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National Committee Against Removals

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'Black-on-black' conflict: many former 'wildoek' vigilantes from Crossroads have been employed as S.A police 'kits' constables ('kits' is Afrikaans for 'instant' referring to their short training period)

FORCED REMOVALS IN MANY

GUISES

SINCE the government's announcements in February 1985 that forced removals have been suspended, the authorities have been at pains to invent new and better ways of getting people to remove themselves 'voluntarily'. There have been innovations in government tactics, but it is clear that neither the policy nor the practice of removing people by force has stopped.

Comprising

Association for Rural Advancement, Natal (AFRA)
Grahamstown Rural Committee (GRC)

Port Elizabeth Anti-Removals Committee (PARC)
Surplus People Project, Western Cape (SPP(WC))
Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC)

ORDERLY URBANISATION REPLACES INFLUX CONTROL

Two years ago in September 1985 the President's Council report on Urbanisation recommended that the pass laws should be scrapped and that existing laws could be amended to enforce influx control. Instead of national controls, the report advised the government to let local authorities enforce their own controls. From 1 July last year, with the Abolition of Influx Control Act came the substitute strategies which are examined here.

In commenting on the 1985 Report, NCAR predicted shifts in removal tactics based on the new policy of 'orderly urbanisation'*. NCAR pointed out expressly the danger of allowing local authorities to implement influx control. Now all over the country black South Africans are confused and angry as local conservative municipalities and former right-wing vigilante groups (both black and white) have taken to their tasks with gusto.

INFLUX CONTROL HAS NOT BEEN SCRAPPED, IT HAS BEEN SHIFTED TO LOCAL AUTHORITIES FOR IMPLEMENTATION.

This newsletter focuses on case studies which illustrate revised controls and contradictions in the implementation of the removals policy.

Hostels: The Perpetuation and Expansion of Single Quarters

In May 1986 the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, head of the department in charge of 'orderly urbanisation', said in parliament that his department 'does not consider conditions in the single quarter accommodation to be satisfactory.' As a result of the repeal of influx control 'it is envisaged that all single quarters in the townships will eventually be altered into family units and that employers who insist on housing employees in single quarters will be requested to erect hostels themselves'.

But a month later Mr Heunis said two more single-sex hostels would be built during the 1988/9 financial year because a 'demand for the accommodation of persons on a single basis exists at Pietersburg and Hoedspruit' (both in the Northern Transvaal). (BUSINESS DAY 14.8.87)

Now at Lwandle in the hotly contested Helderberg constituency which Mr Chris Heunis won by a narrow margin against Independent Dennis Worrel, the single men's hostels are to be upgraded, at a cost of R3,78 million - not for the families presently living there, but for men only. Although there is no longer a Heunis' department plans to upgrade the hostels only for the five hundred legal resident men in an attempt to keep out their wives and families. The Minister appears to have bowed to pressure from the right-wing municipalities of Gordon's Bay and Strand and the Divisional Council of Stellenbosch. He has ignored the request of the Somerset West municipality to upgrade the area for the 5 000 men, women and children living there.

Under pressure, Mr Heunis agreed to review the decision. However, the residents are worried that Mr Heunis's solution may be to move the families to Khayelitsha site-and-service scheme more than 20 km away.

* 'Orderly urbanisation' was defined by the President's Council as : 'The process of urbanisation ordered and directed mainly by indirect forms of control, but also by direct means'. (p210)

Building Regulations

In an important judgement* handed down in the Cape Town Supreme Court on 24 June, it was found that if the authorities had tolerated shelters and even serviced and charged the people living in them for some years, they had waived their right to enforce building regulations. However, the George Municipality, in its determination to move the Lawaai-kamp community to Sandkraal in the S Cape, ignored the court ruling and unsuccessfully applied to the local magistrate's court to order Lilian Cube to demolish her house because, they claimed, it did not comply with the National Building Regulations and Building Standards Act of 1977.

Undeterred and having lost the magistrate's court case, the municipality has issued Ms Cube with a further notice, ordering her to submit full site plans for her house by 30 September.

Meanwhile they are determined to move Ms Cube and the rest of the Lawaai-kamp community to a site-and-service scheme at Sandkraal where people will have to re-erect their homes themselves and where building standards have been waived!

Township Regulations

The 1968 Township Regulations which were promulgated under the repealed 1945 Urban Areas Act, but re-adopted under the 1984 Black Communities Development Act, are being used to force people to move. In Duncan Village and Walmer in the Eastern Cape, residents have been ordered to remove structures which 'in the opinion of the superintendent' are 'unsightly, unauthorised, dilapidated or movable'. These are structures in which people are forced to live owing to the national housing shortage.

Trespass

On 7, 14 and 21 August more than 42 people were arrested at Redhill in the Simonstown magisterial district of Cape Town under the 1959 Trespass Act and the 1951 Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. Many have been living and working in the area for 15 years. They were found guilty and fined between R30 and R300 each. Prior to the abolition of influx control, they would have

'Upgrade'

As they did with the words 'cooperation' and 'development', the state has once more co-opted a word and changed the meaning. The word 'upgrade', which should describe a progressive process, now describes a process to control numbers and movement of people.

In places as far apart as Botshabelo (OFS), Red Location (Port Elizabeth) and Mamelodi (Pretoria), the state uses the upgrade process primarily to dedensify, build straight roads for security vehicles and showy facilities for propaganda documents. It is spending millions of Rands on this type of 'upgrade' without building one house.

* The implications will be outlined below.

The process of upgrade should mean that the lives of the people are not disrupted, and that phasing and priorities of construction are decided by the residents. Services should be affordable. Each family should be able to improve its home according to its choice. This is a time and energy-consuming process if democratic principles are adhered to.

Black Local Authorities

The boosting of the old discredited community council system into 'Black Local Authorities' (BLAs) whereby they are financed and have co-ercive powers, is also part of 'orderly urbanisation'. BLAs are now responsible for directly controlling townships. When there is conflict between residents and these authorities, such as in Crossroads, the government dismisses it as 'black-on-black' conflict.

Group Areas

Various mixed 'coloured' and african communities, such as Kleinskool near Port Elizabeth, that have lived that way for generations, are now subject to Group Area Board hearings to determine whether they should be declared for one group only. It appears that in many places the Group Areas Act is being used as yet another tool to implement influx control. As the President's Council report recommended, existing legislation applied at the local level, in response to local pressures such as in Conservative Party constituencies, should be used, rather than blanket national tactics.

ORDERLY URBANISATION:

Cases from the Regions

Western Cape

The most basic problem for Xhosa-speaking people in this region is that they are 'foreigners', citizens of Ciskei and Transkei. The choice for those who have not been able to regain S.A. citizenship is no different from the pre-Abolition of Influx Control period. They can choose to stay in Cape Town without accommodation or work or pensions, or go and starve in the bantustans.

