State of the action Students' Press Union Publication Feb/March 1985 Price 50c

Rural Review; APARTHEID'S BITTER HARVEST

LAND AND LABOUR

EDITORIAL

EOPLE WHO live in South Africa's cities and towns seldom see what goes on in the rural areas of the country. It is easy to forget they are

Yet this is where poverty, starvation, and repression are more intense than anywhere else in South Africa. The rural areas need urgent attention for this reason alone.

But more important, urban people need to understand the conditions working people face in the bantustans and on white farms, because both are exploited and oppressed by the same system.

They also need to know about the struggles of rural people and they need to tell them about their own. The majority of South Africans do not accept apartheid's divisions, and victories in one part of the country will echo far away and give hope to others. And whenever one link in apartheid's chain is weakened the whole chain is weakened.

South Africa's working class and the exploitative conditions under which it works could not have been created without the bantustans. African people had to be dispossessed of their land before they could be driven into the mines, farms and factories as underpaid, rightless wage labourers.

Bosses could only pay low wages because hey knew workers' families were stuck away on tiny bantustan plots, scratching out whatever they could to stay alive, and because they knew that workers who organised against this could be removed and dumped in the veld,

Workers are still rightless and underpaid and the bantustans are still playing their part.

The bantustans have also been used to keep Africans politically weak. Traditional rulers like chiefs and headmen were turned into employees of the apartheid government, and used to keep rural people under control, either by using resources like land to reward friends and punish enemies, or by naked

Bantustan governments still play that role. The people still do not govern, and Africans in rural and urban areas have Sebes, Mangopes and community councillors shoved down their

Finally, the bantustans have helped the government and the bosses to turn their backs on the housing, health-care and welfare needs of millions of South Africans. The homeless, the sick, the old and the disabled were moved out of urban areas and left to

fend for themselves. And nothing has changed. The pass laws were used to tie this system together. They pulled rural Africans into the cities and farms, kicked them out when their labour was no longer needed, and tied them up in the bantustans to make sure they did

They hung like nooses over the heads of urban Africans. Pensioners, the inemployed and the politically active knew the government could easily cancel their urban rights and endorse them out of the towns. The pass laws to work, for housing, security, comfort, education, and for political rights.

FEB/MARCH 1985 still work in the same ways today.

Now only 20 percent of all Africans live in the white' towns. 60 percent suffer in the bantustans. 20 percent are tied to white farms.

The bantustans continue to grow fuller. Over one million farm workers, many of whom had been tenants on white farms for decades, have been slowly replaced by machines as farmers pursue profits and high productivity.

Once the government has forced people into the rural areas it does everything in its power to keep them there — out of their way. For many the long wait outside a labour bureau for a job is an endless one — with no hope of escaping the mass prisons called 'homelands'

But people continue to resist and hungry people still find their way to the urban areas and a chance of survival. They would rather face prison in the towns than starvation in the rural areas.

And in the past few years, organised opposition has grown in the rural areas despite difficult conditions. The tradition of rural resistance is rich - the struggles of Pondoland, Zeerust and many other places are well

There is also a rich tradition of rural and urban struggles linking up. Suffering in the bantustans has made migrant workers more militant. The strike by 40 000 mine workers in 1919 and again in 1946 was triggered off by worsening poverty in the reserves.

In 1959 the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) called for a potato boycott to fight the terrible exploitation of farm workers in the Eastern Transvaal.

Thirty years ago this year, 2 000 South Africans met at Kliptown to draw up the Freedom Charter. On the rural areas they said:

• "the land shall be shared amongst those

restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

• the state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

> • freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work the

• all shall have the right to occupy the land whereever they choose;

• people shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.'

The Freedom Charter links problems in rural areas to others caused by the apartheid system. Land redistribution would not be enough without fulfilling all of the demands of the Freedom Charter. And without South Africa's working people having their rightful share in all of the country's

The struggle for land cannot be separated from the struggles for the right

V HEN THE GOVERNMENT and the bosses talk about persuading people. South Africans and the world at large know exactly what they mean. Persuasion in South Africa has nothing to do with consultation or discussion and even less to do with agree-Instead it means the forced relocation of people, the detention in solitary confinement of people who are opposed to exploitation and oppression, and endless pass raids. Persuasion also means the arbitrary reclassification of millions of South Africans as citizens of so-called independent homelands.

The government's recent announcement that it was suspending the forced removal of people in communities convinced very few South Africans, especially when they said they would only remove those who had agreed to move or whose leaders had agreed

A group of communities under threat of removal issued a statement making it quite clear that all removals must stop.

We will fight for our future whatever reprieves or threats the government issues. We believe that it is our struggles until now which have shown the government that to continue with removals will cause bloodshed and fighting. The government fears the bad publicity which this brings to South Africa. But this is caused entirely by its own actions,'

they said.

When removals cause public outcry and fierce resistance it's often hard to understand why the government continues with its programme of removals. Removals expose Apartheid in its most violent and naked form.

But even a brief analysis of forced removals reveals that the government is not only determined to continue with its programme, but compelled to. Along with the pass laws, controls over housing and residence in the urban areas, manipulation of citizenship, and the bantustan system, forced removals are an essential part of controlling the African working class.

From the earliest days of South African capitalist agriculture, mining, industry and commerce, the ruling class and the government have tried to make sure they have sufficient workers where they want them, when they want them and how they want them.

The bosses were faced with a shortage of workers because the indigenous people had their own land, animals and crops and were economically self-sufficient. To create a potential workforce the ruling class had to smash that self-sufficient economy, leaving particular area. Every year over 200 000 African people with no means of support and mines. This would also satisfy white far- | have experienced the violence of a pass | mers who wanted to take African people's land for themselves.

South Africa's rulers passed laws to dispossess the people, and to ensure that workers | People arrested, charged and found guilty are were available' for wage labour and their land available for others to farm.

Most famous among these measures was the 1913 Land Act which restricted African land ownership to a mere 13 percent of the available land in SA, on which 70 percent of the population were meant to live and work. This was impossible from the start and grew steadily worse, forcing increasing numbers to seek work and survival in the cities, and on the mines and farms.

It wasn't long before the workseekers outnumbered the available jobs and the job market in the cities was swamped. Since the early stages of capitalist economic development a surplus people has existed — thousands upon land and who could not find jobs in the cities. vival other than wage labour in that capitalist | areas, and they made the obvious choice.

over land, jobs and jobless

Super-profits from control

Soon the challenge facing the ruling class

and the government was no longer creating a

andless work force but rather containing and

controlling it — ensuring that the right

number of people were allowed to migrate

rom the rural areas to work, while the surplus

But as former prime minister, Jan Smuts,

pointed out - you might as well try to sweep

he ocean back with a broom. There was no

of police sweep the streets in search of people

whose passes do not entitle them to be in that

umiliation of the commissioners courts.

which forced them to leave are still there

and towns.

driving them as forcefully as ever to the cities.

the tide of people from the rural areas. In

1960 some 40% of the African population

lived in bantustans. By 1980 the government

nad managed to push this up to 54%. To do

this they removed three million people from

But the fundamental contradiction the rul-

ing class cannot escape is that they have built

a capitalist economy that is unable to absorb

the urban areas and the white farms.

was locked into poverty in the rural areas.

And these surplus people are not being ooked after by any welfare programmes either. A network of controls has been developed to contain them in the rural areas. To seek work they have to register with the local labour bureaux and sit and rot until some employer sends through a request for labour. With thousands of people on the waiting lists, many will never get jobs. Eleven million South Africans live (and die) like this.

vay that people starving in the rural areas Landless and jobless, they are dictated to by would avoid coming to the urban areas in government appointed chiefs whose power search of work. And there was no way that the depends on performing the task of control. ruling class and the government could allow This strategy has gone as far as establishing self-governing states in which the puppets are This fundamental conflict of interests betgiven a legislative assembly, a large bureauc ween the working class and the bosses and racy and a budget. Their captive subjects their government is fought out every day. With the pass laws as their broom, thousands

starves while they squander millions. Once in power these servants of apartheid have too little power to improve bantustan life — but enough to keep people under strict, repressive control.

people are arrested under the pass lawsin can be more easily exploited. Beggars can't be arrest, the degradation of a prison cell and the choosers and any offer of work, no matter how bad the wages and working conditions, is better than no work at all. The bosses take full soon back on the streets. The government advantage of this and, with government assistance they easily rid themselves of workers does not have the machinery to drag them all who oppose their own exploitation. back to the rural areas and the problems

Even farmers use the bantustans, dumping their workers across the border and then trucking them in when they need them.

Forced removals were started to turn back Those people who slip through the network of pass controls and who manage to escape forced removals find themselves in the cities with nowhere to live. To restrict the number of people moving to the urban areas, the government deliberately built too few houses in the urban areas.

Again they miscalculated. The fact of the matter was that people in the rural areas were faced with the choice between starvation in

The housing shortage is massive. In Soweto alone 40 000 people wait in anger and frustration to be allocated a house. Estimates of the number of people in a standard four-roomed house range from 13 to 17.

People lucky enough to have houses face ncreasing expense. The government created this situation by cutting off community council funds and forcing them to raise money through rents and service charges.

Township residents simply cannot afford to pay any more. They cannot afford to eat any less. And so, when already unpopular councillors announced increases, popular protest was swift and direct. Many councillors lost their lives, their homes and property were destroyed. The council and admin board offices were burnt down.

Entire townships became ungovernable as neither the community councils nor their administration board bosses, nor even the army or the police could get people to pay rent. The contradiction of the surplus people was being fought out again, this time right

If community councils and admin boards are to govern these townships again, they will need the army and the police constantly present. The struggle for control of the townships is linked to the struggles over housing and the pass laws and all relate back to the basic contradiction of a working class with no work, no land and no rights.

These inescapable contradictions continue to hound South Africa's rulers in all their attempts to control the African working class. Members of trade unions, civics, women, youth and student groups all have contact with family and friends in the rural areas. As heir political consciousness expands, the links between degradation and suffering in the country and exploitation and oppression in the towns become clearer. They are the result of the same social system in which a small minority owns and controls wealth and power and continually has to impose that ownership and control.

How long the government and the bosses can continue this ultimately hopeless task of controlling the working class has become a real question.

Administration of the apartheid machine costs the government millions of rand each year. At the same time resistance to forced removals, the pass laws, rent increases, Bantu education, and undemocratic government increases and democratic organisations grow. Attempts to suppress opposition through the use of the army and the police have failed.

All this suits the bosses because it leaves | People have shown their willingness to meet workers so desperate and deprived that they | force with force, and refuse to be intimidated Peaceful protests against rent increases have escalated into civil wars, protests against excessive use of corporal punishment and the

inadequate training of teachers have escalated into nationwide schools boycotts. The retrenchment of 6000 workers at Sasol threatens to develop into a national general

Even so, the stakes are too high for the government simply to accept defeat. Each new failure and set back prompts them to renewed action. A never ending series of commissions review government policy and strategy and make proposals for more effective measures of control.

The dividing lines however between the exploiters and the exploited have been too clearly drawn and the arsenal of controls that the bosses and their government rely on to ensure exploitation and subordination of the thousands with no chance of surviving on the the working class, which has no means of sur-

Organise or starve Farm workers produce food but



CONTENTS

Mgwali The people fight back page 14

Forgotten Warriors

Condemned to exile in a rural-

wasteland the plight of ban-

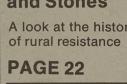
nished people is seldom-

remembered

PAGE 16



With Sticks and Stones





look at

labour ten-

out land

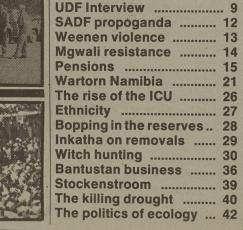


PAGE 19 PAGE 10

unemployed

bantustans



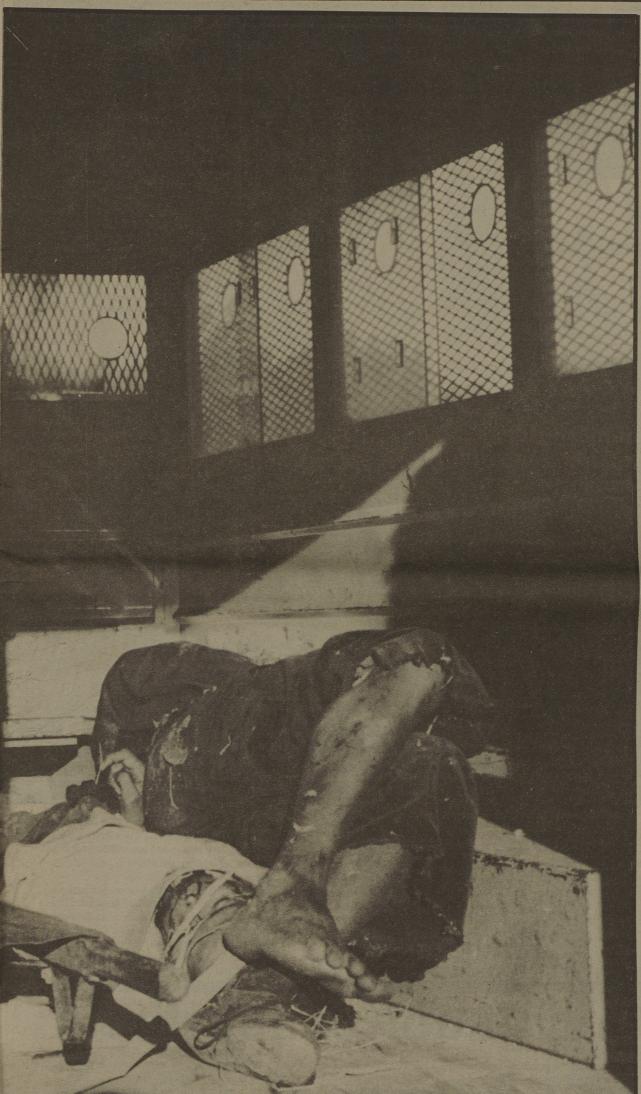


The Msinga Wars

How strong is Inkatha 8

INSIDE:





In three months last year 35 people died in the Msinga violence. The official figures don't count the bodies collected off the battlefield by the families of the dead. What is the reason for the killings? The commercial press puts it down to 'Zulu bloodlust'. STATE OF THE NATION took a closer look at . . .



o man ran for cover when the shooting began at Matshe-Matshe. Shoulder to shoulder 1 000 men stood in the blazing sun, firing volley after volley.

Some said it was the dagga grown in the Msinga valleys that gave the men courage to face the bullets without flinching.

Sixty men died that morning, March 11, and many were injured. The rival Mabomvu and Mafosi clans had clashed once more.

The sun had risen at 5 am and by midday the temperature was a sweltering 40C.

One thousand men lined up in the open veld, most dressed in boiler suits with sashes, head bands or belts to denote which side they belonged to.

The shooting continued until the Mafosi ran out of ammunition. Only then did their 'warriors' flee, to be pursued by the jubilant Mabomvu.

Many Mafosi were mowed down by their pursuers. Sixty men died and at least 30 were injured.

The Majosis were completely defeated, and those who had made off with the Mabomvu cattle before the battle, were shot down before they got very far.

It took three days for the bodies to be taken to the mortuary at the Tugela Ferry Hospital. Only 35 were located — the others were collected by relatives before the police arrived. The district surgeon whose job it is to perform post mortems on all those who die by violence in the area, found the mortuary floor littered with bodies. The midday temperature was 39 ° c. ● To Page 6

THE MSINGA MASSACRES

Land conflict

sows poverty.

THE EFFECTS of faction fights

extend far beyond the battles

clans it is traditionally taboo to

crops. It is believed that to do so

would take the strength away

from the impis and the chances of winning the war would be greatly decreased.

During the summer of 1984 all agricultural land in both areas

planted. The result was further

The hospital became limited in

its ability to serve the needs of the Majosi people. Ambulances were turned back when called

to collect maternity cases and

the mobile clinic was unable to

reach its two stopping points from Christmas until Easter.

hijacked, virtually no Tugela Ferry hospital staff dared risk

travelling into Majosi territory.

increasing numbers because of

special measles ward had to be opened. Measles coupled with

After an ambulance was

As a result measles cases arrived at the hospital in

the lack of immunization. A

poor nutrition have led to a

tragic increase in child

was unploughed and not

poverty and starvation.

During a war between two

plough the land or plant any

disease and

starvation

he area of Msinga in Natal is located between Dundee and Greytown. It has its heartland in the village of Tugela Ferry, on

the banks of the Tugela River. The stark and rocky hills, eroded by the summer thunderstorms, rise steeply from the river. Thorn trees cover the moderate slopes. Even in summer there is very little grass. Most agricultural enterprise is concentrated along the banks of the river. KwaZulu government boreholes have been sunk over

most of the territory, but many are not functional because they are poorly sited. During the drought the watertable in Msinga fell so low that even the well-situated boreholes dried up. People have to walk many kilometers each day for water.

There are 174 000 hectares of arid thornveld strewn with rocks in Msinga. The population census is incomplete because faction fighting apparently interrupted the 1980 survey. In 1970 the census was 115 000. Estimates now vary from 160 000 to 200 000

In 1954 the Tomlinson Commission calculated that Msinga could adequately support only 2 100 families. Now there are about 20

The only way people can survive is through employment outside the area. The income of families is derived almost totally from the remittances of migrant workers in the cities and in the mines.

The Land Act of 1913 and the Land Bill of 1936 drew boundaries on three sides, limiting the movement of the people of Msinga. Msinga was almost surrounded by white

Within this area eight clans could be distinguished. Their distinction was accentuated by the appointment of chiefs to each of these groups. Before the government introduced the bantustan policy, the existence of chiefs was beginning to die out. People were moving away from tribalism, but government policy—especially after the 1953 Act—halted this tendency. The appointed chiefs now owed allegiance to the paramount chief at Ulundi and less so to their people. Chiefs became puppets in the hands of bantustans and central govern-

The quantity of land allocated to the people of Msinga might have been adequate in 1913 but this is unlikely. It is now totally inadequate. The traditional annexing of land as families expanded could no longer occur - it was limited on three sides by white-

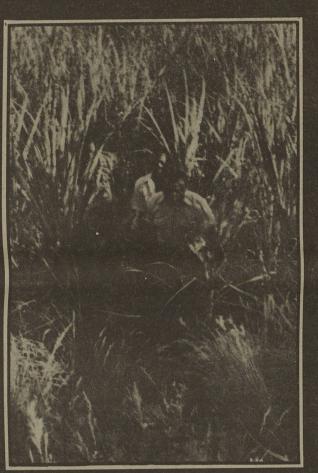
And Msinga became one of the many rural 'dumping grounds' for people who were removed from white farms and black freehold areas.

Population pressure on the land is one of the root causes of conflict in the area.

This fact was recognised by the government as long ago as the late 1800's. Despite this, relocation of people into the area has gone

Another cause of conflict has been that of disputed boundaries. In 1922 an attempt was made by the local magistrate to redefine the boundary between the Mthembu and

The result was a war in which over 100 people are said to have died.



Carrying the dead off the battlefield

In 1944 an area of prime agricultural land on the banks of the Tugela was disputed by the Mthembus and Mchunus. After 150 people were killed the land was confiscated by the government and handed over to what is now known as the KwaZulu Development Corporation (KDC).

The KDC hoped to manage the land efficiently and productively as an example to the people. Initially mealies and potatoes were grown and there seemed promise of a good harvest. But the displaced people stole the

potato crop and most of the maize.

Innoyed by this failure to harvest the 'demonstration' crops, the KDC planted cotton. This was not stolen, but made no profit. The following year strawberries were planted. An agreement between the KDC, KwaZulu government and a Durban-based firm led to the fields of Msinga being used to grow delicacies for the rich of Durban.

Mabomvus has resulted in only one pitched

battle. Otherwise guerilla warfare continues - surprise attacks on isolated kraals, ambushes on the road, even shooting migrants in Johannesburg hostels.

Border warfare is almost a thing of the past with killer gangs striking deeply into the heart of enemy country. In January this year an ambulance from the Tugela Ferry hospital was borrowed by one of the ambulance The war between the Majosis and the drivers and used to transport an impi into enemy territory and then to make a getaway

Faction fights — a creation of apartheid THE REASON for faction fight- salary by the magistrate. The salary magistrate to proclaim imaginary change could end the hostility, for tions placed a tremendous strain on

geance' in Msinga can be explained of the tribe and the rank of the vent disagreements. The govern- without taking land from one tribe Antagonism between the Chunu

tled in the Msinga location, of which | pressure. the largest were the Tembu and Most importantly the government Mabaso off from a natural bound-Chunu. At that stage there were no | began to evict squatters from sur- | ary — the Tugela River. neighbouring tribes.

power and authority. This deter- tribes' territory. But the chief had kraals, destroyed stock and looted only ended when police reinforce- in the event of eviction.

the natural population growth of | ment.

by one factor — insufficient land. | chief. This encouraged the chief to | ment decided to fix a boundary bet- | and giving it to another. By 1881, there were 14 tribes set- attract followers and added to land ween the Tembu and Mabaso

territorial boundaries, and tribes- rounding 'white' areas and place The Mabaso petitioned the gov-

mined his ability to allocate land. no control over the influx of people extensively.

men tended to live close to the them in the Msinga reserve. From ernment to revise this boundary but from his kraal intermingled with Msinga increased by 21 percent. matters into their own hands and The pressure on land meant that | encroached on the Tembu side of Traditionally the number of fol- chiefs were now unable to allocate the boundary. In response the lowers a chief had, reflected his land without encroaching on other Tembu killed five Mabaso, burnt 11

This tradition was undermined by which was decided by the govern- The authorities believed that each Durban. change of boundary would ease the After 1922 the depression and a their rural economy — and most

I ing or the 'ideology of ven- was calculated according to the size | boundaries between tribes to pre- boundaries could not be redefined | the Msinga people.

tribes. This boundary cut the decided to implement a plan which mobilised for a showdown. The he thought would ease the tensions | confrontation began on farm land between the Tembu and Mabaso. | and involved farm labourers living He set up a beacon on the Nokeshe | as far as 30 miles from the reserve. Plateau. This redefinition of the Farmworkers and labour tenants chief's kraal. Those most distant 1911 to 1921 the population in without success. In 1905 they took boundary brought to a head 40 were aware of their insecure posivears of tension and hostility. tion — that they could be dismissed

the Tembus and Mabasos. The vio- war they were identifying themlence lasted for three months and selves with the land and their chief ments arrived from Dundee and Faction fighting began as an

tribes. Secondly, chiefs were paid a | It soon became necessary for the | tension. In fact, no boundary | large influx of people through evic- | importantly — access to land.

and Tembu reached a peak during In April 1922 the magistrate | World War II and in 1944 the tribes Fierce fighting broke out between and evicted. By aiding their tribes in

attempt by rural people to maintain



this is increasing unemployment.

way of venting aggression and making

have learnt how to survive by illicit means

and who wield authority through the barrel

he Msinga crisis eventually led to a

Msinga/Weenen Commission of Inquiry

appointed by Koornhof. The result was the

enlargement of the police force instead of

attempts to solve the crisis of poverty and

ments arrived from Johannesburg, a contin-

gent of forty white police. The new police

force was effective. The war has subsided.

But the causes of this violence — the pov-

erty, unemployment, landlessness and

hunger — have not.

The gun supply police can't end The ambulance driver was a member of the Mabomvu faction and his incursion was into

Majosi territory at Pomeroy. He waited in the vehicle while the other men attacked a CLUSTERED ON the banks of the Tugela house, shooting four men. Two of them died are a number of tents surrounded by high immediately, but the two others were taken wire fences. This is the home of the firearms

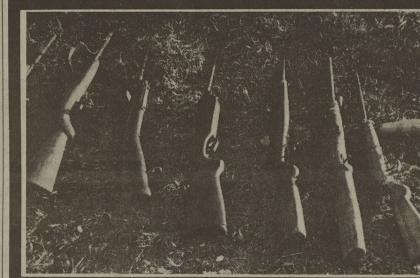
In the past year the employment of hired The camp was set up as a temporary solution killers has increased. One of the reasons for to faction fighting in Msinga but the unit has now existed for 26 years. The firearms squad Many of the out-of-work young men who attempts to reduce the killing by confiscating return to Msinga are turning to violence as a | weapons.

To encourage local people to give up their money to survive. These local mercenaries weapons there is no prosecution in cases — the 'hired killers' — are replacing the where guns are recovered. The majority of traditional impi which was under the control police hauls are a result of tip-offs from the of the chief. It is said that 'the real power in opposing faction. Msinga is passing from the chief and his indunas into the hands of young men, who

When they first arrived the gun squad hoped that Msinga would be cleaned up within a year. 1 361 weapons were collected between 1979 and the end of 1983. The squad collected guns at the rate of 44 per month in 1983.

Few firearms are made in Msinga. Most come from Johannesburg where they are stolen or traded for dagga. Police regularly raid the Tugela valley, one of South Africa's premier dagga growing areas. In 1979/80 nearly 60 000 kilograms valued at well over unemployment. At Easter, police reinforce-R100 million were destroyed. But there is always plenty left for sale.

> Ammunition is not easily obtainable. Doctors extracting bullets from wounded people have found pieces of tin metal and cloth. The ammunition does not always fit the



calibre of the firearm, so it is necessary to wrap the bullets in other metal or coarse

While South African Defence Force service rifles and equipment, including machine guns, are definitely in circulation in the area, it is clear that some tribesmen fight with more primitive firearms, some of them probably 'home made' in workshops around the

Msinga

Examples of

rifles take

When police receive information they immediately go to the kraal or house. If guns are found the person is not arrested.

However, if the suspect is not able to produce any firearms he is arrested and subjected to lengthy interrogation.

TERROR LEKOTA ON

RURAL ORGANISATION

United Democratic Front publicity secretary,

Terror Lekota, speaks to State of the Nation

there for a day or two.

crises take place?

All the government did was to wait for their

ime at home to expire and then go ahead

are out of public attention. They are not

immediately accessible to the outside world.

with removal programmes.
A further problem of rural areas is that they



True or false? And can Inkatha survive without Pretoria's helping hand?

THOSE NAMELESS, faceless Pretoria bureaucrats who designed the 1982 plan to hand a chunk of KwaZulu to Swaziland, may have been Inkatha's finest recruiting

Not of course, that this was their intention. But the plan to hand the Ingwavuma territory to King Sobhuza sparked a crisis which more than doubled Inkatha's mem-

The threat to Ingwavuma provided a rallying point for emotional meetings throughout Natal at which people joined Inkatha in their

thousands.
And this was particularly true of Ingwavuma itself where Inkatha uniforms and insignia blossomed. Less than two years later, paper membership remains, but active support has dwindled and Inkatha uniforms are rarely seen in the

Ingwavuma district. The view of the Inkatha-controlled KwaZulu administra-

tion as liberator has changed to that or oppressor to the extent that there has been talk recently of moves dence' from KwaZulu for the 90 000-strong Tembe-Tonga group living in

Ingwavuma district. In March last year

KwaZulu administration. Behind this local conflict lie the In early November Chief

Mazibuko by the bureau's game | ment of Foreign Affairs denied.

Buthelezi's response to the crisis has been to attack the Sunday Tribune journalist who reported on these developments and to threaten the position of Chief Tembe and other Tribal Council members.

He defended the establishment of | continued to ignore the law governan elephant reserve, saying the ing chiefs in KwaZulu. our history and culture.'



SUPPORT

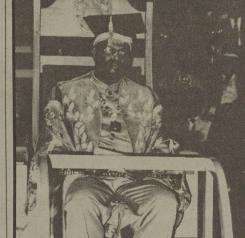
authority met Swazi government | Assembly in May last year to expofficials to seek protection from the lain their search for help outside KwaZulu.

activities of the new KwaZulu Buthelezi again threatened the Bureau of Natural Resources. It has Tembe people. He displayed docuplaced restrictions on the cutting of | ments signed before the magistrate cess of erecting a 59km electrified | Ingwavuma. One of these ceded fence to form the Tembe Elephant | Chief Mzimba Tembe's land to unhappiness over the loss of graz- cancelled. Buthelezi alleged the ing, the threatened removal of 30 | South African government had families from within the proposed | promised self-determination to the reserve, and the shooting of a Mr | Tembe people, which the Depart-

Gatsha's threats, rural control

Buthelezi warned Chief Tembe he would lose his position as chief if he

elephant 'has had such a vital part in This law is the KwaZulu Chief's support is fading as Inkatha people to express open criticism. of coercion through their control of and Headmen's Act, KwaZulu's becomes increasingly identified Threats to Chief Tembe's position own version of the notorious Bantu with an inefficient administration Inkatha to assist communities fight-ronage. cil were summoned to appear ing, firing and salaries of all such as the chieftainship. before the KwaZulu Legislative KwaZulu chiefs directly under This loss of support does not mean in the process. A recent University must backfire.



Reserve. There is widespread Swaziland. This was subsequently Buthelezi's Department of Author- that open opposition to Inkatha will Inkatha supporters. ity Affairs, providing a useful develop, or even that membership instrument for Inkatha's control of will decline. Rural people lead a to believe the Inkatha version of rural areas.

Through their control of land allocation, registrations for work seekers, pensions and other patronage, the chiefs are effective recruiting agents for Inkatha.

This coercion, and the conflict in the Ingwavuma district reflect Inkatha's basic dilemna. While it is able to recruit a large membership

came when he and his Tribal Coun- Authorities Act. It places the hir- and with unpopular institutions ing threatened removals has led to This may be an effective short-



full stadium; left, playing Chancellor at the University of Zulusaluting supporters

those who control this access.

Empty rhetoric, less support

Only traumatic events like forced | have to keep their membership

area which has successfully resisted removal, reflected a widespread disillusionment. Some 96 percent of those interviewed said Inkatha had done nothing to assist them.

An Inkatha warrior -

from the people?

Buthelezi's protection

The violence at the University of which left four students dead and over 100 injured, shocked many

Initial reaction in rural areas was precarious existence and cannot events put out by Ilanga. But, as risk losing their access to the means | students from rural homes started of survival by being seen to oppose returning to relate eyewitness accounts of the attack, there was a swing in opinion. Reports say Inkatha members burnt their uniforms in anger. Other members explained that they would no longer support Inkatha, but they would

through its control of public removals or the invasion of the Uni- Inkatha is continuing its attempts resources and the instruments of versity of Zululand hostels by to gain complete control in rural state control in the rural areas, real | Inkatha supporters prompt rural | Natal by largely following a policy The inabilility or unwillingness of | the local state machinery and pat-

allegations of KwaZulu complicity | term policy but, in the long run, it |



Are there many rural organizations affiliated to UDF?

It is true to say that we have strong support in the rural areas, a large part which still has to be converted into formal organization. But

we already have organization in areas like the Northern Cape, the Eastern Cape and the Northern Transvaal.

In the past, it seems that rural resistance has been around issues like removals and betterment planning which immediately affect people's economic position. Is it possible to translate this local resistance around immediate issues into long-term political organization?

