called beds. They have four minor children and also support two minor children of her deceased mother. The moratorium could not help **Mr M.** because his three years' previous employment was legal.

Mrs H. was endorsed out on November 6.
(Continued on page 11)

The Zimbabwean experience of dispossession has been different in many respects from that of black South Africans and the two cannot be quantitatively compared. Nor is there any question in South Africa of the displaced choosing where they will resettle.

The scale of human dislocation in the Republic is unimaginably greater than it has ever been in Zimbabwe but Bishop Muzorewa expresses the bitterness of the resettled and displaced for most of whom removal is a traumatic experience of community and family disruption which will adversely affect generations to come and make the eventual task of restitution and reconstruction a formidable one.

Resettlement violates the fundamental territorial instincts of man. Apart from all questions of whether compensation is adequate or not or whether the new land is as good as the old, people have deep roots which are violently wrenched from the soil which has nurtured them and their parents and grandparents with all this means in terms of the richness of remembered family experience.

There is no compensation for this even when an uprooted agricultural community does settle into a new area and manage to build again.

For many there are insuperable practical difficulties in re-establishing agricultural self-sufficiency. In some new settlements the houses are put high on the hillsides and the fields lie in the valley below. The old and the children who managed to grow food in the old place because the field was outside the door often do not have the physical stamina necessary to climb up and down to cultivate or to protect the crops from predators.

But the vast majority of people who are removed are not resettled to agricultural land at all. The more than one million labour and rural squatters who have been removed since 1960 have been moved from land which they were able to use and where they could grow food and keep cattle into closer settlements where livestock are not allowed; where the suburban-sized stands can only produce vegetables with

TODAY as one travels between these towns following the rail line across the high plateau, one passes for one hundred miles through the historic homeland of the Makoni people. Gradually family after family was evicted to make way for white farmers, usually without compensation and with perhaps six months notice. My relatives chose to resettle at a place called Murango . . . Today that place is also

Resettlement and Influx —

The Grand Design

the most intensive and skilled husbandry and where, even if the skills are known, there is no water available for cultivation.

In many cases all water must be carried in buckets from its source at a distance which allows only enough to be transported for basic household needs.

Other communities are removed into these closer settlements from informal

a European farm. In the 1920s a European farmer wanted that good land and they were evicted once again. In fact, the history of my father's family mirrors the saga of so many thousands of Zimbabweans under white rule in Southern Rhodesia who became displaced persons in the land of their birth. This helps to explain my own father's drive in life to have land to call his own.⁹

Bishop Abel Muzorewa: 'Rise Up and Walk'.

A POLICY OF HUMAN DISLOCATION

By Sheena Duncan

townships and small-holdings next to towns where people have been able to supplement the food they grow with earnings from casual daily work and one-man enterprises in the informal sector.

Both these last groups find themselves quite literally moved from their means of survival into totally hostile environments. They are resented by the established agri-

cultural community in the new area who seek the land they used as common grazing cut off by the mushrooming of hundreds of small dwellings on small stands.

The new arrivals cast envious eyes on the woodpiles, livestock and crops of the tribal farmers and, having no other way to live, many steal sustenance. If they don't steal they starve. Conflict and disorder,

sometimes bordering on anarchy, become a way of life.

The chances of the landless being offered work elsewhere become less and less as, in the aftermath of Riekert and in pursuit of the total strategy, recruitment is cut back and available jobs in the cities must be given to city people.

Sources of illegal employment, which in the past enabled many thousands of children to eat at least once a day, have now been cut off by the imposition of a possible R500 fine on the employers of unregistered workers.

It is beyond belief that at a time of officially acknowledged massive unemployment the resettlement programme should continue to be prosecuted with such zeal, removing people into total dependency on jobs which don't exist.

The cries of the hungry from beyond the hills are evidently not heard in Pretoria or Cape Town. Rivers of crocodile tears and pages of newsprint promises do not feed one single empty-bellied child. The simple act of stopping all further resettlement forthwith could at least allow those who now have food to continue to eat.

Other removals affect stable family units in stable communities when black urban townships are abolished and families are moved into the homelands. The men are allowed to come back to their jobs as migrants, to live in single-sex hostels and to commute to visit their wives and children from time to time as distance and expense allows. Here again people are cut off from valuable sources of supplementary income through casual work.

Then there are the urban people who are removed across town from long-established townships into new towns which lie within the homeland boundaries on the other side of the tracks. This automatically cancels those Section 10 rights which 'qualified' them for the newly-promised privileges and removes from them the opportunity of taking advantage of the increased freedom of movement which is to be allowed by people who have Section 10 qualifications.

To all these must be added the hundreds of thousands of people who have been relocated into racial ghettos under the Group Areas Act, together with the old, redundant and superfluous who have been removed individually from so-called white areas and the people who are pushed off farms by new owners but are not sent anywhere in particular so join the wandering displaced who are endlessly and hopelessly on the move seeking refuge and permanency.

Many who have been removed once have been moved again. The first time was to 'clear' white land, the second time to sort them into ethnic bundles. Others have moved themselves the second time — shut up the new zinc or block houses — and trekked back into the restless settlements at Winterveldt; around Durban; around any town where there is hope of work and where there are homeland borders behind which to shelter from the efficient destructiveness of white authority.

The vast scale of the demographic engineering carried out in South Africa cannot easily be comprehended nor can the resulting destruction of family, community and society.

Chaos, disorder, confusion and disintegration are the marks of the environment in which generations of South Africans have grown and are growing up but it is not only upon black people that the human costs will be levied.

Later in his autobiography, Bishop Muzerewa writes: 'the gross imbalance in land distribution was one of the fundamental and original evils of minority rule . . . It was a similar situation which caused the bloody Mau Mau explosion in Kenya and in our situation, the frustrations and injustices inherent in the land problem were major contributors to the war which broke out in the early seventies.'

The greedy annexation of the land on one side and the hunger for land on the other is propelling us all, as happened in Zimbabwe, in the direction of violent conflict with one another and towards the devastation of civil war.

FROM THE FILES OF THE ADVICE OFFICE

She has been in her present job which she must now leave, for over 15 months but her employer didn't bother to try to register until it was too late, in spite of the impassioned appeals of **Mrs H.'s** husband who is a qualified Johannesburg person. They have two small children.

Mr M. was ordered to leave on November 6. His last contract expired in December 1976 but he remained unregistered with the same employer until September 30, 1979. He found a new job and on October 31 went to register. He was given a temporary permit to January 31, 1980, and was told to report back with proof of accommodation. He reported with proof that he is the legal occupant of a bed in the Diepkloof hostel and was promptly endorsed out — presumably because six months of the previous three years' employment had been legal.

Mr N. is a married man with seven children, the eldest of whom is 17 years old. He comes from the Greytown district where he has a small piece of ground on a hillside. He says it is too steep to grow anything and there is no water. He has no cattle. He has a job in Johannesburg but was refused registration in terms of the moratorium, because he had been unemployed for the previous two years. He was discharged from the job because he could not register. He began working in Johannesburg in 1952 but has not been registered since the one-year contract system was introduced in 1968.