In and around Cape Town the authorities have tried various tactics to get the remaining small pockets of African people to move 'voluntarily' to Khayelitsha.

In Blockombos the Kraaifontein Municipality is determined to separate 'coloureds' from Africans and move the latter off its land where this Afrikaans-speaking community has been living peacefully for the past four years. Seventeen households have been told trucks will be sent to move them when the weather warms up. At the same time the Municipality has announced that it is preparing a legal case against the people.

At Redhill, Simonstown, a landowner wants to clear his farm to build holiday cottages. People who have been working in Simonstown for up to 15 years, have been living there for years. They have been charged and found guilty of trespass

but the Magistrate has shown unusual sensitivity towards the problem and asked for help in solving it without turning the people into criminals. It remains to be seen whether he will challenge or hide behind national apartheid policy. He could recommend that some of the vacant land in the area be set aside for permanent homes for those who work in Simonstown. This would stop their removal to Khayelitsha.

At Noordhoek, over the mountain from Simonstown, people who have been living on privately owned land, some with consent, were given 24 hours notice to move to Khayelitsha in April. They have refused to go to Khayelitsha and want to stay in the Fish Hoek/Kommetjie area where they work. One of the land owners has sold his land and the new owner issued further eviction notices. The matter, it seems, is under consideration by some committee under the Regional Services Council (RSC), but some local ratepayers are trying to mobilise conservatives to form an alternative ratepayers' association which will pressurise for an outright removal.

Crossroads continues to be a major problem*. The area burnt out by the 'witdoeke' in May 1986 has been 'upgraded': 1 234 sites have been laid out with taps and toilets; there are streets and high-mast lighting. But it is not clear who will be allowed to occupy these sites - will Old Crossroads residents move across, will plots be 'sold' to the highest bidder or will the former residents be allowed to return?

The refugees have applied for the Supreme Court to set aside the appointment of the Old Crossroads Town Committee and 'witdoek' leader, Johnson Ngxobongwana who was installed as 'mayor' of Crossroads on 30 April. The ap-



Crossroads 'mayor' Johnson Ngxobongwana welcomes Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Law and Order to a meeting in August. Looking on are Ricky Schellhauser, and Col Rheedle

* See Josette Cole's book: Crossroads 1976-1986, published by Raven Press, Johannesburg, 1987

plication challenges allegedly unconstitutional procedures of the appointment of the Town Committee and its right to allocate land in the upgraded area. The court's decision is awaited.

(STOP PRESS: 1.10.87 The refugees won their case, with costs awarded.)

As a result of Ngxobongwana's appointment, tensions in Old Crossroads have heightened. This now co-opted leader is a former UDF supporter. He is intent on getting rid of another Crossroads resident, former 'witdoek' leader, Prince Gobingca. The result was the burning of 24 of Gobingca's supporters' houses and the shooting of Gobingca, allegedly by Ngxobongwana's supporters.

Former residents of Portland Cement, Nyanga Extension and Nyanga Bush camps continue to live in and around the townships in

makeshift shelters. Their areas have become known as Miller's Camp, Mpetha Square, Lusaka and Butter Square. They are still determined not to be moved to Khayelitsha. They have approached

the Cape Provincial Administration in an attempt to return to their land, now 'upgraded' for far fewer families. They also want to have their areas formalised and serviced plus more land allocated south of Lansdowne Road, at Brown's Farm from where some of them were evicted last year after they had fled there.

The refugees who were chased out of the burned out area as a result of 'witdoeke' vigilante attacks in May 1986 are determined not to go to Khayelitsha and are negotiating with the authorities to occupy permanently the land around Nyanga and Guguletu that they have settled, as well as Brown's Farm, opposite Nyanga to the south. There is enough vacant land at Brown's Farm and around the

It seems the state felt it could engineer a repeat of the 1986 May/June conflict. There had been a number of attacks on the security forces from KTC. So 'Witdoeke' were mobilised and warnings issued by Brigadier van der Westhuizen. But rumours that KTC residents were preparing to attack Old Crossroads were firmly denied by KTC and the refugee leaders, thereby pre-empting another fight and a further 'voluntary' removal to Khayelitsha.

Southern Cape

The attempts to remove Lawaaiikamp, at George, have intensified over the past two months. On 20 May the George Municipality demolished the house Ms Ellen Vena was building to replace her home which had burnt down and a room of Mr Edward Vywer's which he had built two years ago. The matter was heard in the Supreme Court in Cape Town and in a very important judgement, the court argued that because residents had paid service charges to the Municipality, they had consent to be there and could not merely be declared 'squatters' now that the authorities wanted to move them to Sandkraal, 5km further out of town. Judge Friedman found that the Municipality had taken the law into its own hands in demolishing the houses, and ordered them to rebuild both structures.

A number of houses have mysteriously burned down in Lawaaiikamp over the past few months and the former residents have been persuaded to move to the site-and-service scheme of Sandkraal.

So following the judgement, Ms Lilian Cube who wanted to remain in Lawaaiikamp, and not move to Sandkraal, decided to rebuild her burned down



Lawaikamp: Civic member Mr Vuyani Ncamazana outside his home, described by the State President as a 'hovel'

house on the same foundations. The Municipality ordered her to stop, saying that she had not complied with the National Building Regulations. But in the Vena case, the judge had ruled that the Municipality had waived its right to enforce the regulations by allowing unregulated shelters to be inhabited for so many years. The Municipality relied, on an unrelated technicality, in its application to the magistrate's court to enforce the regulations.

The Municipality was not prepared to accept the court's decision. It appealed against the Supreme Court judgement and demolished another one of Mr Vywer's rooms. He brought a further application to have his rooms rebuilt. The case will be heard in October.

It seems that because the Municipality has been so unsuccessful in moving the people, other state officials have been summoned: SA Police went and told Ms Annie Johnson of House 73 to move to Sandkraal. Not intimidated, she refused.

Officials of the Cape Provincial Administration have entered the fight officially: they have painted new numbers on all the houses, told the parents that the creche will be moved to Sandkraal and that they are not to receive money from any other source. The CPA spent the whole of 18 August making a video (for propaganda ? the Civic asked) and a member of the team offered Ms Vena materials for a 'big house' if she would only move to Sandkraal.

True to its word, after the Municipality had been forced to recognise the Civic as the residents' mouthpiece, it has waged an unceasing legal and bureaucratic battle against individual residents. When they lost the Vena case, the Town Clerk, Carel du Plessis, vowed to get the people out, one by one, in one way or another.