These communities are organising around immediate issues, but their organisations have the potential to carry the struggle far beyond the immediate short term issues. The question of additional land for African people is going to become a daily issue.

The 13 percent of the land set aside for African people is literally overflowing. We can't see how the government can calm this situation — which is generating so much unhappiness that it is inevitable that organisation around these areas will take place.

People are going from the Ciskei to the Western Cape for instance, and then being taken back to the Ciskei. We must not forget that these people are members of unions in the towns and that through this their political consciousness is raised. This leads them to have a critical look at the circumstances in which they have left their children and their wives in the rural areas.
All this is petrol which generates heat and

must generate action through organisation. How possible is it to organise in

areas where chiefs and tribal authorities exist?

As the pressures of the capitalist economy penetrate even those rural areas, more and UDF seems to have merely been more people are making a break with the tribal ties of loyalty to the chief — who are being seen to be serving not the community but themselves. What we are going to see is | Magopa people. Is it likely that the building of new leaders, not on the basis | UDF will set up alternative of old traditions. It will be a slow and painful structures in rural areas, before process.

What are the difficulties of UDF organising in rural areas?

The main difficulty is one of resources. going on and feed information to these com-These communities are located far from | munities. It is only through structures that cities. Most of the men in these communities | resistance can become active. stay in the cities where they work so it is a destabilised community. Magopa is a good | What is the potential for example. Many of the able-bodied men were working in Johannesburg. Those left behind organising women in rural were old people and children. And even when men could go back they were only are mostly away from their

homes in rural areas?

also comes in. However, there is an increas- where they stay as well.

efforts were concentrated on organising rural women. However, the traditional cusscratch. You can go on and on that way. tom of men acting as heads of the families | Therefore it is necessary to organise people

ing autonomy of women to decide for themselves whether they want to join an organisa-

It is going to help a lot if an organisation which organises in the compounds and hostels is consciously going to follow men to the areas in which they stay and take advantage of the periods in which they are home, so that these men can give the seal of approval to the organisation. It is going to make for smoother organisation of women in rural areas.

Once the resources are available, the process can be followed consciously and it will break barriers that are very difficult to

What is the relative importance of organising urban and rural people?

The South African scene is quite unique in some senses. The vast bulk of workers still come from rural areas. In terms of that there is a tremendous need for organisation of rural

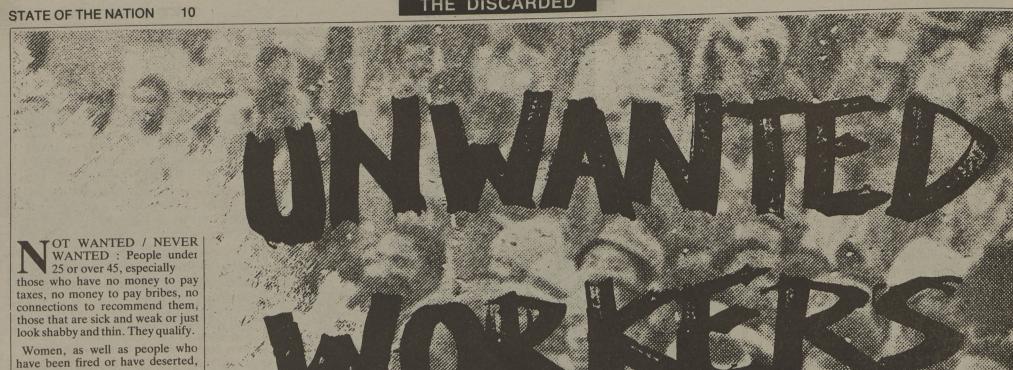
However, it is easier to organise workers at the point of employment. You reach them easily and you reach them consistently. But we must also be aware of where the work force is located. Some form of organisation is necessary in those rural areas which are resevoirs of labour.

Also, because workers in urban areas are relatively more comfortable, it seems that a high level of militancy will come from rural areas. To ignore these areas is to ignore areas of high resistance.

However at the same time, urbanised workers remain very important because legalised trade unionism for African workers is only about 2 years old and there is still a tremendous amount to be covered.

When workers get retrenched they are forced into rural areas. This means that if you organise workers and they get In attempting to organise our rural rally, our retrenched, a new lot of workers are





also definitely qualify.

These are the three million unemployed people living in South Africa's bantustans. They stand little chance of ever getting a job.

Kept out of the towns and cities by ever-stricter influx control laws, their only ray of hope is the possibiltrates' or chiefs' offices.

Bosses send 'requests' — called | Sometimes employers come them-'requisitions' for labour to these selves to look for workers. Other labour bureaux through the times they send a "home boy" to administration boards in the towns | recruit for them. And sometimes and cities.

as the world's crudest kind of do the recruiting. employment agency.

by crowds — thousands of people are afraid to come themselves waiting in desperation for jobs that

A clerk at a labour bureau in | don't get jobs." Lebowa described the situation 'Every day not less than 400 workseekers arrive. When the word is more than a thousand workseekers watch and both he and the magisspread that a recruiter is coming,

A Gazankulu worker said: "If the labour bureau is recruiting ten armed South African policeman people, then five hundred people was appointed as the labour clerk. have to wait two years for work."

Some people wait longer. Many people give up. Those who live far

Areas nearest the district labour ity of being recruited at one of the bureaux are privileged, because labour bureaux which are scattered | people there find it easiest to come through the bantustans at magis- to this office to wait for jobs, one labour clerk explained.

they send requisitions and it is the Labour bureaux can be described responsibility of the labour clerks to

According to a labour clerk in They are continually surrounded Lebowa, "Sometimes employers because the workseekers are wild and uncontrollable with hunger, and become very angry when they

One employer who came to recruit was mobbed as he was leaving — he was assaulted and robbed of his trate were trampled under foot.

Apparently, after that incident an

will pitch up for the job. People have to wait two years for work."

With so many people and so few jobs, it would be wishful thinking to believe that jobs are allocated on a first come first served basis.

away from the labour bureaux are Bribery is rife. The only chance of being noticed is to bribe. When a

Naiting for work

outside a labour bureau can be a fulltime job - with no hope of reward.

requisition arrives, people crowd in front of the clerk and throw their passes at him. The so-called "green page"- a R1O stuck in between the pages of the pass book often helps the clerk to decide which book he will catch.

Some areas seldom get requisi tions so workers from these places try and move to other parts of the bantustans which receive more not paid his taxes, has deserted or requisitions. However they will never get a job unless their reference book says they come from that area. So again they resort to brib-

A Lebowa clerk explains, "It is seen as custom — they must oil the Chief's hand. Just to greet the Chief one must pay. People buy stamps to have a false address entered in their reference book."

Workseekers need two essential qualifications — a healthy body and a healthy passbook. And these are difficult enough to meet if one looks at the conditions under which people live in the bantustans.

was fired from a previous contract,

haven't paid their taxes are set aside and the recruiter chooses those he wants from the ones that are left

become victims of this system."

To sort out the healthy and strong from the weak and sick, the crudest of methods are used.

he has no chance of getting a job. A labour clerk said that those who

Dumped by industry,

by labour bureau

unemployed workers'

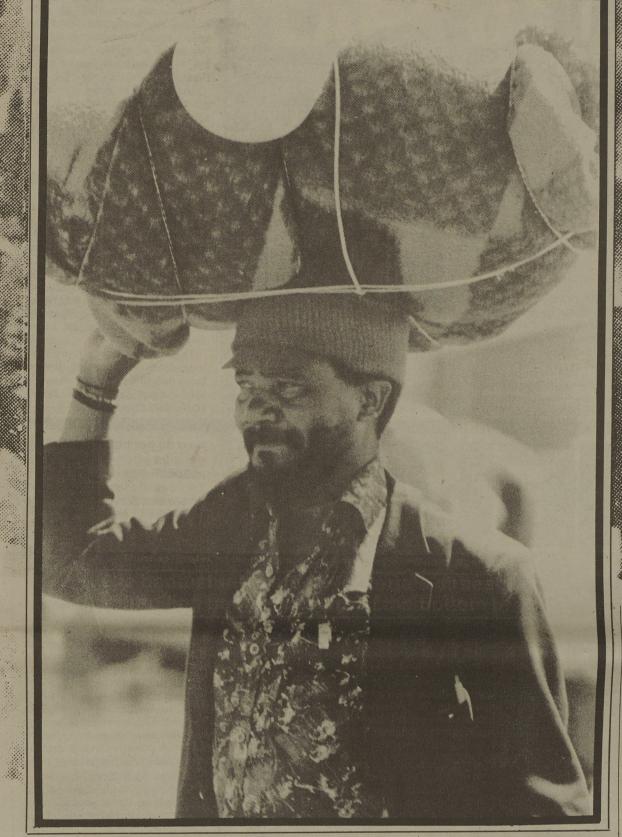
destinies are controlled

Another labour clerk said, "employers check workers' records result of squabbles and so on tract.

white man was coming from Cape Town to recruit labourers. This man was from Fattis and Monis. He brought with him a bag of flour and in their pass book. As a result | the first thirty people who could lift people who have left employers as a | and carry the bag were given a con-

Another worker said: "People are measured and the taller ones are taken.'

The police and labour office staff One worker described what hap- help in the 'medical tests'. One pened to him: "I was told to come to | worker said: "They wanted tough If a worker's pass shows that he has the office on a specific day because a people so a policeman held us and



shook us. They pounced on you be selected, they are unlikely to hour, I was unhappy but didn't have when you were least expecting it." | turn down a job. Bosses take advan- | a place to stay. There was nothing I | the site. Then I saw that the wages Employers are not shy about using tage of this, offering very low wages could do. I was too scared to ask for were 45c per hour, but I didn't know these methods. A manual written and making workers endure the more in case I lost the job."

to eliminate the unfit ones."

whole morning to walk there. When I first

had to get a friend to send it. I still go to the

labour bureau every two weeks to sign but I

have not received anything. The people

there say that it is still coming, but I do not

know of anyone who has got money. They

tell me to come back, but nothing happens.

There are eight of us, my wife and six chil-

else working.. My four children were at

school here but now I cannot pay. It costs me

R30 each, sometimes more for books. Now

they are at home doing nothing, just sitting

ask help at the shops. There they sometimes

get a little to eat. At home all we eat is

mieliemeal with a little vegetable imbuya'.

have two cows. The others died four died

because there is no rain. Even a horse died.

We used to buy milk and slaughter but I only

with me. Sometimes they go to Bergville to

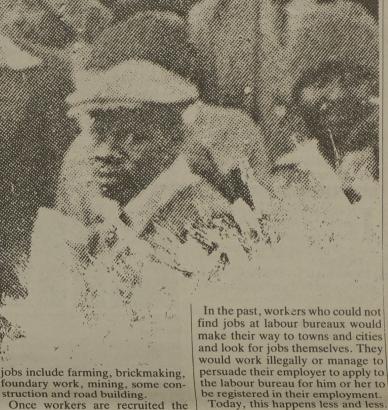
How many people are in your family?

Now we are starving.

by Van Breda gives the following | worst work and living conditions. | Workers rarely refuse bad con-

applicants run on the spot, in order | suffering so I took the job without If workers are fortunate enough to out I was being paid 75 cents per they desert. The most unpopular because of influx control.

advise to employers: "Let the As a Kwazulu worker said: "I was tracts because there are so few jobs.



foundary work, mining, some construction and road building. Once workers are recruited the boss is meant to register them.

Registration of workers has the appearance of two parties entering They insist that employers choose into a mutually agreed contract. In local labour first. Unemployment is reality it is nothing of the sort. Conditions at the workplace seldom | safer if it's far away, rather than in resemble conditions spelt out on the townships, on the bosses' contract form and often conditions | doorsteps on the contract are incomplete or not filled in at all.

Koornhof's new laws have been designed primarily to halt the A worker from Cala said: "When | stream of desperate people coming to the cities to look for work. we were recruited, few conditions

Labour bureaux and administration

boards refuse to register workers

who have come to town illegally.

With unemployment and poverty were explained to us. We had to swear we would not desert and were in the bantustans becoming more rife, with influx control laws becomtold what our wages would be. I only saw the contract once I got to | ing more stringent and as the economic recession creates less jobs, no immediate relief is in sight for the people dumped in the govwhat to do about this.' Another worker said: "Out of ernment's wastelands.

desperation we did not try to (The information and interviews in negotiate the contract. We know | this article come from work done by knowing anything. When I found If conditions become unbearable how difficult it is to get a new job the Labour Allocation Project during 1979 and 1980)

When survival depends on land THE EXPULSION of workers to the rural areas from which they come, benefits both the state and the factory owners. It makes the state and the factory owners the makes the state and the factory owners. It makes the state and the factory owners the makes the state and the factory owners. It makes the state and the factory owners the makes the state and the factory owners. It makes the state and the factory owners the the state and the state and

the state and the factory owners. It means export market. It was severely nit that there is less likelihood of political unrest n urban areas where unemployment is already high. Moreover social and economic responsibility for these workers is then placed on the bantustan governments. Inadequate funds and a corrupt bureaucracy mean that retrenched workers are unlikely to get either unemployment benefits (UIF) or

It is argued that forcing these people into rural areas, where many are landless, will lead to political resistance there. As they have been exposed to worker organisation these retrenched workers will create new political consciousness in the rural areas.

This is difficult, however, as forcing retrenched workers into rural areas leads instead to the break-up of organisation. Bowed under the authority of the chiefs, and struggling to get social benefits, these workers are too concerned with survival to attempt

organisation. The steel company from which James Hlongwane, a migrant worker was

recession and began retrenching workers and I would have to return home. Sometimes from November 1982. All grades of workers were affected.

At the end of January 1983, approximately 70 migrant workers were retrenched. Most of them were still serving their annual contracts. The Metal and Allied Workers Union, in an attempt to put an end to the widespread practice of retrenching workers who were still under contract, threatened the company with legal action for breach of con-

The following interview with Hlongwane took place in November 1983, two months after he had lost his job. Since January 1983, he had spent his time back in his homestead in Dukuza, in the Upper Tugela Location, KwaZulu.

Can you tell me how you lost your job?

I had worked for the company for 10 years earning R89.00 per week. Each year I would come home to visit my family for three weeks in December and then I would return in

we would wait a week or two in the compound and then go into the factory. This year a hundred of us waited and then were sent

Were you given any money?

They had given me leave pay in December. I only got an R80 bonus and no money for the week in the compound. Here I got some food from my brothers who were working and also had to borrow money to buy soap and a shirt. When I left by train I only had this bonus money. The foreman did not explain anything he just said that there is no work and I saw that there were many of us waiting for work. And then many of us left. Some went to the Transkei, others came back with me.

How have you been surviving since this time?

I have had to borrow money from my neighbour. He does not work, but gets money from his brother who is working. In March I applied for UIF. I had to go to the

labour bureau, which is far. It takes me the Do you plough?

ue card so I I did plough, but this year we got nothing no rain. I used to get eight bags for the family. We also grew some vegetables cabbages and butter beans but there is nothing.

Where do you get food?

I went to the store and a white man gave me 50kg of mielies. I had to show him that I had two cows. I showed him my dipping book. Then he gave me the mieliemeal and a paper. When I get money I will pay him R17.50. I sometimes get food from the neighbours, and sometimes the children bring something. If I dren. One boy is away, he works in Durban get money I will buy more cows. and sends his wife money; there is nobody

Where do you think you will get the money?

I think that the company owes me a pension. We paid money every month, and they said that it would be sent. For 10 years I gave money. I think now it should be some hun- I sent home R100 a month. Sometimes if a dreds but it has not come.

Have you tried to look for work?

only stay two days, and we went back to our cows for R200 soon. old company but there was nothing.

Do people also go to Durban?

Some of them do. But I do not know Durban. I only know Johannesburg.

Where did you stay when you went back?

I have a brother in the hostel in town. I just stayed there for two nights on the floor.

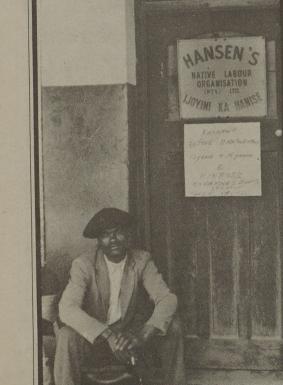
Can you tell me what you did when you were working — how did you support the family?

taxi was leaving we would also send some clothes and meat, candles and tinned food. It is cheaper here. My wife used to look after Yes, I went to the labour bureau, there are the cattle. With the money I earned we used go to sign my card.

or labour, but there's poor land and no work always many people there waiting for forms. to pay to plough. There is a man with a tractor So few have gone back. They say there is no ... sometimes I would pay R40 and then help ny coming to look for people; we must him with his fields. We do not have enough just wait and wait. I went to look for work at cows to plough ... we need 12. Now there is some of the hotels, but nothing. One time I no money to plough, no money to buy seeds went back to Johannesburg. I had to first get which cost R9.00 per packet and no money money. It cost me R20, and R20 to come for fertiliser. The bags cost R10.50. There is back. I went with others in a taxi. We could nothing now, I may have to sell one of my

Have you gone to ask for help from the chiefs?

Some people went but he said that there was nothing which he could do. We may go again but he has never helped us. Sometimes the store owners give us a little. I am worried. One of my children is sick. She coughs and cannot eat. My wife asks me to go and look for work again. I will try Dundee next week. But I am not well. I injured my leg at work. It got burned once and is weak so I cannot walk far. Perhaps my other son who is in Durban will help. My wife will visit his wife's family and tell them. I hope that the pension money will be coming. I will try the labour bureau for work and on Wednesday I must



In a subsequent criminal case the

FOR THE SADF, the rural areas are a priority for hearts and minds control. And if hearts and minds can't be won, the backup of force can always be relied on.

The vast expanses of rural land this side of South Africa's borders provide cover both for people skipping the country, and for returning guerrillas. For this reason, villages have been removed to create a No Man's Land of uninhabited land as a buffer along the border.

Beyond this buffer zone, the border. They depend on the cooperation of the Bantustan armies. the Tribal Authorities, and most of all, the local people.

SADF faces a problem — these on "independence". For example, areas often bear the greatest burden 112 Battalion became the Venda of apartheid's policies and the National Force in 1982, and recruiteffects of influx control, unemploy- ment of Ndebeles has begun for the ment and removals are the most | formation of a Kwandebele unit. stark. For this reason, organisation | Such favours from the SADF are and resistance in the rural areas | promptly returned, and in October poses a large threat to the govern- | last year, the first contingent of the

N 1968 Limehill was an interna-

tional symbol of suffering.

People were moved from black

freehold areas in the Wasbank area

There were no facilities. People

were forced to dig in the ground for

Sixteen years later conditions

there are still bad. Though there is

now a clinic and a school, the

nearest employment is more than 60

The labour bureau gives first pre-

ference to people living in Stead-

ville, the township at Ladysmith

then to the 70 000 people at

Ezakheni, 25 km east of Ladysmith.

So the people of Limehill must live

on pensions and migrant remit-

In 1983 a youth group was formed

in Limehill. Because the youth group did not affiliate to Inkatha,

the group was not allowed to use

public facilities. SON spoke to a

Officials came and put numbers on

our doors. I was at school when the first trucks came to the area. We

were told to leave school and go to

their cattle because no cattle are

allowed in Limehill. They had to

In Limehill there was nothing,

No facilities were prepared. There

was no water — we had to dig in the

dongas. There was an outbreak of

Later you went to Joburg?

cause I was from Limehill

there are pressures on him — bury other

accusations that he is lazy for organisations"

sell them cheaply to white farmers.

nothing. There were just tents.

member of the youth group.

the removal?

What do you remember of

km away in Ladysmith.

to Limehill.

The SADF is trying to win support in the rural SADF alone cannot monitor the areas. If it can't, of two- way flow of people over the course, it can force people to be friendly

The SADF in the rural areas - not only soldiers.

they return.

minds of the local people, the then handed over to the bantustan jected to at least one thorough difficult in these areas. The names gave him an SADF calendar and a

Ciskei Defence Force returned

search at a roadblock.

But roadblocks and trained troops do not stop people passing in and out of the country. The SADF knows they need the co-operation of the local people to monitor this with any success.

In every village, people have strict The SADF works hand in glove from border duty. The Venda instructions to report any stranger Sekhukhuneland, in Lebowa, the with the bantustan armies. Tribally National Force guarantees that seen in the area to the Induna. This SADF arrives each month to distri- youth activist in Lebowa.

But in winning the hearts and based SADF units are set up and most travellers in Venda are sub- can make any kind of organisation and photographs of local people who have left the country are shown dangerous "terrorists" and "com-

> To win the hearts and minds of the propaganda campaign.

bute "The Warrior" through school principals and Indunas.

"The pupils are told to read nothing else in case they are influenced by communism, and they become afraid to be caught reading any other material", said a pupil from the area.

"SADF soldiers make a point of greeting people on the road. If they see young boys playing soccer, they talk to them, and maybe join in". Tshirts saying "I'm a Warrior friend" back up the image, and the SADF has shown a film at the local school. For many it was the first film they had ever seen.

After the film, the soldiers stopped at the house of Peter Nchabaleng, a former ANC and SACTU activist banished to Sekhukhuneland. They

SADF doctors also do the rounds around with a warning that they are in the local clinics. The people say they are better doctors than the munists", who must be reported if usual ones, and give out better

"The SADF is trying to present a people, the SADF has an extensive | sugar-coated image to us. But we In know that all they want from us is to help protect apartheid", said a

THE LIMEHILL YOUTH GROUP



THE YOUTH AND our homes. People had to get rid of

In the squalor and hardship of the Limehill resettlement camp. youth organisation is taking root. Opposing bantustans and exploitation, however, has attracted the anger of Inkatha.

typhoid. There were no schools or Do you think township clinics. It was a shocking experipeople understand what it is ence. After a year they built a like to live in a rural area? school. For this year we went to

They don't understand. They see the rural people as competing for jobs. Urban people think these rural people have big lands or cows | the people living in Steadville. Yes, eventually I went to Joburg but and that they should be surviving fered from influx control and pass from farming. In fact Limehill working at a sweet factory at Was- There is no infrastructure in rural with UDF. laws. Some of the people who stay people have no land and no cattle.

at home in the rural areas do not How do people in Limehill understand the difficulties of trying survive? to find work in the cities. If a young representation work in the cities. If a young representation representat man comes back because he has been frustrated by the pass laws, Inkatha - "we will

There are no jobs.

Are jobs given to people from the townships first? Yes, for instance the labour bureau in Ladysmith gives preference to

Recently there were some women | organising in rural areas: bank. They had been working there | areas. Transport is a big problem. | On December 16, 1983 there was a from before they were moved to | Further, people are starved of infor- | public meeting in Limehill. It was

that migrants send, and pensions. | Limehill were retrenched and the jobs were given to people from the township at Dundee, Sibongile. People at Sibongile said they should get the jobs because they had to pay

What are the difficulties of

Limehill. Just recently the company | mation and there isn't much activ- | said by Inkatha officials, No UDF in

school?

jobs. They stay with friends who have already found places in the city. Then when they have found a job they come back to Limehill and try to get the necessary papers and stamps from the Tribal Authority. When this youth group was formed did you think you would have any problems with Inkatha?

No, because I thought Inkatha had the same values, to help people strive for a better South Africa. When did the tension with

Inkatha start? From the beginning when the sewing group and the youth group were formed. There seemed to be some misunderstanding of our intention. We were perceived as a threat.

Why did local Inkatha people see you as a threat?

Because we had members who did not belong to Inkatha. They brought in the Ladysmith Inkatha Committee to sort us out. They spoke to us. They said that they were going to report back to the secretary-general who would make recommendations. Meanwhile the youth group was prevented from using any public venue. The youth group was under pressure because it was felt that they were enemies of Inkatha.

The youth group also presented a play at a meeting where UDF affiliates were present. They were then seen as members of UDF. In fact the group was really addressing itself to development issues. Within the group there were also members of Inkatha. But any organisation that is active which is not affiliated to inkatha is seen as aligning itself

this area. As soon as anyone tries to organise UDF or Azapo just tip us off and we will come in. We will

How do people in Limehill get jobs when they finish

labourer on his farm with a sjambok, and with throwing stones at her, hitting her with his fist and They go to the towns and try to find setting his dog on her. Bekker admitted sjambokking a number of women for 'continually making a noise in the sleeping quarters'. The court heard that Bekker ordered the women to go into a

large barn where they would be beaten for disobeying him. He ordered Mweli to come forward first. He told her to lie on a table. It was easier to sjambok women lying across a table than to try and whip them on the ground, Bekker told the court

WEENEN MEANS 'the place

because relationships between the

Weenen is a white farming district

crowded and impoverished Msinga

reserve. Since the 1850's blacks and

whites in the area have clashed over

Blacks have been forced into

holdings

violence.

are many others.

smaller and smaller areas as white

farmers have expanded their land

Now white farmers look for ways

to keep the impoverished people of

In 1977 a fence between Msinga

government each paid half the cost.

Another way of keeping Msinga

These are some of the stories of

Bekker, a farmer, appeared in the

Weenen magistrate's court. He was

charged with flogging Ms Mweli, a

the Weenen/Msinga area. There

In March last year Johannes

people off white farms has been

and the white farms was rebuilt

after the farmers had exerted

pressure through their local

member of Parliament. The

farmers and the KwaZulu

Msinga out of their farms.

white farmers of Weenen and the

people of Msinga reserve and

farmworkers are often violent.

which borders on the over-

V of weeping'. It's an apt name,

When Mweli refused he struck her on the neck and back with the sjambok. She ran and hid behind some machinery but he stood on top of it and threw pieces of concrete and metal at her, cutting her legs.

He then called his 13-year-old son who came with a large dog. The farmer caught Ms Mweli and held her while his son tied her legs and hands. He hit her with the sjambok while his son hit her repeatedly in the face with his open hand.

She screamed and kicked. The dog became excited, jumped up and bit her several times on the breast. The farmer then untied her and told her to leave the farm and never come back.

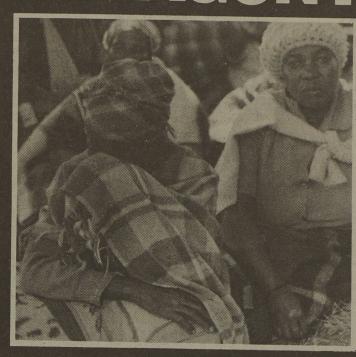
Bekker admitted sjambokking the women but he said in his defence it was 'a long standing traditional practice' to punish labourers by flogging them. It was not the first time workers had been punished in this way. 'I am responsible for the workers like a father. I have a fatherly responsibility towards them as long as they live on the farm,' he said

Bekker said he asked permission from the parents of those he had punished but agreed that they had no option because he would evict them if they did not give their permission

Bekker said he did not count how many times he hit Ms Mweli but admitted that it was 'many times'. After sentence Ms Mweli's father, Opperman of the farm 'Darkest

TEARS OF AGONY

The story of Weenen is a tale of suffering. White farmers have beaten, raped, tortured and killed black workers. But at a meeting held to stop workers taking revenge, a Weenen magistrate allegedly heard a worker say: 'You whites are the aggressors. Do not think a white skin resists bullets. If a white is shot he dies just like a black





CRIES OF ANGER

Sbongo Mweli said Bekker had told | Africa' for maintenance for her people living on the farm who had witnessed the assault that they would be chased off if they gave

Bekker's lawyer said the court should take into account that 'this is not Switzerland — we are living in

The magistrate Mr King, found Bekker guilty and fined him R50 or 25 days suspended for three years. find that the accused had intended to harm Ms Mweli seriously. Earlier that same day Ms

Sibongile Ndinamalo was fined R60 for stealing butternuts from the farmer she worked for. In June 1983 a young woman who

worked in the kitchen of a farm near Weenen sued Pieter

Opperman agreed to pay R25 per month until the child was selfsupporting. He said he had agreed to pay to protect his family from

But the young woman alleged that Opperman had raped her twice in one week. She was too ashamed to tell her husband. Later she gave birth to a white baby.

Her father established what had report the incidents.

A black policeman investigated the case. He handed his report to the station commander. But then he was transferred and the case was closed. He said that in his investigation he had not taken

woman claimed was involved 'because as a black I had no authority to question whites'.

•An old woman of 73, Mrs Namagawe Mvelase, was arrested by the police at Tugela Ferry. They believed she could tell them where her son kept a gun. She denied all knowledge of it.

In evidence to court Mrs Mvelase said she was stripped naked and thrown into a cell with her hands canvas bag was then placed over she lost consciousness. Later she by her legs.

for damages and the matter was settled out of court. The police statements from the man the young | agreed to pay her R750.

oliceman responsible, Sergeant Danisa, was convicted of assault. ●In April 1983 a Weenen farm manager, Thomas Uren, was shot dead when he stopped to open a gate on the farm Sun Valley Estates where he worked. Mr Mlungu Sibisi was detained by police in connection with the murder. Later in June he was found

hanging from a nylon rope in his cell. Sibisi had been detained twice before and released both times. According to his family, Sibisi had told them before his third arrest

that he did not think he could withstand another period of detention. Five days later the dead man's prother Mr Bhekuyise Sibisi was found dead, hanging from a thorn tree near his kraal in the Weenen

district, the day after being released

from police custody. The case concerning Thomas Uren has still not been solved.

Many local people saw the death of Uren, a white farm manager, as retaliation for the death of Ephraim Mtshali in 1981. Mtshali, a popular Msinga butcher was hunting jackals with three other local people one Sunday when they wandered onto a white farm in pursuit of the jackal.

According to one of those with Mtshali, three trucks containing five whites and two blacks drove across the veld firing at them. Mtshali offered to go forward and speak to the whites. As he did so he was shot three times. He was driven o the police station before being taken to the doctor, where he died.

At an inquest the magistrate found two white farmers had been negligent in causing Mtshali's death while shooting at his dogs.

Mtshali's three companions were harged with illegal poaching.

Weenen's history has been a brutal one. The area has always been settled and farmed by blacks. In the 1850's a large part of the area was settled by boer trekkers and blacks were moved. Those that did not, became servants on their own

As white expansion increased, the more fertile land near the Tugela river was taken by white settlers and the black inhabitants were pushed further out. The 1913 Land Act set aside certain portions for placks and the rest for white

Many white farmers took over large pieces of land and instead of farming them they allowed black people to stay there, charging them rental to stay on land that used to be their own. Other farmers took a portion of the crops as payment or allowed people access to land. In return they would provide free abour for six months of the year. These were labour tenants. Until the 1940's there were large numbers of blacks living on white-owned land. This conflicted with government policy and the 1936 Land Act forced thousands of

in the Weenen-Msinga area into happened and went to the police to her head which suffocated her until overcrowded reserves. In the 1960's labour tenancy was was hung upside down from a pole | abolished and this forced even more people into the already Mrs Mvelase was released without overcrowded, over-grazed areas being charged. She sued the police reserved for black occupation. Today Weenen-Msinga is one of the most devastated and violent

> areas in South Africa. A large meeting was held under the supervision of the Natal Agricultural Union at Weenen for farmworkers and Africans in the area to air their grievances. White farmers were becoming perturbed by acts of revenge like the burning of barns and the death of Uren, the white farm manager at Sun Valley estates.