Mr S. is in his early twenties. He came to Johannesburg from the Estcourt district last year to look for his first job. He has

been working for a firm since September 1978. When they tried to register him WRAB demanded payment of back registration fees amounting to R36,45 and when it had been paid, endorsed him out. He did not comply with the moratorium because his employment with this company did not amount to one full year prior to July 31. He has been discharged because he could not register.

Mr M. comes from Tsolo in Transkei. He was working on contract in Alberton but the last contract was not renewed and he was retrenched. He has a job and accommodation in Johannesburg. He has been refused registration and told to go back to Tsolo. His wife is legally resident in Johannesburg and their two children, aged three years and six months respectively, were born here. His chances of recruitment from Tsolo are remote. His choice is to go there as is legally required of him and accept total separation from his family (if his wife goes with him they will all be hungry whereas she can at least work in Johannesburg if she stays), or he can remain 'illegal' and unemployed in Johannesburg looking after the babies while his wife works. He left the office threatening to 'make big noise'.

Three women, one of them very young and in tears, who were registered as domestic workers in terms of the moratorium came to complain that as soon as they were registered, their employers reduced their wages and began deducting from the reduced pay the registration fees charged by WRAB for the previous periods of illegal employment.

One of them found a new job immediately and applied to be allowed to work out the period of her contract with the new employer. She was endorsed out. These employers evidently took the attitude that, as the registration was only valid as long as the women remained in their employ, they could unmercifully exploit them.

Miss K. is 18 years old. She was orphaned and came to Johannesburg in 1976 when she was 15 to live with her uncle who is her only male guardian. He owns his house in Soweto. She found a job and went to register on October 30. Endorsed out.

Mr N. comes from Mapumulo where he has a wife and two children. He lives with another woman in Johannesburg by whom he has one child. (A frequent consequence of the migrant labour system). He has been working legally in Johannesburg since 1963 but was prevented from acquiring urban rights by the introduction of the one-year contract system in 1968. His last contract ended on June 20 and was not renewed because his employer replaced all men with women workers. He found a new job and has lawful accommodation in a hostel. Endorsed out on September 26, 1979. He has no land at home — just a small garden.

Mr N. is on contract to WRAB to January 20, 1980. He has been told that his contract is not to be renewed and says he was told they don't want to employ contract workers anymore. He will have to return to Mount Frere and wait hopelessly for a new recruitment. His wife and five children, all under seven years of age are legal qualified residents of Johannesburg.

Mrs T. N. also comes from the Transkei. She was endorsed out of the East Rand last year. Her husband qualifies in terms of Section 10(1)(b) and was told she could have a permit if he bought a house. He was told he would have to pay a deposit of R1 600. He earns R136,45 per month as a telephone operator for one of the East Rand municipalities.

Mr P. M. qualifies in Port Elizabeth as 10(1)(b) and this was stamped in his Reference Book in September last year. He has a job with a big company in Johannes-



Pictures by PAUL WEINBERG

burg and accommodation in his cousin's house. Endorsed out.

Mr S. M. comes from Tseki near Witsieshoek in Qwa Qwa. He has a wife and two children aged eight and six years. He has a garden about the size of two Johannesburg northern suburbs drawing rooms but nothing grows in it because there is no water. Every pailful has to be carried a considerable distance. He has trained as a carpenter and never once in the last three years since he completed his training has he been offered any kind of job at all through the tribal labour bureau. He has seen houses being built at Witsieshoek and has tried many times to get work there but there are never any vacancies. He has been working at piece jobs illegally in Johannesburg since last year. Found regular employment. Endorsed out. Lost the job.

Mrs C. M. comes from Mkorong near Potgietersrus. She began working in Johannesburg in 1963 but has never been registered and went back to Mkorong last year for some months. She had a job and was endorsed out on October 18. Her husband has been in his present job for 16 years but cannot obtain any Section 10 rights because his employers did not register him until 1971. He will qualify as 10(1)(b) in 1981 if he stays in the job. If he loses it he will be refused new registration and will fall under the one-year contract system losing all hope of ever qualifying in the future. They have two children. Her husband was furiously angry when we explained to him that the law does not permit his wife to live with him. He gathered up his seemingly meaningless marriage certificate and all the other documents and marched his wife out of the office.

She came back two hours later to confront us. She said white people were always talking about black people getting an education and what was the point of her having studied for her matric when she is not allowed to work. She said: **'Why don't you whites do something about this. You make these laws and is there nothing for us?'**

The following seven articles take a look at some of the people and communities affected.

They are . . .

THE VICTIMS OF THE POLICY

Pageview People

Eleanor Anderson

I NEVER knew his name but we talked a few times as he sat on his little stoep in the Sunday sunshine. Once I took him a fine brinjal from my garden. And then one Sunday he's gone and the sun shines blandly down on the space where the house has been. The elderly Indian gentleman has been resettled — presumably to Lenasia — because Pageview is now zoned for whites.

The formula for removal is very simple:

- Serve notice.
- Resettle the people, jumping them to the head of the Lenasia waiting-list.
- Return immediately to Pageview to smash the doors and windows of the abandoned house to make sure that if it was habitable before, it certainly isn't now.

Rubbish is inclined to join rubble in the bulldozed area and life for the rats is one long field-day.

The Presbyterian minister in the Pageview area is a caring man who commits his ways unto the Lord. The people who know him, some of whom are his parishioners, try to do the same.

The minister has written many pleading letters to Community Development (every age has its turbulent priest) begging that the habitable houses be spared until the housing waiting-list has been cleared. But it's always no, no, NO. The Indians are being removed:

- To prevent friction.
- Because the area is planned for whites.
- To help the Minister of Community Development sleep better at night.

A small group of us assembles one Saturday afternoon with ladders, buckets of paste, and posters. We are wearing white dust-coats and we do not resemble the followers of Marx and Engels, though a passer-by might think we are off on a painters' picnic.

We set forth quietly in pairs to given addresses where one partner mounts the ladder, is handed the bucket of paste, then smoothes the poster onto the wall.

'SPARE THIS HOUSE. PEOPLE NEED IT. LAAT DIE HUIS STAAN. MENSE HET DIT NODIG.'

At first we're not very efficient but, being dedicated workers, we soon improve.

This house now, number 22,

with its flower-potted railing and small children playing in front of it, is it booked for bulldozing? Yes, it is. And this face-brick block of flats? This too. And that really quite solid house halfway down 21st Street? Of course. What a pity. People are living there.

'One thing you must never do to a man is take away his home,' fulminated somebody-or-other. He probably wasn't listening to what he was saying.

Up and down the streets we go. It's quite tiring. Dozens of children follow us.

'Please Auntie, put a poster on our house!' . . . 'Can you save our homes for us?' . . . 'Mummy says won't you come in for some tea?' If this is friction, let there be more of it!