Eastern Cape

The townships of Port Elizabeth have been under considerable pressure over the past ten months. The state successfully removed 50 000 residents of Langa, Uitenhage between July and October 1986. It seems that the authorities are confident of their ability to clear Port Elizabeth's townships of 'surplus people'.

Red Location was the next target. In November the SADF informed people that at least half of the 10 000 residents would have to move to Motherwell, a site-and-service scheme 20 km away by 25 November. The people protested loudly. They said they did not want to move. They organised an Action Committee to negotiate with the authorities, the Ibhayi Town Council. Soon a process of co-optation appeared to be under way as members were told negotiations were confidential. Report-back meetings in the community were cancelled. The matter came to a head in June 1987 when certain members of the committee resigned, and the rest approached lawyers to help them in their representations.

Meanwhile the plans for 'upgrade', an "alternative method of removal" in the words of the New Brighton Area Manager, went ahead. The implications were unclear to the community; more than 1 000 people were moved out of shanties into corrugated iron shacks at 'Silvertown'. They were told to build their own toilets and charged R10 pm rent. Standpipes and refuse removal were provided. This was supposed to have been an interim solution, until houses are built in Red Location. But no one knows when the houses will be built, how much they will cost, and whether the original residents will be allowed back to occupy them. The fear is that it will be middle class housing affordable only for civil servants from other areas.

Already Silvertown shacks have been allocated to non-Red Location people, giving rise to strong rumours of corruption amongst those in charge of allocation.

Walmer which had been threatened with removal since 1960 is to be 'upgraded' too. The Ibhayi Town Council proposes to spend R17,9 million on upgrading the water and sewerage network, electricity, roads and stormwater, and the construction of 1 272 houses. The Civic is very aware of the pitfalls of co-optation and the 'upgrade' process in which the poorer sections of the community are likely to be squeezed out because the state's concept of upgrade is improving facilities at great cost to the community itself.

In East London the whole of Duncan Village was threatened with removal for many years. In 1983 it was reprieved, but like Crossroads, the residents were told many would have to move because the place was unhealthy and overcrowded. 'Gompo Town' (formerly Duncan Village) would be 'upgraded' with 3 000 fully serviced sites at a cost of R10,5 million.

Since the reprieve the authorities have shifted people slowly, demolished shanties and appointed a 'town council'. Not until 7 July 1987 did people receive 10-day demolition notices, in terms of 13(6) of 1968 township regulations instructing them to demolish structures in their backyards. But these people did not have backyards. They occupy shanties built on vacant lots, so they challenged the notices through lawyers. They are still living there, waiting for the next tactic to get them to move out of the area many were born in.

Since May, Gomo Mayor, Eddie Makeba, has tried to get people to pay rent arrears by refusing them burial rights. Three cases brought to the Black Sash Advice Office show how a 'voluntary' removal tactic once tried at Brits in the Transvaal is being used here.

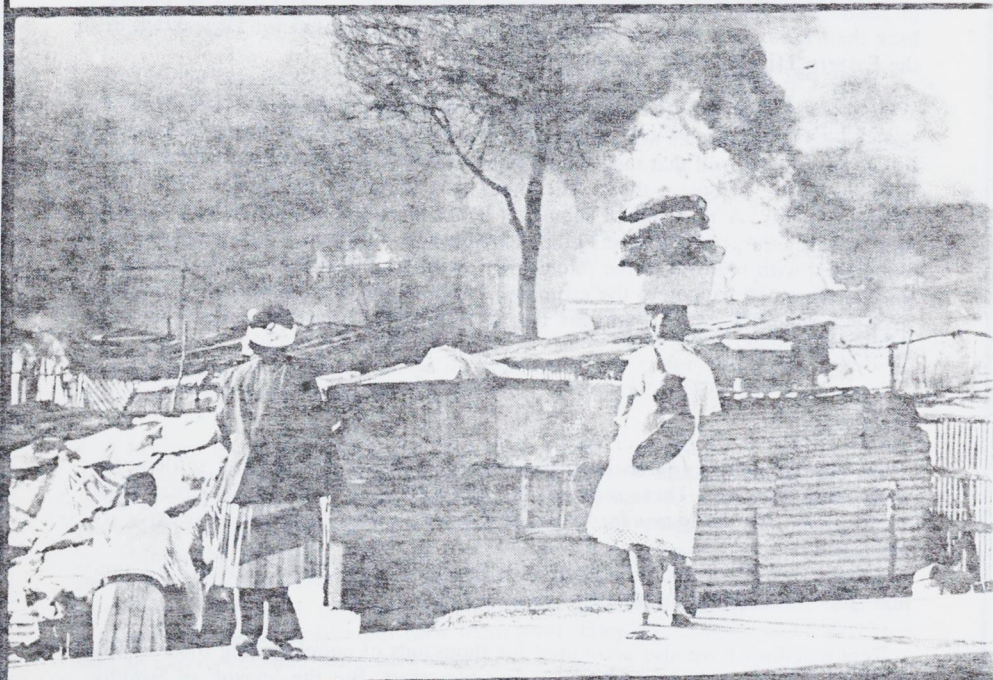
Further north in the corridor between Ciskei and Transkei Africans are being moved out of a mixed area in Cathcart to a site-and-sevice scheme beyond the town. It is separated by a railway line and settled in easily controllable grid layout.

Natal

Durban City Council has announced that it will recognise 'squatters' in the area under its control and provide water and sewerage facilities if requested to do so. It remains to be seen whether these areas will be upgraded. Experience elsewhere has shown that this may be used as an excuse for moving the 'excess' people, as it is argued that these areas are 'overcrowded'.

Another concern is that removals may not be undertaken directly. They may be engineered as was done by the 'witdoeke' vigilantes in Crossroads last year, where more than 70 000 people were forced off their land. The area was then cleared for 'upgrade'.

In January 1987, using the notorious section 3B of the 1951 Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, the Pietermaritzburg City Council demolished the shack homes of at least 110 people in the informal settlement of Northdale. The same City Council which proposes a 'multi-racial Pietermaritzburg 2000' plan sent its of-



Burn-out: 'witdoek' vigilantes caused 70 000 people to move out of the Crossroads area against their will

ficials, accompanied by police, to demolish the shacks in a pre-dawn raid. The victims have lived and worked as domestic and casual labourers in the surrounding area for years. Some earned as little as R2 per day, making it impossible for them to pay high transport costs from areas allocated for African residence.

No alternative accommodation has been provided.

Between Marianhill and St Wendolins at least 33 (African, Indian and 'coloured') families are threatened with removal off privately owned land where many of them have been living close to the Pinetown industrial area for over 40 years.