It seems unlikely that such meetings will change the climate of violence in the Weenen area.



Farm manager guilty of assault A farm manager has been fined R650 and given a nine month suspended sentence after being found guilty of the assault and kidnapping of a school-

boy who died soon after the event. ● The prosecution alleged that the farm manager, Steven de Riquebourg, threw a brick at farmworker's son Henry Zondi from a close distance. De Riquebourg denied throwing the brick but admitted hitting him with his hand

and handcuffing him in a garage overnight.

Tondi was released the following day and died soon afterwards, in July 1983. The assault took place on a farm called Weenen near Wartburg, about

● The farm manager first appeared in a Pietermaritzburg court in September last year. He was charged with culpable homicide and kidnapping.



Dead Henry Zondi's family



bury other organisations.

GWALI IS my home, I will never leave Mgwali, I will die here. And those who remove me from my home, those who police my future in my home, they should go to hell.

We are not going anywhere, we are staying here until God comes, forever.

Mgwali people have felt the heavy hand of both the South African and the Ciskeian security police. But this has only strengthened their organisation.

Mgwali (population 6 000) is one of the areas in the 'white' corridor between the Transkei and the Ciskei threatened with removal.

It has unique historical associations. It was established on land granted to Tiyo Soga, the

first fully ordained Xhosa missionary and great composer of Xhosa hymns, by Sandile, last chief of the independent Rhardabe.

In June 1981 Prime Minister Lennox Sebe arrived in Mgwali to persuade the people to move to the Ciskei. When the Mgwali people remained sceptical Sebe turned nasty. He claimed Mgwali was a gateway for 'terrorists' to enter the Ciskei. Any further objections to the removal were met with the question 'Are you a terrorist?'

On this visit Sebe set up the Planning Committee, composed mainly of teachers and civil servants, to encourage support for the removal.

Since then, the Mgwali residents have been

harassed by Ciskei and South African security police. In August 1981, six prominent opponents of the removal were detained and interrogated by Charles Sebe, then head of Ciskei security.

In July 1982 Wilson Fanti, chairperson of the Mgwali Residents Association (MRA) was detained by the South African security police and appeared in court in Umtata in the Transkei. In February last year Ciskei security police

crossed the border into South Africa, entered Mgwali and detained a number of residents. They were later released.

The MRA is an organisation fighting the removal. Here members discuss organisation against removal.



Is rural resistance different from urban resistance as far as removals

are concerned?
Most rural people are illiterate. Some are dependent on the chiefs and headmen for their information. But on the question of being removed, it is one and the same, whether in the urban areas, because people are losing their rights, they are losing their properties.

Are there particular difficulties of

organising in rural areas? Yes, because the people of a rural area are a bit isolated. People of the towns have many organisations. many sources of information, unlike in the rural areas. Here they are dependent on the headmen.

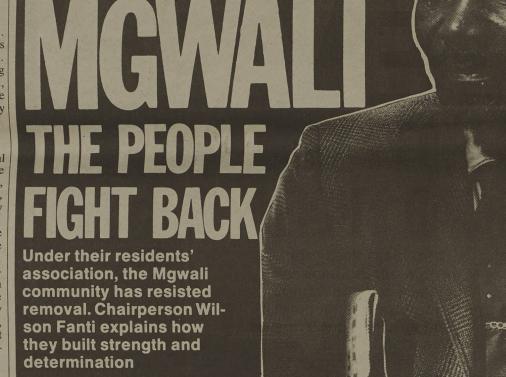
For example, in Mgwali, there are people who are employed by the government through the headmen. People are employed by the government to pick up plastic and so forth (small jobs offered under the drought relief scheme). Even if they feel being ruled in this way is wrong, because of his or her stomach, that person will have to follow the head-

Have people organised better in Mgwali than in some other country areas, and if so, why?

in Mgwali because we look after arrested we were told that we are given a piece of land in Frankfort without water people's needs. When they go to the | not part of Ciskei. Le Grange was those who said that they are pre- | Ciskei was illegal. So now we are pared to be removed from Mgwali. under the impression that we are So we are helping everybody in | South African, and since then the | Mgwali, and that is the difference | Ciskeian government or police | between ourselves and the head- don't go into Mgwali. men, and the Planning Committee

(the body promoting removal).

two fronts - the Ciskei government | suit to the removal. and Pretoria. We are being haras- How does the nature of people's sed by both governments. For lives here in Mgwali affect their example, Ciskei went all the way attitude to opposing the removal? into Mgwali arresting people Mgwali itself is a fertile land, and leaflets (3 000 were distributed) and tee which is for the removal. That is because they were resisting the people are living on that land. we tried to tell the people that they why we go to Wartburg and stage removal. And on the other hand the They are ploughing various types of must not sign because that is prop- prayer meetings there. The South African security police also crops. Some have livestock. So if we aganda. There is no job in Kwelerha group also joined us come into Mgwali and question | were to be removed to Frankfort, | Frankfort. people about their resisting we were told point blank - especially Mgwalians have visited Frankfort This has cemented the rural area.



Mgwali Residents Association Chairperson Wilson Fa

for farming. Even the landowners | We saw 1984 as the year in which

that as a strategy of removing people from Mgwali, and we tried

Yes, it is definitely true. You see, would say, helped us a lot because we are in a position of getting ahead after it and when people were their stock and they will not be firstly there is no water in their stock and they will not be frankfort. No person can survive

headmen, the headmen are helping forced to admit that that action of who are taken to Frankfort will not the threatened areas in the White be given the same land as they have | Corridor got together. In fact we extended our opposition as far as Furthermore, this question of chiefs - Mgwali is not a land that is Wartburg, before were tended not don't go into Mgwali.

Futhermore, there is this question

supposed to be ruled by chiefs, from far back. Mgwali is a mission station

to support us because of the threats made by the headmen and the chairof teachers, some of whom are land- from as far back as the last century. man of the Tribal Authority and Are there problems with the Ciskei | owners in Mgwali. But because they | People are resisting going to | MP's from Ciskei. But we tried to get their salaries from the Ciskei | Frankfort, but those in the Planning | educate them and tell them their Yes, I think so. We are fighting on government, they have to follow Committee have promised to give disadvantages if they were to leave them jobs in Frankfort. We took | Wartburg. Now they are really supporting the struggle.

We are not allowed to hold our to counter that. We made some | meetings by the Planning Commitbecause of our stand in Mgwali. for the tenants - we would not be in and seen what it is like there. Our They sent a delegation up to Mgwali That Ciskei raid on Mgwali, I a position to keep livestock. Squat- reaction was very strong because to learn the strategies we are using

Organising the youth of the land

Mr Mike Gija (treasurer of the youth wing of the MRA) spoke to STATE OF THE NATION about

We started this youth association of the MRA in 1983, roundabout March. It was when we realised that most of the youth didn't come to the neetings held by the MRA, since they were taking themselves as young ones'. So we felt the best solution was to start our own organisation of the youth, to be responsible for associating (with MRA).

Secondly, we tried - since we had problems in organising the youth - to approach them through sports, and we did win with the youth, in as much as now we are about to start the project of netball.

We have a sort of show, disco's. They are held at night. At these shows we also have speakers. Only hree people speak. But at each and every show that we hold there must be some speeches that must be lirected to the people. Our main aim is to widen their minds, to keep light to their minds so that they should stand up and fight for their own rights, so that we will never

About 212 are involved in the youth group. That is the youth who are devoted to the struggle in They are the people will attend all the meetings, no matter if there is a meeting there at the Great Place, they attend the meeting and speak to those who are removing us.

Those are the meetings called by the Planning Committee, speaking on behalf of the removal. Every time they are calling the people there is nothing else that is being discussed there except the arrangements for the removal. So we usually attend those meetings because we want to hear what is being planned about our home and we want to hear what tactics are being done in order to demolish our community.

So at those meetings we lift up our hands and speak to them. But the chieftainess in her last meeting stopped the MRA from speaking. So chieftainess Nolizwe is just speaking to those people who are supporting the removal.



I live in Driefontein. I am 84 years old. I was born in May 1900.

I am a widow. My husband died in 1960. For a number of years I went a 'lot of times' to Wakkerstroom, paying about R4 each time for transport to apply for a pension. But the black clerks and the magistrate chased me away. They told me to go home, my children must give me money; and that I was not old enough. They told me to get another husband — this was from a black clerk. In March I asked the Black Sash to write a letter about my pension. In June 1983 I got a letter from the commissioner at Wakkerstroom. I went to see him as requested but the black clerk said he was waiting for the magistrate. I went again and this time the clerk wrote a letter to the police at Dirkiesdorp that I must make a sworn statement there. I went to Dirkiesdorp and they asked me questions and wrote down what I said. I

collect their own money and use procurators.

am still waiting.

Advice offices in Natal find that pensioners are not advised in advance that their pensions are due for review. Their pensions lapse and it is often six to eight months before they get

and worry for the pensioner. It is an object which is totally Reviews are also required where pensioners are too trail to | defeated by the present chaos with review documents, says | I nose who live closer to the difference of the diff

Ms Nicholson. She relates the case of Mrs Mthembu 'a very frail old lady who is unable to walk without assistance.' Her aughter is her procurator.

OF THE NATION 15

An old man

pushes his wife

'In March 1983 there was no money at the payout and the clerk told the procurator to come back in May. When there was still no money Mrs Mthembu was taken in a taxi to the nagistrate's office and review documents were completed. September came - no money. October - the Department of Health and Welfare denied any review application had been received. November - time to get legal assistance. And in January Mrs Mthembu's pension was reinstated - a year after it was stopped - and R520 in arrears was paid.

Ms Nicholson alleges the KwaZulu government is 'reluctant' to pay arrears 'which should have been paid as a matter

She says the Durban Advice Office, by legal action and threats of such action, has extracted R58 018 in arrears - for ust 150 of the pensioners affected.

The third major area of battle is over 'names dropped by the computer'. Advice offices state that this is the catch-all explanation for pensions which are stopped for no clear

Ms Nicholson describes the gross maladministration of pensions as a form of 'human torment'. She points out that the pension is often the very means of livelihood for the pensioner and his or her whole family. 'They describe how they beg and borrow to stay alive, how every two months their day's wait at the payout ends in despair - how they do not know how much longer they can survive.

Pretoria, in explaining its meagre social allowances and 'The whole object of having a procurator is to avoid travel | extremely harsh means test, says its pensions are a bonus, a

'little extra' for the aged in a non-welfare state.

The pensions the aged are not sure of getting

year-old women to "go and find a off the land. applied for pensions.

take place every six months.

•Investigating delays between application and first pay-

ment. These delays can sometimes be counted in years, not months. The Black Sash tells of a Mr Maphumulo of

Inanda, Natal, who first applied in 1981. He lodged a third application in September 1983 because the first two had been fruitless. By April 1984 he had still not received a

The Black Sash points out that delays mean savings to the KwaZulu government. Unlike Pretoria, which backdates

payments to the time of application, the Buthelezi govern-ment backdates only to the start of the two-month period in

'A person who applied in March 1983 and who is paid in

May 1984 will have lost R742 to KwaZulu through a delay

over which the applicant has no control,' Jillian Nicholson

Delays are of course related to bantustan governments,

heavily dependent on Pretoria for cash, just running out of

This has happened in Ciskei, in KwaZulu and most

The Black Sash quotes reports from an official in charge of

pensions in the huge KwaZulu township of KwaMashu that

no new applications were paid at all in 1983. Even those who had applied in February 1983 had been told they would

have to wait until the government got more cash in April

The second area in which advice office workers lock horns

with officials is in the review of pensions. All disability

grants awarded to people who are not permanently disabled

are subject to review. But some, in certain bantustans, are

reviewed more frequently than others. In KwaZulu reviews

which the pension is approved.

of the Sash points out.

funds for pensions.

recently in Lebowa.

approach officials have taken when faced with pension applications.

sions is their only means of survival. But this means they remain depen- finally the officials scrapped the In Wakkerstroom there have also baptism certificates, while passes The people believe that all these dent on the government for an | new plan. income.

dependence — and people see this | They say no new pensions from | Wakkerstroom — because officials | plain that these estimates are com- the land.

husband to support you" when they In Driefontein, where community This is just one example of the 1983, the commissioner suddenly the Department of Cooperation For many people in communities | Shop general dealer in the area. | sions. under threat of removal, the income Instead, old age pensioners would Others applying for UIF have not date. When they return, they are there without the forms, the doctor

The community protested, and valid.

On many occasions government

Lawyers took up the case of five write out the application for work- they can't get their pensions. pensioners from Driefontein who ers' compensation for him. leader Saul Mkhize was shot dead in had been refused, and challenged In Wakkerstroom, many people kerstroom no longer has any disaannounced that pensions would no and Development. The pensioners | Cooperation and Development for has "run out". When people apply longer be paid out from the Corner | won their case — and their pen- unemployment insurance have for the grant, they are sent to the

from workers' compensation, unemployment benefits and pendorp to get their money.

have to travel 30 kms to Dirkies-been given registration forms or a UIF stamp to make their forms UIF.

Many old people have no birth or grant.

The magistrates' office in Wakapplying to the Department of bility grant application forms — it been told to come back on a certain district surgeon. When they arrive

been problems with workers' com- that were issued in the 1950's do not methods are used by the Departpensation. One man who had been show their age. Clerks often guess ment of Cooperation and Develop-Government officials have not officials have refused to give people paralyzed in a truck accident had to their age, and then write it in their ment to limit the income of the combeen slow to take advantage of this the pensions that are due to them. be transported many kilometres to reference books. Many people community, and this way force them off



Mgwali (left) and Wartburg (right) esisting removal from the white corridor. Mgwali's example has inspired the Wartburg





PENSIONS: THE RURAL LIFEBLOOD

been bought by Africans before they released in 1936 with the 1936 reason for forming it was that all | that their area join the Association. | would probably find 50 members of | removal?

for five years. In 1976 the people of come together and form a body of Natal. Roosboom, where he lived were their own. In other words that we moved to Ezakheni — later to be should form one body. We felt that incorporated into KwaZulu.

areas around Ladysmith are feel you are alone you will think that threatened with removal. 12 000 you are wasting time. people from Matiwane's Kop are inder immediate threat.

How has political organisation in the rural area changed since the When it was formed I had to go to and Matiwane's Kop. 1950's? Elliot Mngadi talks about | these people in charge of the areas. this period.

mation of the NNALA?

BANISHMENT

N THE early hours of May 1977, four police cars drew up outside the home of Winnie Mandela who was active in the Black Parents Association and the Black Women's Feder-

The police carried a slip of paper which was to drastically alter her life. It empowered them to pack her belongings and transport her to the distant town of Brandfort in the Orange Free State and make her stay there in virtual solitary confine-

One month earlier Dr Mamphela Ramphele, superintendent of the Black Community Programme's Zanempilo Clinic near King William's Town and the mother of Steve Biko's son, had suffered the same fate.

She was served with a banning order restricting her to Tzaneen in satisfied with tearing her away from her friends and family, the government later added a clause to her order in October of the following year, prohibiting her from treating patients at two sub-stations near Lenyene township in the Northern Transvaal.

In the last year alone two more activists have been added to the list Industrial Commercial Workers theid laws. of people bannished under the 80- Union.

Border Region of the United were numerous individuals against women or those who refused to co-Democratic Front, was declared a whom the 1927 Act was used. 'citizen of the Ciskei' and made an Typical were six Africans who in the enforced fencing of land were all he was unwelcome in South Africa | nor accomodation. and must apply for permission to They contested their removal in had the same things in common:

bantustan, cuts him off from his had to be to a hospitable spot. place of work in King Williamstown | They lost their case. and prevents him visiting Springs, Another person similarly affected people, did not have to be served Makwena, though she had not been his place of birth. Judgement has was James Sofasonke 'We shall all personally. All that was required in the area at the time, was also

solitary confinement under security | named. He had founded a squatter | concerned. legislation. He was released only settlement on open ground in By December 1967, after the gov-release, whereupon she was after a mounting public outcry, and Orlando and led hundreds of people ernment had started clamping down immediately issued with another banished immediately to Messina out of the overcrowded location. on leaders of the African National banishment — this time to King lives 500 kilometers away in Sow- district of Natal.

government opponents was devised | Party came to power. Banishment in 1903 in Natal out of an amend- began to be used as a reprisal ment to the Natal code of Native law. Twenty four years later, in 1927. Albert Hertzog was so taken with what he called 'an excellent provision' that powers to banish dissidents were extended to all the pro-

At the time Hertzog said it could be used against stock thieves but there is good reason to believe the

E LLIOT MNGADI was organiser for the Northern Natal African Landowner's Association (NNALA), an organisation formed in 1957 to fight the removal of people from African freehold areas. These freehold areas had been bought by Africans before A proud history resisting removal people from African freehold areas had been bought by Africans before

black occupation in 1913, nor were Rural resistance — Elliot Mngadi tells it like it was

this body would encourage those

How was this formed?

In these areas people buy land as a syndicate and then elect a chairper-Tell us about the 1950's and the for- son. All of this land was of course bought before the 1913 Land Act. It was formed in 1957/58. The elected committee and then suggest with the ANC. In any area you not very successful in resisting the meetings where we got the chance

these people who were affected by It was formed in Nortern Natal but the ANC. The ANC supported this In 1963 Elliot Mngadi was banned this black spot removal thing should we intended to cover the whole of work and Chief Luthuli was very Well I wouldn't say we did not suc-

Who was eligible for membership?

100 000 people from the freehold | who were resisting because if you | The NNALA was an association of communities. Individuals did not | What were the difficulties in formjoin. Instead the committee in each ing the rural organisations? area would put it to their members

> eral Party. What was the relationship between the NNALA and ANC?

Those who resisted the introduc-

operate in the culling of cattle and

banished to various places which

victims of this harsh measure.

that time, it did not have an organisation to fight removals.

and then whole committees would At that time the security branch was ted them with offers of better land. affiliate — for instance Roosboom | very active. So some people were afraid to attend meetings. Each | What lessons can be learnt from the meeting we had, the security police The NNALA was started by the Lib- would attend. They had their own way of finding out. They had a lot of | It made these communities become

happy about this. Although the ceed. We were working against the ANC was against the removals at law. People were removed in terms of the law. But we certainly managed to delay the removals. At Besters it took them seven years to move the people. It was really delaying tactics. In the meantime they intimidated people and temp-

politically motivated. I used to deal with leaders but after that we plan-My business was to meet with this | We had a very good relationship | Why do you think the NNALA was | ned with the leaders to hold public





Winnie Mandela (I) and Steve Tshwete (r):banished

Just the stroke of a pen and opponents of the Northern Transvaal. But not apartheid can be banished, sent into exile in far-away places. Since 1903, the government has dumped hundreds of its political enemies in the veld, often without water or shelter, far from their homes and families.

> people he really had in mind were | against leaders in the tribal reserves political leaders and members of the who led opposition to the new apar-

No official records were kept of | tion of Bantu Authorities, Bantu Steve Tshwete, president of the banishments before 1959, but there Education, passes for African

undesirable alien in South Africa. 1935 were removed from Mabiesk-He was told by the South African raal near Rustenburg to Steenbok-Department of Home Affairs that gat where there was neither water December 1958, 81 people were

cross the Ciskei borders into South | court arguing that a person couldn't 'be simply dumped in the veld'. He appealed against the order They demanded compensation and which restricts him to the povertous said if they were to be removed, it loopholes in earlier laws. It stated ing point. In 1952 he was stoned to ment order, he was instructed to

die together' Mpanza, after whom | was for a copy of the banning order | arrested. Her people, led to believe Abel Dube spent over two years in the current Sofasonke Party is to be left at the home of the person she would be allowed to return

in the Northern Transvaal. He was | The government issued a removal provided with a job and accomoda- order in 1936 banishing Mpanza to tion on a copper mine. His family the farm 'Coldplace' in the Ixopo

The use of banishment increased The tactic of banishment to silence | considerably when the National

Congress, the Pan African Con- | William's Town. gress and trade union leaders, 147 Unable to speak Xhosa, with little people had been banned to various money and totally isolated, teen of these fled South Africa.

during the 1960's and by the end of William's Town. 1972, there remained just one per- Between 1953-1955, 21 people son still serving a banishment order. from the Matlala community were Laynas Mashile, chief of the the banished to various parts of the Mapulana community, had been country. banished in 1963 from Bushbuc- Joel Matlala's death led to Glen Grey in the Transkei.

oringing the total to seven.

OPPOSITION TO THE BANTU **AUTHORITIES ACT:**

With the Bantu Authorities Act, the government attempted a form of indirect rule through chiefs and headmen who supported its cause. This entailed reallocating land and forcibly removing people to settle-ment villages through 'betterment'

The Matlala Reserve outside Pietersburg was the scene of militant opposition to betterment schemes in the early fifties.

* Up to his death in 1945, Sekgwari Matlala, chief of the Matlala community rejected 'betterment'. His wife, Makwena, acting as regent for the four-year-old heir to the chieftainship, Ilow Matlala, continued this policy and was made to suffer Between January 1948 and

She was the first person to be banished under the Nationalist government. Officials set Joel Matlala They were desolate, arid and isoup as chief and opposition to the betterment schemes reached boil-New legislation in 1956 closed that orders which allowed the death.

Minister of Native Affairs to banish | Mass arrests followed and | home, collected R400 bail for her

barren and inhospitable areas. Six- Makwena suffered incredible hardship. Two years later, 12-year-Banishment was used less often old Ilow was also deported to King

kridge in the Eastern Transvaal, to Maphuti Sepao's husband being arrested and sentenced to life But two new banishment orders | imprisonment. She and her five were served in 1974, two more in children were given a day's notice in 1976 and a further two in 1978, which to move to Tobaan Location in the Northern Transvaal.

Esrom Hlonyane served a fiveyear sentence for his alleged part in the killing of Joel Matlala. On his release in 1955, the police demanded that he pledge support for the new government policies. He refused and was banished to

Gingindhlovu in Natal. Five members of the Matlala community died while serving their banishment orders and two died within a month of being allowed to return home.

The other 16 all had their orders withdrawn by the end of 1960 after 11 to 16 years in forced exile.

OPPOSITION TO PASSES FOR WOMEN

Abram Moiloa, chief of the Linokana section of the Bafurutse community, was deposed by the state in 1957 for his vocal opposition to Bantu Authorities and Bantu Education and his refusal to use his influence to get women to carry pas-

Although not served with a banishmove to Ventersdorp. Hard on the heels of the chief's



Elliot Mngadi — veteran campaigner against removals

of addressing the public of those | Do you think you made mistakes? pening in the whole country.

INTERVIEW

particular areas. Naturally we dis- You go to a place and the meeting is, ing people but you have to go on. cussed politics right through. And attended by just a few people ... you people began to learn what was hap- become disappointed. But you have In 1962 you had a large meeting at

police were successful in intimidat-

to go back again. The security | Roosboom to protest removals. Who

attended this meeting?

Almost the whole of the NNALA. By this time I had seen leaders of threatened black spots right down to the coast.

What was the aim of the meeting?

There were three ministers at the the people who were governing us.

Do you think this was naive?

We knew we were dealing with a stubborn government. We hoped it would work but instead of it working, I was banned for five years.

Did this banning crush the NNALA?

When all the leaders are banned the organisation

But the Native Affairs Depart-

ment persisted in its efforts to get Sekhukhune to accept their activists during 1977 including Dr

cation to chiefs.

their own interests.

organisation dies.

Could this have been prevented?

This was difficult because if you There were 1500 people at the were banned, people were reluctant

In 1976 you were moved with the people from Roosboom to Ezakheni From rural life you were moved to a prayer meeting. We were praying town. Then in 1979/80 there was a that God would change the hearts of successful bus boycott in Ezakheni. Was there any difference in organising the people?

> Yes because in a town you just call a meeting and people come. In the scattered rural areas of Natal it was much more difficult to organise.

How has the situation changed since the 1960's as far as organisation against removals is concerned?

I was the leader of the thing. I was There is no overall committee banned. Then someone took over although in certain areas like from me and he was also banned. Matiwane's Kop there is good

issue passes to women. There was appointed by the government to promptly re-arrested and offered immediate resistance and Moiloa's look into the 'uprising' at Zeerust. money to become an informer. Location at Linokana in Marico dis- At the same time a procession of His refusal cost him his freedom trict seethed with discontent. Police intervened and the arrest of | marched to Moiloa's Location and | Natal.

a number of people resulted in riot- Gopane Village. ing and the burning of about 300 | The police were waiting for them. | THE SEKHUKHUNEpass books. Government officials | Using batons and low flying airfled in terror.

police reinforcements. A government notice was issued prohibiting gatherings of more than 10 people in certain areas of Marico district. But the people were in no mood to be deterred by government notices.

craft, the women were turned back. But they soon returned, backed by Some were less lucky and were arrested

hanishment hammer One, Kenneth Mosenyi, had been | meeting in November 1954 where

more than a thousand women and he was banished to Msinga in LAND BANISH-

MENTS

Following this incident, four The Bapedi, under the leadership of people from Marico came under the | Moroamoche Sekhukhune, openly

Godfrey Sekhukhune, an outspoken opponent of Bantu Authorities, were banished to Mtubatuba and rejected government policies after a

Mtunzi respectively. jailed for a month during the upris- the government had tried to sell standing that the two banished men | their people. would be allowed to return home. But the government refused to lift the banishment orders and went one step further by banishing Lot Kgagudi Maredi and Kgagudi Mafutanyane in November 1957 Sekhukhune to Cala in March 1958.

Moroamoche was replaced by a retired policeman. Altogether, between 1957 and 965, 15 people were banished from

he Sekhukhuneland area. REJECTION OF BANTU **AUTHORITIES IN**

The implementation of Bantu Authorities would have split Tembuland into three parts and a deputation was sent to Pretoria in 1951 to notify the Native Affairs officials of the people's rejection of it.

TEMBULAND

The deputation was warned that continued opposition would lead to Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo being deported and the loss of educational and other services. But mobilisation continued and the authorities swooped. Four members of the deputation - rugated iron, supported by two Jackson Nkosiyane, Twala Joyi, boxes. Bangilizwe Joyi and Ngolombane | A particular notorious banishment Sandla — were banished to different parts of the country.

UNDER THE INTER-NAL SECURITY

started implementing new security | weeds instead of grass and the legislation. Continued opposition | nearest water three-quarters of a to the regime was dealt with by the | mile from the camp. Internal Security Act, General The nearest shop and telephone Laws Amendment Act, the Riotous was 12 miles away. Assemblies Act and the Terrorism | Ploughing was forbidden. Instead

person could not only be banned | settle for a monthly allowance of but also banished to a remote area | R4 of the country.

Initially, this was used to isolate described as a 'groot agitator', was erty, utter boredom and loneliness.

to take over from you.

removal, state officials arrived to | A commission of inquiry was | ing, and shortly after his release was | Bantu Authorities and Bantu Edu- | banned after her release from prison and banished to Mabopane.

This provision was used against a

policies. At the same time there was | Mamphela Ramphele and Winnie a process of co-option of local coun- Mandela. cillors concerned with pursuing | More recent victims have been Thembani Phantsi, Phindile Mfeti, Soon afterwards, Arthur Phetedi Thami Zani and journalist

Tulare, secretary to the chief, and Zwelakhe Sisulu. Used in conjunction with detentions without trial, banishments and bannings are an important part of the draconian measures the In July 1957 the Bapedi accepted Nationalist government has used to Bantu Authorities on the under- silence those seeking justice for

CONDITIONS OF BANISHMENT

Families of banished people were sometimes allowed to join them but it was stressed that this was 'a concession and a privilege' and not a

People were invariably banished to places unsuitable for families. The absence of basic amenities and employment opportunities coupled with harsh, arid conditions, meant that few families could join those in

Moreover, the monthly state allowance of R4 that was sometimes provided or the income that could be obtained from local employment was barely enough for one person to survive on, let alone an entire fam-

Rural people who left their homes to join banished family members also risked losing their land, while urban people jeopardised their residential rights.

Huts were rarely provided for deportees

One deportee was given a ratinfested room in which to live. His bed for two years was a sheet of cor-

camp was Frenchdale, 80km from Mafikeng. A newspaper report of June 1964 described the camp as follows: 'Twelve bleak, round huts on a fenced-off part of the farm, about two square city blocks in size, are the homes of six banished people.' There were no trees in this semi-During the 1960's the government desert scrubland, with knee high

deportees were offered work on a Under the Internal Security Act a farm at R10-12 a month or had to

The distances separating the banished from their families were former political prisoners after their great and visits were infrequent. release from prison. Frances Baard, They lived lives of extreme povRural women wage a daily

struggle for survival. With no money and little food they've begun fighting back

UCH OF the burden of survival in the overcrowded pantustans falls on the shoulders of women

They lead a life of grinding hardship in the forgotten areas of South Africa, walking many miles to fetch water and firewood, and planting and harvesting crops - if there is land available

But in many areas, the land is dead. The women, children and old people who are condemned to live there cannot grow what they need to survive. Yet the wages of migrants are still pitifully low on the basis of the myth that their families can feed themselves off the land.

People depend on a cash income of some sort. But few can rely on pensions, UIF or money sent home by

Local jobs are scarce and the work is hard — building dams, working in road gangs, clearing bush, putting up fences, or farm labour. Wages and working condiditions are appal ling, but without other options, few women can afford to refuse them. Tshepo, a woman from Tzaneen

spoke about temporary work on a farm in the Tzaneen area. "We toil hard on the farms of the

rich farmers, mixing mud and waking at 4 am as if we are donkeys, but getting no pay," she said.
"And while we are toiling on the

rich land producing bananas, man-

goes and avocados, our children are starving."

Malnutrition is widespread and mortality rates are high.

Child-care is a huge problem. Working women have little choice but to leave their children at home where there are few people to look after them. And resettlement often destroys the social bonds that people have been able to rely on in

Because the government provides very little money for health care in rural areas, there are few clinics. These are often hard to get to, and health costs money. So people often put off going to the clinic until it is

In many areas ideas about men being the head of the family remain. Once married, custom has it that a woman must consult her husband on all decisions she takes.