The afternoon is over and we've put up about 90 posters. The residents have gone indoors to the homes they will occupy for another week, or month, or six months.

LAAT DIE HUIS STAAN. MENSE HET DIT NODIG.

Walmer — A Location under threat

B. Melunsky

ONE of the more blatant examples of the Government's desire to impose residential segregation is the proposal to move 60-year-old Walmer Location. It is an enclave of 4 000 to 6 000 black people on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth's white suburbs and is home to a settled and integrated community with a low crime rate. Some residents are third or fourth generation and are unwilling to leave their ancestor's graves.

The initial reasons given for the move by Mr Louis Koch, Chief Director of East Cape Administration Board was that Walmer Township, second oldest in Port Elizabeth, was too old and uneconomical to be viable; that it was in the wrong position in overall town planning; that it would be adversely affected by a projected freeway and that residents should no longer be deprived of participation in the development of the sprawling giant on the other side of town.

Walmer residents scoffed.

'Where are they going to throw us now?' asked one woman cynically.

'This will be my second move,' said another wearily. 'First I was moved from Salisbury Park when that became white. Now they expect me to move all over again.'

Walmer Location, with uneven roads, meagre street lighting and a proliferation of backyard shacks, has a village charm. Trees, creepers, trellised vines, old-fashioned cluster roses, street vendors, donkey carts and boys cluttering the streets with soccer balls lend it an air of informal permanence.

Last year a succession of packed meetings of township residents rallied in support.

A Save Walmer Committee was

formed, an umbrella organisation of churches and various groups including the Black Sash. The committee's detailed objections to the move received an unbelievable official answer that buffer zones were to be inserted all around the new highway, its adjoining road and access roads, reducing 64 hectares to one hectare!

When the point was made that people should not make way for buffer strips — 'We are more important than buffer zones,' said Father Welile Kani, resident Anglican priest — buffer zones were dropped from the armory of official arguments.

The new departmental line was that the area was too small for redevelopment and too shoddy to remain as it was. It was officially conceded that removal would bring hardship to most of the women in domestic service nearby.

Residents would be required to move to Zwide 4, 22 km and three bus rides away and learn to live with increased costs and added inconvenience. The Chamber of Commerce publicly warned that the move would result in increased unemployment and unnecessary strain on public transport.

Residents dread the increased rentals at Zwide for houses that for many would be a poor exchange since the Zwide structures lack ceilings, floors and proper insulation. Compensation would be given for owner-built houses but would not be paid to occupiers of concrete board-owned houses where improvements have been made over the years and which are electrified and of a higher standard. (Electrification at Zwide will cost R900 to R1 000 per household.)

The only advantage for such householders would be flush sanitation and a tap in the house.

Opponents of the removal — significantly the Urban Foundation — believe these amenities could be brought to people who do not want to relinquish proximity to places of work, clinics, supermarkets and shopping centres. Many of these people find it convenient to walk to work at the airport, army barracks, houses, shops and garages.

Board officials maintain it would be cheaper to rehouse residents in new houses than redevelop the area which has deteriorated after many years of threatened removal and official refusal of requests (by churches, municipality and employers) for permission to build permanent structures.

One factor the Government has not taken into account in this ideological cost-accounting is the wish of the residents of Walmer Location and the anger of the 12 000 families on a hopeless housing waiting list in PE's black townships. Presently at Zwide 4 are shack settlements where people live who have little hope of getting a house.

Doubtless it would be easier for ECAB to contain all black people in one giant administrative bloc. But for a board that complains of shortage of land for development and asks white householders to employ domestics, it is ironical that prime land is willingly relinquished and people made redundant.

• Even more ironical is that some Walmer lodgers who moved to Zwide were unable to pay the rent and reverted to shack dwelling.

The Batlokwa —

Why move a viable Community?

By Seamus Cleary

SITUATED about 50 km north of Pietersburg on the road to Rhodesia is Dwarsrivier, ancestral home of the Batlokwa who are now threatened with removal. They are a settled, thriving community although such economic success as there is based on the earnings of migrants in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand complex.

Resettlement within the area has taken place in the past mainly for the purpose of introducing agricultural betterment schemes.

Community facilities like schools, clinics, shops and a bus service between Dwarsrivier and Pietersburg are sufficient to meet the immediate needs of the Batlokwa and the people's confidence in the viability of their community is reflected in the increasing switch from traditional styles of building to the more permanent (and more expensive) erection of houses using concrete blocks and zinc roofing. This building is continuing despite the threatened removal which hangs over the Batlokwa.

Opposition to the planned resettlement is prevalent in all sec-

tions of Batlokwa society. The representatives of the traditional, Chiefs Machaka and Ramagopa, oppose the move as strongly as do the school children in the area.

The settlement was disrupted in October 1979 when Government officials attempted forcibly to remove the followers of Chief Makgato, whose tribe is related to the Batlokwa, who had refused to accompany their chief to the new area which had been set aside for them.

The Makgato fled to the neighbouring Batlakwa villages and were given refuge there. Chiefs Machaka and Ramagopa announced that they could not do otherwise since the Makgato were refugees from a war which the South African Government had declared on unarmed and defenceless people.

The Government believes the resettlement of the Batlokwa to be necessary and an urgent requirement of its policy of homeland consolidation. Dwarsrivier, which was part of Lebowa, was excised from the reserve in terms of the Government's 1975 'final'

consolidation proposals and declared a 'white' area.

The 'black' spot, therefore, in terms of Government policy must be cleared and the human cost, while attempts may be made to lessen it, will not be allowed to interfere with the execution of the overall strategy of grand apartheid.

Unfortunately for the Batlokwa, military and strategic interests are also apparently operative although there has been no official confirmation or denial of this.

The geographic location of Dwarsrivier, athwart the major road communication link to the north, is indicative of the site's potential information-gathering role in any future real guerilla threat to South Africa.

The Batlokwa are unaware of the outcome of appeals they have made to Minister of Co-operation and Development, Piet Koornhof. Koornhof's office has as yet to reply to a memorandum submitted to him in June and the Batlokwa leaders have adopted the attitude that the issue is being considered and are encouraging residents to continue building.

Weenen and farm labour removals

By Cheryl Walker

THE village of Weenen lies some 30 km north-east of Estcourt. The magisterial district, of which it is the centre, covers an area of roughly 1 200 square kilometres between the district of Kliprivier, Estcourt, Umvoti, Mooi River and, on its north-eastern edge, the Msinga district of KwaZulu.

Most of the area is dry thornveld country, suitable for stock farming rather than intensive cultivation, but the Tugela River and several tributaries flow through the district, providing scope for some irrigation farming along the banks. Years of neglect have created a serious soil erosion problem and some areas are amongst the worst, most eroded parts of the country.

Although there are a large number of white-owned farms in the district, many belong to absentee landlords who use these farms chiefly as labour reserves for other, commercial farms in the Natal Midlands. One can drive for miles through these lands without seeing any signs of white habitation.