At least two informal settlements are to be 'upgraded':

Slangspuit, a freehold area outside Pietermaritzburg, home to some 10 000 people, has been neglected by various authorities including the City Council for years. The Natal Provincial Administration has shown some concern for this community which is currently without facilities. The Regional Development Association (RDA) is said to be involved with a plan to build bridges, a clinic, tar roads and redesign the area - without consultation with the residents.

Umbulwane outside Ladysmith, threatened with removal for many years, is to be 'upgraded' but no plans have been discussed with the community to date. Rumours are passed on by the Mayor of neighbouring Steadville, which is presently being 'upgraded'. (The Mayor has indicated that he is likely to participate in PW Botha's National Council.) The latest rumour is that Umbulwane landowners will be required to sell their land. The authorities will develop the area and build low-cost housing (about R10 000 per unit and far too expensive for the majority of residents). The Umbulwane people will then be given the option of buying back their land. This rumour sounds like the scheme proposed for Daggakraal in the Eastern Transvaal which is described below.

Ntombi's Camp outside Ladysmith comprises two freehold areas. One was owned by a white farmer who, the residents claim, allowed them to live there and put a clause in his will that they should not be evicted. Now residents believe they have the right to remain there. The other part is owned by Indians who have African tenants. A new Indian suburb is being built and is encroaching on the land where the tenants live. Like Umbulwane residents, the people were threatened with removal to the relocation area of Ezakheni 25km away. Now it is unclear what will happen to the estimated 1 000 people. The authorities claim the area is a health hazard. It appears that 281 sites could have been set aside for them at Steadville.

Transvaal

On the Witwatersrand there are widescale removals of informal settlements reported in the press. These removals are partly a result of the implementation of 'Guideplans' and partly new forms of influx control, under the guise of 'orderly urbanisation'.

Because the Transvaal NCAR affiliate is involved in rural removals, this section lacks the detail given for other provinces.

Rent evictions have also accounted for thousands of people losing their homes as a result of the rent boycott of the past two years. But the 'mayor' of Soweto, Nelson Botile, recently announced that rent-defaulters would no longer be

evicted from their homes in Soweto and that people would be encouraged to buy their houses to give them a 'sense of belonging and security' (ARGUS 11.8.87)

Oukasie, Brits is still under threat of removal. However, the 10 000 residents are continuing to build up their homes, schools and creches in their determination not to be removed 24km out of town to Lethlabile on the borders of Bophuthatswana.

The 46 remaining families in Tshikoto, township of Louis Trichardt in the Northern Transvaal are holding out successfully against a removal to Vleifontein, 30km to the east in Venda.

But in the Eastern Transvaal the 4 000 residents of the township of Machadodorp are being moved 3km beyond the white group area to Emthonjeni where 287 small four roomed houses have been built. Few people will be able to afford the R53 rent and service charge. At present residents have to pay an average of R16 monthly. The old township is in appalling state as a result of deliberate official neglect - one of the classic tactics of forcing a 'voluntary' removal. The condition of homes varies considerably; many are large, solid brick structures. The key reason for the removal is that the white area is only 100m from the nearest black house.

GROUP AREAS

NCAR has not worked much at this category of removal, mainly because until there was a recent influx of black people into the white urban areas, the state's plans to move people out of the wrongly designated areas, had almost been completed.

This is the first recent trend: the threats to remove people out of the densely populated city centres of Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town. The second is the renewed vigour in implementing the Group Areas Act against long established mixed communities.

Kleinskool, a 60 year old racially-mixed area west of the Uitenhage/Port Elizabeth old road, is being investigated by the Group Areas Board. At the hearing on 9 July, four members of the Labour Party-supporting Northern Areas Management Committee made representations to have the presently 'controlled' compensated for having lost their land to Africans over the years. They used racist language and even the two representatives of the Group Areas Board questioned them about the implications of declaring the area for one group: would it not necessarily mean the removal of members of the other group?

A busload of residents from the area attended the hearing. Their written representations were tabled by their lawyer who led evidence from more than 20 residents of Kleinskool. It emerged that the community had lived together peacefully for years, sharing facilities and each other's meagre resources.

'During the unrest of 1986', in reply to the Management Committee's argument that Africans were agitators, evidence was led that 'stone-throwing was entirely integrated. Both 'coloured' and African youngsters threw stones. It was not a question of racial conflict but their frustration. They are unemployed and poor,' said an elderly resident Mr John Philip.

Kleinskool falls in the constituency of Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan

Hendrickse, who attended the hearing but left before the end of the proceedings without giving evidence.

When challenged to denounce the Group Area Board hearing, which would have been consistent with his Party's dismissal of the Group Areas Act as 'unchristian, racist and discriminatory', it came as a shock to the Kleinskool residents that he had not come out clearly in defence of the area remaining mixed. If the area is declared 'coloured', about 900 African and mixed families (according to Minister Heunis in reply to Question 313 in parliament on 26 August) will be forced to move to Motherwell.

Despite the rhetoric against the Group Areas Act, Rev Hendrickse has proved remarkably evasive in attending to Kleinskool demands to remain in their homes. While not refusing outright to meet residents, he has put them off on a number of occasions.

Unlike the Uitenhage West Management Committee which has rejected the Uitenhage Municipal plan to rezone Langa for 'coloured' housing because it was against the forced removal of Africans (EP HERALD 13.6.87), racial prejudice prevails in the Northern Areas and George Management Committees.

So together with residents of Lawaankamp, Kleinskool representatives travelled to Cape Town on 23 June to ask Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture to support them in their demand not to have their areas declared for 'coloured' housing as this would force the Africans among them to move.

BANTUSTANS:

INCORPORATION & CONSOLIDATION

CENTRAL TRANSVAAL

From 1 January 1986 Moutse, north-east of Pretoria, was officially incorporated into KwaNdebele but the 120 000 residents have refused to recognise the new regime. In a last ditch attempt to fight the unilateral incorporation, the Moutse people have gone to the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein. The outcome of the case is awaited with little hope.

Meanwhile since the second week of September Moutse has been under siege. KwaNdebele authorities claim Moutse residents were planning a stayaway. Residents say the level of harassment has become unbearable.

Bloedfontein/Geweerfontein north-east of Pretoria, home for 15 000 people since 1920, was incorporated into KwaNdebele in 1979 without consulting the owners or the residents. In 1972 the area was given to Bophuthatswana, so people know what incorporation and 'independence' mean. They found it difficult to obtain jobs with the Bophuthatswana travel documents, children had to be taught in Tswana and pensions were hard to obtain. Now the state wants to declare the Bloedfontein/Geweerfontein farms part of Bophuthatswana again. Then the

people, mainly Ndebele- and Pedi- speaking, would face ethnic persecution yet again, or be moved to KwaNdebele.