In Bochum, in the Northern Transvaal, women complain they field to hoe, or which crop to plant, when they know most men will be without their husbands

But with men away, women have started to take these decisions. This sometimes causes tensions, but often men who have been away are men were at work and tried to relieved to find the women have intimidate the women — telling

men still sit on one side and women families gone. on the other, women's ideas on issues to do with boreholes, schools, had a taste of the power of

This is important because often it easy to persuade the women to sign is the women who have to imple- notices saying they would move. ment the decisions taken — and live But the women refused. They took

CONDEMNED TO STRUGGLE

found ways to support the family. them they had to leave. When the In some areas, women now attend men later returned, some found community meetings. Although their homes broken down and their

buildings and land are being taken organized women. They arrived one week day, thinking it would be

their sticks and pangas and hoes and forced removals by, for example, they dared officials to cross it and "They feel deserted, and blame the

removal. The officials left in a

Rural organization has at times developed out of the basic survival needs of the community. Women are starting to organize around selfhelp projects like vegetable and chicken-farming co- operatives, sewing and literacy groups, and

brick-making projects. In Lebowa, communal farming projects have brought women together to discuss how best they can use their resources. The first step in setting up such projects is to get permission from the chief and

induna to use a section of land.

discuss how influx control breaks up another. One week we are in families, and forces the men to work one village, the next week we for poverty wages, that the women start to see who their real enemy is."

are in the next village.

The house in which we hold more difficult because of pressures although we don't know the

ruling parties in the bantustans. In Gazankulu the ruling party is Ximoko-Xa-Rixaka, "Whip of the For

Many women get no support from Chief Minister, tells women not to go to a meeting with Nolizwe their husband, and have to come to belong to any other women's is we take our flags and hold Government officials have tried to drew a line in the dust. Standing terms with knowing that he has organization. And without a GWA them up in front of her and exploit the absence of men during militantly on one side of the line, another woman and family in town. membership card, women don't get sing, 'we are not going anypensions or other 'privileges'.

The women organise in the struggle for Mgwali

Miss Thandi Dyosi speaks about women's organisa-

When we meet as women, we discuss our rejection of going away from Mgwali, because Agwali is our home, place of birth. We want to be united in what we do, because if there is a gap between us, our enemies will find a way to defeat us.

To try and organise people, on the last Friday of every month we meet for prayers in our church where everybody says whatever he or she wants to say about the move from Mgwali. So that even those who said they want to go away from Mgwali will hear for themselves what the majority of the people say. Even some of the people who say they want to move from gwali are given a chance to ask whatever they want to

We have met some difficul-ties. One headman went ahead to call the police so that they may arrest the people in the night, since that headman said we hold meetings during the night.

We received guests from Crossroads in Cape Town who did some workshops with us. We learnt a lot from brought us a good number of plans. Through the work-shops we have won some people from the camp that said they want to move from

These meetings that we hold, we call them teaparties. We do not invite people just from a certain part of Mgwali, but from the whole of can't make decisions about which calling meetings during the week force them to agree to their own other woman. It's only when you meetings from the one area to

> Women's organisation is made our meetings becomes full, to join the women's groups of the numbers of the people.

We have devised some flags with words written on them. Nation", which works like Inkatha. | likhaya - Mgwali is our The party has a women's section — home; Asoze siye ndawo — Gazankulu Women's Association there is nowhere we can go. (GWA) — which tries to recruit the There is nowhere we want to support of women for the Gazan- move to; Nkosi ndincede -God help me.

The GWA, led by the wife of the What we usually do when we where, Mgwali is our home.

Even the US government formally proagainst the removal of Magopa. These people But when thousands of rent-paying tenants are evicted there is lit-Throughout South continue



A 'silent victim'. No-one hears when tenants are moved

removals from non-scheduled, non-released land (land which has not been set aside for African occupation in terms of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts).

forced

selves.

removals

owned land.

These events

are part of the

same process of

forcing African

people into the

bantustans and

impoverish-

ment.

owned the land them-

tle protest or publicity.

Africa, these quiet

from white, Indian, col-

One of the reasons behind these evictions was security. The du Toit Commission of 1959 pointed out the danger of platteland whites being 'overwhelmed' by an increasing black population in white rural areas.

But the main reason for these evictions was the necessity for the restructuring of farm labour. Both the South African Agricultural Union and the Natal Agricultural Union supported the abolition of labour tenancy. This resulted in massive evictions and removals.

In the 1980's the reasons for moving labour

and rent tenants changed. Consolidation of the bantustans and security are now the main Large numbers of African people living in

these areas contradicts the idea of separate areas for whites and blacks.

And the government wants maximum con-

IN THE 1960's and 1970's there were massive | trol of all farmworkers and African people living in white rural areas. It hopes to prevent guerillas moving easily among the black com-

The government is frank about its intentions. Last year Deputy Minister Hennie van der Walt, when criticised by the Conservative Party for not moving enough people admit-

'If we concentrate only on the so-called black spots or poorly situated areas, are these the only removals that should take place? It has been said that the most dangerous situation which has arisen in Limba the fact that the government did not give people go there voluntarily. enough attention to the black people on the farms in the rural areas.

'Before Onverwacht (a relocation area of 200 000) came into being, the white: nonwhite ratio on white farms in the Free State area was 1:15.

As a result of people moving voluntarily to Onverwacht, we are reducting the ration. At least 150 000 souls were moved there, so the ratio is down to 1:13.



'Illegal' tenants moved to Mpendle receive no compensation

'Is this not something which has been achieved? This kind of thing is not mentioned in reports in respect of rem

The proposed Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill (now to be reformulated) envisaged greater control of Africans in 'white' rural areas, including the creation of tenement' boards.

These would decide on how much labour each white farmer would need and order the eviction of excess people. The redrafted bill is likely to include the same emphasis on security in rural white areas.

The law of the land keeps out surplus people

Most of these removals are implemented in terms of Section 26 of the 1936 Land Act. This section states that Africans may not live on or congregate on land which is non-scheduled, non-prescribed or nontrust land (land specifically set aside for

African occupation). Only the following people are allowed to live in white rural areas:

Oregistered owners of land,

•farmworkers,

Odependents of the above.

An owner who allows Africans illegally on his land is guilty of an offence unless he can show that the Africans are being evicted. This means that both owners and rent-paying tenants can be prosecuted and the owner can be forced to

Where the profits grow and the people starve

Namaqualanders are wanting to join the

Howie Gabriels, National Union of people to make money — and then lay them So they don't. No-one has been evicted yet, dislike the government which they say 'is too

the area, losing a job often means losing a kilometre walk to buy food or fetch water is through organisation — is the only hope in Like the retrenchments at the Ochta house as well. For a time houses left by white not unusual, and unemployed workers often people's lives. Diamond Mine - 100 workers were laid off employees stood empty, but the coloured have to travel 150 kilometres to fetch their Namaqualand may have pretty flowers, but

And in Namaqualand no work or unemployment benefits means starvation. The land is too dry to farm. For years people have planted grain, but regularly there has been no rain. Wealthier farmers have left the area to produce in the rainy areas, taking their farm-

the past year in the area. Most didn't get | Since the mines own almost everything in | There is also little public transport. An eight | ing for food, transport, water and jobs

its people cannot live off daisies.

Removal by legislation affects thousands

truth, according to a Black Sash field worker. According to official figures, 6 489 landowners and tenants were prosecuted in 1982, under Section 26 of the 1936 Land Act. This section deals with rent-paying African tenants on white and Indian owned

But this is not all. According to the field worker, these figures only figures. And the prosecution of the landowner might mean the eviction to find a new home themselves.

OFFICIAL FIGURES on the number of forced evictions distort the of many tenants. Thousands would thus be affected by the prosecution of just a few.

> There were most prosecutions in the Orange Free State (2 755), the province where the Deputy Minister boasted of having reduced the black/white ratio on farms from 15:1 to 13:1. He said these people moved voluntarily. 'We did not force them to get onto a truck.'

cover the people brought to court. Landowners threatened with prosecution unless they evicted their tenants would not appear in these as a forced removal. The only difference is that these people are forced evict his tenants.

problems and ways of solving them. 'Many see the UDF positively, but some of retrenched another 500 workers.

PEOPLE IN Namaqualand are hungry. They

also have too few houses, little water and no

jobs. And the ranks of the unemployed are

But while conditions might be serious some

swelling as retrenchments hit workers.

nearly 2000 workers have been retrenched in because prices are low.

responsibility for them. You can't just use pay for electricity, water and rent.

United Democratic Front to discuss their Goldfields - the new owners — bought the The Port Nolloth authorities have waged a ing equipment with them. mine agreeing that the remaining workers vicious war against squatters and forced Goats and donkeys are eaten. Now, for Reginald Jacobus, an Okiep priest, said: would not be laid off. A short while later they people to move into sub-economic housing. some, dassies, mice and fish are main sources But a decent roof over their heads is not the of food—if they can catch them. Others have our people have been scared off by the sec- A worker said: 'If the companies can use the end of the problem. The jobless workers and resorted to collecting innards from the abbaturity police and government propoganda on workers to make money they should take their families now have to find extra money to toirs.

Mineworkers organiser, points out that off when they are dependent on you just but people fear the authorities 'won't be busy spending money trying to make the banpatient forever.'

Half the population survives off the land. It isn't easy depending on ...

Roosboom people fled from removal, only to be driven off again

to the township Ezakheni. African people had bought Roosboom before the 1913 Land Act prohibited

Although many people worked in Ladysmith, about 12 km away, they lived a rural life. People could not adjust to township life. Rentals were high and township life violent.

A number of tenants, after trying life in Ezakheni, attempted to recreate their rural life by moving back to an Indian-owned farm adjoining Roosboom. Here the people had cattle although they were pendent on earnings from people working in Ladysmit

Under section 26 of the 1913 Land Act they were illegally living as rentpaying tenants on non-scheduled, non-released land.

In October 1983 200 people from this Indian-owned farm were moved to Compensation in the Mpendle district. Those working in Ladysmith were forced to become lodgers in the already overcrowded townships of Steadville or Ezakheni while their families moved to Mpendle.

STATE OF THE NATION spoke to one of the people who was moved.

Why were you moved from Ladysmith?

At Ladysmith we were staying on the Indian-owned farms. We used to be visited by Drakensberg Administration Board officials They used to send one official. The official used to go around to our houses. At one time the official came and wrote numbers on our

Did he ask you any questions?

Mine was 823. When I asked my wife who wrote the number on the door, she told me it was the Drakensberg officials. I asked why they wrote the numbers on the doors. She said they told her that they do not need us on the farms. I heard people saying that the Indians who were the landowners had been threatened with prosecution.

One day we were told that we have to appear at the Commissioner's office at about seven am. At the Commissioner's office we were given letters and told to proceed to another office on the first floor. When we arrived there we were asked how much was the bus fare from Mdlanswela, the Indian farm where we were staying, to Ladysmith and back. We told them and they gave us that bus fare and then we were told to go home.

Then they came back again on another day. On that day they told

There was no water and grass. us the government trucks will come | Our cattle were going to die. on a certain day to move us. They did not tell us where. The Drakensberg officials came back order to reach home. In the rainy again and told us to pay a visit to an | S area called Ntshela. Ntshela is an problems, especially for the workarea outside Ladysmith. Its other ers. name is Ematsheketsheni. The purpose of the visit was to inspect the area. area and decide whether we liked it

sioner's office where we were given | They told us they were not prepared another bus that took us to Ntshela. to do that. When we arrived at Ntshela we discovered that the area has no water. The second problem was the faction again to the Commissioner's office. hurry. Now I have to start from

answer. We decided not to accept | wela.



Keeping a tight grip on freehold

the press — Magopa, Mgwali and Matiwane's Kop, all communities in freehold areas, which have owned the land. But the removals of tenants from white, coloured and Indian land go almost ignored.

The tenants are vulnerable and isolated. They live in small groups, threatened by both state and landowners

The government also uses strategies that make resistance difficult. Administration board officials serve summonses on either tenants or landowners or both. Generally both landowners and tenants receive suspended sentences. But, if the landowner fails to evict tenants, the sentences come into effect.

Under this type of pressure they usually give in.

Refusing to move means the payment of fines, then a forced removal to a 'closer settlement' It is one of four types of places that people get moved to, depending on where they come

According to the Department of Co-operation and Development, 'border townships are so situated that black workers in the nearby white areas can usually commute daily between their place of residence and place of

Rural townships are for families whose breadwinners are usually employed in white areas as migrant workers or for the aged, widows and women with dependent children.'

In other words these areas are too far away from employment for people, living in these rural townships, to travel to work.

'Closer settlements' are always the furthest from any employment and have the fewest facilities. According to the department, 'This type of residential area is developed for the settlement of squatters from white farms as well as from black spots and mission farms.' By squatters the department means rent-paying tenants and labour

It seems that at any time in Natal there are one or two closer settlements available for the dumping of tenants. At the moment these are Compensation in the Mpenonly people at the farm. One of get material from? Ladysmith was a dle district and Frankland on the south coast.

Tenants are not paid compensation when they are moved from these types of areas. People at Cliffdale for instance had been living there for 20 years in subplace is very cold in winter. We have | stantial houses. They were comand move.

'NOTHING KEEPS US WARM IN THIS PLACE'

A story not usually heard ... this man spoke about removal from white and Indian-owned land

We requested the officials to take us to the area of our own choice A bus took us to the Commis- which was not far from Ntshela.

After that visit we were called certain form and to choose whether | everything. We asked the officials whether we wanted to be moved to Qhudeni, I am staying at the hostel at Col-

see, the Indians are staying in town | said they will come and take these | and not at the farm. We were the | tin houses. Where are we going to | these Indians got a shop in town. better place compared to this. We are really willing to go back to | The other problem in this place is Ladysmith but it is difficult because | that there is no firewood. We have we have got no spokesman. Look, I | to buy firewood or go to the forest at am working at Colenso. I only come | night and steal firewood because home once a month. I pay R10 for a | during the day we get arrested. This taxi from Colenso.

At Ladysmith I had built a fourroomed house. When we were moved I tried to strip material from my house but the officials told me to forget it, because they were in a On arrival we were told to sign a scratch. I have to buy material and

they are prepared to construct a Nondweni or Compensation. We enso. I have to buy my own bridge for our use. The officials said | told them that we are not going to | groceries and come here and again no. The area had marks showing sign anything because we are not buy groceries for my children and that people once stayed there. We | prepared to move. We asked the | my wife. At Ladysmith I was at asked them what had forced the | Commissioner why are we being | home every day. It is difficult to people who had been there to leave | moved. He said the government | reach this place because it is too far the place. They did not give us any does not want us to be at Mdlans- from anything. There are no shops, clinics or anything. Pregnant

women suffer a lot.

The government has told us to The Indians are at Ladysmith. You | build our own houses now. They

got nothing that keeps us warm in pelled to dismantle their houses this place.



Ezakheni township: 'It is too far from anything'

Namibia's population, war is the only way of life years of drought. Forced removals. Fifty five percent of the country's people live in the two Crop destruction. northern war zones, Ovambo and Namibia's people And they have known bloodshed, fear and strife for eighteen years will inherit a ravaged

dence is won.

Below: images from a desolate

land when indepen-



Only 44 000 black workers are employed in agriculture, while around 120 000 peasants are involved directly as household heads in subsistence peasant farming. That figure is in itself misleading, as about half a million people half the total population are directly dependent on peasant crop cultivation for survival.

coming from commercial, modern

farming which is concentrated in

since the war began.

26 percent of the population i

regarded as being 'permanently

urbanised', mainly living in the five

being economically active.

of commercial agriculture.

Under the notorious Odendaal Plan of the mid-60's, black Nami- tle development. bians were forced into bantustans | The massive apartheid war which account for a meagre 20 per- machine has effectively taken over cent of the decent stock raising all functions of government and land, and five percent of the arable administration in the north.

These areas, Kavango, Ovambo, Damaraland, Hereroland East and breaking in the north in late 1982, West, Kaokoland and Bushman- the lot of the Namibian peasant is a land — with Namaland and sorry one. Rehoboth in the south, all have one Adult males invariably spend at migrants. common feature. They have no least part of their lives trying to sup-

THE ILLNESS OF WAR

Oshakati, Rundu and Nkurenkuru.

bubonic plague.

MANY PEASANTS, forced off their traditional

land by the intensity of the war, have flocked to

the major war zone centres of Ondangwa,

Here they live in squalid squatter conditions,

with no sanitation and little health care. Bubonic

plague, malaria, typhoid and kwashiokor are

endemic, and seasonal epidemics of malaria and

Destruction of the fragile peasant subsistence

economy has led to a mushrooming of petty trad-

ing through a network of cuca shops. There are 6

Coupled with seven years of disas-

migrant labour. But a depressed job market, with around one staple food item unemployment estimates — no offiperal millet, or mahangu. Around cial figures are available — ranging | 40 000 tonnes of mahangu are black labour is legion in Namibia. A

from the north, have fled into exile, either to join the national liberation movement, Swapo, or to further their studies in United Nations and Swapo refugee programmes.

The economy in the north revolves from a 'low' of 15 percent to a possi- reaped annually, all of it used for ble high of 40 percent, has also subsistence.

taken its toll on the prospects for | It is supplemented with off-season vegetable cultivation and catching In addition, an estimated 100 000 | fresh fish in the Oshanas — pans filinfrastructure for marketing and lit- plement household income through young men and women, mainly led with water from the Ovambo

number of farmers have appeared

ernment will inherit this. It is essentially a rural society, but without the social fabric to maintain it, or the economic resources to pull it out of

its cycle of decay. most Namibians' lot.

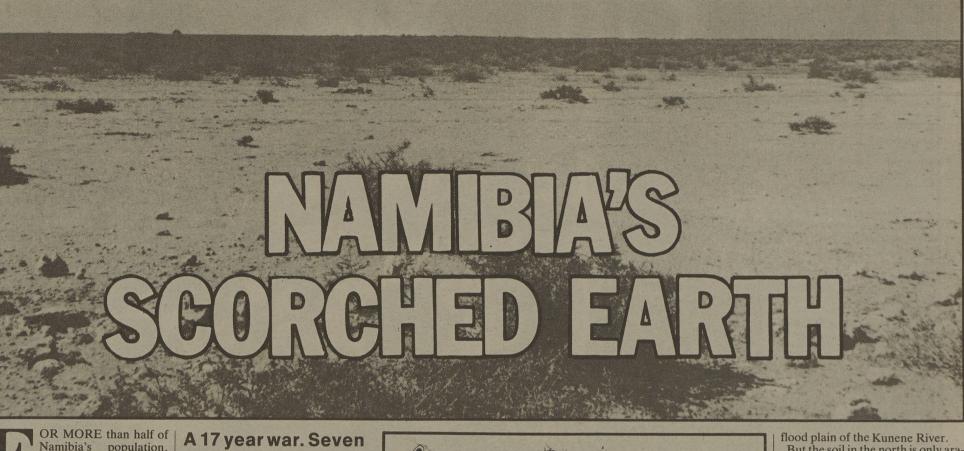
Plague and misery in squatter camps

000 licensed cuca shops in Ovambo alone, and a further estimated 6 000 unlicensed shops.

Besides a minor trade in tinned food and basic foodstuffs, the cuca shops essentially act as bars and bottle stores. Their trade boosted by the purchasing power of thousands of soldiers and policemen, the cuca shops have become breeding grounds for large-scale alcoholism and violent

Rape and murder are the order of the day, and the once-prosperous peasant farmers have been caught up in a vicious cycle of violence and social decay.

The breakdown of the peasont sector is also evident in the streets of Windhoek. Teenage pros- relief, but without large scale land titution, adult unemployment and alcoholism are redistribution, equal access to minrampant. Without massive state intervention, eral wealth, technology and educasociologists judge Windhoek's black townships to tion, there seems little relief ahead be 'pathological' — unable to heal themselves | from the grinding poverty that is without outside aid



But the soil in the north is only arable at a very shallow level, below which it becomes too salty for So peasants have developed a highly efficient, low-technology method of soil management which relies on precise timing with regard to sowing, harvesting, and rotation of crops. The war and migrant labour have all but ruined this cycle. Because Ovambo is a flat region with little ground cover, guerillas of the Peoples Liberation Army of

nahangu fields in the late summe and early autumn when the nahangu is at its highest. This has led to wanton crop destruction by the South African military, and vindictive crop destruction of fields belonging to kraals suspected of being sympathetic to the guerillas. A dawn to dusk curfew, and cur-

tailed harvesting periods imposed by the military in attempts to limit the amount of cover available to guerillas have also taken their toll on the mahangu harvest, leading to increasing starvation, malnutrition and a massive decrease in personal

In other non-war zone areas, the drought and an almost total lack of marketing infrastructure has also served to decrease and in some areas, destroy, peasant farming

Drought cycles have led to overstocking and overgrazing and subsequent stock disease and soil destruction. Many cattle farmers in the Damaraland region resorted to poaching to stay alive in the sevenyear drought which ended in 1983. with the result that natural animal resources are now almost non-existent. Sporadic reports filter through to Windhoek of people in the Nama-speaking south eating cattle fodder to survive. White farmer brutality towards

in court on charges of murder after brutally beating labourers to death, or having beaten labourers to the point where they are permanently disabled. Such is the structure of Namibia today. A post-independence gov-

FTER THREE years of pass-burning, arrests, defiance and shootings in the Zeerust district, the government held a ceremony to announce that the Ba-Hurutshe Regional Authority was now in charge of the area.

The future president of Bophuthatswana, Chief Lucas Mangope, ruled over the ceremony and brought a satisfied smile to the face of the minister of Bantu Administration when he said: 'Lead us and we shall try to crawl.'

Mangope was ready to crawl because he had not stood with the thousands who had stubbornly resisted the takeover of rural areas by Bantu Authorities, and the extension of passes to African women. Together with his father and another chief Edward Lencoe, he had actively helped government forces to crush the Zeerust revolt.

The Hurutshe people live north of Zeerust, on the border with Botswana. Conflict in the area began in 1954 when a zealous new Native Commissioner, Carl Richter arrived, determined to enforce the Bantu Authorities Act which would make chiefs responsible for many of the tasks performed by Native Affairs department officials.

Richter soon clashed with a local chief, Abram Moilwa, who was reluctant to bind his followers to the Bantu Authorities. When Moilwa first heard about the Bantu Authorities Act he said: 'Who the hell is Verwoerd? He is just a minister. I am not afraid of him.'

In March 1957, a mobile pass unit arrived in Zeerust. Richter sent for chief Moilwa and told him to call the women of Dinokana together so they could be issued with passes. After context of the could be issued with passes. sulting with the women, the chief decided to

Soon afterwards the pass unit was set up at a trading store in the area, but only 80 out of 8 000 women came forward, mostly school teachers and relatives of government officials. This was nothing new. In the first seven months of 1956, when women were first issued with reference books, 50 000 women in 38 different places demonstrated against the

But Richter responded angrily to the Dinokana womens' defiance. He called the people together and told them chief Moilwa had been stripped of his position, and would have to leave the area within fourteen days.

Hurutshe people who worked in the cities kept close links with each other through the Bahurutshe Association and soon heard of this. Led by women migrant workers, they hired buses and returned home.

They had seen the effectiveness of bus boycotts on the Rand, and began applying this tactic in the countryside. People stopped buying at the white-owned trading store where the pass unit had been set up. Over 1 000 children were withdrawn from schools whose teachers had taken out passes.

Passes that had been issued were burnt in public, and the houses of collaborators were set on fire. When the revolt spread from Dinokana to Gopane, fifteen miles away, the government began to hit back hard.

Villages where passes had been burnt were denied access to doctors and pensions. Buses to Zeerust were withdrawn and the post office police, led by a sergeant named van Rooyen roamed around the district, arresting, beating and harassing women, and in some cases sexually molesting them.

474 women were charged with burning their passes. They were defended when a local Anglican priest, Charles Hooper, enlisted the services of a Johannesburg advocate, George Bizos, and only 39 were found guilty.

For a while thereafter there was a lull in police activity. Then a stranger arrived in the area, lit a big fire and called on women 'to clear away rubbish' by burning it. Those who had passes threw them onto the flames.

The police mobile column soon came around with a list of twelve women they wanted to arrest.But 200 women presented themselves for arrest, all claiming that they had burnt their passes. They knew that the jails could not hold them all!



RURAL RESISTANCE

Confused policemen arranged for two railway buses to take them to Zeerust, where were told not to listen to Congress 'agitators.' They were not impressed: We ourselves form a Congress village' they replied. On the day of the trial, 400 women arrived to go to court and the case soon collapsed.

In November, 1957 the government called a commission of inquiry into the Zeerust situation. There was no agenda, nobody could lead evidence and Advocate Bizos was not allowed to cross-examine government witnesses. Ba-Hurutshe who wanted to testify were stopped on their way to Zeerust by baton-charges and low-flying Harvard aeroplanes.

The inquiry achieved very little and passburning spread to Witkleigat and Motswedi in the north of the Zeerust district. Women were now being sentenced to six months imprisonment for damaging government property', but resistance to passes and pro-government chiefs still burned fiercely.

These chiefs began to conscript bodyguards, sometimes fining people who refused to join up. Chief Lencoe's bodyguards stood at the busstop, intimidating the passengers and looking for 'ANC types.' In December a group of returning migrants lost patience with this and attacked the chief's guard.

These workers then marched on the chief's house. Lencoe had fled from the area, but his house and new Chrysler were burnt and destroyed. The houses of 36 other supporters of the chief were set on fire. Mangope opened fire on a group of angry villagers who attacked his house.

By January 1958, meetings in Zeerust had been banned and the area completely sealed off to keep migrants and other city people from entering. Under this cover the police went in hard. On January 25 four Gopane villagers were shot dead when police tried to arrest a man who was a known African National Congress (ANC) member.

The shootings shocked Zeerust people and resistance began to break down. Mass arrests followed, but out of 200 people charged with murder, five were convicted of assault and 58 of public violence. The trials were held in distant towns to prevent people attending, and gatherings of more than ten people were pro-

Leaders of the resistance were banished and hundreds fled across the border to Botswana, including chief Moilwa who although in hiding for two years, had kept in constant contact with his people. The Ba-Hurutshe Association, which had provided a crucial urban/rural link, was smashed.

There were small African National Congress (ANC) branches in Dinokana and Gopane, and Lillian Ngoye, Nelson Mandela and others visited families and prisoners in the area. The ANC was eventually banned from the reserve.

Although Mangope and others were eventually able to take up their jobs in the Bantu Authority, the people of Zeerust, especially the women, were not ready to forget what had gone before: 'Jail is a good school. When we went in we knew nothing. Now we are able to talk all day to our people from Johannesburg and to the women of other villages. We got organised in jail."

The choice of the landless: starvation or poverty wages

"THE LAND SHALL be shared among those who work it." Thirty years ago, the Congress of the People made this demand a part of their program for a democratic South Africa. But the struggle

for the land had begun long before.

More than one hundred years ago, African people were struggling to defend their land against white settlers. Guns decided many battles in the settlers' favour, but the land was never completely lost. Then diamonds and gold

were discovered and many things changed.
The mines needed workers for the difficult and dangerous job of digging gold, but most Africans preferred to stay on the land because profits were put first and wages were terribly low. And so the mine bosses and the government made plans to drive Africans off the land and force them into the mines.

Africans were forced to pay harsh taxes for their dogs, cattle and huts. But people with land were able to produce enough to pay their taxes, and to stay free of mine labour. Then in 1913, the Land Act divided the country up into unequal parts, with 13 percent of the land for the African

Millions who rented land from white farmers were forced to leave, while those who had land in areas set aside for whites had to give it up. They were all forced to live in the tiny areas set aside

for African people, the bantustans.
It was impossible for so many people to live off so little and so the long journey to the goldmines

The Land Act did more than just force people to give up farming. It created the bantustans and the migrant labour system, and used the pass laws to tie them together. It made sure that the people would not govern and would not share in the country's wealth. It gave apartheid an iron grip over the African working-class.

How did the bantustans and migrant labour help to keep South Africa's rulers in power and the bosses so rich? Workers were never paid the value of the goods they produced, nor did they get a wage which could support their families. Women and children were supposed to live off tiny plots of overcrowded bantustan land.

The bantustans kept wages down in other ways. Workers who grew old or suffered injuries were kicked out of the cities they had helped to build, no pensions, no healthcare, no problems for the government. And opposition to low wages, poor housing, and powerlessness was stifled by the pass laws which could banish workers to the pantustans and keep them there.

This was a powerful system of control, but it as not perfect. Overcrowding and the loss of the fittest and strongest workers to the factories and mines had damaged the land beyond repair, so that even those in power had to admit that Africans could not survive there.

The cities were filling with people and although there was work in the new factories, the government had not provided enough houses, schools and hospitals. And the rulers were becoming afraid that if African workers stayed in the cities they would not be so easy to control. In the 1940's there were riots over food shortages, and bus boycotts in Alexandra and elsewhere. There was strong organisation

among squatters. There was a strike by mineworkers in 1946 which could only be broken at gunpoint.

The ruling class needed to tighten it's hold on the African working-class. As a first step, the movement of African workers was controlled

To page 24

HE HORSE MEN ARE COMING

Police reinforcements were sentinin an attempt to crush the Mpondo revolt.

OR NINE MONTHS, the people of Eastern Pondoland fought a battle against their rulers, and then began to govern the territory

The Mpondo rebellion of 1960 was led by a remarkable organisation which came to be known as Intaba, the Mountain Intaba grew out of small kraal meetings where Mpondo villagers gathered to discuss government land rehabilitation programmes and the new powers given to chiefs under the Bantu Authorities Act.

The government's plans threatened almost everyone in the territory, and so representatives of each kraal came regularly on a hill outside Bizana | warned to vacate their kraals, village. The meetings were

public and from them Intaba's influence spread throughout the | but care was taken not to harm 180 000 people of Eastern

Intaba developed into an alternative political authority, and took over functions such as settling land disputes from the chiefs. Traditional leaders had completely discredited themselves by taking part in an illegitimate political system. Intaba tried to make the system

break down completely by putting pressure on chiefs and headmen to publicly reject the Bantu Authorities. Chiefs who refused to listen

paid for it. They were sent messages saying "The which were then burned. Those the foot of Ngquza hill, near

who stayed behind were killed, their dependants.

Seventeen chiefs and headmen died as a result of Intaba-inspired activity. So did five men suspected of being informers. The Bantu Authority system was unable to function and many chiefs took refuge in camps specially set up for them in Bizana and Umzimkulu.

One chief who had not been punished was the eastern Pondoland Paramount, Botha Sigcau. The government made Sigcau Paramount chief in 1938 after a succession dispute, despite his weak claim to the position. This and his reputation

back. There were swift reprisals for the massacre. The following week, 29 kraals belonging to government supporters were The Bantu Affairs commisioner for the territory then tried a new

Flagstaff to discuss this issue,

specially-assembled police

force. Eleven Mpondo were

killed, most of them shot in the

they were attacked by a

tactic. He called a mass meeting and asked people to let the chiefs return, or to appoint people to replace them. He also called for representatives to help with the

The Mpondo refused to discuss the return of the chiefs and But when 400 tribesmen met at enumerators. They did this not only because they rejected the

Bantu Authorities, but also because they were careful not to let individuals become isolated and their opposition divided. But Intaba still had some difficult problems to solve. Many people had been arrested

and charged with murder, and bail payments were set very high. Intaba collected a membership levy from those who attended meetings, and put pressure on African and white traders in the area to donate money, as well as lorries for transport and food for the

dependents of those on trial. African traders lived in the community and had small profits to protect. They took out traders had to be pushed harder. Highly successful boycotts of their shops convinced them to help the people out. In one area, three shops were boycotted at the same time, despite the fact that grain supplies were finished. This demonstrated the community's discipline and the widespread support for Intaba.