AFRICAN MAJORITY

The vast majority of the population is African. The exact number is not easy to assess. The 1970 census figure of 2 000 is clearly inadequate — judging by the number of homesteads on many farms, the population is likely to be nearer 15 000 and may well be higher.

About 900 Africans are living in a temporary 'Emergency Camp' on the outskirts of the village. The remainder are to be found living on the farms and on a strip of Tribal Trust land on the north bank of the Tugela.

There are two major tribes in the district, the Mtembu and the Mchunu. Boundary disputes, ex-

acerbated by mounting population pressure and landlessness, have long been a source of friction and conflict between the two groups. Even now, when all the land is, technically, owned by whites, this is still a cause of tension.

LABOUR TENANCY

The overwhelming majority of the African population knows no home other than this district. Zulu-speaking people have been settled in the area for generations. During the course of the 19th century, title to the land passed to the incoming white settlers, the African occupants of the land becoming farm labourers and 'squatters' on what had once been tribal land.

Before 1969, the labour tenant system of farm labour, long established in the district, offered these people a degree of residential security. Under this system, a family paid for its right to live on the land by working for their white landlord for six months of the year, at a nominal wage.

MASS REMOVALS, 1969

In 1969, as part of a concerted drive by the government to modernise white agriculture and eliminate old feudal practices, the labour tenant system was outlawed in the Weenen district.

Henceforth a farmer was entitled to have a maximum of five families only living on his farm, all of whom had to be in fulltime employment with him. If he wanted more than this, he had to apply to a Labour Control Board for permission.

All unauthorised families living on his land had to leave, to be resettled in KwaZulu. These were the 'surplus appendages', the marginalised workers of the rural areas.

The drive against labour tenancy got under way in the early 1950s. In 1961, a Departmental Commission of Enquiry called for the complete abolition of the system within seven years.

Then in 1964, in terms of an amendment to the Bantu Trust and Land Act (Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 42, 1964), the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development was empowered to abolish entirely or limit labour tenancy in any district in the country.

The extent to which labour tenancy was entrenched in South African agriculture was indicated by figures put out by the Natal Agricultural Union in 1967. It estimated that if labour tenancy was to be abolished overnight, about one million Africans would have to be moved off white farms and settled elsewhere (Rand Daily Mail, 27/2/68).

Yet despite the enormity of the undertaking and despite strenuous opposition from many farmers, concerned at the effects on their labour supply, by the late 1960s labour tenancy had been outlawed in most of the Transvaal and all of the Orange Free State and a start made on Natal where the practice was most widespread.

20 000 REMOVED

Weenen was the third district in Natal to be affected by the ban, but the first where a large population was involved. It has been estimated that between ten and twenty thousand people were removed from their land, at times forcibly, and settled elsewhere.

The large-scale removals, the destruction of established communities, and the crowding together of desperate people on

hastily erected 'Closer Settlement' villages on Trust land have left scars that are still clearly visible in the district today.

For most of 1969, 1970 and 1971 the district was in turmoil. 'Concern over farm labour policy' (Natal Mercury, 16/7/69), 'Africans' homes and families are forced out' (The Star, 9/10/69), 'Shortage of farm labour in Weenen' (Natal Mercury, 31/1/70), 'Tractors demolish kraals — 2 000 homeless' (Rand Daily Mail, 9/11/71) — newspaper headlines tell the story succinctly.

Mass evictions began to get under way in the second half of 1969. Frequently they were accompanied by hutburnings and bulldozers to force out recalcitrant tenants. Many tenants who resisted moving were prosecuted. A Press statement issued by the Bantu Affairs Commission in October 1969 listed convictions for '291 kraalheads (2 246 souls)'.

DEPRIVED OF CATTLE

Because of a blanket ban on any stock entering KwaZulu from outside (a conservative measure that takes no account of the thousands of people resettled in the Homeland), tenants destined for KwaZulu had to get rid of all their stock.

White farmers flocked to the forced sales from miles around and hundreds of head of cattle and goats were sold, often for a third or quarter of their actual value.

Originally the Government intended to resettle the bulk of the redundant tenants at Mdadeni, a resettlement camp near Newcastle. These plans were thwarted, however, by the resistance of the tenants, many of whom returned to Weenen as soon as the Government trucks (the notorious GG lorries) had offloaded them at the camp.

Many hundreds crowded into the adjoining KwaZulu districts at Keates Drift, Tugela Ferry, Mhlumba, Mashunka, etc. Thousands more were finally accommodated in a 'temporary' resettlement camp acquired by the Bantu Trust on land adjoining Tugela Estates (now a BIC enterprise). Here, several 'Closer Settlement' camps

were pegged out and each family allocated a half acre plot on which to build their huts.

STATEMENTS

'A BAD man gave me a stand which had four poles at the corners and said that was where I could build my house. I was given a tent to erect on the stand. As soon as we had put a roof on the first hut, the tents were taken away for someone else. A water tanker was parked nearby so that we could get water to make the mud walls of our huts. The moment the tents were taken away, the tanker was also taken elsewhere.

'There were no latrines... We came from homes where the nearest neighbour was half a mile away and there were thick bushes to give one privacy. Now we were all living right on top of each other.

'When we were moved we were told that we could not take our cattle and goats with us and that there was no land for us to cultivate because there were already too many in the location. They told us not to worry about this because we would soon be moving to a place of our own. Our buildings must be temporary because this was a transit camp.'

FACTION FIGHTS

That was ten years ago. Today the people are still there. Since the mid-1970s this area has been repeatedly devastated by a series of deadly 'faction fights' between rival clans, jostling for space, competing for inadequate resources, resentful, frustrated, and, increasingly, hungry.

In 1969/1970 most of the ex-labour tenants could become full-time migrant labourers in Johannesburg, Kimberley, Durban to support themselves and their families. During the 1970s, mounting unemployment in the cities has closed this safety valve for many.

LABOUR TENANCY TODAY

In this way labour tenancy was formally ended in Weenen in 1969. Yet the system has not been eradicated. Both farmers and tenants have clung to it tenaciously and, despite its prohibition, it continues to operate under different guises throughout the district.

In the ten years that have elapsed since the first removals, many of the former tenants have drifted back to their previous homes or to farms nearby. The number of homesteads on many farms has crept up from the limits imposed in 1969/1970. Some tenants are working fulltime for their landlords, but many are working some variation of the old 'six month' system.

Sometimes the whole family is under an obligation to work for the farmer, sometimes only one member is required to do so. In some cases only the children of the tenant are taken on as labourers. There are also instances where a family hires a substitute to work for the farmer to pay for their rent, while they work elsewhere or stay at home.

There are perhaps some seven or eight thousand people living on white farms in Weenen today. Many are under threat of eviction and removal to Government resettlement camps.