The clinic which was built by the people and financed by a sympathetic white shopkeeper is now administered from KwaNdebele. Residents claim their needs are not sufficiently catered for, for example, women about to give birth are not helped after hours. All the residents want is to be left in peace, administered as South Africans under the central system.

WESTERN TRANSVAAL

The 10 000 stong community of Braklaagte which has lived in the Conservative Zeerust district of the Western Transvaal for 80 years, has successfully fought two battles against incorporation against their will into Bophuthatswana. Residents are being issued with South African Identity Documents which means that they will have the right to live and work in S.A. even if their land is eventually incorporated into the bantustan.

The government tried to impose a new chief, who supported incorporation, on the community. The people approached their lawyers with full details of the genealogy and the authorities have formally retreated, but it is reported that the brother of the officially favoured chief is trying to establish his authority in the community.

In early August the government attempted to incorporate Braklaagte into Bophuthatswana by proposing a parliamentary resolution. After much protest, this plan was dropped.

In Matjakaneng near Brits in the Transvaal where the community of 100 families has lived for 97 years, the government has all but signed the final documents to incorporate it into Bophuthatswana against the will of the people. In reply to parliamentary question 229 in August, Minister Heunis implied that his department does not negotiate with blacks. Asked whether the residents were consulted regarding the decision to incorporate, he replied "No, because 92 of the possible 98 owners of the relevant farm portions are already blacks and the Government of Bophuthatswana requested the incorporation".

EASTERN TRANSVAAL

On 29 June 1987 the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Chris Heunis, announced the consolidation proposals for Kangwane. Representations from interested parties were heard in the area in the last week of August.

These proposals reintroduce removal plans for Embhuleni village at Badplaas which were scrapped some years ago. Since 1846 Embhuleni has been a site of the royal Swazi kraal. Chief Dlamini and his people have fought a tough battle against forced removals over the past decade. In November 1983 removal notices were served and a removal squad was set up next to the village. The community refused to be intimidated or move.

Since the threat of removal was withdrawn, people have spent time and energy improving their housing and facilities. The sprawling village is by no means poverty-stricken and many of the residents work closeby in the Badplaas Overvaal

holiday resort. Chief Dlamini and his people gave evidence to the Commission for Cooperation and Development because they are determined not to move themselves 'voluntarily' from their historical homes.

The Commission proposals are different for the three Eastern Transvaal former 'black spots' of Daggakraal, Driefontein and KwaNgema.

They propose the sale of Daggakraal (and adjoining Vlakplaas) to the S A Development Trust, which 'plans them (the farms) in cooperation with the local community as a rural regional town with all its infrastructure and that the stands be sold in freehold to the Black people and that the existing owners be given the option to purchase the first stand at a nominal price'. Why would the government need to buy up the land and resell it to the landowners if the development it was planning was likely to be acceptable to the people?

Many of the 45 000 residents are tenants - landless former farmworkers - who could not afford site-and-service charges such as are likely to be charged in townships. Subsistence farmers would probably lose their land as it would be subdivided for plots. The plan sounds similar to proposals for the 'upgrade' Eastern Cape 'black spots' as outlined below.

The farm Driefontein 388 IT will remain a Black area within the jurisdiction of the RSA and will be excluded from the provisions of the Development Trust and Land Act (Act 18 of 1936) with the view to being administered by a local governing body' according to the Minister's press release of 29 June.

While this confirms the reprieve of the former 'black spot' at which Saul Mkhize was assassinated, the locally elected Council Board of Directors which fought the removal is concerned that neither a tribal nor a community authority replace their democratically elected committee, as is proposed for KwaNgema.

The KwaNgema people fought their removal successfully but a chief, Cuthbert Ngema, was imposed on them. When they took the matter to court, arguing that they were not a tribe, therefore should not have to have a chief, the judge argued that as a black community, the Oxford Dictionary would define them as a tribe and therefore they must accept Cuthbert Ngema as their chief.

The Ngema people gave evidence opposing tribal structures for their area. They want a democratically elected residents' committee to administer their affairs.

Further forced removals will occur along the borders of the game reserve if plans to extend the military zones are accepted.

EASTERN CAPE

The government seems to have committed itself to retaining the formerly threatened 'black spots' of Kwelera, Mooiplaas, Mgwali, Wartburg, Goshen, Lesseyton and Newlands in the Republic and proposes to spend R12,5 million on 'upgrading' them. Part of this is to be spent on fencing (to reduce stock theft). It seems that the sum is much too small to do anything significant. Provision of water and new schools seem likely to be given priority.

The people of Kwelera and Mooiplaas near East London have not been properly consulted concerning the plans of the Department of Development Aid. The

local black agent of Development Aid has been going around promising and threatening, and approaching particular individuals on a private basis with the apparent intention of dividing these communities of about 10 000 people each. It is not clear whether this man's superiors are aware of exactly what he is doing.

The Residents' Associations, who were inclined to proceed with negotiations in a positive spirit, have become alarmed and confused. They intend to approach the Department of Development Aid directly in an attempt to get talks off to a fresh start.

These communities have managed to obtain the new S.A. identity books which means residents should be able to retain S.A. citizenship.

Kwelera residents successfully applied to court to have their old age pensions, which had been administered by Ciskei and are lower than Pretoria grants, paid at the higher S.A. rate. They have also successfully argued for backpay of pensions but feel that the heirs of the old people who have died meanwhile should be entitled to claim backpayments. The Kwelera Residents' Association has been recognised as the residents' representative body, although attempts to co-opt and discredit members have been made.

Mooiplaas have requested more land from Development Aid in East London as residents want to develop their area. They have rejected the tribal system which the government wants to impose. They want to state clearly that they want their elected Residents' Associations to administer their areas.

As a result of their refusal to pay unfair Ciskeian taxes, more than 2 000 people were bussed out of the Ciskei and dumped on S.A. land at Needs Camp early last year. This land is itself scheduled for incorporation into the Ciskei which would mean that the people would be back to where they had come from.

In order to formalise their insistence on remaining in S.A., they have successfully applied for S.A. ID books. Because there is no officially appointed local authority, the democratically elected Residents' Association has been accepted as the body which attests who is a permanent resident of Needs Camp.

Potsdam: Moved from Blue Rock to Potsdam in May 1983, the 3 000 people living in shacks on the edge of sprawling Mdantsane near East London are desperate to get out of the Ciskei. Early in February 1987 2 000 left 'the country' and trekked to the roadside in RSA opposite Mdantsane. Instead of humanitarian aid, on 28 February SADF, SAP and Ciskei forces cordoned off the area and trucked them back to Potsdam.

