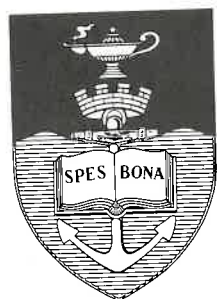


# FORCED REMOVALS IN SOUTH AFRICA



THE SPP REPORTS VOL 3  
THE WESTERN & NORTHERN CAPE  
&  
ORANGE FREE STATE

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## FORCED REMOVALS IN SOUTH AFRICA

# THE WESTERN CAPE, NORTHERN CAPE

ND

FREE STATE

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Our thanks to the Argus for permission to use  
Les Hammond's 'Teargas terror', winner of the  
Shell press pictures award in 1977. It shows  
the people of Modderdam fleeing from a tear  
gas attack.

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## Abbreviations

BAAB	Bantu Affairs Administration Board
CAHAC	Cape Areas Housing Action Committee
CBD	Central business district
GDP	Gross domestic product
GNP	Gross national product
LAP	Labour Allocation Project
NPDP	National Physical Development Plan
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SALDRU	Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit

## Glossary

### CATEGORIES OF RELOCATION

Relocation Removals Resettlement	All three terms are commonly used to describe both the overall policy and the processes involved in the massive, State-sponsored removals of people (almost all of them black) from one area to another that have characterised the apartheid system. SPP has favoured using either 'relocation' or the more descriptive 'removal' (or 'forced removal') in preference to 'resettlement' since 'resettlement' implies some accrual of benefit to the people who are moved and disguises the coerced nature of these population movements.
Consolidation	This is the official term used to describe the policy developed by the central government in the 1970s to reduce the number of separate, isolated pieces of land making up each of the bantustans (see below); it is part of the process of turning these areas into independent 'national states'.
Betterment planning	This refers to the schemes introduced by the central government in the african reserves since the 1930s and 1940s in an attempt to control land usage, and thus improve and rationalise reserve agriculture. Under betterment, tribal areas are divided into residential and agricultural land and the people living on the land moved into rural villages.
Black spot	See below.
Influx control	This refers to the network of legislation and regulations which controls african access to the urban-industrial centres situated in what is claimed to be white South Africa; it severely limits the numbers of african people allowed to live and work there to those deemed to qualify in terms of Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act of 1923, as amended.
Urban relocation	This refers to the deproclamation of african townships falling within prescribed (see below) urban areas, and their removal to newly created townships within the boundaries of the bantustans. Physical removal does not always occur, as the boundaries of the bantustan can also be redrawn in order to encompass already existent townships within its boundaries.

### CATEGORIES OF RURAL LAND

Reserve Bantustan Homeland National state	These are the terms that have been officially applied to the african areas by the central government at various stages of recent South African history. 'Reserve' dates from the pre-apartheid period; the last three represent stages in the evolution of the policy of apartheid and refer to the various ethnic political constructions that have been created on the basis of the former reserves: Transkei, Ciskei, KwaZulu, Qwaqwa, Bophuthatswana, Kwa-Ndebele, Kangwane, Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda. 'National state' is the most recent term to have been coined. SPP has chosen not to use either 'homeland' or 'national state'
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because of their unacceptable ideological bias. They present an image of these territories as economically viable, politically separate entities that are the only true and traditional 'homes' of the african people of South Africa, themselves divided along ethnic lines, and thus serve to justify the apartheid policy. Where possible we have referred to the various territories by name directly (e.g. KwaZulu, Ciskei etc.); otherwise, depending on the context, we have used 'reserve' or 'bantustan'.

Scheduled land	Land set aside in terms of the Natives Land Act of 1913 for occupation and ownership by africans. The schedule to the Act was based on the existing african reserves and locations and amounted to about 8,98 million ha.
Released land	Additional land set aside for african occupation and ownership, to be added to the scheduled areas, in terms of the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936. The total amount to be released in South Africa in 1936 amounted to about 6,2 million ha. Some of this was land that was already occupied or owned by africans; the balance had still to be acquired by the South African Native Trust (SANT, later SABT, then SADT) which was established at this time.
Quota land	The total amount of land to be added to the scheduled areas in terms of the 1936 land legislation was apportioned between the four provinces on a quota basis; that amount represented the maximum area that could be occupied or owned by africans in each province. The total area of african land (scheduled and released) was thus fixed at a little below 13% of the total area in South Africa.
Trust land	Land purchased by the State in terms of the 1936 land legislation and administered by the SANT/SADT.
Black spot	This is an official term that is generally used to refer to african freehold land which was acquired before the 1913 Land Act and which lies outside the scheduled or released areas. It is one of the categories of land threatened with removal because it falls within what is considered the white area. In the SPP report we have used this term to refer to <u>all</u> african freehold land that is under threat of removal, including land falling within scheduled or released areas that are to be moved in terms of the consolidation policy.
Badly situated areas	This is a term used by the authorities to describe scheduled or released areas (tribal and, in some instances, freehold) that are to be moved because of the consolidation policy. Officials often use this term and 'black spot' interchangeably and SPP has tried to avoid using the term altogether.
Excised land	Land which has been or is to be excised from the bantustans in terms of the consolidation policy of the government.
Added land	Land which has been or is to be added to the various bantustans, in compensation for the areas to be excised in terms of the consolidation proposals of the government, so as to meet the quota of land set in 1936.