These people are currently struggling to bring permanence and stability into their lives. Under present conditions they have no security of residence at all. They are completely dependent on the good intentions of the farmer. If he chooses to evict them, they have no means of contesting him, no matter how arbitrary or unfair the notice may be. Their presence on the farms is illegal, their 'contracts' outside the law.

Many tenants have alleged that they have been able to stave off threatened evictions in the past only by paying their farmer a 'fine' in the form of a cow or a goat. Others recite a story of constant removals. Evicted from one farm they approach the neighbouring farmer for permission to settle on his land, only to be forced to move on again at some later date.

The details vary but the general predicament remains the same.

And so does the response of tenants when asked what they want — the right to live on the land and in the communities that they know, the right to keep their cattle and their fields and build for themselves a future where they are now.

Glenmore — where people have no future

By David Forbes

GLENMORE is the newest and perhaps the least known of the resettlement camps. Ever since the camp hit the headlines of Eastern Cape newspapers in April last year — and was then forgotten about — the people at Glenmore have been struggling to make ends meet.

Glenmore is a 1 000 hectare farm, housing 3 800 people in just over 500 houses, and lies on the banks of the Fish River, 42 kilometres from Grahamstown.

The residents are all squatters who were moved there from 'black spots' in the Eastern Cape. The majority of them are either children or old age pensioners.

The residents come mostly from Klipfontein, a farm near Bushman's River, a coastal holiday resort near Grahamstown. Others were moved from Coega and Colchester near Port Elizabeth, Alexandria and Grahamstown.

Small groups were also moved from Middeldrift, Keiskammahoek, Chalumna and Hillside, near Fort Beaufort.

Although the East Cape Administration Board denied that the removals were forced, squatters insisted they had been coerced and intimidated.

'I feel beat up — I don't know the place I'm going to. The place is bad. We will lead a costly life,' said one squatter at the time.

Another reported from Klipfontein that he had gone to see his lawyer in Port Elizabeth and returned to find his house destroyed and his family gone.

Another's comment revealed how the squatters had been tricked: 'They said sign here, and you won't have to move. They bluffed me. I then had to move. Others also had to sign'.

CHILD DEATHS

Eleven children have died at Glenmore since April 1979, many of them between one and three years old. Although the Regional Director for Health in Port Elizabeth, Dr Krannauw, said when the Press reported the deaths in July that there was 'no cause for concern', Glenmore residents believe that conditions in the camp are mainly responsible for the deaths.

One resident has said that he and others have to 'search for food like pigs'. An Eastern Cape Administration Board official said the move had given dignity to the people of Glenmore.

Soon after the move, complaints began to filter through the tight security net around Glenmore. People began to complain their children were vomiting, passing bloody stools and had pustules breaking out on their faces.

The Department of Co-operation and Development said that if people died it was not their responsibility.

There are six churches, which were built by the people themselves, and some services are held in homes.

There is a school, which was still under construction when the first people were moved there. There are six teachers, who teach up to standard four.

There is a clinic staffed by a black sister, assisted by two others. A doctor visits the clinic every Wednesday and Friday, but cannot see everyone in the long queues which await his arrival.

There are 45 taps at Glenmore. The water is very saline — which caused widespread sickness when people were first moved there — and about 33 to 40 houses share one tap.

The ratio of people to bucket

latrines is 25 to one. Families of six or more live in wooden structures that have three rooms each. Every room is three metres square. The houses are very hot in summer and very cold in winter.

There are no ceilings, and the inside walls are covered with chicken wire to allow mud or dung plastering. Gaps between the planks allow the wind to blow through houses.

HUNGER AND POVERTY

In an effort to combat the hunger and poverty, and international organisation, World Vision, moved into Glenmore on June 15 distributing two tons of rations weekly for 12 weeks, while the Glenmore Action Group, GAG, distributed blankets and clothing.

Heavy rains flooded 26 houses, and six families were given new houses while others moved in with friends and relatives on higher ground. Many families lost cattle in the move — they died at the rate of two per day for the first couple of weeks from a poisonous weed in the area. They will receive no compensation for their losses.

In 1971 after Dr Koornhof had seen Dimbaza, he said: 'Never again'. Yet within eight years, 580 families had been transported in Government trucks to an arid farm which offered no employment, overcrowded living conditions and which had earned itself the infamous name of 'the Nowhere City'.

When squatters first moved to Glenmore, there were no medical facilities, no shops, post offices or telephone, no employment and

(Continued on page 23)

'You can take the people out of the hart of District Six, ou pellie, but you'll never take District Six out of the heart of the people.'

District Six Resident, 1966

District Six — apartheid wins, the nation loses

ALTHOUGH District Six had its beginnings more than 300 years ago, the area was given its historical name only in 1867 after it was declared the sixth district in the municipality of Cape Town. The area began to grow after the freeing of the slaves in 1833.

In 1901 large slum areas were burnt and razed after an outbreak of bubonic plague. New buildings soon arose from the ashes and flourished. District Six grew and developed into a densely populated city within a city that became synonymous with the coloured community.

Today there are few coloured people who cannot trace their ancestry back to this cosmopolitan community at the foot of Table Mountain.

There were 16 churches, four community centres and 17 schools and training colleges. It was the most multi-racial residential area in South Africa.

At its height, it is estimated that the area generally known as District Six was the home of about 60 000 people; predominantly coloured and Indian, with smaller communities of whites and Africans.

But for the last 30 years District Six has been under a cloud of uncertainty. Since 1945 little has been done to maintain or improve the area.

When District Six was proclaimed white in 1966, about 30 000 people living in the specific group area were affected. In 1966 the City Engineer, Dr S. S. Morris, put the total population of the affected area at 33 446, 31 248 of them coloured people.

There were 8 500 workers in District Six, of whom 90 per cent

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University of Cape Town.*

were employed in and immediately around the central business district. There are at present about 6 000 pupils in schools in District Six, many from homes in the Cape Flats and with parents who formerly lived in District Six.

At the time of proclamation there were 3 695 properties, 2 076 (56 per cent) owned by whites, 948 (26 per cent) owned by coloured people and 671 (18 per cent) by Indians. But whites made up only one per cent and Indians four per cent.

On October 2, 1964, a departmental committee (set up by the Minister of Community Development) met to investigate the possible replanning and development of District Six and adjoining parts of Woodstock and Salt River.

On June 2, 1965, the Minister announced a 10-year scheme for the replanning and redevelopment of District Six under CORDA — the Committee for the Rehabilitation of Depressed Areas.

Ten days later all property transactions in District Six were frozen. A ten-year ban was imposed on the erection or alteration of any building.

In a statement on February 11, 1966, the Minister of Community Development and the Minister of Planning stated that a part of District Six was to be declared

a white area. This proclamation led to a wave of protest that has continued to this day.

The Minister denied that there would be any mass eviction of people from District Six or that they would be bundled out of the area overnight with consequent hardship and disruption. He announced that District Six would be redeveloped as a business and residential area. In 1968 demolitions began and the following year the mass removal of people was in progress.