Since then they were severely harassed: pensions docked, children turned away from school and clinics have refused to treat anyone from the refugee groups. On 3 June Zola Nozewu's mother applied to the Ciskei Supreme Court in Bisho for protection from Ciskei police assaults for her son. On 1 August, he was killed by vigilantes. A week later the Bisho Supreme Court granted an interim order restraining police from assaulting four other Potsdam residents.

On 2 September 150 families crossed the border once more and sat themselves on nearby S.A. land. But before the rest of the people could join them, on 5 September they were all trucked back to Ciskei. At least one man was hospitalised as a result of wounds inflicted by Ciskei vigilantes within a day of their return.

All the Potsdam people want is to leave the Ciskei and live in peace in South Africa. It appears that Pretoria cannot allow this as it could give ideas to thousands of others in a similar plight. Unlike the generous treatment given to Mozambiquan refugees who stream into the Eastern Transvaal, for its own political reasons, S.A. clearly does not recognise the Ciskeian/S.A. border as international.

Further north, near Queenstown is another community desperate to leave the Ciskei. In Thornhill as a result of fleeing their land at Herschel when it was incorporated into the Transkei in 1976, some 10 000 people have lived on hope and little else. They were promised compensatory land, but 11 years later continue to live in a rural slum, known as a closer settlement, with no access to land or jobs as Ciskeian authorities know they want to leave the Ciskei.

The most populous area threatened with incorporation is Botshabelo (Onverwacht) 50 km east of Bloemfontein. This dry desolate relocation area of more than 500 000 people, is scheduled for incorporation into the smallest and most overcrowded bantustan of Qwa Qwa more than 300km away on the northern border of Lesotho. Chief Minister T K Mopeli announced at a 'rally' of about 30 loyal supporters in Botshabelo on 19 July that the deadline for incorporation was the end of 1987.

Over the past few months he has made various attempts to gain support including organising a soccer match between the popular Kaiser Chiefs and a Qwa Qwa team, Fairway Stars, after which the captive crowd was supposed to have attended the rally. But the youth sensed the plans and informed people who boycotted the proceedings, hence the rally of only 30 supporters.

Another strategy to try to claim support is the collection of signatures. Known locally as the 'secret ballot', signatures were collected from people who claim they did not know what they were signing. The papers which were kept by the questioners (who were in most cases loyal members of Mopeli's Dikwankwetla Party) detailed the names of people, how many in the house. Attached to this information was "We, the residents of Botshabelo want to be incorporated into Qwa Qwa homeland of peace, this year."

One old lady said that she was under the impression that in order to keep her pension, she would have to sign. After two weeks, prior to the 'rally', the 'ballot' stopped. Party member, Madidimetsa, who ran the 'ballot' had been confronted by angry youth.

NATAL

The only recent public announcement on consolidation proposals for KwaZulu has been the notification in the government gazette of a hearing on the proposed incorporation of Hambanathi. For years this township between Durban and Pietermaritzburg has resisted incorporation. Since the states of emergency organised resistance has been crushed. It seems that the authorities plan to take advantage of the repression, hoping that no one will muster the courage to give evidence against the proposals to the Mentz Commission on 18 September.

Regulations for the establishment of a 'Joint Executive Authority' (JEA) were published in the government gazette on 7 August 1987. They provide for a ten member JEA, to be based in Durban, five KwaZulu legislative assembly ministers and five provincial executive committee members, appointed by the administrator of Natal. The JEA will have executive powers and be able to administer laws and functions transferred to it from the state president. In announcing the JEA, Minister Heunis praised the step for 'getting the job done without entering into the thorny area of political rights, group domination and other pitfalls.' (CAPE TIMES 8.8.87)

Inanda Dam near Durban: About 5 000 people are in the process of being moved from the Umgeni Valley in Inanda to make way for the dam which will flood their homes. Construction of the dam started in 1984, before there had been proper consultation with the people who would be forced to move. In the ensuing state of insecurity, many people simply left without compensation. Final agreement regarding alternative land and compensation was only reached in April last year. According to state planners 677 families will be affected, but the figure could be much higher.

Lusitania: A smaller irrigation dam on the Sundays River has been built without proper consultation with the 'black spot' community of Lusitania where some landowners have lost valuable agricultural land. The dam has caused divisions in the community over the process of compensation. There is a strong feeling within the community that the dam may be used as a means of removing the entire community.

Woodstock Dam: About 49 families in the Upper Tugela Location near Bergville will soon be moving to compensatory land as a result of the Woodstock Dam, which has now reached within 30m of their homes.

INDEPENDENCE

KWANDEBELE has not given up on taking independence. It is rumoured that the 'Status of KwaNdebele Act' which would introduce 'independence' could be introduced before the end of the current session of parliament.

KwaNdebele has rejected PW Botha's conditions for 'independence' refusing to hold a referendum or a commission of enquiry. In June the State President set out conditions which KwaNdebele would have to meet before 'independence' could be granted:

- independence must be obtained in an orderly fashion,
 - agreements must be negotiated by joint committees of the two governments,
- and
- the government of KwaNdebele must consider some acceptable method of demonstrating that it has the broad support of the population.

The KwaNdebele government is currently trying to get as many people as possible to take out the homeland's citizenship. It is now state policy that citizenship is a pre-requisite for pension, business and taxi licence applications.

Lawlessness is rife in KwaNdebele. Reliable sources including detained STAR journalists, reported a whole range of people in the jails. These included magistrates, top civil servants, chiefs and youth who had fallen foul of those trying

to impose 'independence'. They reported warring factions of 'kits' constables, Mbokhodo vigilantes and SAP. The SADF has reportedly been trying to quell the more enthusiastic 'kitskops'.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION : INDEPENDENCE-BY-ANOTHER-NAME

Although Qwa Qwa, for instance, has stated that it will not take independence, there would be no real benefit in fighting for the incorporation of Botshabelo unless the fruits of Pretoria-style independence were the reward.

For more than six months there have been rumours that Qwa Qwa is looking for a way to win the fruits without the thorns: it has been suggested that 'Mayor' of the Town Council of Botshabelo, a disaffected Qwa Qwa Legislative Assembly member, opposed to outmoded tribalism, but a keen entrepreneur, would be more than willing to participate in the National Council or other versions of ban-tustan structures. (The National Council Bill is expected during this session of parliament.)

In an 11 August press statement Minister Heunis announced that after consultation with four of the six (non-independent) 'self-governing states' - KwaNdebele, Qwa Qwa, Lebowa and Gazankulu - he would introduce a new Bill shortly. To be known as the Self-Governing Territories Bill, it will extend the powers of these areas to give them de facto 'independence' without the negative international and local condemnation that such action would evoke.

Heunis said that the new powers would include the establishment of their own supreme courts. In response to this representatives of communities threatened with incorporation said "We have no trust in our homeland judiciaries. Our access to the South African courts, and especially the Supreme Court, has always been some comfort in our suffering."