In July, the government appointed a commission of enquiry, which temporarily came forward to state their grievances. The attacks against the chiefs eased off, but Intaba continued to consolidate it's strike and a mass refusal to

co-operate with the census. They also sent a memorandum to the United Nations stating their grievances which, together with the testimony of witnesses to the commission showed that the Mpondo were aware of the

wider context of their struggle. In | leaders to witness their arrest. addition to local grievances, they They then set up pickets at the spoke out strongly against Bantu education, lack of African political representation in parliament, unfair taxation and

of emergency in the Bizana, Nearly 5 000 people were arrested and interned, and reports of great brutality Authorities, rehabilitation, influx | followed. Normal life was completely disrupted. Cultivation stopped and impoverished families were

humiliated hundreds of

in public. entrances to the villages and began a boycott to persuade traders to make representations

proud place in the history of South African opposition for its disciplined and clear-thinking organisation. Individuals were never singled out as delegates or spokespeople, thus protecting them from harassment and co-option, and the organisation from division. Potential allies like African traders were forced to define where their loyalties lay.

> enemies, but not in an indiscriminate way. Most

Pass laws, rebellion and skies red with fire ON AUGUST 15, 1959 a telegram | to 'take some of the pressure off the arrived on Prime Minister Hendrik | land.' Then they set up tanks where

Bantu from Durban to Harding and as protection against disease. open rebellion. Request adequate | tanks would be used to kill their catforces to be sent to protect farmers

as well as urban areas.' and fields were set alight and dip- woman afterwards. ping tanks were destroyed.

The newspaper, the Daily News reported that the sky around Harding glowed red from fires. Farmers organised vigilante groups to guard evacuated their children.

This uprising of about 10 000 African women in Natal erupted in both the rural areas and the towns. The link between them was not only that they happened at the same time.

Rural families depended on the urban economy for survival. Land shortage had made it impossible to survive in the bantustans without some family members going to work n the towns. Anything which made living and working in the towns more difficult created severe problems for rural people.

But what caused these fierce out- were cut down. breaks of protest and anger? In the The government said these schemes problem land-shortage.

Verwoerd's desk: 'Unrest among | cattle had to be brought and dipped intervening areas developing into People were convinced that the

Responsibility for maintaining the Within a few weeks, panic had tanks was handed over to the tribal swept through Natal's white popu- authorities, who made women do lation as African women went on | the job without any payment. The the march, from the Valley of the | tanks became symbols of people's Suns' in Durban's Cato Manor to | frustration and bitterness, and in the sugar-cane fields of the south | the conflict that eventually burst coast, and inland to the High Flats. out, 75 per cent of them were Municipal vehicles and buildings | destroyed. 'The destruction of the were demolished, railway lines tanks was a letter to the authorities were blocked with boulders, farms | which they had to read,' said one

At the same time women in Durban began confronting the laws which oppressed them. The pass laws were getting harsher and tighter by the day. Shacks belonging to 'illegal' workers were being pulled down. Poll tax for men had gone up and a further tax had been added

On top of this, women were told that they would have to carry passes and pay for the reference books!

Women in Cato Manor began a series of protests which turned into violent confrontation. Five people were killed and many more were injured.

Rural women identified with the battle being fought by their sisters in Durban and expressed their solidarity in direct action. Tanks and buses were stopped and telephone lines

Police moved in and arrested hunrural areas they were caused by the | dreds. Over 1 000 women were conso-called 'betterment schemes'. victed on charges of destruction to property. With the help of eager would prevent the destruction of | farmer vigilantes, the police eventubantustan land by putting a stop to | ally suppressed the revolt and Natal overgrazing and over-stocking, but | began to simmer down. But the this ignored the basic cause of the | grievances and bitterness of rural people remained, and the anger and The government began by trying | strength of the women was not eas-



the mass of the people were clear on their goal - end the "tribalisation" and all creations of apa

In October 15 000 Mpondo gathered on the Bizana airfield to The government agreed to make

further detentions and an November 1, 3 000 Mpondo tribesmen in one district by forcing them to apologise to him In spite of this, Intaba holds a

on their behalf. The boycott continued into January 1961, by which time the government had declared a state Flagstaff and Lusikisiki districts. Violence was used against

forced to sell livestock to pay tax. Resistance could not continue, and Paramount chief Sigcau, who later became the first president of the Transkei,

important, Intaba was able to mobilise disciplined community support that was able to make Eastern Pondoland ungovernable for nine long months.

to slaughter people's 'extra' cattle, | ily forgotten.

From page 23 labour bureaux were set up in

gave permission. Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act, which denied permanent urban rights to thousands of workers and their families had been used in some towns since

1923. In 1952 it was introduced in

all urban areas and many were

squeezed back into the bantus-

difficult for squatters to remain | people by now had no land at all | wealthy.

extended to women.

ers could only leave the bantus- people out of the towns and tans and take up jobs in the cities | cities. They still needed to be if officials at the labour bureau | controlled, and for this to hapto be reorganised.

at least have some reason to stay | responsible to their people.

tans as a result.Passes were

on white farms and forcing Afri- in the Ciskei, three families out of Chiefs were also given greater cans who owned land in so-cal- ten were landless. They, together powers to fine, jail and punish much more tightly. From 1949, led "black spots" to move out. | with thousands of others who | their opponents. They were The government was still wor- found their land taken over for encouraged to use them: "Be every part of the country. Work- ried. It was not enough just to get grazing, were packed together in your own police in your own

than rural ghettoes.

villages that were nothing more | interest, find out those men who respect authority and tribal Policies like these made conflict | institutions and band them pen, the bantustans would have | inevitable, and so Bantu | together as the chief's and head-Authorities were introduced in men's impi which will turn out defused tensions while Mpondo Agriculture needed to be 1953 to keep rural Africans under when called to help keep your improved so that the labour of | control. Chiefs were given grea- | tribes and locations clean and workers families could continue | ter powers than they had before | well behaved. Use moderate vioto subsidise the low wages paid | and became paid officials of the | lence, just like a good chief by employers, and so that people | department of Bantu Administra- | should do." This advice came | support by organising a taxdumped in the bantustans would | tion instead of representatives | from the department of Bantu Affairs.

Chiefs were able to allocate land | And in the government's usual The new policy was known as and other resources, without style, the money to run this sys-"betterment". The land was having to account to the tribe, tem was expected to come from In 1954, laws like the Group | divided up into residential, farm- | and they used this to make them- | increased taxes. In the Transkei. Areas Act were passed making it ing and grazing areas. Many selves and their friends very taxes doubled between 1955 and 1959.

the pass laws.

hear the commission's findings. minor concessions on local grievances, but the Bantu control and taxation would not be changed.

The commission's findings coincided with the withdrawal of bail for those arrested, a spate of intensification of resistance. On marched into Bizana with their



THE ICU OF AFRICA

HE FARMS HAVE always In the 1920's the ICU organised 200 000 workers and peasants into been difficult to organise.
Farmworkers who lose their

a movement which had a lasting impact on rural organization

jobs lose their homes as well. But there was once a time when farm workers joined together under one banner and became part of the largest organisation the African continent had ever seen. At the peak of its popularity, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) claimed 160 000 members, and most of them came from South Africa's rural areas. But the ICU did not begin as a

rural organisation. Its roots lay in a strike by black and white workers at the Cape Town docks in 1919. World War I had just ended and the South African economy, like many others, entered a period of depression. Jobs were scarce and wages were low. Drought made the shortage of food even worse. In spite of this, the government

was exporting food to Europe. White dockworkers met with representatives of a tiny union that had been formed barely weeks before the ICU — and together they called a strike, demanding that the government reduce its food exports and | made in Johannesburg. But Natal raise their wages. The strike crip- was where pressures for militant pled the docks and the authorities agreed to higher pay.

its belt, membership of the ICU disease spreading to the white began to expand dramatically, start- areas, the city health authorities ing in the western Cape. At first the government wasn't sure how to react to the ICU, with its broad base for work, in Durban without a cerof members, its militant attitude tificate proving that they had been and particularly its call for the aboldipped. Pe ition of the pass laws.

of the newly formed National Party (NP), met with the ICU's shrewd Durban ICU leader, AGW leader Clements Kadalie. He prom- Champion, launched a massive ised a fair deal for black workers if campaign against this humiliating the NP came to power, and per- regulation and, backed by the suaded Kadalie to influence the people, he took the issue to court. ICU's coloured members, who had And won. The ICU's fame spread the vote, to support the Nats.
Kadalie played along, careful not to make enemies before the union had this victory over the dipping tanks. consolidated its strength.

Industrial Conciliation Act which struggle to remain on the land. excluded black unions from recog- Organising in rural areas was much more than what they were getting, weapon was still eviction. ICU over. nition and bargaining procedures. more difficult than in towns. Reach and the same amount the white members, marked by their distinction. That does not mean it was not The 1922 white mineworkers strike ing workers on isolated farms was Labour Party was demanding as a tive red membership cards, were important. It was one of the few had demonstrated the power of the difficult, especially as landowners working class. The 1924 Act was could chase organisers away at any designed to isolate black and white moment. And because most rural



far beyond the Western Cape. Membership was strong elsewhere in the Cape, particularly in Port Elizabeth, and inroads were being action were greatest.

In 1925 a typhus epidemic broke With this important victory under out. Alarmed at the prospect of the like animals, and by 1925, the ICU Meanwhile Barry Hertzog, leader had arrived to back them up.

ICU organisers began to move into He was not rewarded. The the rural areas. Wages and working ICU banner. National Party came to power in conditions were major problems 1924, and within weeks passed the there, but the burning issue was the

contact with organisers was vital.

in the '20's - the worst off workers. Right: It was only in the evening tha returned to

taxes in 1906. By the mid 1920's tle plantations in order to cash in on one. tations for pitiful wages.

track. Thereafter, organisers cycled | following morning, Gwaza left a | banished and imprisoned. people to secret weekend meetings. Concerts were held where local

In May, farmworkers throughout the district went on strike demandminimum wage for whites.

Inspired by the ICU, tenants with them. mounted a campaign of passive As repression intensified, many people. As one old man, a former workers from each other, and make workers were illiterate this direct resistance and ignored eviction people became disillusioned with ICU member put it: "They fought notices. In some cases, lawyers the ICU. It could not protect them, for us. Under the ICU we had a

homesteads were evicted, and Gwaza showed his contempt for the better, they lost faith. labourers had to work on the plan- white authority by desecrating the Nationally the ICU had lost its The ICU began to organise there | for three months, he spent his first | played a part — in Durban, in June in 1927. Branch secretary Zabuloni night of freedom smashing graves- 1929, police used teargas for the Gwaza drew 5000 people to the first | tones in Greytown's white cemet- | first time to disperse a crowd at an meeting, held at the Greytown race ery. Before he was flung into jail the ICU meeting. Leaders were through the countryside, spreading | traditional symbol of war in the | But the organisation had also lost the ICU's message and calling graveyard: two cow tails, one black, credibility. It was painfully clear

By this stage, the ICU had spread One of the ICU's largest support hired by the ICU successfully and could not stop evictions. Prob-

lems of rural organisation were made starkly clear. White farmers saw their workers as unskilled and easily replaceable. Legislation excused them from giving workers basic rights. And when the crunch came, the ICU could not meet its

And so thousands of rural people were pushed off the farms, into the towns or the already overcrowded reserves. But the reserves had not been left untouched by the ICU. ICU leaders in Pondoland prom-

ised a new age, where land would be plentiful. American aeroplanes would fly over the countryside, dropping flaming coals on white settlements and ending white domination forever. When the aeroplanes failed to arrive, ICU members who numbered tens of thousands began to question the organisation they had believed in.

Rural people in the Transvaal also rallied behind the ICU. The government had grown alarmed at the number of poverty stricken rural whites who were moving to the towns in search of work. It decided to settle them on governmentowned land in the Barberton and Nelspruit districts.

But this land had been settled for decades by black communities, bases was the Umvoti/Greytown | defended tenants rights to remain | Their chiefs led resistance and district, where Bambatha had led an on the land. All over the district far- would lead their followers in armed uprising against increased | mers began to complain of wide- | thousands to sign up as soon as ICU spread 'insolence' and 'insubordi- organisers appeared in the district. white farmers in the district had nation'. "This is not trade unionism As in Pondoland, they believed the turned tenants' land into large wat- | — it is a general upheaval!" said | ICU would set them free by Christmas 1927. By mid 1928 when it was booming world prices. Entire The situation exploded when clear that nothing had changed for

graves of policemen. Imprisoned | impetus by late 1929. Repression

that fiery speeches, unconsolidated Over the next few days, gangs of organisation, dispersed membermusicians performed under the armed whites did their best to crush ship, and an increasingly reactiothe ICU. They tried to lynch nary leadership would not trans-Gwaza, and offices in Umvoti, form the face of South Africa. Some Weenen and Kranskop were branches survived into the early ing 8 shillings a day, 2 000 per cent destroyed. Their most savage 1930's, but the ICU's heyday was

hounded out, and their families organizations in South Africa's history to respond to the needs of rural



centuries ... turned into a servant of apartheid

Africa's rich cultural heritage has been harnassed and perverted by Pretoria. Its ethnic policies have created deep divisions, fundamental to maintaining apartheid

more subtle form of control is called South Africa's many security laws for.

It is here that ethnicity becomes crucially important, and tremendsense of national pride — a sense of | Nation', the Gazankulu equivalent. | and scarcity of resources.

international credibility. And so, a | The bantustan governments have | elements within society. set up youth, women's and cultural But ethnicity has to do with more organisations to this end. Inkatha is | than just emotional rhetoric. The one such example, the Ciskei's alarming growth of ethnic Sword of the Nation another, as is | chauvinism in so many of these ous effort has gone into instilling a the recently formed 'Whip of the areas is directly linked to access to

ning the bantustan governments the popular support they need to gain member of a Ndebele nation.

Tswana nation, an Ndebele drawing on the most conservative of different languages and cultures. drawing on the most conservative of different languages and cultures.

These laws hardly succeed in win- being a Tswana member of a All these movements play on trad- There are very few areas in South

Until recently these people managed for the most part, to live

ogether in peace. Not so anymore. The process of sorting out the bantustans often involves the division of population and with it the division of resources.

People who have never distinguished between each other are now separated. The Shangaans are told to go to Gazankulu, the Sothos to Lebowa, and the Vendas to their homeland'. In many areas this is accompanied by physical division of and and resources held in common

for many years. One example is that of the fate of the Douglas Smith Hospital near Tzaneen. This Swiss mission hospital was built on land that had traditionally belonged to a Sotho chief. The tribe had at one stage allowed a group of Shangaans to settle there and live with them. The hospital facilities were amicably shared by people from both language groups. There was no hostility and friction until bantustan politics created it.

The boundaries between Gazankulu and Lebowa were drawn in such a way as to locate the hospital inside Gazankulu. This resulted in the Lebowa administration withdrawing all the patients, nurses, doctors, medicine and equipment from the hospital. A shared and scarce resource thus became a Shangaan ethnic preserve resulting in considerable hostility and bitterness on the part of the Sotho people who now had to do without a hospi-

Ceding land from one homeland to another has a similar effect. When the Nationalist government decided to cede Moutse, an area of Lebowa with more than 100 000 Sotho speakers, to kwaNdebele in 1980, it sparked off a battle that has lasted for more than four years. The local population are adamant they do not want to be part of kwaNdebele.

These struggles are often conducted in highly emotive terms. As a result people tend to lose sight of the fact that it is the apartheid system that has caused the initial ethnic conflict. Instead they turn on each other. This divides people even further and fragments the unity that has been built up after many years of living together.

This development of an ethnic consciousness among people is an insidious process and often people nternalise an ethnic perception of he world without even realising it.

One example of this was quoted by rural fieldworker who was researching removals in the northern Transvaal. The people in the Louis Trichardt township of Tshikota were asked if there was any ethnic conflict in the area. Their answer was unwittingly revealing: 'No there are no problems with the different groups; the only problem is with those damn Sothos who agreed to move.

● To Page 30

No safety in the 'Place of Refuge'

IN 1977 Bophuthatswana became independent. President Lucas Mangope claimed it was 'A place for all'. This bantustan is divided into seven pieces. Thaba Nchu in the Orange Free State is one part, hundreds of miles away from the others. The African population of the Orange Free State is predominantly southern Sotho. In the Thaba Nchu area, the 70 000 Basotho were probably in the majority but were politically subordinate to the Barolong

bureaucracies to control them.

been the concept of ethnicity.

hey were trying to rule.

ne cannot rule by coercion alone.

The Matanzimas and the Sebes

kei and other national indepen-

benefits, pay-offs and promotions.

rules and regulations. Not only do

they have to contend with the state

police force but in many of these

areas there are also regional and tri-

Cutting green wood is a crime. So

is failing to pay the many taxes

required of people, failing to pro-

duce cattle and other stock for

counting and dipping, or neglecting to plough land allocated to one.

In addition there are the hardships

of pay-offs before pension applica-

labour contracts are signed. For

these people who have nothing,

control over resources is a powerful

weapon to hold over their heads.

And for those who resist, bantustan

In most of these areas, there are

laws that prevent insulting or mock-

ing government officials, ministers,

chiefs and headmen. And in most,

are intact. Even in Bophuthats-

wana, the so-called liberal bantus-

tan, with a Bill of Rights, detentions

tions are accepted and before

bal police.

justice is harsh.

without trial occur.

State farms and small holdings. area which became known as Krom- QwaQwa and Thaba Nchu work opportunities. They drifted into villages known as draai. Bultfontein I, II, and III, and to the The official bantustan for the The estimated de facto population regularly harassed by the

The Die Onverwacht. It's 300 000 residents make it South Africa's largest relocation centre Tribal Authority. But many Sotho Barolong freehold farms and trust | South Sotho is QwaQwa, a tiny, | of QwaQwa in 1980 was 300 000 | Africa. Basotho tenants in the and Tswana people had intermar- villages, since the Bloemfontein barren area of 4800 hectares in the people, changing the average popu- Thaba Nchu location complained of ried and the area had a history of area offered more job prospects north-eastern Orange Free State. Lation density to 622 people per harmony between these two than the small Free State dorps. A Between 1978 and 1980 hundreds of square kilometre, from 54 people Barolong landlords. large concentration of illegal squat- thousands of people in the Orange per square kilometre in 1970. South More and more people (mainly ters developed to the north of Free State were 'relocated', mainly Sotho drifted into Kromdraai which tions took place between the

reserves.

The people of Kromdraai were

Bophuthatswana police as 'illegal foreigners'. This pressure was intensified shortly after independence. Several massive raids took place in 1978. On April 24, 301 people were arrested, children intimidated, livestock dispersed and impounded, some people shot, and others raped.

Those charged and convicted for squatting were fined R40 or imprisoned for 40 days in Bloemfontein jail by arrangement with South exploitation and harassment by

During 1977 and 1978, negotia-Sotho) were retrenched from Free Thaba Nchu railway station, in an from rural and urban white areas, to was more convenient in terms of Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and South African governments over

To Page 30

RESERVING THE RESER

For tourists watching game in the luxurious Pilansberg game reserve, it is easy to forget that a village's heritage was destroyed to satisfy their

pleasures. And difficult to consider the fate of the people moved from their traditional homes.

AYBE it was the quality of the cuisine or the splendour of the view or the comfort of the rooms that caused President Lucas Mangope his lapse of memory.

When he opened the luxurious Pilansberg holiday resort and game park in May last year, he spoke proudly of the heritage of his

But he seemed to have forgotten the heritage of the people of Moruleng who had been resettled against their will to make way for

'We cannot deny our heritage,' said the president. 'We cannot deny our history. The soil is in the bones of our people. The character of our people has been and will continue to Top: Aerial view of be moulded from this soil. Our roots are firmly implanted here. We are here to stay as is our heritage.' But what of the heritage of the community of Moruleng.?

The establishment of Pilansberg in 1979 did not affect the Moruleng ommunity equally.

A small group of 300 was physically removed from the park area, anger and frustration over the game use of resources within the park | the hardships that followed. area, seriously affecting its lives-

The former group's case is presently in the hands of lawyers and the people are very bitter.

Their village is on the outskirts of are no longer there. the reserve, fenced off from the rainfall basin and grazing land within the reserve.

The people retreated into the mals. reserve with their cattle during | Women formerly made clay pots times of drought. Now they have and cut thatching from within the

Research in December 1983 in the fit. They also had access to plentiful Moruleng district revealed much | supplies of wood and wild fruits for

and the majority was forbidden the park's appropriation of the land and

sun, but misery lies

a few miles away.

The greatest loss for the community was of livestock. The open grazing field and water streams that had supported the

Bakgatta's cattle and goats for years Camps promised for their livestock were inadequate. They had no

choice but to kill or sell their ani-Pilansberg, which they sold at a protheir own consumption. Those removed from the

They were promised reimbursement for damaged property as a result of the move.

Most found no employment and few received any compensation for their lost possessions. Their graveyard in the Pilansberg

was enclosed and most were unsure whether they could visit their dead

The authorities suggested some ways of making the game park more beneficial to the local community

30km from Vryheid and the name

Pilansberg area were promised employment in an industrial area. I that enter the park to be used to million was spent on a hide to allow develop services within the village. Another was a contribution of money to the community from the selling of wild animal meat, culled

in the reserve. The general reaction of such pitiful charity was unenthusiastic.

To the Bakgatta people, the Pilansberg is not a mere extinct volcanic crater to be bartered for a bit of cash and game meat.

heritage of their forefathers. One suggestion was a levy on cars At one end of the Pilansberg R2 three people have used it.

tourists to contemplate 'Africa' upon plastic seats, with a nearby gin

Guests at the latest time-sharing scheme of Kwa Maritane fork out R8 000 for one week in a five-bed cabana with hot and cold running

Top: Traditional dancing at

Pilansberg - preserving a

Bottom: Women dance for

guests at the opening of the

heritage?

mittee, a committee established by Some of the Bakgatta can hardly afford to drink water. As one woman said: 'A 1 000 litre drum of To them the Pilansberg is a sacred | water costs R5 and washing water cannot be poured away until at least

Advert for

forgets the hell it created

Gary Player and

Smith - all smiles

at the opening of

the Pilansberg

game reserve.

former Rhode-

sian Prime

Minister lan

Pilansberg - a heaven which



Inkatha's impis — their size may shrink unless something is done for the half a million threatened with removal in Natal.

lative Assembly with the apartheid Inkatha's taking an interest in removals. Is it because of its conbrush is despicable; and when this kind of denigration flows from the cern with the people's plight or because further neglect could harm Inkatha's image? then it becomes profanity', said

That same day Dr Madide, new Radebe, were present at a number | recorded. KwaZulu minister of the interior, of meetings.

debate on the involvement of liason committees first became a talks with Inkatha officials who ex-minister of the interior, they KwaZulu in removals. Other public issue in 1981. In September | were sympathetic to the idea of co- | were told that nothing could be Inkatha representatives have taken | that year Koornhof told parliament | operation with removals in return | done for them. They should merely | minister, and that the people were In July last year, KwaZulu mation of steering committees to

member of parliament, Sithebi, said help with removals. Two months later the then minisdenied this. KwaZulu had always

opposed removals he claimed. to official KwaZulu policy.

Two KwaZulu MP's have been sitting on the Hattingh Liason Com- involvement was only to help Inkatha. people to resist removal. However

Mr Pretorius of Co- operation and | the facts tell a different story. balihle. The two MP's, Gumbi and oppposition to the move is not for taking up this emotive land and Driefontein. In 1981 Driefon-

Tugela Basin

Local KwaZulu MP's denied church until this matter was sorted | ter of the interior, Frank Mdlalose, | secretary. Clearly Volker spoke to | where | 100 | 000 | people | are

These are two examples of ciliation with KwaZulu, did not So the presence of these two MP's Inkatha's involvement with remov- Inkatha organisation has organised cially the UDF, is extremely accept the challenge. But it would on the removals steering committee als. But their neglect of the issue is have had some points for the seems to be in direct contradiction seems to be in direct contradictions. Radebe said that his and Gumbi's | taken up with much energy by | tled community has not been given | removal would be to play into the

> It seized the opportunity to mobilise people in the area.

Ladysmith Nationalist MP, Val When communities threatened KwaZulu representation on these Volker said in June 1983 that he had with removal went to see Mdlalose, that KwaZulu had agreed to the for- for industrial development in the try and see that they were adequately compensated.

knowlege of this. So did Buthelezi's | the areas in the Ladysmith district threatened with removal.

> There are places where local against removal. One such place is the expected support from Inkatha hands of these organisations. leadership.

However some new developments Development head office in The minutes of these meetings Buthelezi himself claimed that this have taken place in the last few December 1982. This committee is show that on October 24 Radebe issue rocketed Inkatha membership months. In July the new minister of to help with the removal of the offered information on the area, so from 200 000 to 700 000. True or the interior, Madide, spoke at two people from Cornfields and Tem- | that removal would be easier. Their | not, it is clear Inkatha won support | threatened areas, Steincoalspruit

tein was excised from KwaZulu the first step in removal. At the time KwaZulu did not even bother to inform the 70 000 people of the Driefontein complex. Why the change three years later?

The answer can be found in the speeches of Madide and Sithebi the local MPs on these two occasions. Much of these speeches contained warnings against other organisations 'which spread confusion in the minds of the people.'

People were warned against Azapo, Azaso and the SACC and Afra who 'spread confusion and who suggest that the KwaZulu government supports the Pretoria gov ernment.'

At Steincoalspruit, Sithebi, without asking the community, suggested that two motions be sent orward to Buthelezi, that the people have full confidence in the KwaZulu government and the chief against removal and would rather be shot than be moved. He con-Buthelezi has not spoken in any of | tinued that KwaZulu was not against consolidation but wanted the whole of Natal.'

The emergence of new political organisation in South Africa, espethreatening to Buthelezi and has been the only proposed removal | Matiwane's Kop. Yet this embat- | realise that not to take up issues of

> Buthelezi spent eight pages of a policy speech attacking the SACC booklet on removals. This booklet hardly deserved such bluster. But changing political alignments have forced Inkatha to look afresh at

A growing interest in removals on the part of Inkatha is probably more a response to the emergence of the UDF than a real example of the organisation taking up the struggles of ordinary people

It is clear from KwaZulu's stand on paradise, but for us Oudeni and Lamontville and St Wendolins that Nondweni look like another hell on Buthelezi wants all Zulus to be earth. At least here at Bhekumincluded under the jurisdiction of thetho we are not too far from KwaZulu. work. If we go to Qudeni we will be

Communities threatened with forced to become migrant workers.' being moved often sent representa-The immediate threat of removal tives to Ulundi to inform KwaZulu however, seems to be over. of their plight. KwaZulu would then Bhekumthetho has been handed inform them that nothing could be over to KwaZulu to administer. done for them because the land on However, this brings further which they were living fell outside impoverishment to the people of their jurisdiction.

Developments will be extremely nteresting. Co-operation and Development is preparing sites for the 100 000 people threatened with removal in the Ladysmith district. The Olifantskop Dam has been built in preparation. Pretoria is not The people of Bhekumthetho have likely to give up these plans. How seen their families become increas- far will Inkatha go in helping half a ingly impoverished. It doesn't seem | million people in Natal resist

B'waiting for the law'. It is the name of an informal settlement BHEKUMTHETHOWAITING FOR THE LAW TO

reflects the insecurity of its people. refuge here. Almost all come from the white farms of the Vryheid/ Louwsburg area. They have been evicted because they are no longer necessary for labour, have quarrel-

> Blacks had been living on these farms before whites arrived in the area. With the white occupation they became labourers, but retained some access to land and

In 1964 the 1936 Land Act was easy way. He arrived in Bhekum-ones. The people of Bhekumthetho abolish labour tenancy in any dis- from a labour farm. abolished in the first three districts given 14 days to leave. When he irregular patterns. of Natal. Thousands of labour ten- arrived there were only ten families | The 20 000 people at Bhekumants began to be evicted. By 1980 all on this trust farm which adjoins the thetho get their water from a single

labour tenancy was supposed to have ended but in large areas of Retrenchment of farm 6 000 families have found some Northern Natal it continued.

The people of Bhekumthetho are part of this eviction process. 20 new families are moving into the area | comes the struggle to each month. Mr Mdletsha, com- find a new place to stay. led with the farmer or because their | munity leader, has a pile of trekpaschildren will no longer work on the ses to prove it. They read, 'Mr P P Dlamini is given thirty days to leave | formal township of Mondlo. the farm 'Trekboer' with all his

Thirty days indicate a generous farmer; sometimes people are given 24 hours.

grazing through the labour tenancy | Mr Mdletsha is a charismatic | with water. figure. He commands respect in an | Mondlo residents are the lucky

changed so that the Minister could | thetho in 1974. He too was evicted | have no services at all. Bhekumtrict. In 1969 labour tenancy was After a lifetime of service he was settlement with close mud houses in

workers is the step

before eviction. Then

Mondlo was established in 1962.

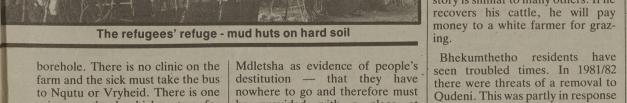
Its 25 000 residents consist mainly of

people moved from Vryheid and

Paulpietersburg black freehold

areas. Initially there were no ser-

vices but houses are now provided thetho looks like any other informal



OR INKATHA leader Gatsha Buthelezi, the South

(SACC) booklet on removals is the

'kind of stuff which should be used

for toilet paper'. The booklet, pub-

lished last year, was an in-depth

investigation of removals in South

Africa. Although KwaZulu was

nowhere mentioned by name,

Buthelezi chose to interpret criti-

cism of bantustans as an attack on

'The tarring of the KwaZulu Legis-

lips that pray in pulpits on Sundays,

challenged the SACC to a public

that people should no longer go to

The SACC, seeking some recon-

KwaZulu.

Buthelezi.

up the cry

African Council of Churches

about 2 500 children. The children | Bhekumthetho. are divided into groups and attend

enter the area. In his suitcase he has since childhood. piles of trekpasses — eviction notices served on farmworkers.

Trekpasses are presented to Mr | would take him. Bhekumthetho is | the people and the people don't | that it can get much worse

primary school which caters for be provided with a place at to the arrival of Chief Dalwayini

one and a half hours of school each | labour tenants must go to extraordi- | with Pretoria for the removal of the nary lengths to find a place for their | people. There is a big black textbook in Mr cattle. Mr Masimula arrived in A committee with popular support ficult to get work and the only work Mdletsha's mudhouse. In it he Bhekumthetho in March last year. emerged in the face of these threats. marks down all new people who He has lived on ten white farms Mdletsha became the chairperson.