On May 24, 1975, a part of District Six (including Zonnebloem, Walmer Estate and Trafalgar Park) was declared coloured in a surprise announcement by the Minister of Planning but the remaining area that had been declared white was unaltered.

The move was presented as a gesture of conciliation to the coloured people. In practice it did little to lessen the bitterness caused by the original decision.

The Government's plan for District Six, finally unveiled in 1971, was considered excessive even for that time of economic boom. Today, eight years later, there has been very little development in the empty shell that District Six became.

The plan has been attacked and discredited by nearly every author-

ity on town planning, architecture and property development but the Minister of Community Development, Mr Marais Steyn, has rejected expert opinion.

In May 1978, Mr Steyn announced a R9-million rehabilitation scheme for District Six. This included a pilot project to build 50 luxury houses for whites at a cost of R1,5 million.

The details of phase one of the development scheme were announced several months later. The projects included a R2,5m flat complex for white police and defence force personnel; R1,5m for roads and services and a R500 000 white housing complex of 25 flats.

In addition the Afrikaanse Christelike Vrouevereniging announced plans for a R2m high-rise building to house crèches, a home for the aged and a hostel for working girls.

The city council later announced that the provision of services for phase one of the government plan would cost R2,3m, of which the council would have to pay R1,3m.

The Department of Community Development has spent about R2,5m in purchasing District Six properties. The cost of the demolition of houses, the administrative machinery to find alternative homes, as well as the interest on the capital expenditure, is conservatively estimated at a further R30m. The total is probably much higher.

The depopulation of District Six has contributed to the stagnation of the central business district. It has been calculated that city retailers have suffered a loss of many millions over eight years in potential sales.

The city council is losing R700 000 a year in rates as a result of the demolition of buildings as the land acquired by the Government is exempt from rates.

To date only seven properties, representing a total return of R233 000, have been sold. If the area were fully developed as a residential area it would yield R2m a year in rates. This would amount to four per cent of the city's total revenue from rates.

There is a basic conflict between the attitude of the Government and that of local authorities. Earlier last year the Prime Minister stated that 'District Six is a blot which the Government has cleared up and will continue to clear up'.

In the opinion of the city engineer, Mr Brand, 'The decay of District Six was not so much a blot on the city's landscape but a blot on the city's conscience'.

The Government's destructive policy has not only brought about the spiritual and physical death of a once vibrant community but the principle of local autonomous authority has been flouted.

In the light of the events culminating in the mass removals in District Six, it must be asked whether these Government policies constitute 'urban renewal' or whether they amount to blatant racial discrimination.

At the time of the proclamation in 1966 there were some 29 000 people in the area that was proclaimed white. Today, some 10 000 people are still resident in the area.

Most of those who have been removed from their homes have been moved to the bleak townships on the wastes of the Cape Flats. Some have gone to Mitchells Plain.

A lucky few have managed to find accommodation in Walmer Estate or Woodstock.

Thirteen years of bulldozing and official harassment has had a devastating effect. The spirit that once thrived has been largely broken by years of insecurity, resulting in apathy and despondency.

Today removals are being carried out by the Department of Community Development more vigorously than ever before, with residents offered little choice in their place of resettlement. Often the offered alternative is miles from their work, hospitals and schools. Resettlement often involves substantially increased rent, sometimes five or six times as much.

Few acts by the Government have caused as much misery, resentment and frustration as the

proclamation of District Six as a white group area with the subsequent mass removals. Opposition has been expressed at every turn.

The Cape Town City Council has consistently opposed in principle the redevelopment of District Six as a white group area, although it co-operated on the physical aspects of development when faced with the accomplished fact. City planners have warned of the detrimental consequences of Government policies on District Six.

The view has been expressed that District Six has become the symbol of the hurt and distress that has resulted from all Group Areas removals, and is consequently more sensitive an issue than other similar situations.

It is possible that a positive act of conciliation in District Six would have far-reaching effects in improving relations, both at a local level and beyond.

The favoured strategy being discussed is to declare District Six an 'open area'.

This course would involve a re-examination of present plans with a view to:

- Accommodating the residents that remain in upgraded dwellings at rentals which they can afford.
- Renewing and re-using as many of the existing buildings as possible.
- Rebuilding the demolished areas to accommodate the population of workers serving the city that would naturally live there.
- Ensuring that the renewed or redeveloped area could accommodate a sufficiently wide range of incomes to satisfy the functional requirements of the central city area.
- Including such amenities as are necessary to sustain a balanced community.
- Reconsidering the viability of areas at present zoned for commercial and industrial uses.

If the present stigma attached to District Six were removed and the full co-operation of the private sector mobilised, there is no doubt that this blighted area could be rapidly redeveloped to become a useful and attractive part of the city of Cape Town.

Zanyokwe — for Betterment

or worse?

By Marian Lacey

ZANYOKWE is a rural location of about 2 000 morgen in the valley of the Zanyokwe stream, which in turn slopes down towards the Keiskamma River. The altitude varies from 500 to 900 metres and the rainfall averages 700 mm a year.

Up until 1939 when it was declared a betterment area (Government notice 791 dated June 9, 1939), it was typical of any tribally-owned communal area except, as in many Ciskeian rural locations, some freeholders had farms within the Zanyokwe location. For the rest, homesteads were scattered throughout the location, each married man being entitled to an arable lot and grazing rights on the large commonage which they shared with the freeholders.

With Mfengu and white settlers buying farms in Keiskammahoek, the Zanyokwe residents found themselves seriously short of arable land. So they became large stock-owners instead, with the landless working as share-croppers or half-share farmers on the lands of the freeholders. But then came taxes and increasing congestion which resulted in landlessness and overgrazing, so that the sons of many villagers had to become migrant workers on the mines and farms.

By the 1930s land shortage generally had become so acute that tens of thousands of Africans who had formerly been able to work on a migrant labour basis were forced to leave the reserves permanently. The farms and mines offered every more jobs but denied both stability and security,

for they refused to house the families of married workers.

For the landless, deprived of their right to an independent existence in the rural areas, and the disenchanted migrants whose jobs exiled them from their families, the only recourse was to migrate to the urban areas where these rights had not as yet been entirely restricted.

The depression, which accelerated the influx of both Africans and poor whites to the towns, had inevitable social and political results for both. It also hastened a growing labour crisis and pointed up the failure of government attempts to solve the poor white question. The government then set out to reappraise its entire 'native policy'.

This revised 'native policy' was spelt out by the Native Affairs Commission (NAC) in its 1939 report and a follow-up article in *Forum* (August 31, 1941) by Senator Heaton Nicholls; a key member of the NAC.

The policy was to be one of territorial separation. The Commission aimed to set aside 'sufficient land to provide a family anchorage for all Natives except the comparatively small sections which must be considered as permanently detribalised and urbanised and who could not be lured back by any Reserve reward'.