The implications of extending further powers to opportunistic unpopular stooges is not only irresponsible, but cynical in the extreme. Popular resistance has no alternative outlets. As it spreads, Pretoria will merely bemoan both 'black-on-black' violence and the 'incapability of blacks to govern'.

Other legislation before standing committees of parliament include the controversial Local Government Affairs Amendment Bill which proposes to pressgang employers into deducting rent arrears from their employees paypackets. The mining, business and industrial communities have all condemned this proposal.

SQUEEZE OFF THE LAND

The people of Leliefontein, NAMAQUALAND, the dry dusty north-western Cape region, still await the report of the House of Representatives Committee of Enquiry into their complaints over the division of the 'coloured' reserve into 42 'economic units'. They have applied to the Supreme Court for a reversal of the decision to divide their communally-held land into individual units as this has resulted in 4 000 people losing access to grazing. Residents claim that the House of Representatives divided their land without consultation and due regard to residents' opposition to the system.

Meanwhile stock has been impounded and large fines levied on the poverty-stricken old people who have had no choice but to let their few sheep and goats graze on what is now individually owned land.

Much further north in the 'coloured' reserve of Mier bushmen appear to be facing similar problems. Having been evicted from the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park, even though some of them hold 'coloured' identity documents, they have been refused access to land in Mier unless they can raise the cash to purchase it. They have nowhere else to go.

MOGOPA REFUGEES ACCOMMODATED

Three and a half years after the brutal removal of the Mogopa community, the people have broken the deadlock in negotiations with the government by compromising and accepting the recent major concessions. Even though they desperately want to return to Mogopa, they have moved to Onderstepoort, a farm outside Bophuthatswana in the Rustenburg area.

How did the deadlock arise? An examination of the history of two dispossessed communities should explain their tragic plight.

On 14 February 1984 Mogopa people, the last rural community to have been forced to move was trucked from the fertile Ventersdorp area en masse to Pachsdraai near the Botswana border. The majority refused to stay there and left in hired vehicles taking them to Bethanie near Brits, to the area of their paramount chief. But resources there were overstretched and under Bophuthatswana administration they suffered harassment and discrimination.

Before the removal they had launched an appeal in the highest court in the land against the refusal of the Transvaal Supreme Court to hear argument to stop the state using Section 5 of the Black Administration Act to remove them. In September 1985 they heard they had won the appeal. This section of the 1927 Act, which was repealed and hailed as a great reform on 1 July 1986 along with scrapping the pass laws, had allowed the state president to remove any black community anywhere anytime.

The implication of the legal victory was that the removal was illegal. Believing this, the Mogopa people were determined to return to their land. Meanwhile it had been expropriated. But the removal and the desperate circumstances in Bethanie forced them to consider any option, even a return to land that was technically no longer theirs. Over a three year period they had been transformed from farmers who sold their maize surplus to the local (white) cooperatives, to starving unwashed squatters in tin shanties.

Faced with the possibility of militant Conservative Party farmers in their home area opposing their return, they were persuaded to examine other options and entered negotiations with the government.

Deputy Minister Hendrick Tempel offered land which is to be incorporated into Bophuthatswana. This offer was not acceptable for two reasons: Mangope had said that he regarded both the Mogopa and the Machavie people as un-

cooperative, and that ultimately he would see that the Mogopa people went to Pachsdraai; and, secondly, the land would be communally held which would mean that like the communities removed to Rietfontein, Tsetse and Shole near Mafikeng there is no individual title. The Bophuthatswana authorities have the power to move people at any time.

The government offered no further solution. So, against their wishes to reoccupy their land, churches and service organisations persuaded the people to consider a Western Transvaal farm, Holgat, which the Hermansberg Mission sold for R2,8 million to the Botshabelo Trust.

As well as the Mogopa people, the plan was to settle the Machavie people who were moved in 1971 from Potchefstroom after two decades of resistance to removal. They have lived in dire poverty as temporary residents at Rooigrond 18km from Mafikeng.

The Botshabelo project was in line with developments at reprieved 'black spots' outside the homelands in the Eastern Transvaal. It would have been a development project in terms of claimed government reforms.

After months of community preparation, the government took fright and using a technicality of a law, refused to let 300 families attempt to rebuild their shattered lives.

On 7 July 1987, as a 'matter of urgency', the Director General of Public Works and Land Affairs used the seemingly colour-blind Expropriation Act of 1975 to thwart the last ditch attempts of these two communities to save themselves from the desperate poverty they have endured since their removals. The government's lack of concern for humanity, let alone commitment to reform, emerged clearly.

The urgency had nothing to do with the upgrade of the Bethel Mission School, which is not even situated on that part of the farm purchased for the relocated communities. The farm had anyway been on the market for several years. The government had ample time to buy it if it had sincerely intended to build an agricultural college.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid, claimed that negotiations with the Mogopa people were proceeding. Yet neither their legal representatives nor the people had heard from the government for the past three months, until notice of expropriation of the farm was served.

Local pressure from Conservative farmers must have influenced the government not to allow the settlement of black families in a district that from the late 1950s they had cleared of blacks.

In expropriating Holgat, purchased to give refuge to these two displaced communities of Mogopa and Machavie, the government revealed its fear of the implications of suspending forced removals. The logical consequence of ending the relocation policy is to allow those who have been removed to return to their former homes or to be compensated in some real way. This had not happened.

First there was the removal, then the expropriation of both Mogopa and Holgat. The Mogopa people said their only option was to return to Mogopa,

whatever the consequences. They firmly believe they have both the legal and the moral right to return to their farms.

It was in this spirit that they met Minister Viljoen on 5 September. After hours of negotiation the government offered to purchase land for the community in S.A. to be held in freehold title. They undertook never to incorporate it into a bantustan and to guarantee that the people would not lose their S.A. citizenship. Furthermore they agreed to transport the people to Onderstepoort, on 12 September. The people will wait here pending further negotiations for final settlement.

At Onderstepoort the government has guaranteed that the community will be provided with water and toilets, fletcraft housing, primary schooling and pensions backdated to the time of removal.

The next ten weeks will be a test of good faith. After all the suffering the Mogopa people have endured at the hands of the government, it is hoped that their trust will be rewarded.

FARM REMOVALS

On 16 July more than 1000 farmworkers of the **Sapekoe Tea Estates** near Richmond, Natal went on strike in one of the biggest actions in farm labour history. The state-owned Industrial Development Corporation management refused to raise wages (R55-R65 pm), shorten working hours (11 hours a day, 6 days a week) or recognize their COSATU-affiliated union, the Food and Allied Workers' Union (FAWU).