Each eviction has meant a new attempt to find a white farmer who

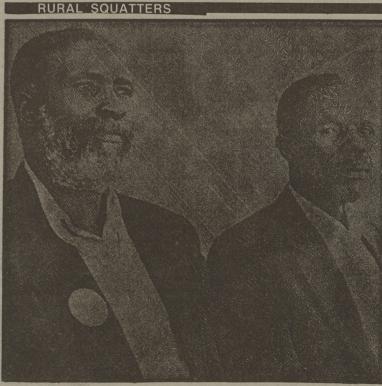
the last stop. When he was last | want to be moved. I won't say this is evicted the farmer seized his cattle. Still attempting to recover them, he has already paid a lawyer R400. His story is similar to many others. If he recovers his cattle, he will pay money to a white farmer for graz-

Bhekumthetho residents have seen troubled times. In 1981/82 there were threats of a removal to Mdlalose. Allegations are that Bhekumthetho. Before, they would There is no grazing here. Evicted | Chief Mdlalose began to negotiate

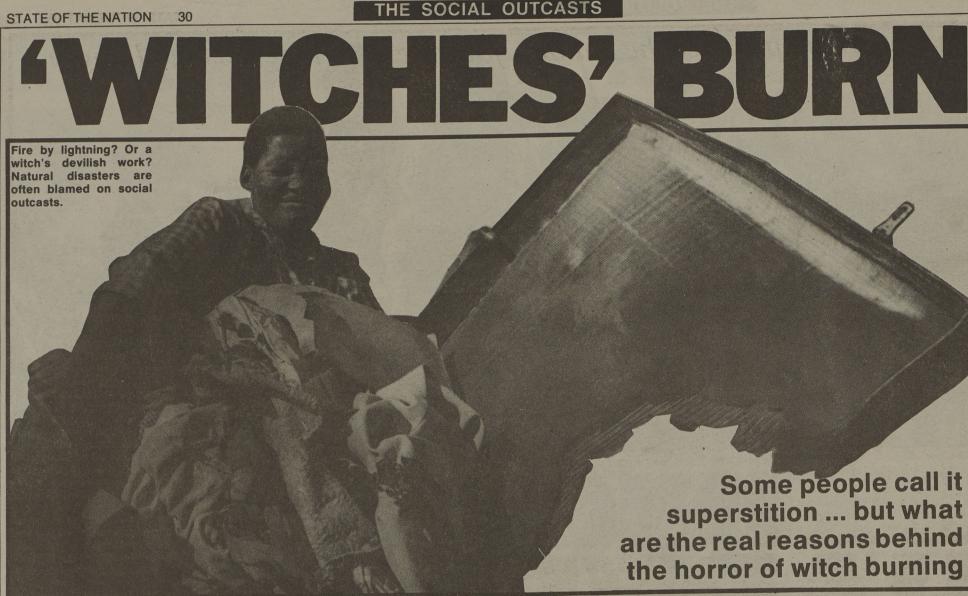
His feelings about the chief are

offered is for migrants.

look for work in Vryheid in white South Africa. Now they are compelled to go to the Ngutu labour bureaux where it is extremely difremovals?



Mr Mdletsha (right), leader of the Bhekumthetho community

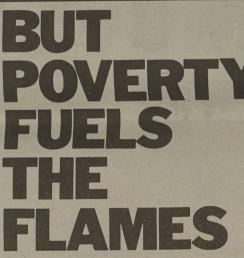


people accused of being witches were put to death in the northern Transvaal, by the gruesome method of being burnt alive. Others were hung or stoned to death. A number of people fled. from their homes after being accused of practising witchcraft.

The commercial press has reacted by sensationalising the deaths, mak-ing much of the 'barbaric' executions and the apparently 'primitive' beliefs which cause them.

Witchcraft beliefs are part of the worldview of most indigenous societies in southern Africa. They explain the occurrence of misfortune and apparent evil deeds, which are believed to be caused by people | recent times motivated by envy, jealousy or All rural communities in South other anti-social motives.

The sudden upsurge of witch kil- in rural areas. lings must therefore be seen in its | The Zebediela area is further burcontext. Most of the events have dened by political problems. For taken place in the Zebediela and some years the district has been



While belief in witchcraft in a sustained three-year drought, broad way is common, destroying local production of subanthropologists say accusations of sistence crops. On top of this, the witchcraft against a person, and economy has plunged into a recesaction against alleged witches, is sion with unemployment climbing extremely rare, and only takes place rapidly. Influx control laws and the in times of extreme stress, when a community feels itself to be under try have ensured that the majority of unemployed people are located

Tzaneen areas, which have been subjected to many problems in numbers of people subjected to 1975 for the area to be incorporated the intervention of the climate. Of victims tends to be intervention of the climate. There has been an unusual amount or handy scapegoats.



Bantustan politics are a blight on midst. the area. Unpopular appointed Poverty, unemployment, drought, What emerges is that, in these chiefs and headmen who participate inflation, overcrowding and polititimes of uncertainty, unpopular and in the Lebowa administration are cal uncertainty, all combine to raise unrepresentative bantustan appoindisliked and distrusted by their sub- | the anxiety and tension to an into- | tees exploit the conditions to assert jects. And chief Johannes Kekana, lerable level. The final ingredient their authority by using traditional a northern Ndebele chief in has been provided by the chance beliefs and practices. Their choice

'black spot' removals, from Kwar- | into KwaNdebele.

Africa have suffered a severe and Waterkloof and Kuilsrivier, which strain gauge — they measure the men, who fled for their lives. The are now white farms. This influx of amount of anxiety and tension men had previously accused the people has placed great strain on within a community. The accused headman of misappropriating the area's already inadequate witch becomes a scapegoat, where school-building funds. They repreresources, and has caused tensions | the community can unite and estab- | sent the 'new' men of the commun between the resettled people and lish solidarity by purging the appa- ity — one is a businessman, another the people who already lived there. rent cause of misfortune from its a voluntary worker for Operation

Transvaal. The weather bureau eports that, despite the drought, ghtning is more common than usual due to the high amounts of static electricity created by the dry climate. In witchcraft beliefs, the witch's most powerful weapon is

And the choice of victims, is reveling. Some of the victims are lderly men or women, usually vidows. Such people are often a ourden on the community as they do not work in the fields, nor generate any income. If they are somewhat anti-social, they become ideal

One revealing case is from the village of Mankweng near Zebediela, Elandsdoorn, Witchcraft accusations are a social where the headman accused three

of victims tends to be political rivals

created in 1978 they found themselves in a difficult position where they make and deficient position where they make and deply auticles in

ncorporated into QwaQwa, at a later date. This was Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa authorities.

Tswana people in the area. These has always been the existence of a People were provided with numbered farm stands (often on rocky, hilly soil) and had to build their own shelters with any material they were able to obtain.

The people removed were described by the commissioner of Co- operation and Development in the Free State as 'blacks living illegally... in Thaba Nchu.' Most of these people were Southern Sotho, but a large number of Xhosa, and a number of Tswana, who had The development of ethnicity as a refused to take out Bophuthatswana citizenship also

QwaQwa authorities repeatedly demanded jurisdic-Tswanas. A great many of them term threat of thousands of persetion over Sothos in Bophuthatswana and attempted to mobilise their subjects to make the same demand. At the same time Bophuthatswana authorities attempted the 1960's and 70's. None of them peoples' frustrations and anger to gain the political support of their Tswana consti-

South Africa. But when the than against the system which is at dissatisfaction in Thaba Nchu, where Sothos were prob- squatter squad' had been established in this 'place for ably in the majority. The removal was also a response to | all'

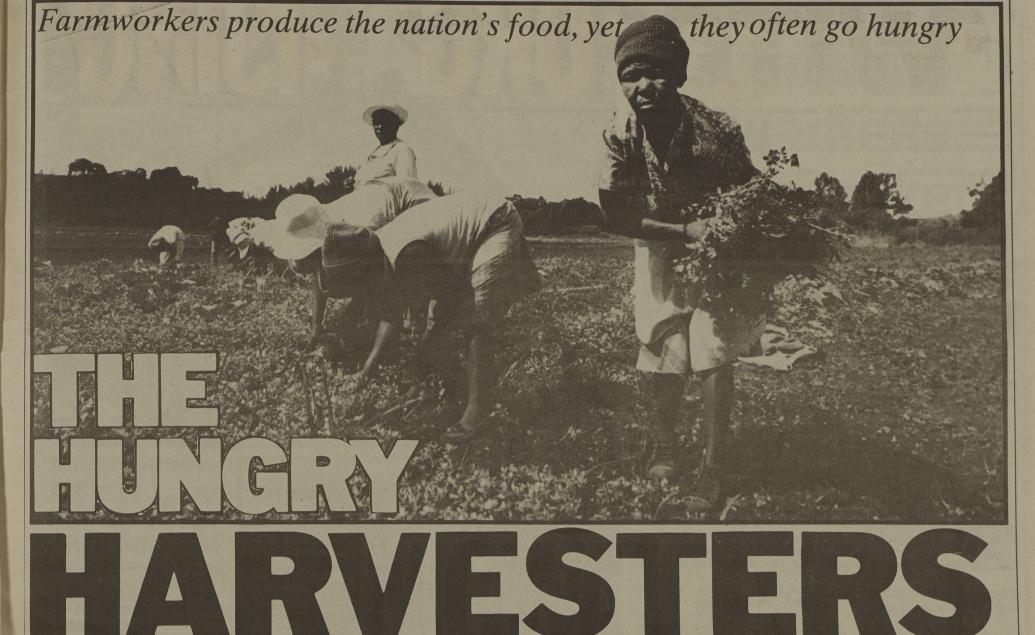
escalating confrontations between supporters of the

Severe fighting broke out in May 1977 resulting in 13 Removals to Onverwacht began in the winter of 1979. deaths. On several occasions South African police were required to break up violence between Tswana and Sotho police, and had to restrain Tswana police from violent raids on Sothos in Thaba Nchu.

> Onverwacht, the biggest resettlement camp in South Africa, has received widespread publicity. The South African government tried to give it a facelift, and a massive housing programme was launched in newer sections. Nothing has changed for the earlier refugees.

They cannot afford the deposit for the new houses. Two Onverwachts exist — the old squatter camp and the new area for more 'stable working people'. Because of the housing freeze in Bloemfontein, and housing shortage in Thaba Nchu, Tswanas are now applying for houses in the new section at Onverwacht.

Recently Mr Mokale, a Bophuthatswana MP, stated Onverwacht relieved Mangope of a major source of | that 'squatter cancer' was rife in the bantustan, and a



HERE IS no limit to how bad the work conditions of farmworkers can be. Recent exposes have made this clear. And harsh legislation and unbending employers make it difficult for them to change jobs.

Farmworkers cannot legally move from agriculture to another industry unless they have official approval. This is only given if there is a surplus of farm labour in the area or if the employer agrees. The pass laws help to keep them out of the

In spite of this it is common for children of farmworkers to flee the farms. The result is that their old parents are evicted as soon as they are unable to work.

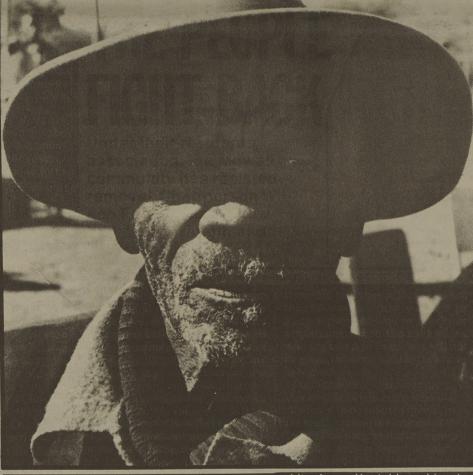
Farmworkers who lose their jobs also lose their accomodation. They are forced to look for another farm or move to the

The roots of the labour tenant system stretch back into the 19th century. Under this system African families living on white- owned farms supplied the landowner with their labour for part of the year in return for little or no wage and the right to graze stock and cultivate some

In 1964, the 1936 Development Trust and Land Act was amended to empower the Minister of Bantu Administration to abolish labour tenancy entirely or put limits on its use. By 1980 labour tenancy had been abolished throughout South Africa.

But in many parts of the country features of this system still remain. STATE OF THE NATION spoke to Sipho and all work in the self-same way. If you raise ten you are working for wages. For these months allowed more than that. He took our fields. Thembeka Tshabalala, workers on a farm | cows, they don't want it. No. They say there | that you would have left the farm you now | He is not ploughing them. They are left just near Piet Retief about conditions of are too many. They complain that they are work for R20. Ever since we came to this place like that. All the whites around here changed farmworkers in the area.

were born on the farms. We work on the farm. You must find another place for it. But | SIPHO: We are not people who are visiting or | things and leave how can you go? What money We work for six months for the farm and we where will you find a place, because all places people who are passing through. We were will you use to move your possessions? And get R10 from the farmer. That money is are the same? enough to buy tobacco only for smoking and one candle. Before the next month comes that R10 is not there, it is long finished. You have to go to someone else and borrow money. And then at the end of the month you have to were born here. You work for something that take your next R10 and repay it to that person. is not there. We have no leave, even at the end | SIPHO: No, we don't plough. We get 'behind | • To Page 32



Do vou have cattle?

grazing, that their grass will be finished by the we have been forced to work like that. animals of black people. They say their cattle must also eat and the farm belongs to them. If | Why don't you leave this place? SIPHO: THE STORY of our life is that we you buy a cow you must not bring it to the

You become very bankrupt during the month | We were born right here on this farm. and you have nothing in your pocket.

Yes, as for us, we live here on the farms, we

of the year. We work right through. There is

born here. We have not seen another place. | your cattle, where will you take your cattle?

Do you plough?

We must be given maize by them at the end of the year. They give us 30 bags. You take all the wages you have earned for all these days you have worked and you buy one sack of mealie meal. That is how expensive mealie

Do you have children?

SIPHO: We do have children who are in the same position in Johannesburg and everything has gone up and so their money gets finished buying food there. There is nothing we can look for there. Even if we look for money, they are far away and we look for 100 pounds or 200 pounds. Here we think you have a great deal of money if you have 100 pounds, but really it is not much anymore.

How did the six months system work?

SIPHO: For six months you worked for the farmer only and for a place to stay and food to eat. For those six months you got not a cent. Now for that six months of the farm we get that tobacco money of R10. For the extra six months we get R20. Today we got paid R20. Last month we got that R10. Look here is my R20. One month's full pay.

We work from 7.30am to 5pm during the week. On Saturdays we knock off at 1pm and get home at 2pm. Sometimes we have to work on Sundays and we get no extra pay for that.

Things were better before, at least we ploughed and got our own food. Now you don't plough or raise stock. We used to raise cattle, 20, 30 or 40. Then if you had a problem you sold a cow. Now when a calf is born it must no bonus. You are not allowed to leave and grow up and then you must sell another cow SIPHO: Yes, we have cattle. Even if they are work outside. When you're finished with the and keep the calf. Or you must sell the calf and only two or three. Some have six. Yet we will farm and that R10 you get R20. Now it is said keep the cow. Now I have six cows and I'm not at the same time. The old system was better.

> The children? They are not healthy. Nobody who lives here on the farms is healthy. Our lives are heavy. Yet, if you want to take your Some try to run to the reserve. Some will run away but some don't have the money to leave. Even though I was born here maybe one day I will leave this place, just like that, leave it. If

All they wanted was a home in directed against each other rather

From Page 27

macy of the various bantustan governments. In Bophuthatswana there is a constant of the power and legitimates a substitution of the various bantustan governments. In Bophuthatswana there is a constant of the power and legitimates a substitution of the various bantustan governments. In Bophuthatswana there is a constant of the various bantustan governments. and foreigners. It is said that oppressed people. Bophuthatswana is 'infested' with | As Dr Verwoerd understood, it is resources from Tswanas.

In reality, many of the 'squatters' | continue to exist. and 'foreigners' not only own land in Bophuthatswana but have lived major factor in the development of moved. there for longer than many bantustans not only poses the longwere dumped by the Nationalist government during the removals of their homes, but also the threat of

Bophuthatswana 'nation' was the root of their suffering.

Ethnicity is increasingly being they were suddenly outsiders in they were suddenly outsiders in

there is a concerted move by the The most fundamental threat to Onverwacht or Botsabelo — 'the place of refuge'. government to get rid of non- white domination in South Africa people have been called 'squatters' united national movement of all

them and that they are taking only once this national response is divided that white domination can

cuted refugees being forced to flee wanted to live in Bophuthatswana. about their oppression being tuency, through ethnic discrimination.

FARMWORKERS

ARMWORKERS ARE legally the least protected of the workforce. They are also the most vulnerable in attempting to organise themselves. Their scattered location and the fact that employment and home are linked makes them weak in relation to farmers and management.

The National Federation of Workers attempted to organise farmworkers but this initiative petered out. Only the Orange Vaal General Workers Union (OVGWU) has organised farmworers on a sustained basis. Here, Philip Masia, of the OVGWU, speaks about some of the issues.

Are you organising farmworkers only?

WE are organising farmworkers, the municipality and recently at Escom power station.

On what type of farms do you organise?

on big corporation-owned farms but material. we also have contact with workers on private farms although we see a Are the people working on major problem with private farms.

Was it not difficult to get access to company farms?

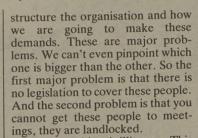
WE were not prepared to go through the channels to ask for access and permission. The man- farms also use seasonal workers at ager on company farms is there but is not so interested in exactly who comes and goes on the farm. Private Where do they get the farms are a family affair and the farmer wants to know what's going on. It is always necessary to actually get onto the farms. To try and bring farmworkers into the office would require transport

What are the difficulties of organising farmworkers?

THESE people are not covered at all by any legislation except of late with workmen's compensation which is covering them and the Machinery and Occupational Safety Act which covers them. This is related to health and safety.

On benefits and legal protection they don't have anything. We are problem here? therefore using common law to course we are looking at organisation itself to force the government and farmers and other workers in to accomodation. The diabolical South Africa to recognise that farmworkers must have meaningful

rights to protect them.



Another problem is illiteracy. This OUR first contact was with workers | hampers the distribution of union

corporation farms migrant workers or permanent staff?

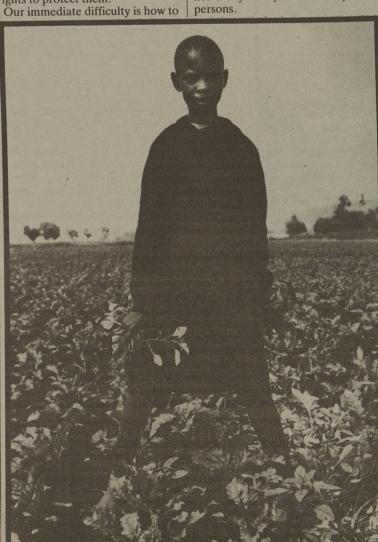
ANGLO-American specialises in permanent workers but then the farms run by Premier Milling prefer migrant labourers. The Anglo

seasonal labour force?

FROM Kuruman and Mafeking we haven't really tried to understand the situation of seasonal workers yet. We are still concentrating on permanent workers. To try and organise seasonal workers it the permanent workers understand. the position of the seasonal workers. It would be necessary to try and get the permanent workers to protect the rights of seasonal workers. Otherwise they would be helpless.

Is the threat of eviction a

organise these workers. And of THIS is one of the main things that prevents us from pushing any hard line. The fact is that the job is linked thing is that the evicted farmworker belongs to neither a rural reserve nor a city. They become displaced



ORGANISING

We have limited success in fighting this. On one farm some evicted farmworkers managed to stand up for their rights. Common law says that the farmer must get a court order to evict people living on his farm. This postpones and delays things. On this farm the farmer did get a court order, the farmworkers shared their possessions amongst the others and became lodgers with those that remained. Of course we will be necessary to try and make | are still taking a risk because these people could be got for trespassing. But we said 'when it comes it is the next hurdle.

There is another case of a large farm of Anglo-American. It has closed down. The reason why it has closed down is surrounded by secrecy. Workers were given their pensions and two months to leave the farm. The two months ended on Republic Day. We spoke to the manager and they were given substances they are using, and to another 15 days. But they haven't take up the question of health and Have you started negotiating left. We still feel that they must be safety. We have asked farmworkers removed by a court order unless | to bring us the labels of the poisons they give concrete reasons why they closed the farm down. Because we | the material. This is how we got have our own theories. Most of the onto the question of contagious cattle on the farm were suffering from contagious abortion which causes brucellosis in cattle and people. We suspected that these guys were caring more for their cat- When did you start organistle than people. Because they didn't even warn the workers that contagious abortion can affect people.

What about pesticides?

s too short. And then we started | kers and their families. The civil | to lose if they are evicted. If people FARMWORKERS



looking at pesticides and weedicides to raise the consciousness of the farmworkers as far as the poisonous they are using so that we can analyse abortion, a farmworker brought us some of the labels of the medicines

ing farmworkers?

WE didn't start organising

engineering guys were very powerful. They had about three strikes which were witnessed by the farmworkers. And the farmworkers started discussing it with the construction workers. And we said to the farmworkers, 'if you are ready to defend your interests we are willing to be of assistance, but you'll have to do it.'

How did Anglo respond when they realised that farmworkers were organising themselves.?

IT was a mixed reaction. On the other hand they were using the farm managers to intimidate the farmworkers. Now, however, we have committees on the Anglo-American farms and a few weeks ago they granted us access to

with Anglo over wages?

NO, it is just informal negotiating over recognition — that we are going to have committees on the

You mentioned the difference between private farms and company-owned farms?

farmworkers. They began to WELL, conditions are worse on the organise themselves. We were private farms but on private farms, organising a civil construction com- workers do have some access to WE have been trying to get that pany which was constructing a canal land and do have a bit of stock. This consciousness in workers. We actu- through all these farms. The is still a tradition on the farms, as ally had a day seminar looking at the | farmworkers | had | daughters | and | most farmworkers would like some schedule which is to be released wives with them. The engineering livestock and a piece of land with the regulations — feeling that | guys didn't. So the civil engineering | although this does make them more this is actually not enough — that it | guys started visiting the farmwor- | vulnerable because they have more

Work goes on, but if machines move in, workers are out start to provide material aid for the | farmworkers is very difficult. The | mechanisation affect organisation of farmworkers, I feel, raising of consciousness is the first organisation? that farmworkers can even come up with a manifesto as to what they farmworkers know that support and THIS is our big fear, that mechaniwant. But they will need a lot of support. And that's where I think trade unions are lagging behind in not giv-

Are there other unions which are organising farmworkers?

IN Natal the National Federation of Workers tried to organise farmworkers but it petered out. In Beaufort West there is an organisation of farmworkers. The organisation of

ing farmworkers support.

thing. It is of course important that demands can be made.

Do you think it would be possible to organise farmworkers in Natal?

I think Natal would be difficult. in the reserves. Without the approval of the chiefs you can't have a meeting.



organisation is necessary before sation is going to replace a lot of labour. Maybe it is possible to get workers to resist this mechanisamaking things easier.

Especially where workers are living | Are people on the corporaskilled, for instance, drivers, not tempted to leave the farms and try and get jobs in

How does increasing

tion. But we know that we are not organised enough to take up this sort of action. Workers also see it as

tion farms who are quite

school in standard five. The movement to towns is impeded by the laws. But farmworkers are also genuinely attached to the land, even though it does not belong to them. Once a worker on a dairy farm said 'we must have action here, we must have a strike.' Another worker stood up and said 'when the cattle start bellowing you'll go from the house and start feeding them. Are you going to let these poor animals go hungry just because you are angry with your bosses?"

The workers that you are organising are on corporation farms. Aren't they the best-off farm workers in the country?

When you are old do you not get anything have organised, managers don't between the cane rows. But people seem to want to assault workers as | continue to pick both mushrooms, much. That's why we want to and mginos because of hunger.

What about education for farmworkers' children?

five on the farm schools and then Even if you get your pension, you get it today and | must try and find a place at a school

Pest poisons kill hundreds of farmworkers



Pesticides increase farmers profits, but shorten workers' lives

B ETWEEN 1970 and 1980, four deaths from poisoning were of pesticidal poisoning, resulting in officially reported in the Western 94 deaths. According to official figures, the districts in South Africa with the Cape. However, a study of the state mortuary post-mortem results revealed 104 deaths by poisoning. highest reported rates of poisoning 70 percent of these victims lived on are Barberton, Nelspruit and Harts-

Official figures of cases of poisoning for the whole country, stated



Often the chemical substances will be stored in fat cells causing potential long-term effects. As many pesticides have incredible ability to penetrate the skin, skin absorption

water. This reveals that farmwor-

kers are the people bearing the

brunt of pesticide, herbicide and

If figures for the whole country are

as inaccurate as the Western

Cape's, up to 2 350 people might

have died of poisoning between

No one is clear on the long-term

effects of poison. Today there are

more than 15 000 different pes

ticides or insecticides available. The

effects of these pesticides include

cancer, birth defects in offspring

and damage to the brain, nervous

system, kidney, liver, lungs and

insecticide poisoning.

1971 and 1982.

is common and dangerous. While there is strict control over the production of poison in fac-

tories, there is no control over the storage and use of them on farms. The Workmen's Compensation

Act does cover farmworkers. If a worker suffers an accident, then he or she will be compensated. However, the amount of money paid out depends on the wages of the workers — the lower the wages, the less money paid out for the same injury. The use of pesticides also affects rural people in other ways. Research in KwaZulu shows an

increasing number of cases of mus-

hroom and mgino poisoning. Poor people eat wild mgino as a source of protein. It is their main source of protein, eaten with phuthu at least three times a week. The poisoning results from weed IN some ways this is true, but bad | killers and insecticides that farmers farmworkers. However, where we | mgino or mushrooms that grow in

organise the whole region. We The number of poisoning cases has haven't yet gone across the Vaal to risen since 1980. At Nkandla hospi-. tal there were 25 admissions for poisoning in the children's ward in 1981, and 23 in 1983. Nkandla serves the Babanango district which is a predominantly white farming

> Pesticides are used by farmers to increase their profits, but it is the farmworkers and their families who face the dangers of their use.

Working for nothing — farmworkers have no future and nowhere to go

• From Page 31

I could get a means to go, if I could go to the reserves and have a look and say, 'here is a place to live', I would go there. Except I am living here.

When I am old these young boys will take my place on the farm. If you get old on the farm the boer comes and says, 'You can't stay here if you are not working where are the children?' And the children have run away. They run away from this system of working for

Has there never been a union or a group of farmworkers trying to solve these problems?

SIPHO: No, people have not done that. To meet and talk and say that farmers should give us money. One person will say 'What are you doing, you are only makng a noise and making trouble?' People are afraid. You see even if there are 10, 12, 20 in a gang the farmer

will say, 'He is the one who spoke first. He is the one making the trouble.

We hear that in the farms such things as unions are discussed, but how will that happen here when there is no unity? What can you do? We hear from other people that there are laws which are like this and like this and like this and that people can form organisations to enforce these laws.

But here, these farmers don't want organisations, they don't want us to speak to them. And there are others who will go to the farmer and say the organisation is speaking about you. Those are impimpis. If there is a meeting, no matter where, there are those who will go to the meeting and they will say 'what does this meeting say, does it say anything which harms the whites'. They return then and follow you up that you are the person who is talking to people against the farWhat is the position of people who live in the broken down shacks near the road?

Those people are poor. These people have no children in the towns to help them. We would all be like them if we didn't have children in Jo'burg. We would die. SIPHO: There is another reason why we can't leave this place. When you get that R10 from him you borrow another R10 at the same time. We are caught by debts. The child is sick, you go back you send your child to another doctor. With what do you send the child? Again you must borrow from the farmers. Until, until, until, you owe more than 100 pounds, not rands. So you can't leave here because you must still repay that money. And how can you pay him before you leave?

And then there is the pass. That pass will bring you back fast enough. They would catch you, yes, catch

you. You'd be brought back to work again. There is no things happen here as well. There use in their canefields. In 1980 place to run away to. You'll go out on your own and are assaults for instance on people were warned against picking. you'll die where you go to.

from the farmer?

THEMBEKA: Nothing, nothing, nothing. You can ask for those pensions. Six months and you the heart of the Free State. We still won't get the money. The pensions of Piet Retief | don't want to stretch resources. or Ermelo or Amersfoort. You spend six months, you go by bus. You hire cars. You'll get nothing at all until you leave it. You won't get anything, you'll leave it, you'll sit down. You waste your money for that trans- Children can only go up to standard port just for a 'maybe' chance.

tomorrow it is finished and you are borrowing money | in town. Not only is this expensive again. Whatever money you get is gone. It is used up | but children from the towns get prepaying debts.

TRIBAL AUTHORITY

RIDING THE BACKS OF THE PEOPLE

munities threatened with removal, Kwangema and Driefontein, Pretoria has tried to manipulate residents by dealing with people it has appointed as

Traditionally, neither Kwangema or Driefontein has ever had a chief as leader of the community

In Kwangema, Gabriel Ngema cooperated with the government in the removal of the 160 families from their rich and fertile farm. He had been chosen by the community as the "eye" of the Ngema family - to represent it in dealing with outsiders. But when he did nothing to oppose the removal, a new committee, led by Moses Ngema, was elected at a meeting in March 1982. But although Moses and the new committee went to the commissioner in Wakkerstroom to register the meeting, officials continued to deal with Gabriel. Through him they organised buses at KwaNgema to take the people to the new area. He authorized trees to be cut down on Ngema land to make way for the enlargement of the Heyshope dam,

houses be numbered. When officials came to number their houses — the first sign of an impending removal - the people protested. The Pretoria officials said: "Your chief has agreed to go, so why do you talk about remaining

and he agreed that the people's

But as Alfred Ngema, elder of KwaNgema, says; "Gabriel was never a chief and they are wrong when they say if our chief leaves we must also go. Gabriel's role was that of being a watch man, the same as a recall a single case of a security guard selling a firm."

As a sign of thanks for Gabriel's co-operation, the Department of Co-operation's had no option but to deal with him | freehold areas as well.

A simpler explanation of this move came from Ben Wilkins, Deputy Minister of Development and Land Affairs, "The government is negotiating with the tribal leaders of the community. We are not dealing with the people who say they are the elected representatives, as we could then find ourselves with problems."

Unfortunately for Pretoria, Gab- another threatened freehold area in riel died. Officials began to deal the south-eastern Transvaal. At with his younger brother, Cuthbert, Driefontein, community leader who has virtually no support outside | Saul Mkhize, fought a long battle his immediate family. On 1 for the recognition of his commitDecember 1984 he was installed as tee, the Council Board of Directors.

Seem to bother the War installed as tee, the Council Board of Directors.





Moses Ngema, elected leader of Kwangema

The bantustan chiefs do Pretoria's dirtiest work controlling people who are at the bottom of apartheid's heap.