To appreciate how comprehensive the intent was even then, under the Smuts government and 15 years before the Tomlinson Report, one reads the Commission's declaration along with its propo-

sal that all Africans on farms in white areas should be removed to the reserves and that males only be allowed to leave the reserves.

As Nicholls stated: 'The breakdown of the labour tenant system under the stress of economic conditions means the ultimate removal of families of farm workers into the reserves and the conversion of all farm labour into wage labour on the same basis as mine labour'.

The NAC had every justification for this line. The Native Land legislation of 1913 and 1936 and the Natives (Urban Areas) Acts, especially as amended by the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937, implied the policy of barring Africans from property or domiciliary rights in 'white areas'.

In fact all these measures were thoroughgoing in their effort to reverse the flow of Africans from the reserves to the towns, and the policy of regarding urban Africans as temporary sojourners was emphasised by the provisions for expelling 'redundant' Africans from the towns.

The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, in Chapter 4, made it possible within a 30-year period to uproot all labour tenants and peasant squatters in white areas, while provision was also made to expropriate African freeholders on land in the so-called 'black spots'. Landowners thus expropriated were to be given compensatory land of 'equal pastoral and agricultural value' in the reserves.¹

1. This clause was later amended so that only Africans whose land measured over 40 morgen were entitled to compensatory land.

To ensure a 'family anchorage' for a population of three million Africans already resident in the reserves in 1936 and a further 1½ million whom the NAC estimated would have to be repatriated from the white areas, the State instituted the so-called betterment schemes. These schemes were legally enforceable in the 7 250 000 morgen of potential trust areas (ie quota land) to be released under the 1936 act, and it was hoped that the remaining 10½ million morgen scheduled in 1913 would also eventually become betterment areas.

Zanyokwe, like most other areas in Keiskammahoek, was, for some undisclosed reason, left out of the 1913 schedule. It was one of the first to be proclaimed a betterment area in 1939 and was immediately subjected to a whole host of regulations restricting the number of stock, and about the fencing of grazing camps and land allocation.

In drawing up the scheme the administrators apparently relied heavily on some of the labour devices used by Cecil Rhodes in his Glen Grey Act of 1894.

The success of Rhodes' system was that it increased the government's control over Africans in districts surveyed under the act. This control was strengthened by ensuring that 'headmen in the pay of the Government' would serve on councils created under the act.

The headmen would be responsible not only for levying taxes for local development, but also for collecting government ones. Secondly, the act limited people to four-morgen allotments under individual title, which was hardly sufficient for an economic peasant holding, but small enough to impose severe restrictions on squatting.

There was to be hereditary succession on the basis of primogeniture, and land could not be alienated without special permission. Rhodes thereby ensured an ever-increasing labour force, for in each generation all but the eldest son would be made landless; and by declaring the surveyed lands inalienable the move towards segregation had begun.

The betterment planners modified Rhodes' scheme in one important respect. Although it was usual in trust areas for the eldest son to inherit the land, this was seen as a privilege given at the State's discretion, not as a legal

right. Under the new scheme a man could only have a certificate of occupation and it could be withdrawn if he failed to obey any of the trust's demands — any of their proclamations or servitude regulations.

GLENMORE — Continued from page 19

only the promise of rent and high transport costs, where before there had been none. The cost of living at Glenmore is exorbitantly high.

In 1976, the Poverty Datum Line for a family of six, living in Grahamstown, was R105,06. In Glenmore, three years later, where basic commodities are more expensive than they are in Grahamstown, most families have an income of only R27 per month.

Two farmers recruited women and young men to pick sprouts at 90c per day or at 2c per kilo, plus a meal of beans and mielie-soup. Worker turnover was high, and productivity low, with women earning R1,40 per week. They were in the fields before dawn, soaked to the waist before the dew was off the freezing plants, and then remained there until after 5 pm.

Glenmore was destined to receive 40 000 blacks from isolated pockets in the Eastern Cape, who were to live in 5 000 houses on a 1 000 hectare farm on the banks of the Fish River.

But in August 1979 further removals were stopped and development of the R26 million scheme was frozen after Dr Koornhof visited the area. Shortly afterwards, Dr Koornhof, in an address to the Grahamstown Library of the Blind, said he was 'the honorary mayor of Alexandria, the Godfather of Crossroads, and would soon be the Father Christmas of Glenmore'.

By November, there were only four people employed out of the 3 800 Glenmore residents, family incomes had dropped by more than two thirds — from an average of R80 per month to R27 per month — and more than 20 people had died, mostly from malnutrition or kwashiorkor-related diseases.

Mr D. Hitge, Chief Commissioner for Co-operation and Development in Queenstown, said that where people worked was not his responsibility. 'There are the rural areas where there is no work either — the people are migrant workers'. He said: 'The provision of jobs has nothing to do with me'.

LOSS OF RIGHTS

The most important loss, apart from family members and cattle, is of Section 10 rights (Section 10 of the Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945), which enables them to seek work in urban areas. This loss is extended to their children, which means the Glenmore people have been forced to become migrant workers.

The Government endorses this view. Ten years ago, the then Minister of Bantu Affairs and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, said resettlement areas were not meant to be areas of employment, but areas from which blacks could become migrant workers.

Resettlement, in Government terms, aims at clearing 'non-productive Bantu' or 'redundant blacks' from white areas, and sending them to resettlement camps or back to their homelands.

These 'non-productive Bantu' have been classified by the Government as: the aged, unfit widows, women with dependent children, families who do not qualify for Section 10 rights, superfluous farm labourers and squatters.

Ironically, even professional blacks, such as doctors, attorneys, agents, traders and industrialists have fallen into this category because they do not fit into the so-called 'white' economy.

Glenmore reveals that there has been no major shift of Government policy over the past few years.

This was an elegant method of control. The sporadic and potentially explosive peasant resistance movements which proliferated in many reserve locations against cattle culling, the one-man-one-lot principle, and the forcible internal resettlement of scattered homesteaders in closer settlement villages did not occur in Zanyokwe.

Any rebel there could be brought to heel at once by threatening to cancel his certificate. The administrators did not even have to look tough. While land allocation kept people docile, the official eye focused benignly on such mild interests as conserving soil and reclaiming land.

Zanyokwe has been a betterment area for 40 years. Despite the label, conditions there have steadily deteriorated. In a population of just over 1 500 in 1975, only 13 families with freehold title had lands and stock, and 15 household heads had been given certificates of occupation. Over 200 families were landless and without stock.

Tomlinson had recommended in 1955 that landless or 'surplus' people be removed to rural resettlement villages to be created outside the locations. This was to allow for the growth of a rural peasantry. It has not been done because the resettlement camps

of the last two decades like Sada, Dimbaza and Thornhill were needed for the 'redundants', 'surplus', 'illegals' and squatters uprooted and resettled from the 'white areas'.

Meanwhile the landless villagers living in closer settlements in the betterment areas are, like their resettlement camp neighbours, totally dependent on the wage sector. The present focus on the appalling living conditions for people in resettlement camps seems far too narrow. It implies falsely that life in the rural locations is somehow better.