Workers also rejected the management-appointed liason committees, called 'semi-indabas'. By October last year more than 900 of the 1100 workers had joined FAWU'S Farm Project and the workers elected shop stewards to represent them in place of the liason committees.

Instead of negotiating, the company sacked all the workers, and allegedly called the police to evict them from the premises. Hundreds of workers, some of them with small children, were stranded without money, food or accommodation. Some were given temporary shelter in the nearest township of Ndaleni, but others were forced to sleep in the bush or at the railway station where they faced constant hunger, exposure to cold and police harassment.

FAWU lawyers applied to the Supreme Court for an urgent order to restore their hostel accommodation to the workers. During the hearing one of the workers, Ms Miriam Komani, told the court how she and her baby had been affected by teargas thrown by the police when they were evicted from the premises. She told the court that they had beaten her with rifle butts and sjamboks, been chased off the premises and had had to sleep in the bush.

Both the Production Manager for Sapekoe, Mr Abel Erasmus, and the police denied the use of violence or that they had forced workers to leave the estate. They said the workers had left voluntarily. Judgement was reserved.

As the strikers awaited the outcome of the court action, a rural community at Ezitendeni, near Donnybrook, offered to accommodate those stranded in a temporary tent settlement. But within a few days, after a visit by state officials, the chief was forced to withdraw permission for the strikers to stay.

In Natal removals from the farms, particularly in the **Weenen, Vryheid, Hlobane, Paulpietersberg, Wartberg, MooiRiver and Richmond** areas, continue apace.

Hlobane: This is the area worst affected by farm evictions where hundreds of coal mine workers have been evicted with their families from farms near the collieries where they lived outside the hostels. On **Rietvlei** farm alone, 54 families who have been living as rent-paying tenants since 1979, have been given until mid-September to move or face charges of 'illegal squatting'. They were recently charged under the Trespass Act, but the case was withdrawn.

A further 200 people are threatened with eviction from a farm said to be owned by Natal Anthracite Collieries at **Langrans**, south of Hlobane. Another 25 families were evicted from **Weltevrede** farm in February 1987.

In **Weenen** more than 50 families are threatened with eviction off a cluster of 'labour farms' or 'thornveld farms'. These farms are owned by absentee land owners who use them to house their workers, who are taken to work on their commercial farms in the Natal Midlands. Most of the families on these farms have lived there for at least three generations. They are employed for little or no wages on a labour tenancy basis - in return for residence on the 'labour farm' and certain grazing and ploughing rights. Many of the families have lived under threat of removal for a number of years. Recently a large number of family heads have appeared in court on charges of 'illegal squatting' and have been sentenced to three months in jail or fines of R150. Conservationists have also declared the farms overgrazed and prohibited stock and cultivation.

In the **Wakkerstroom** district of the SE Transvaal 60 year old Witbooi Khubeka and his wife, Edda, were evicted off the farm St Helena where he had been born and bred. The new owner of the farm, Pieter Pienaar had him charged with illegal squatting, saying Khubeka was old and refused to work. The couple were dumped by the side of the road and had to sleep in an open field.

In the OFS a steady stream of evicted farm workers and their families continue to trickle into Sections U and W of **Botshabelo** (Onverwacht). Any day of the week one can witness at least one truckload of former farmworkers being dumped on a plot with a toilet. They then have to build their houses themselves.

It appears that farmers are feeling increased pressure to improve wages and working conditions of their workers. Attempts to repeat the much-feted 'Ngotshe Accord' which 'promotes healthy labour relations, a spirit of co-operation and self-help, encourages education and training and improves security and race relations in the area', are reported from Richmond and the Border area of the Eastern Cape. The House of Representatives Vredendal MP, Mr P Meyer, appealed to farmers to improve relations with their labourers in order to prevent the rise of 'radical' trade unions amongst farmworkers. (ARGUS 31.8.87)



Botshabelo: Evicted OFS farm workers dumped in January build a shelter in 'U' section.

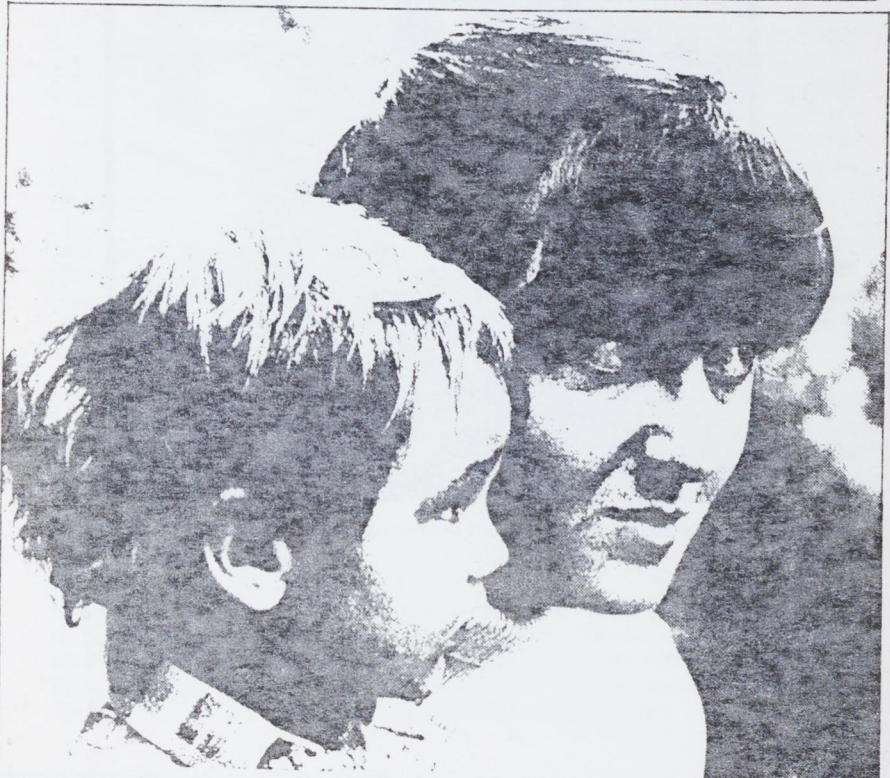
Thanks to Guy Tillim, Gideon Mendel and Roger Meintjes for the photographs.

STATE OF EMERGENCY

DETENTIONS

On 24 November 1986 two of our co-workers and friends, Glen Thomas and Sue Lund of the Grahamstown Rural Committee (GRC), were detained. They were taken away while running a workshop with the people of Thornhill who are desperate to find a way to regain land and make a living for their families. Sue was released with heavy restrictions on September 14 this year. Glen is still detained.

WE DEMAND HIS UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE NOW



Sue Lund