Ngema lawyers took the matter to committee enjoyed majority suphis salary. the Supreme Court. Although the port, officials continued to It seems these three chiefs have of being a watch man, the same as a security guard at a firm. I don't dle of February, Pretoria has been dle of February, Pretoria has been barred from negotiating with Cuthbert until a settlement has

ethnologist Indirect rule through chiefs and dead by a policeman at a public announced that Gabriel was the tribal authorities has been so sucsuccessor to the original owner of cessful in reserves that Pretoria now the land, and said the government | seems determined to apply it in

> induce chiefs to resettle — such as bribes of luxurious farmhouses and choice land — become more difficult when officials are forced to negotiate with the elected leaders of freehold areas. Pretoria's answer is to create chiefs if no real ones can be

This happened in Driefontein,

"Acting Chief of the Ngema tribe". | Even when it was proved that this | to recruit new followers, to boost munity Board.

> In June 1983 a mass meeting with senior government officials was held after Saul Mkhize was shot

Department of Co-operation and Development began to have secret meetings with the only two Community Board members willing to through a government gazette. move — and a third person, Yende, a landowner at Driefontein, to whom Co-operation and Development began to refer as "Chief".But the people at Driefontein describe him in no uncertain terms as "a chief

One, Chief Sidu, lives at Iswepe. The other, Chief Shabalala, is an up and indicated their willingness to agent of Chief MandlaNgempisi | move. That they were not exactly who lives in the KaNgwane bantus- residents of Driefontein did not

without followers".

negotiate with the discredited Com- | been advised by Pretoria to try to boost their support amongst the inhabitants of Driefontein by making it necessary for all residents to have a chief's stamp in their reference books. Without these stamps, people would be unable to get passes, pensions or seek employment. Later, when it became obvious | But, rather than give credibility to that neither committee was open to | these created chiefs, the Driefonmanipulation, a Mr Griessel of the | tein community has chosen to ignore these instructions.

But they worry that Pretoria might now officially legislate chiefs

The relationship between these "chiefs" and Pretoria was made clear at a meeting held last October

Shabala, agent of the Kangwane chief, arrived at the meeting with a band of followers. When an official asked who was prepared to move, Shabala and his followers jumped

classes and defied their teachers at the school. Afraid that students would burn down the school, the tribal authority instructed men from all the villages to take turns in guarding the school at night. A perspective.' number of men were fined for failing to accept their turns.

The power of the chiefs in the Amatola

Since then the chief's authority was undermined to the extent that in the early 1950's chiefly traditions were no longer of any significance to the people living in the Keiskammahoek district.

Now the tribal authority system runs alongside the politics of the Ciskei National Independence Party. Each area has a local organisation of the ruling party.

Trapped in the Ciskei through influx control, rural people have to bear the oppression



KwaZulu's indunas a weight on shoulders of the poor

CORRUPTION IS widespread amongst tribal authroities, and nine out of ten people in certain parts of KwaZulu pay money to their local chief in order to obtain land. This was the finding of Paul Zulu of the University of Zululand during a research project.
Other findings were:

●People had to pay annually either their sites or their fields, or even both. In one area, inhabitants had to pay an annual levy of two rands for fields or forfeit their rights to plough or plant for a year.

About a fifth of those interviewed described the land as overcrowded, and could not grow crops.

Distribution of fields favoured

established families, and

newcomers were not allocated any. •Forty percent of the people in the sample alleged that it was common practise in their areas that they had to pay the local induna before they could apply for pensions or disability grants. These payments

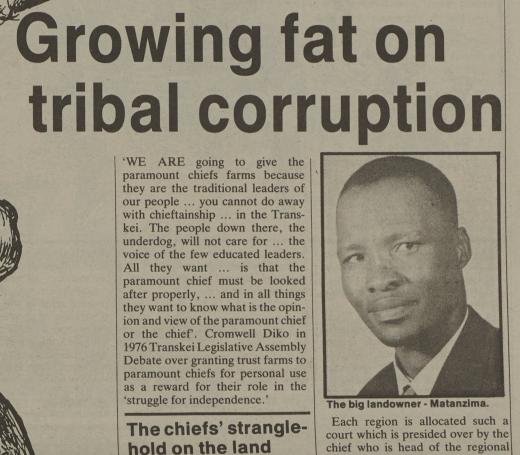
were expected to be in the form of cash, the induna's bus fare or paying for his lunch. A portion of the first pension payment was also

Chief Buthelezi, however, supports the institution of chiefdom as can be seen from a speech made near Ladysmith in February last year, at the installation of Chief Nsikayezwe Sithole as chief of the

'The institution of chieftaincy is a people's institution. It is an rument which has served black people for several generations. It has always been a democratic institution... There is so much cheap talk about chieftaincy today politically-illiterate individuals that I find it necessary to mention this in order that the institution of chieftaincy can be seen in its correct

A tension does however exist within Inkatha. It aspires to be a popular movement against the power of Pretoria and the state. Yet the individual experience of the authority at a local level. For Inkatha to support chiefs is to undermine their own popular However the leadership of Inkatha

There is a continuous and is the same as the leadership of the wide-spread abuse of power as a KwaZulu government. The direct result of the system of chiefs KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and indunas in rural areas. comprises a clear majority of chiefs, Although the role of chiefs and with elected commoners holding indunas is clearly one of control they only 55 seats as opposed to the 76 also assume the role of representaheld by chiefs. Buthelezi thus has to tive of their areas. Outside agencies be sensitive to pressure from this wanting to implement development quarter. There has already been one



Control of land is probably the most crucial area of corruption and control in the Transkei. An important base for the chief's power is the allocation of land. The communal land tenure system allows every male Transkeian to acquire a plot of land provided he is married, over 21 years of age and up to date with his

However, applications for land must be accompanied by payments to the chief of alcohol, poultry, sheep or even an ox.

Courts that take away your land

An individual's arable plot can be not being properly utilised. Thus 'troublemakers' in the community | authorities like the Transkei. can have land taken away from

or headman to reallocate land if it is | were weeded out, stripped of rank not being used or if taxes have not | and replaced by more co-operative been paid for over two years. But members of the same lineage. the ruling is generally applied when someone has antagonised the chief or where the chief will gain from the without real support

Pretoria has found the policy of

indirect rule through chiefs

the 'Supreme Chief' and bantu

commissioner and other appointed

over the chiefs. The state president

officials had immediate authority

had the power to recognise any

person he chose as chief, could

regulations prescribing the duties

paid by the government and were

In 1974 the KwaZulu Legislative

Assembly passed legislation which

government and gave them powers

Chiefs and tribal authorities have

made every chief subject to the

real power over people in their

areas. This power is exercised

through the allocation of land and

also through the direct control of

and privileges of chiefs. Chiefs were

depose any, and promulgate

thus agents of government.

authority of the KwaZulu

of arrest and search.

tribal courts.

In 190/ the su

projects are expected to work

through the tribal authority.

nolementation.

the quota.

attempt to create an opposition with

At a local level there are sometimes

businessmen in the area who regard

chiefs as backward and uneducated.

tensions between Inkatha and the

tribal authority. Often the local

Inkatha leadership consists of

the king as rallying point.

This often leads to the benefits of

such projects being creamed off by

the tribal elite in the early stages of

The allocation of sugar quotas

through the tribal authority in the

the first 276 ha, 50 ha went to the

household heads out of an estimated

population received 18 percent of

It is possible that quotas went to

people with land allocations large

enough to make cultivation worth

the uneven distribution of land in

while. What this reveals though, is

chief and four indunas. Thus five

2 500 or ,002 percent of the

Mpukunyoni area indicated this. Of

The practise of paying the chief for land means that a small group is becoming richer at the expense of the rest of the community. Only those with resources like cash or stock can compete for land.

the tribal courts. They can enrich of the rightful heir, was one of the themselves through bribery, but can reasons that led to rural resistance also withhold favourable judge- in Pondoland in 1960. ments from their enemies. As one In 1963 the Transkei Constitution villager says 'You can commit the same offence as the other person but not get the same punishment. That is not fairness, and people see elected. such things'

ional Authority Court Act of 1982. | election.



power over land and law

the chiefs are ...

Each region is allocated such a court which is presided over by the chief who is head of the regional authority. All proceedings are conducted in 'accordance with the recognised traditional laws and customs applicable in that region'.

These courts have the same powers, authorities and functions as magistrates courts. But an appeal from a regional authority court to the magistrate's court is not possible and no legal representation is

In 1948 the legislative ground was prepared for the present system.
The Nationalist Party came to power and Verwoerd and Eiselen restructured 'native' administra-

The 1951 Bantu Authorities Act was the first step in this process. The Act set up a three-tier system of authorities. The lowest tier was the allocated to another member of the tribal authority and the state-paid community on the pretext that it is chief. Then came regional authorities and finally territorial

During the 1950's royal lineages were recognised and moved into Customary law empowers a chief | bureaucratic structures. Dissidents

Matanzima's rule

Between 1955 and 1958, 30 chiefs were deposed for a variety of official reasons. Popular opposition to the chiefship of Paramount Botha Sigcau, who was considered to have been wrongfully elevated to the Chiefs also retain control through | paramountcy in 1939 at the expense

> Bill was passed. This provided for a legislative assembly of 64 chiefs. Only 45 members were to be

For this reason Mantanzima's The power of the chiefs was party retained control, in spite of strengthened by the establishment | the Democratic Party winning 38 of regional courts under the Reg- out of the 45 elected seats in the first

TRIBAL AUTHORITIES in the Ciskei carry out instructions from higher authorities. Most of the matters discussed in the tribal council

Serving Sebe,

The tribal authority has power to impose fines for a wide range of 'offences'. In 1980 students at the local high school boycotted concern ways of raising funds from people. The unpopularity of the tribal authority

means that councillors take on this office reluctantly. 'The work we are doing is bad. There is no reward for it. I do it because it is a duty the tribal authority gave to me. Yet we get nothing for all this. I have lost interest in it. Even if they were to start paying us, I would not be interested in sub-headman-

In the Amatola Basin, the tribal authority set up 21 levies for specific projects over a period of two years. Of these only four concerned the local community. Many other levies were raised for social occasions like the installation of a chief in another area, as well as for the initiation and wedding of chiefs' sons.

Every year the tribal council collects donations for 'needy' people in Ciskei. It is never made clear how this money is distributed and where these needy people are located.

The tribal authority consists of the chief, two salaried headmen and nineteen council- people who have been fined.

not the people

Authority in Ciskei is unchecked — except by

Sebe himself

iors who are not paid. The councillors who represent their villages are nominated by the tribal authority itself.

The council pressurises the councillors to attend meetings. It was decided to introduce a R2 fine for any sub-headman who fails to attend these meetings. Sub-headmen or councillors extract levies and sometimes councillors are fined for failing to present the names of people who do not co-operate with the tribal authority.

When people do not pay fines imposed by the tribal court, the tribal authority authorises the messenger of the court to attach the stock or property belonging to

Basin was resurrected by the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951. Colonial rule was state's power is through the tribal established here after the 1850/53 war between the Xhosa and the British.

of both Party and chief.

Taking the good, leaving the bad



business and state agriculture farming experience. schemes can exploit it.

In the village of Bethanie, Mangwe and Berseba in Bophuthatswana, the best tribal land in the area, covering more than 3 000 hectares, was taken over by Agricor in 1979 (allegedly on the initiative of the tribal authority), for a proposed wheat and sunflower project. Hundreds of residents in the villages were dispossessed of their traditional right of access to relatively fertile land which in the past had provided them with a relatively good subsistence agriculture. Many families had had 12 or more hectares with an annual production of 200 bags of mealies.

The land has now been divided into 34 100-ha farms which, at a rental of R5 per hectare, were allocated by the tribal authority to

Unorganised but determined, the people resist the business plans

ALTHOUGH PEOPLE in rural areas are relatively powerless, limited opposition to these schemes does take place. Many of the bigger plantation schemes have been subjected to strikes, while even in some of the most impoverished regions people have refused to sell their labour to such schemes.

Frequently, as in the case of cotton, the crops are deliberately damaged, while at the Champagne citrus project in Lebowa, large scale | Before 1977 commercial agricul- in the bantustans. theft of the crop is organised on a ture was limited to a few plantation Before the 1960's, rural reserve

served to foster a class of small- and citrus were run by the agricul- Employers could pay lower wages scale privileged producers. This | tural section of the Department of class, subservient to the tribal | Co-operation and Development. authority, is very small. Worse still, A small number of African farmers it has been created by the physical | were producing on a commercial removal of thousands of small-scale | basis but in most cases attempts to subsistence producers for whom the encourage African farmers were land provided some small support unsuccessful. They were reluctant

under production for profit, regardless of the consequences for | themselves. the local population. Indeed, many of these schemes, like Mooifontein in Bophuthatswana, are very unprofitable but serve a political and ideological use. The bantustan | could now become share-holders in | business into big agricultural authorities concoct quite meaningless statistics which serve to show the viability and growth of the bantustan economies. Notwithstanding the massive debt of Agricor. Bonhuthatswana claims to be one of Africa.

THOUSANDS OF people are people whom most residents claim nearly always with the approva being forced off the land they to be supporters and associates of have traditionally farmed, so that the chief. Several had no previous

The chief himself has little or no popular support. He is well guarded and rarely talks with the people. Since the villagers were moved off the land there has only been minimal production on the 3 000 ha of prime land.

The penetration of rural agriculture by business is accelerating. Both the de Waal and the Swart Commission for Venda and the Ciskei respectively, were in favour of an increased involvement of private capital and of the free enterprise system. This is already happening as companies like Murray and Roberts lease land in the banustans for commercial production.

More and more tribal land is being taken over by the bantustan authorities for development proects. Most of these are aligned with the local tribal authority

Tribal authorities vary considerably within the same bantustan and between different bantustans in the extent of their authority, effectiveness and popular support. They range from weak ineffectual bodies to sinister organisations consisting of corrupt and despotic chiefs and

and collaboration of the triba authorities. In most cases, the establishment of a development project involves the extensive dispossession of people's land rights. The people most affected are those who are known members of opposition parties, the poor, migrant workers and the small-scale subsis-

Agricultural consultancy firms are also taking over the running of projects once they have been established by the state. These takeovers generally lead to marked increase in the exploitation of labour. Measured Farming, for example, in taking over certain sisal projects, provoked strike action leading to the rehiring of workers at up to a 40 percent decrease in wages. In certain citrus schemes under their management, they have reduced wages, extended working hours and increased the work load.

At the Champagne citrus project in Lebowa, where Measured Farm ing took over at the end of 1982, sprinkler irrigation replaced the flood system, the number of workers was drastically reduced, the length of the working week increased by 15 to 20 percent and workers had to increase the The establishment of develop- number of trees cleaned per day ment projects on tribal land occur | from 20 to between 100 and 200.

Farming's turning point

1977 WAS the turning point for | racial group.

schemes. Plantation schemes agriculture subsidised the wages of Many of these schemes have which produced crops like sisal, tea workers in the urban areas. to use their limited land for a com-Agricultural land is being put | mercial market because of the importance of using it for food for

The Promotion of Economic Development of Bantu Homelands Act was ammended in 1977. Whites, coloureds and Asians 'bantu' companies which were pre- schemes in African rural areas.

because the workers' families were also involved in agriculture.

to rise. In 1970 unemployment was 11,8 percent. In 1983 it was about needed to depend heavily on workers from rural areas and their needs were for a more skilled labour force which would come from the urban areas.

The agriculture of the rural people was now irrelevant to business and this permitted the entry of

viously controlled by Africans. The money used for these agricul-Secondly, the Bantu Investment | tural development schemes came Corporation (BIC), then changed from both the state and private to Corporation for Economic business. Private capital was fre-Development (CED), could now | quently intertwined with the state the few food exporting countries in buy and sell businesses from any through forms of agency and racial group and sell them to any | tripartite agreements.

commercial agriculture in the ban- The way was clear for a flow of capital into commercial agriculture

> at a third Ciskei development dispossession by the 'Betterment

However, unemployment began percent. Business no longer

> 'Hungry people will always be a security problem,' he says. 'Give us 25 cents a day for a rural development,' he appeals to white South Africa — 'you will never get a pre-

Ciskei, land of repression and resettlement, has 126 people living in each square kilometer of its barren territory.

ISKEI'S IRRIGATION

the words of one study,

schemes generate

they receive 'aid totally out of

proportion to that received by the

nberable families in the

dryland areas.' These families have

Elukhanyiseni (place of light) killed

hungry,' said the white manager of

the scheme. 'We poured diesel on

the carcasses and buried them two

meters deep — but still they were

At Shiloh, another Ciskei

and Zwelidinga.

dug up during the night,' he added.

development scheme, the problem

is solved with a high security fence

erected against the people from the

resettlement camps of Sada, Oxton

Shiloh's vegetables are not even

available to local people able to pay

for them — they are sold in far off

There are tensions between the

scheme and the surrounding people

Schemes' in the 1960's, and created

resisted the re-allocation of local

land for the Tyefu scheme through

the tribal authority. The scheme

LENNOX SEBE, life president of

the Ciskei bantustan, is keen on the

political capital he can make out of

his irrigation schemes.

a no-go area for government

officials since then. Many also

towns through the Ciskei

Development Board.

not been slow in reacting to these

At Keiskamahoek irrigation

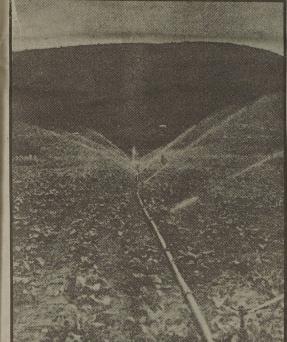
scheme, local people from the

nearby resettlement camp

SCRAMBLING TO GET IN

Most of its residents are without land, and half are without work. One of every three children two prize cows. 'These buggers are is malnourished. Ciskei government has pumped millions of rand into five small irrigation schemes. Yet only two percent of the bantustan is suited for irrigation. Why has this particular development strategy been adopted.

> went ahead, however. But locals wno ended up as part-time workers on the scheme went on strike in 1979. More recently, tensions have arisen with the employment of seasonal labour from the nearby Glenmore resettlement camp. Glenmore people were led to believe they would be settled at



no sa Tlhabololo ya Temothuo sa Bophuthatswana

cultural Development Corporation of Bophuthatswana

Tyefu when they were told of their impending removal from several farms in the Eastern Cape in 1979.

Today, their only link to the project is seasonal work at 40 cents a day. 'We get slave rates on the Tyefu farm,' says Mr G Zakhe, a community leader at Glenmore.

According to one Glenmore resident, 'officials choose only a few to work. They go to their friends and relatives.'

This reality underlies an early statement by the regional commissioner of the department of **Co-operation and Development**

ing in the area. that 'Glenmore is intended to dovetail with Tyefu.'

of the communit

schemes which

has caused con

siderable tension

for the people liv

development

What makes Glenmore people even more angry about the Tyefu scheme now is that they face removal and resettlement for a second time - to make way for the expansion of the scheme.

Speculation is that Glenn also being removed for political reasons. In 1979 Brigadier C J Lloyd gave a speech on the importance of rural development in the defence strategy of South Africa.'

'Wherever we have a local

'Remarkable', this window dressing

IF THERE is any purpose that Ciskei's irrigation schemes does successfully fulfill, it is the 'developmentalist' propaganda that they gen-

The schemes have been hailed as 'a modern miracle' by one newspaper. Other press reports use words like 'outstanding success', most impressive', 'remarkable', 'a model of planning', 'a brilliant scheme', and a 'paceset-

Academics have credited them as 'bold and

Overhead irrigapopulation in our border and rural tion sprays being areas, we will have to secure their switched on at one loyalty, goodwill and co-operation against the insurgents,' he said. plots at Tyefu - just 'Where this is not feasible, we will have to move them out of the critical areas and resettle them

> Government officials hope that the schemes will encourage economic growth in the region. Evidence, however, indicates that these tiny pockets of high productivity have smothered local

According to one academic, nearby farmers have become disillusioned with their own technologically inferior farming

Since 1979 the schemes have had a monopoly of the milk and amasi markets. These products may only be sold in sealed government containers and must be pasteurized. As a result, small scale dairy farmers have lost access to markets.

Indeed, this is how a Ciskei prop-

aganda booklet on the Tyefu

cheme evaluates — inaccurately

Make way! Here come the mining companies

M INING OPERATIONS, not consolidation, have placed Reserve 8, just north of the Tugela river under threat of removal.

According to residents, officials came into the area in 1983 and tried to persuade the chief to give his consent to the mining operation and the

The community and the chief rejected this offer, but the mining houses are reluctant to give up their chances of big profits. The officials apparently visited the area again

The mining operation would force half the people out of the reserve, where they have been living since pefore white penetration of Zulu-

However, although people have been living in the area for generations, the land belongs to SADT, an arm of the Department of Co-operation and Development. This means that SADT (or Pretoria) will decide whether the removal will go

Co-operation and Development minister at the time, Piet Koornhof, said his decision would depend on recommendations from the KwaZulu government, the Department of Co-operation and Development and the mining corporation.

Tony Johns, secretary to the KwaZulu chief minister's depart-ment revealed that the application was considered by the magistrate at Ngoye, the Macambeni Tribal Authority, the Department of Agriculture and Forestry and the epartment of Works.

The Works Department had no jections to the exploitation, while he Department of Agriculture and orestry opposed the application not on the grounds that people vould be moved, but rather that it vould interfere with conservation in the area.

This opposition does not mean the end of the mining venture, how-

Tisand is already mining in Reserve 4, north of Richards Bay.

The Sokhule and Mbonambi people have been settled in Reserve since long before Zululand was annexed by Natal in 1897 — yet they do not benefit at all from this mining

In 1976 the SADT signed a contract with Tisand (Pty) Ltd, in which the mining company undertook to pay a royalty — calculated at ten percent of its annual profit or R15 per ton of mineral concentrate (whichever was higher) — to the

In 1977, the Natal Mercury reported that the mine would produce 787 000 tons of processed minerals annually, valued at R100 mill-

In 1983, a question was asked in parliament about the money from this mining operation, but the minister avoided the question by only replying as far as prospecting fees were concerned

He answered that R668.75 was paid in 1982 to KwaZulu by Zululand Titanium in prospecting fees. He did not bother to mention, however, that royalties of not less than R200 000 were paid to the SADT in terms of the contract.

This money, profit from the land which has traditionally belonged to the people of Reserve 4, is being local people off the schemes, but | paid to the SADT and might well be used to move them from their

Hearts and linds with Soil'n Seed

Sebe uses money foschemes to create a middle class

class farmers.

Warning of 'the monster on the border' and the 'ever watchful communist hordes', Sebe argues that 'the key to the entire volatile mium as cheap.' His policy is to situation lies in the rapid promocreate a 'large cadre of middle- | tion of homeland agriculture.'

that 'the flashpoint for instability in | limited time to win the support of South Africa may be in the towns, | rural communities to be a bulwark defences.

— the success of the project. 'The most important benefit has been the 'winning over' of the local com-But Sebe is not the only person to For him, rural development promunity which now collaborates argue all this. The director of a firm | jects cannot be evaluated in | with the authorities,' reads the hired to manage the scheme claims | economic terms only. 'There is | booklet. The scheme is 'being nurtured with the sincere co- operabut the slow wick is in the rural against communism and for border fion of the populace,' the story goes on.

Caught in the middle - the privileged few on the farms

imaginative', 'tangible evidence of what can be

achieved', and projects that 'could one day be

acclaimed as outstanding examples of irriga-

Amongst the groups taken to visit the show-

pieces are representatives from Israel, the

United States, Costa Rica, Columbia, France

and Canada. The Greater London Young Con-

servatives, as well as 'dignatories' from other

South African bantustans have toured the

tion schemes in underdeveloped countries.'

WHO BECOMES a member of the elite group of settlers on the Ciskei's irrigation schemes?

Applicants are screened by Ciskei's intelligence service, and must have taken out citizenship of this 'independent' bantustan. Besides this, settlers are also according to one newspaper handpicked and rewarded for oyalty to the local chief."

BONA magazine claims that a scheme like Tyefu has increased the power of the local chief and his headmen who, with the settlers and government officials, 'take all decisions regardng the running of the scheme.'

The settlers, however, deny that they take part in decision- making. They are officially treated as employees for their first year, yet even after that, they complain that despite being leaseholders, they are treated as labourers.

'We aim to develop middle class farmers here,' says Ciskei's secretary for agriculture. But a survev of Keiskamahoek settlers shows that they see the scheme as 'just a job', and regard themselves as a group with interests opposed to the managers. The settlers are a group caught in the middle — privileged in relation to dominated in relation to government officials and management. ancestral home.

HE STRUGGLE for survival in the bantustans is difficult. It demands a delicate balance in the way the

land is used. In the last few years, large farming companies — whose motive is profit rather than survival - have stepped onto the scene, upsetting the balance. Sometimes with disastrous results.

Take the Transkei Agricultural Corporation (Tracor) scheme in Khiiba in the Hershel district of Transkei.

The scheme started in 1981 with Tracor moving from its Khiiba base to plough lands in surrounding villages. Since then it has expanded, incorporating a number

Set up by the Transkei government, Tracor has two main

•In the long term to make Transkei self-sufficient in food production; and

●To engage in profitable farming which balances the production of food with 'rural community

Tracor is heavily dependent on government subsidies. Its costs are considerable because it involves machine intensive farming. Despite this high technology approach, Tracor criticises other developmen projects for failing to involve local people in planning and carrying out rural development.

'Masizakhe' — let us develop ourselves — is the name Tracor has given to its maize production projects. It calls them 'cooperative schemes' based on the voluntary association of people within a headman's area. This is the

But the practice is somewhat

STATE OF THE NATION spoke o people in two villages involved in

the ploughing scheme. Tracor introduced itself to the villagers at meetings called by the headmen. The meetings were poorly attended, and in one village Tracor promised to call another gathering so more people could hear about the scheme. It never happened. The unattended meetings proved to be the last time Tracor 'consulted' with the villagers whose lands they were aiming to 'develop'

Working from a general agreement in the first meetings that it could use any lands in the villages it felt suitable for intensive production, Tracor went ahead. Although it used the villagers' land, the people never had a clear idea of what was involved. Or, for that matter, what Tracor was and how it

One villager said: 'No, we know nothing about Tracor except just hearing that it comes from Pretoria and started in Umtata (the Transkei capital).'

While the connection with Pretoria is not clear, the managers of the scheme come from the Corporation for Economic

Tracor began its work. It told people it would improve production on their land. Tractors,

and weed killers were brought in. No involvement was expected from landholders, and no training was offered. The villagers commented: 'We have learnt

nothing new about farming since Tracor came to the villages. The landholders were told the production costs would be paid from the sale of the harvest, and they would get a share of the remainder of the crop. Believing that Tracor would vastly improve production, the landholders

expected a large share of profits. It was this expectation which spurred people to allow the scheme to go ahead, despite the lack of

With the start of the scheme, this belief disappeared. Landholders were not allowed to enter their own fields to pick green mealies, an essential food. Guards were employed to keep people off the fields, and anyone they caught was punished in the tribal court. If cattle strayed into the fields, the

owners were fined. Worse was to come. There was a fundamental conflict between Tracor and the villagers over what was grown. Interested only in profit, Tracor would only grow maize, with machines and chemicals that would kill

everything except maize. The villagers, however, were concerned about survival. Not since the 1900's has the land been adequate to produce enough for the village as well as for export to towns and mines. Today, like in most bantustans, the Hershel area produces below survival needs.

The villagers produce a winter wheat crop and a summer maize crop. In the last few years the winter crop has been better because of the summer drought, and good winter rain. Tracor's plan, however, leaves no room for wheat

Neither is Tracor interested in sorghum, an alternative summer maize crop which fetches the locals

good prices. To top it off, Tracor absolutely forbids intercropping — where the fields are also planted with vegetables. Pumpkins, beans, squash, peas, potatoes and wild spinach are usually planted among the maize and wheat to supplem

State capital sets up farms to make the bantustans look developed. And to make profit, as much as possible. For this the people suffer

presented with huge bills to cover the local diet. Without these the production costs for the last two vegetables the villagers cannot seasons. The average bill in the one combat the malnutrition which village is about R300 per hectare, accompanies a maize-only diet. and in the other R42 per hectare. Tracor does not allow people into Landholders do not understand the the fields, and uses weed killers

huge difference in cost. which make it impossible to grow As far as the locals were vegetables. Even if Tracor stopped concerned the costs were supposed working the land today, it would be to come out of the harvest. But it three years before vegetables could appears that Tracor did not cover be grown again. osts because of poor harvests, and It is no surprise, therefore, that in is now pushing the costs onto the one village people are actually villagers. And these costs are far considering holding the harvest beyond what people can afford to hostage to force Tracor to meet

them and discuss problems. Without a doubt, in a good year, Tracor could get a bigger and better maize crop than the villagers could. But the villagers will never know just how much bigger. Tracor has never told them what the yield is. This means the landholders cannot lispute the size of their share of the

Furthermore, local people are not convinced Tracor is getting the most from its resources. On their own, they get a maize and a wheat crop. Tracor only gets maize. Tracor has a single approach to farming for all areas. The villagers have adapted farming to meet the conditions in the area, and Tracor has not learnt anything from them. f Tracor had aimed, from the beginning, to have no local involvement at all, it could not have done better.

Local discontent reached near breaking point when they were

Most people now want Tracor to leave. But the original agreement reached with Tracor was apparently for a five-year period. Fracor has said if people want to take their land out of the scheme, they must first pay back what they owe'. This is impossible for most. One invoice was for R986, which is not much higher than many others. In Khiiba that much money is not seen in a full year.

pay. Many have refused to pay.

Tracor's response is that these

osts will be deducted from the

andholders' share of future profits.

The share of the crop people have

eceived ranges from two to five

Okg bags of mealie meal. If

people had worked the land

hemselves they could have

roduced 25-35 bags. No-one

half the price charged in local

knows how many bags Tracor kept.

Tracor argues that it produces

ealthier grain. After milling, it

sells at R22 per 70kg bag — about

stores. Because it is unrefined the

meal sold commercially. It could be

claimed that Tracor is benefitting

andless people at the expense of

the landowners. But landowners

have always sold their surplus on

the local market, unmilled at about

meal is healthier than the refined

In one village even the headman - who was instrumental in allowing Tracor in — is complaining. The whole village plans to hold the 1984 harvest hostage to force Tracor to come and discuss the situation. They say openly that if this does not work they will try something else.

In the other village, however, people are afraid to talk openly and seem resigned to the situation. Opposition is limited to a refusal to pay Tracor.