As Macmillan wrote in 1930:

'in South Africa . . . there was a general conscience-comforting *idée fixe* that the Native is a lucky being, able to live on very little, working only when it suits him — passing lightly between town house and country seat.'

(Complex South Africa, p 188.)

His comment still hold true for most whites today.

With Riekert updating the Tomlinson plan, the future looks even bleaker for most homelander. Industrial legislation which has long afforded protection to privileged whites, and then coloureds and Indians too, led to a gross over-

supply of unskilled Afrikan workers. It is a main cause of the present critical shortage of skilled workers and the increasingly high rate of unemployment amongst unskilled workers.

To right the balance this preferential policy is now to be extended, but only to include the 4½ million or so urban insiders who qualify under the rigorous terms of Section 10, 1 (a), (b) and (c) rights.

Where does this leave the homelander? Under the Tomlinson plan industries and rural development programmes were to have created the jobs and the opportunities for Africans to fulfil their rising expectations 'in their own areas'.

Benso statistics for 1975 and 1978 show that apart from the prospects for African politicians and civil servants, a sprinkling of business and professional men, and a few unskilled workers in sub-economic and small-scale industries and irrigation schemes, this dream is fast becoming a homeland nightmare. Most rural dwellers still depend entirely on the white wage sector for survival.

In fact there seems to be less room for rural development than before. Using the Ciskei example once again, with Herschel and Glen Grey ceded to Transkei, the Ciskei has already lost 478 167 morgen of its original quota.

One must also add the loss of all areas in the north-western Cape to Bophuthatswana (the Mafeking district alone measured over one million morgen) which, unlike the Eastern Cape and 'black spot' expropriations, was not added to the Ciskei quota.

The excision of these lands means that Africans are being still more deprived. The lands promised in 1936, but still to be purchased, will more than likely be allocated as compensatory land to those already removed. The rest must be given to landless chiefs in the Ciskei. Little if any land will be available, therefore, to relieve the congestion in the heavily overpopulated locations.

Up to October 31, 1979, destitute homelander could use a loophole in the influx control laws



Picture by GRAHAM HAYMAN

by entering towns in the hope of finding a job within the visiting limit of 72 hours. Most employers (except perhaps in the Western Cape) found that they could register these people in the ordinary way as contract workers. But on October 31, 1979, the three-month moratorium for the registration of 'illegal' employees was withdrawn and this loophole was shut.

Employers now face a R500 fine for hiring an 'illegal' worker, which will effectively stop this practice. From now on, rural dwellers will have to join the queues of the tens of thousands of unemployed workseekers in the homelands in the hope of getting contract work.

Moreover, if Riekert's recommendations are fully applied, the chances of a homelander receiving even contract work will be greatly reduced, for the homelander will then have to compete against his more favoured unemployed Section 10 counterpart.

In Riekert's proposals, furthermore, it is recommended that Section Tenners be allowed to move freely between prescribed areas. But since the free movement of workers is conditional on both housing and jobs being available, it is possible that future family housing programmes will be co-ordinated with the estimated labour needs of the various districts.

In this way the State can regulate the redistribution of Section 10 workseekers between the urban areas while at the same time prevent the uncontrolled influx of Section Tenners to any one particular industrial centre simply by refusing to sanction the building of extra houses where no jobs exist.

Besides, employers themselves are likely to prefer workers who are free of red tape, and few will invest in the training and apprenticing of workers who are unsure of being able to stay permanently in town. Thus priority in the redistribution of unemployed skilled and unskilled Section Tenners will be assured.

With the existing oversupply of unskilled workers this could mean than once Riekert's recommendations are fully implemented, contracts for homelander in certain

sectors will be reduced and eventually only the menial, low-paid unskilled jobs — those needing cheap, casual, seasonal or perpetual migrant workers — will be open to homelander. With no other means of subsistence, what choice will the rural destitute have? And how can he bargain for better wages even in those base kinds of employment?

One also notes the present boom and the assurance of political stability which may signal a return to mass white immigration. If skilled workers flock in from abroad, even Section Tenners will struggle to find jobs in that sector and will have to take unskilled work instead. In turn they will be encroaching on the most menial work sector, so that even those contracts will not be left for homelander.

Tomlinson predicted in 1955 that by the end of the 1970s the tide of Africans flowing from the reserves to the towns would be reversed. As a result of one government action after another, culminating in the Riekert recommendations, his prophecy has come true.

Africans will now pile up in the homeland areas where land and employment are both totally inadequate to keep even the present communities alive. The luckiest of them will get contract work of the poorest kind, living away from their families, and with no power to seek either better jobs or higher wages.

This reverse tide has been most evident from 1968 with the passing of the Bantu Labour Regulation Amendment Act which not only tightened up influx control machinery but made it virtually impossible for a homeland worker to qualify (as he had in the past) for the much-coveted Section 10, 1 ((a), (b) or (c) rights in urban areas.

Alongside this and various anti-squatting measures the State finally took steps to implement Chapter 4 of the Native Trust and Land Act as the 30-year limit had expired. Thus began the mass resettlement of squatters, labour tenants, and 'redundants' such as the old, disabled, and unemployed dependants.

Not only has resettlement occurred on a mass scale but, even after allowing for a natural average 2,74 per cent annual population increase, the number of Africans with domiciliary rights in the white sector has been effectively reduced: the latest CED estimate is only 870 000 families, or 25 per cent of the entire African population, while the number of people flowing back to the Ciskei each year is well over the 2,74 per cent natural increase.

Riekert's refinement of the separate development plan condemns the rest of the African workforce to either a migrant or contract-worker existence if they are employed at all. For workseekers resettled in locations near industrial growth points (Riekert estimated there were 43 500 Ciskeian frontier commuters in 1976) there will be some job opportunities and at least as daily commuters they will be able to live with their families. But for people like the Zanyokwe residents living in closer settlement rural locations and the tens of thousands of others dumped in the now notorious resettlement camps, jobs will be scarce, remote, and of the poorest kind.

In contrast, whites may feel benefited by these developments. By trial and error, and a constant updating of the blueprint first worked out in the 1930s by the old United Party, the State has finally shaped its labour control and regulation to suit the labour needs of all sectors.

Perhaps as important to most whites, urban Africans may well stay low-key politically in order to keep the privileges and protection belatedly extended to them. It is argued that this could defuse the urban political time-bomb or at least win time for doing so.

Yet this hope for safety in town is bought at the expense of life itself in the country. For those more concerned about future violence than present suffering, the plight of the homelander is still serious — it could be another fuse to the same bomb. And for others, the priority is that people everywhere have the right to live, which implies at the very least a reasonable system for survival.

BLACK SASH OFFICES

HEADQUARTERS

510 Voortrekker House
18 Hoek Street, Johannesburg 2001
Phone 37-2435/6

CAPE WESTERN

5 Long Street, Mowbray 7700, Cape
Phone 65-3513

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