The difference between the two villages can partially be explained by the attitude of the headman. In the second village the headman strongly supports Tracor and regularly fines people whose cattle strays into the fields. He fines R10 for large stock and R5 for small stock. He has had children whipped for taking green mealies. Now he has told parents they will be fined R10 per cob found in their child's

The picture hardly matches up to Tracor's rhetoric about food production and rural community development. Instead it has descended like a parasite to take control of people's lands in the name of 'development'. In the end the people are poorer, hungrier and

THE HEAVY BURDEN BANTUSTAN BUSINESS



Sugar profit can't sweeten KwaZulu poverty

THE CREATION of the bantustans has created some dif-I ficulties for business. Areas of potential sugar cane growing land fall into KwaZulu. The South African sugar mills need this land and the sugar industry has begun to intervene. Already more than R20 million has been lent to black farmers to promote the production of sugar cane on KwaZulu soil. In this way the sugar industry hopes to promote a class of successful farmers.

Two factors prevent the development of this farming middle class: the lack of financing and distribution of land. Peasant farmers are normally unable to borrow money for agricultural development on their lands because they do not own them. In this traditional system of land tenure, the chief has the authority to allocate land.

All of Natal's sugar mills receive some cane from Zulu farmers and most of them offer aid. The mills also administer aid in the form of cash loans from the sugar industry. Money is provided for land development, fertilizer, seedcane, weed control and equipment. Alternatively the mills provide farming services.

In many cases the farmer plays no role at all in the production of sugar cane — the mills provide the money and all the operations and management necessary for growing and harvesting the crop. The mill takes over the financing and the farming functions while the farmer merely becomes the les-

sor of the cane land. Once the African farmer has taken a loan, the mill representatives take over control. Any farming such as weeding or fertilizing which is regarded as inadequate by the mill is taken charge of by the mill representative. The cost of this service is then added onto the amount of the original loan. Sugar cane has become a lucrative produce for KwaZulu. Despite drought in the 1982/83 season 1,3 million tons were

Families however cannot turn their full attention to sugar cane farming. In KwaZulu there are 19 000 registered black growers spread on 45 000 hectares of registered quota land. Each farmer then has only an average of 2,5 hectares. The area which would allow a reasonable living is double this size.

Because the man is often a migrant, women are generally responsible for the crop. If the loan on the land is registered in the man's name he receives the proceeds of the sale of the crop, even though the woman has done the work.

MONG THE many olidating of the Ciskei is the 150-year old coloured farming community of Stockenstrom district, located halfway between Fort Hare University and the resettlement camps at Whittlesea. Now that the district is being incorporated into the Ciskei, its 6 000

to families in the area for five generations, and forced to resettle. While Hendrickse The Stockenstrom case, however. is a forced removal with a differwas counting the ence: the people are willing to few votes that put leave, but there is nowhere for them him in parliament The people of Stockenstrom and raised his salary, the

community of

Stockenstrom

they've owned for

Sebe took their land and left it

up to the S.A. government to

dispose of the Stockenstrom

Meanwhile, the people of Stoc-

kenstrom had sent a delegation to

were fighting

a century.

decided to act in 1979 when the government finally determined which areas would be merged into Ciskei. Community meetings were held, and on November 10 one of their representatives, high school principal Mr D N Bailey, sent a memorandum to the Minister of Internal Affairs, J C Heunis. The crucial removal from land passage read as follows:

people are being bought out of their

properties, some of which belonged

'We ask for a territorial area reserved for coloureds under the authority and as citizens of the RSA here in the watershed of the Kat River. If this application cannot be permitted where our communities especially desire it, we request the authorities to obtain for us other lands in a rural area in exchange for the lands of our coloured communities which are now being incorporated into the Ciskei'.

The Internal Affairs Minister replied in February 1982, asking the community to help count the population of the area and identifying the landowners. He added: 'as far as your request for an alternative area is concerned, I gladly give you the assurance that this matter will be thoroughly gone into, and that an on-the-spot investigation will be conducted as soon as possible. You will, however, understand that such an investigation must necessarily

take a considerable time'. carrying copies of the memorandum | ing in his department. soon descended on Stockenstrom,

But on April 12 1983, the East | Ciskei president Lennox Sebe, London Daily Dispatch reported requesting to remain on their lands that the new Minister of Internal | with certain guarantees for their Affairs, F W de Klerk, had said in community. Sebe failed to keep the parliament that no request for an appointment. A senior Ciskei offialternative area had been received. | cial told the delegation that Ciskei Under pressure from E K Moor- was not interested in them and croft, member for Albany, he expected South Africa to get rid of admitted that he had 'unknowingly' them before their land was handed misled parliament. He then wrote over to the people of Stockenstrom saying in effect, that he was not fully gated possible alternative areas in Stockenstrom did have a case, but Stockenstrom 'tranegeld' for the nonetheless.

Officials of the Department, some | informed about what was happen- | the George and Humansdorp dis- | five days later phoned back and | CAD has sneaked up from behind tricts, but were told that although | denied its involvement in the comthese might be available, they munity's resettlement, despite the notices. would first have to apply for per-

reporter tried to establish what the tained it was responsible only for | cash offers for their lands. department of Cooperation and

investigation promised by minister | In this way a community of 6,000

Meanwhile, CAD had not been idle. On April 30 1984 the South state of affairs was. The department | African Development Trust sent | and valuators and received promof Community Development main- the Stockenstrom property owners ises and assurances from at least

trauma of removal. The exceedingly low valuations put on the properties were, however, a cause or tears rather than a relief.

The 35 properties belonging to the community's NG Sendingkerk, totalling over 1 000 morgen, were valued collectively at R75 000. This aluation was crucial because it was the community's dream to use the church's money to buy an alternative area and thus provide for the poor and landless if the exchange failed to materialise.

Without reasonable capital from the church's property, Stockenstrom has very little hope of survival as a community. Most of the average sized private properties have been valued at between R12 000 and R14 000, inclusive of buildings, boreholes and improvements. The going price for an empty building plot at Breidach township near King William's Town is R20 000.

The people of Stockenstrom are thus being forced to give up their pastoral livelihoods and entire way of life to drift into the towns. They will receive only a pittance in cash in exchange: just about enough, as one local remarked, 'to ride around and see the world out there, and spend it on the way.'

The people of Stockenstrom would rather not take any money at all. Their request is for a place in exchange where they will regain ndividually and collectively, everything they stand to lose.

Some are determined to refuse any valuation whatsoever until the government gives them new lands, but there are no grounds for such refusal in South African law. Resettled persons classified as African, who own properties of over 20 morgen, can demand land equal in value to the land they lost, but there is no such provision for coloured andowners.

The effect of shuffling the Stockenstrom people between various government departments is that, while they are still looking to Internal Affairs to give them new land, and hit them with expropriation

people is being forcibly removed. They have cooperated fully with the government, assisted its officials three different cabinet ministers. the valuation of the properties. The | The Expropriation Act provides | But the Departments of Cooperamonetary compensation for the tion and Development, Community Development (CAD) said it did not 'loss and inconvenience' of Development and Internal Affairs deal with coloureds. Internal removal, and Deputy Minister van have all said they are not responsi

kilometres from Grahamstown.

In 1979 people from five widely separated Glenmore. Minister of Co- operation and Development, Piet Koornhof, promised the township would become 'the finest in South | The Glenmore community is | Africa.' R26 million was to be spent on developing it.

Glenmore forms part of the Ciskei, but it is still controlled and administered by the Eastern Cape Administration Board (Ecab). Residents are not sure whether they fall

under Lennox Sebe's government or not. The authorities have not told them Glenmore has been Ciskeian since 1981, nor have they explained South Africa's continued involvement in their affairs.

Now it appears that Glenmore's 1 000 residents are due to be moved again, this time to Peddie in the Ciskei.

At first the Ciskeian government was unhappy with the proposed move. Glenmore's land was to be used for the Ciskei's Tyefu irrigation scheme. But, if the Glenmore residents were included in the deal, the Ciskei's crisis-ridden economy would suffer further damage.

In-fighting between the Ciskeian and South African authorities caused a three-year

MORE CRACKS are opening in the government's homeland scheme, this time at Glenmore, a township about fifty In 1979 people from five widely separated Eastern Cape communities, Kenton, Klipfontein, Coega, Colchester and Grahamstown were dumped together in Glescopers Minister of Co. operation and

facing removal for the second time. Where they are now is bad. But Peddie is far

Finally, the Ciskei agreed to accept the move if South Africa financed it and provided the Peddie site with minimum services. The Swart Commission investigating economic development in the Ciskei, recommended that the South African government contribute R20 000 per family moved.

But even if Pretoria agrees, the community won't see much of the money. Ecab has provided very little infrastructure at Peddie and the removal has been called 'a monumental blunder from beginning to end', even in parli-

rows of identical houses with wooden walls, verted farm house serves as an administration | move. The area was hard-hit by the drought | houses were searched.



block, and there is a small clinic nearby.

Residents struggle to find work. Many commute to nearby cities like Port Elizabeth. until Ecab officials force them to return to Glenmore. Others work at the Tyefu irrigation farm for about forty cents a day. There are no indications that conditions will be any better. Although residents call Glenmore a 'death trap', many have objected

strongly to going to Peddie. Glenmore is isolated. There are rows upon | cials choose only a few to work. The jobs go to their friends or their relatives.'

Mrs Nonight Mbula, an elderly pensioner says Ecab officials assaulted her when she complained of a shortage in her rations. People have also complained that rations are often not delivered to Glenmore, forcing them to arrange their own transport to fetch

had been halved.

and the community had to rely on survival

rations. But people say officials are selling

rations to white farmers at 'give-away prices'.

They also allege that many residents' rations

Pensions are also regularly tampered with. Community leader Gundutu Zakhe says that the amount of his pension varies from month to month. Others say clerks are guilty of cor-

Pensions are also used to coerce people into taking out Ciskei 'citizenship'. They are told that if they register, their pensions will increase from R60 to R80. According to the Grahamstown Rural Committee (GRC), this tactic is not working.

The Glenmore community, together with the GRC, which monitors forced removals in the Eastern Cape, is set to fight the move to Peddie. The issue has been widely reported in the commercial press and meetings have been arranged in the community.

The Ciskei's response has been clearly rep-As one resident says, 'In the Ciskei, the offi- ressive. In July last year, Ciskeian security police arrested two Glenmore leaders Mbengashe and Zakhe. They were taken to asbestos roofs and mud floors. An old con- But there is strong pressure on residents to an office, interrogated and assaulted. Their

555 000 head of cattle died in the Transkei in 18 months - over 1 000 a day

ROUGHT AID in the rural

areas often becomes a politi-

cal tool used against oppo-

nents of the homelands or tribal

Mgwali, near Stutterheim in the

Eastern Cape, is one of the many black spots' scheduled for removal.

In this case, the people are to be moved to Frankfort in president

Row upon row of zinc toilets cov-

ering the landscape bear silent tes-

timony to the scale of the planned

removals. About 8 000 Mgwali resi-

At the one end, a long thin row of

The other toilets are left to the dry

wind, and more and more collapse

as time goes by. A long time ago

Mgwali was first told it would have

to move. Since then residents have

been resisting, under the leadership of the Mgwali Residents Associa-

In the ongoing war of attrition bet-

ween the authorities and the people

of Mgwali, any weapon is used. And

the drought aid programmes run by

the Ciskei government provide just

apply for Ciskei ID documents,

instead of the South African refer-

tion (MRA).

such a weapon.

dents are to be settled there.

Lennox Sebe's Ciskei

HE DROUGHT of 1983 managed to shock welfare organisations into donating some food and money to the impoverished rural areas.

But people from rural areas agree that the drought only makes things worse. The bad conditions in the rural areas exist even in times of good rains.

A woman from the Transkei says: 'Even 10 years ago there was a lot of rain and people were unable to live properly. We have no land. We have no fields. Where can we

'We are packed together. What are we going to do? You measure the farms of the whites, they are big. You see there from the shop to the next village, it's only one person. But we are packed together here and there is nothing we can do.'

The drought in the rural areas aggravated the poverty of the people. In the Transkei:

• 66 percent of the adult population

Two thirds of rural households had cash incomes below the estimated household subsistance level of R1 509 in 1982.

Tuberculosis is perhaps the greatest killer with five times as many sufferers as KwaZulu.

Two thirds of the male labour force is permanently absent, working as migrant labourers in the major urban areas of South Africa. The mortality rate in children up to five years was 262 per 1000 in the Tabankulu district and averaged 190 per 1000.

Most families survive on pensions and migrant remittances but supplement their incomes on the little that they can grow.

The drought has increased tensions between people. Divisions in the communities have been mounting. The fewer the resources the greater the conflict.

The conflict over grazing and water rights has been intense. Desperate to keep their animals, people trespassed on other lands. In the Transkei some attempted to drive their cattle to coastal areas, only to face confiscation, fining, assault, and the introduction of new laws to prosecute the owners of cattle found on 'agricultural schemes'.

As the veld is no longer able to sus- Bophuthatswana in the past. tain cattle, people turn to smaller livestock such as sheep and goats thing, they could plough and cultiwhich are more drought resistant. vate crops, had enough meat and But their different grazing patterns | milk so people were not totally | poverty, it did not cause them. destroy the veld even more.

Transkei do not have access to land.

The drought affected these people heavily. Between 1980 and 1982 mealie output decreased by 48 percent, sorghum by 11 percent, pumpkins by 68 percent, potatoes by 84 percent and cabbages by 76 percent. Between April 1982 and November 1983, 555 691 cattle died Transkeian herd.

increase in the power of tribal

has been used to extend the power

Of the R500 million allocated by

the central government for drought

million went to the homelands.

and local elites.

The drought has

been blamed for dead cattle and crop failure. 'But even in good years we cannot survive. It is getting worse all the time. We do not know what will happen to us. We do not know if there is any hope for our children, say the people forced to live on over-

Women walk miles for water, even when the rains are good.

'In the past people here had everydependent on money. Years ago 20 to 30 percent of families in the this area used to be beautiful and productive. The river would now be The only agriculture they can do is flooding. We did not buy milk as we in their small 50m x 50m homestead had cattle to milk. Our children were healthy and happy.'

The drought is only one of the reasons why there is now a decline in the rural areas in Bophuthatswana. In the Ditsobotla district, the seasons 1978/9, 81/82 and 82/83 had. relatively low rainfall, but they were not unusually different.

were in the Ditsobotla district of | but the figures do not support this | transport have been shot.

The drought alone cannot explain

Bophuthatswana, casual farm difficult to feed the children. There labour provided people with a are no jobs where one could work to source of income. But these jobs no buy food. longer exist.

depleted the land's reserves, and now been killed.'

The people are losing hope. Many

crowded land.

people have given up looking for the crisis in rural areas. The drought jobs which do not exist. Many has aggravated these symptoms of | families will not plant next year even if it does rain

In the Ditsobotla district of One man in Ditsobotla said: 'It is

In the past, food from the previous The area's population continues to year could be used during the grow, often because of forced drought. It is also difficult to visit from diseases. We pay much money removals from elsewhere. The land | friends in the nearby villages to ask | for food.' cannot support everybody. Over- for help as the only means of trans- Another resident concluded: 'Life grazing and overcropping have port was the donkeys; they have today is unbearable, there is no

access to the basic needs of the the land is denuded from severe soil | Another woman said: 'I would | people . . . the life of the villagers rather move to urban areas and seek has changed. They want to go back Many people have already used a permanent job and so would leave to their previous life where they all in the Transkei, 36,2 percent of the They did not fall below 70 percent next season's seed. The able- the children at home and seek a job lived harmoniously . . . This year of the mean average rainfall. Gov- | bodied adults needed to plant and | outside. Life has stopped; the place | will be the same as next year. I don't In Bophuthatswana the story is the ernment officials spoke of a severe harvest are nearly always absent, is dry, there is no food, livestock die think that there is any hope for next same. A man describes how things | drought that comes every 200 years | and the donkeys for ploughing and | in large numbers. People suffer | year and conditions will worsen.

shot as part of swana's | Ironically, although Mgwali is still 'drought | part of South Africa, the Ciskei govrelief' ernment already partially adminisprogramme. Now ters it. The schools fall under the he and his Ciskei Education Department, the grandchildren | clinic is run by Ciskei and attempts have to pull the cart. are being made to force residents to

This man lives in

a drought-stric

ken relocation

Mafikeng. His

donkeys were

area near

The most controversial drought | this is being resisted. relief scheme was the shooting of donkeys in Bophuthatswana supposedly as a 'drought relief mea- | implemented in Mgwali. sure'. 10 000 donkeys were killed before grass-roots condemnation

ing yet no compensation was paid to the owners and many were seriously

At the same time wealthier groups



he power of life and death

wooden shacks has been set up next need they are in they simply have to to the toilets. A group of people pretend to accept it. from Alsatia, near Cathcart, live

Cattle feed has been misused in various ways. Headmen have bought up large quantities of feed intended for the villagers at a nominal rate of R1 a bale and sold it to

pay, and was told she should collect R2.50 from three other residents for

development tax. She was being

made to pay on their behalf, and forced to demand the tax from them

A spokesperson for the MRA said:

'So a person is employed by the gov-

ernment to pick up plastic. Even if

they feel that this action of being

ruled in this way is wrong, this per-

son will have to follow suit to the

'Even if they don't respect the

headman, even if they don't believe

what he says, because of the great

to get her own money back.

headman.

the white farmers in the area. For a while, villagers wanting to buy fodder had to go to King William's Town to indicate how many

bales they wanted, and pay for them at the Zwelitsha Magistrate's Court before returning to King William's Town to collect the bales. Villagers felt the complicated

arrangement served to restrict access to the aid. The fact that people had to transport the bales to Mgwali themselves meant only the wealthier farmers, who needed the aid less, were able to afford to make use of the offer

Since October, however, the fodder has been made available in Mgwali itself. Nevertheless, residents say it is not possible to get the fodder if one does not have a CNIP membership card.

After the publicity given to the refusal of aid to residents without CNIP cards, the Ciskei Director General of Health, Dr L Z Mzimba, said if this was happening it was irregular. He said a similar problem had occurred in the Hewu district, 'but we sorted that out.'

However, residents report that no attempt was made by the department to investigate the complaints. There were two more handouts in the period after the reports appeared, and in both cases, only From that amount, deductions are supporters of the Sebe government

THE DISTRIBUTION of drought and flood relief has been marked by 'Drought relief' — a In the Ciskei, drought relief has been used for direct political. been used for direct political lever- and mealie meal in Gazankulu. grant from the central government

age — in some areas aid has only Some of this food was to be distri- in the following ways: been made available to Ciskei buted free of charge to the very Creating employment at R2 per National Independence Party needy, and some was to be sold at (CNIP) card-carrying members and cost price.

merce however, persuaded the areas. Gazankulu government not to disrelief in November 1983, only R50 tribute maize at cost because it would undercut their sales.

In 1983, the drought relief board | The Ciskei government says it decided to distribute beans, peanuts | spent a R6 million drought relief | • One million was spent on water | all.

day. Jobs were allocated through the tribal authority, allowing them The Gazankulu Chamber of Com- to tighten their control over rural

> R 5 000 was spent on feeding families without breadwinners, again through tribal authorities.



massacred thousands

distribution and the rest on fodder, subsidised at 75 percent by the Cisselectively to buy fodder and create

kei and SA government. This employment for friends and relafavoured only the wealthy because tives of president Mphephu. most Ciskei people have no cattle at | Drought relief was allegedly withheld from opposition areas like

Vuwani, Mutale and Sibasa.

halted the massacre.

inal rate of R1 a bale. impoverished.

in Bophuthatswana were given a dependent on political standpoint. mittee of the headman and had a being considered for the jobs, which boost. R25-million was provided as The headmen control the aid, and card from them, said he had been pay R40 a month. assistance to Agricor and wealthier | refuse it to anyone who is not a | refused rations. farmers in the Temisano projects. | member of the Ciskei National | 'The headman told me I'm not | made for development tax. One | received aid.

ence books they are entitled to. All Devastation in rural areas - but drought relief never arrives

Similarly, drought aid program- Independence Party (CNIP). mes by the Ciskei government are A report in the Eastern Province | working in any way for the govern-

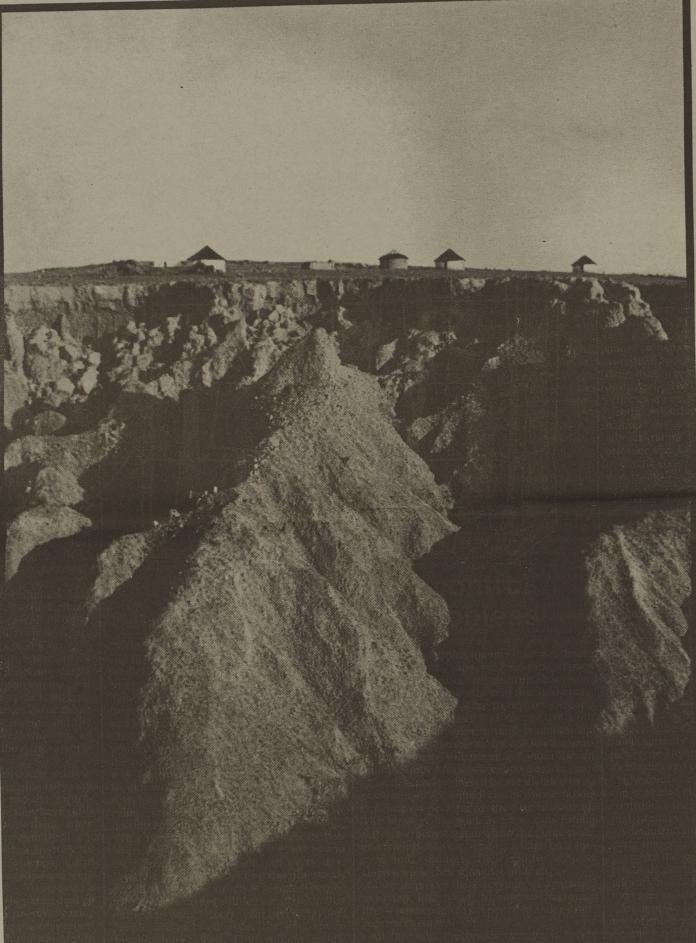
The drought aid comes in three Donkeys are essential to the rural been set up to employ people to do were being left in the tribal author-said. And finally there is fodder which is infested with worms,' he said.

Herald of June 27 1983, quoted the | ment. He said I must re-apply for then secretary of the MRA, Mr | another card and I told him I won't forms. Mealiemeal is handed out to | Pringle Nobebe, as saying bags of | do that because here's nothing I'm needy families. A programme has desperately needed mealiemeal getting from this government,' he economy for carrying and plough- odd jobs like repair or clean roads. ity office to rot. 'The mealie meal is Even the jobs being offered as part

going to get it because I am not

of the scheme are only available to made available to farmers at a nom- In some cases, possession of a those with CNIP cards. The card CNIP card is not enough. An old | must be up to date. If it is not, the However, access to all of these is man who used to serve on the com- applicant first has to renew it before

THE RIVERS OF SILT AND SA



Soil erosion...a product of overcrowding and influx control

put them bumper to bumper seven and a half times around the world. This would be 300-million tons of soil, the amount that South Africa loses annually through erosion.

South Africa loses one tenth of the world's soil according to Mr Mark Dent of the University of Natal. One of the major reasons for this is the overcrowding in the reserves through the homelands policy and the enforcement of influx con-

Land in KwaZulu can support only 100 000 families. The rural population of KwaZulu is 2,5 million. The average land-holding per family is 8,25 hectares. In contrast, white owned farmland occupies 5 million hectares and the average landholding is 576 hectares.

In 1970 a new clause was written into the Agricultural Land Act. The smallest subdivision now permitted was 50 acres. This was a significant piece of legislation in the prevention of soil erosion. However, there is a catch. It applies only to white While legislation helps to prevent erosion in

white areas, more and more people are being orced onto smaller and smaller pieces of land in the reserves, leading to the devastation of land. Hardly any research has been done on erosion in South Africa. One explanation is that Pretoria and its researchers didn't really care. Much more work has been done on erosion in Zimbabwe, a country with far fewer resources.

After the passage of the 1936 Land Act, the secretary for Native Affairs laid down plans for reclaiming and rehabilitating the reserve areas. These plans limited the number of cattle people were allowed to have.

Some ploughing of contour banks in these proc-laimed areas did take place, but were neglected and burst, according to Mr Bruce Liggitt, researcher at the Institute of Natural Resources. This only aggravated soil erosion.

Recent events have begun to show that Natal and KwaZulu are a single ecological unit. Twenty five thousand hectares of fertile sugar land in the lower Mfolozi area were destroyed by sand deposits during the recent floods. A further 48 000 hectares were damaged by water. Farmers claim that this is a consequence of erosion in the catchment area, the heavily populated Nqutu reserve.

Mr Derek Nicholls, chairperson of the Mfolozi Co-operative Sugar Planters, sees the situation as one of the most depressing in the world, 'A high percentage of the people are poverty stricken, while the erosion, dongas, overgrazing and deforestation have reached alarming propor-

White farmers are beginning to realize that Pretoria's final solution forcing people into already overcrowded reserves is beginning to have a devastating effect on white farmland as well. White farmers, however, often solve the issue by removing people themselves, a solution that entails even more suffering.

The situation results from a homeland policy and inadequate agricultural resources. Overcrowding is aggravated by poverty in the area. When people are poor, immediate demands are more important than long term productivity. People are forced to exploit the land and erosion and devastation takes

Because of the small size of plots, land provides orings migrant remittances, while investment in soil is a more risky adventure.

Apartheid laws lead to overcrowding in reserves - one of the major reasons South Africa loses one tenth of world soil.



Lack of land, loss of water

HE UPPER Tugela Location is too crowded for people to L live in. Erosion of the soil has added to the hardships caused by land shortages and unemployment. Normally this wouldn't bother the government too much.

But erosion in Upper Tugela is threatening one of South Africa's most important water supplies, the Tugela river. The causes of the problem are the pass laws and the bantustan system. The government's answer is forced removal.

At present KwaZulu is made up of 48 large pieces. In 1975, plans were drawn up to consolidate the bantustan into just ten pieces and to move 140 freehold farms into KwaZulu.

Upper Tugela and hundreds of other communities were marked for removal. But the threat to this com-

influence with the government to get the Upper Tugela and two other Strong words. All the farmers were flowing into the sea from Natal locations moved. The Escourt Far- associations argued that these loca- rivers each day, much of it from the

80 000 people are trapped in the overcrowded, soil-eroded Upper Tugela location. ORANGE FREE STATE **Nationalist MP Volker** says they threaten 'the security of Southern Africa' because this is the catchment area of the Tugela river. He wants them out. But the people are determined not to move.

memorandum that 'Our children the Tugela river. They were so will curse us for having left to post- badly eroded that less and less water ations in Natal started using their erity this festering sore in their was running into the river.

munity had begun a few years mers Association said in a tions were rain catchment areas for Tugela

LESOTHO

In addition, 400 000 tons of soil

THE UPPER TUGELA LOCATION

controlled by some foreign power',

the memorandum said. could not agree on where to. The the entire location. Mount Moriah Farmers Associawhich borders on the already overreserve. The Weenen Farmers people affected by the flooding. Association was not so enthusiastic. In 1983 the president of the Natal Agricultural Union raised the issue again. He suggested the government should meet with Buthelezi in trap of its own making.

order to settle the matter.

economy of Southern Africa.'

'They have ruined land they live on'

What a Ladysmith farmer thinks should be done to 80 000 people

The Editor, Ladysmith Gazette

Dear Sir,

The inhabitants of the black spots derive not a cent of income from their farming endeavours except perhaps from their goats which crawl through the best fences and live off white farmers. These people live on wages earned in Ladysmith and other towns. They have ruined the land they live on. If every white family demanded a piece of land to farm on in this way, white owned land would look the same and South Africa would starve.

Reform is not necessarily synonymous with increased integration. Sensible partition can do a lot to remove friction. The white farmers do not covet these black spots. In fact more and more farmers are leaving the

Join me, and others, in our endeavours to get the Driefontein block or part thereof proclaimed as a nature reserve. In such an area the Oribi, Vaalribbok, mountain

reedbuck, martial eagle, black eagle, vulture, and many other species that are fast disappearing from this area can be saved for posterity. Dams can be built with good clean water to satisfy the needs of rapidly expanding complex. A bit of unspoilt nature can be created close to a metropolis for the children of our children. In a way, this would be a penance for the rape of all these acres. Yours,

P J Meyer

to the Transvaal, which did not have They did not believe this land enough water for its own developcould simply be consolidated into ment. Erosion in the Upper Tugela KwaZulu. 'The Republic could be was filling the river with silt and the put in the highly invidious and pumps were starting to break down. greater bulk of its water resources made to move Upper Tugela. In 1980 construction began on the Woodstock Dam. Part of the loca-Removal was seen as the answer. tion was flooded. This gave the gov-But different farmers associations ernment an ideal excuse to move

But strong organisation in the tion proposed the Weenen area community and the urgency of completing the dam forced Pretoria to crowded and eroded Msinga buy adjoining white farms for the

> The 80 000 people of Upper Tugela are determined not to move. And the government is caught in a

Its policy of bantustans and influx Last year in parliament, Ladys- control has created a situation mith MP, Mr A Volker, said ero- which it cannot control. The sion in the Upper Tugela Location strategic Tugela catchment area is was 'prejudicing the entire steadily being eroded away. And the people of Upper Tugela Loca-He said water was being pumped tion are resisting removal which will

Forests are dying, but people need fuel to live the environment and to spend nine hours a day looking for firewood The bantustan policy forces people to destroy

IN THE KwaZulu areas, 250 forests erosion and the drying out leads to

were proclaimed in the Land Act of water shortages for man and 1936. Today all but 50 have either animal. disappeared or been severely

The destruction of forests has serious environmental effects. The so-called sponge effect of forests enables them to act as

regulators of water supply. When they are removed, previously perennial rivers alternatively flood and dry out. The flooding causes

Aerial surveys between 1956 and 1975 show that the density of huts in the Mhlabatini district increased two-fold in that period.

Until 1975 the available dead wood was probably adequate to meet the firewood demand. But demand has now surpassed the vield, and people are chopping down live trees for firewood. This transition from

harvesting dead wood to live wood is people uses five tons of firewood per an important change in man's impact on the environment. Suddenly, gathering firewood has major significance.

In other areas, the process has gone much further. The hillside scrub which borders on the open grassy areas has been so damaged that its wood yield is less than half that of valley lowveld.

A typical household of seven

year, which is mostly gathered from indigenous savanna woodland. The

firewood consumption of KwaZulu as a whole is about 2-million tons per year. Indigenous woodland can only

provide about half this amount without detrimental effect on forests and trees. This leaves a shortfall of about one million tons. The result will be destruction of the

Rural women are being forced to spend more and more time gathering wood as the forests and woodlands recede. In Mhlabantini, women spend up to nine and a half hours covering a total of 19km in gathering a 40 kg headlong of wood.

The heritage of the bantustan policy, erosion and destruction of forests, will be with us for a long

from the Tugela over the mountains impoverish them even more.