## CATEGORIES OF URBAN/RESIDENTIAL AREAS

Group areas	These are areas that have been proclaimed solely for occupation by members of a particular race group, either white, coloured, indian, in terms of the Group Areas Act of 1950. The Act also affects trading rights and inter-racial property transactions.
Prescribed areas	Prescribed areas are proclaimed or deproclaimed by means of a notice appearing in the Government Gazette; they take in all the white urban areas and the presence of africans in them is governed by influx control regulations.
Townships	Residential areas set aside for african, indian or coloured occupation, usually situated adjacent to or within commuting distance of a white urban area on which they are economically dependent. Conditions in these areas vary, but generally formal housing is provided for rent, and sometimes for sale. These areas are generally better off with regard to services and facilities than are the closer settlements described below.
Informal settlements	Areas of settlement which are not planned or approved by the local authorities or the State. Housing is erected by the occupants of the land themselves, generally out of unorthodox building materials. The areas are often densely populated and generally poorly serviced.
Deproclamation (of a township)	The process by which the legal procedure for establishing an authorised african township is reversed. This is a necessary preliminary step before such a township can be relocated.
Closer settlement	The official term used to describe a type of settlement established for african people on reserve or Trust land that is for residential purposes only - no agricultural land is attached - and far more rudimentary in the type of facilities it has than a township. People who are removed off black spots and white farms are generally relocated to these settlements. They are provided with temporary accommodation and are expected to build their own permanent houses. Facilities vary but generally (not always) include pit latrines and a communal water supply point/s.

## CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE

black african indian coloured	In terms of the Population Registration Act of 1950, everybody in South Africa was classified according to their 'race' as defined by the Act; the four major classifications being established as 'White', 'Native' (subsequently Bantu, subsequently Black), 'Coloured' and 'Indian'. This is another example of language being manipulated by the government to promote the ideology of apartheid. In this report the term 'black' is used to include all those who are disenfranchised and are not classified as white; it thus includes all the people who are officially classified as Bantu/Black, Coloured or Indian. However, since the apartheid legislation affects these different sections of the black population differently in certain important respects, it is often necessary to distinguish between people along the official lines, and in those instances we have used the terms 'african', 'indian' or 'coloured'. We have deliberately not
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capitalised the first letter in 'african' or 'indian' because we do not wish to legitimise the ideology of ethnic divisions and racism implicit in their usage.

#### Labour tenants

These are african families living on white-owned farms who supply their labour to the landowner for part of the year (3-9 months) as a form of rent, in return for the use of some of the land for themselves. Historically the most widespread form of farm labour in the northern parts of the country, the labour tenant system was finally abolished by the government in 1979.

#### Rent/cash tenants

The term 'rent' or 'cash tenants' has been used in the report to refer specifically to those african families living on white-owned farming land who have commonly been referred to as 'squatters', because they are not labour tenants or full-time farm workers, but who do pay a cash rental for the land. The term has been used to distinguish them from labour tenants. The government has over the years acted to eliminate this class of people.

#### Squatters

This is another ideologically loaded term. It is used in the report to refer to people living illegally on land without the permission of the landowner. The official use of the term is far broader and looser and it may be used to describe any black person whose presence on a particular piece of land is not approved of by the authorities, regardless of the nature of the agreement between the occupant and the landowner. It has been used to describe people living on white-owned land, on black-owned land, both within and without the bantustans, on tribal land and on State land.

#### Commuters

The term has been used in the report to refer to workers who work outside of their place of residence but who are able to travel to and from work on a daily or weekly basis, i.e. as distinct from migrant workers (who only return home monthly or annually) or people working in the place where they live. We have not restricted the use of the term to workers travelling between bantustan settlements and non-bantustan centres of employment only, which is the official usage.

## General preface to the SPP report

Within days of announcing a reprieve for the Crossroads community outside Cape Town in April 1979, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr P G J Koornhof, confirmed that 656 african families would be removed off tribal and african freehold land in the Tugela Basin in Natal, to make way for the building of the Woodstock Dam. The latter removal received an obscure report in the press and was forgotten in the wave of euphoria which marked the Crossroads Settlement. In April 1979 Total Strategy (against the Total Onslaught) was at its peak and ad hoc decisions appeared from a number of Departments serving, in this case, to highlight contradictions in the apartheid system.

While Crossroads had been the focus of national and international attention from the churches, liberal organisations and those in opposition generally, it was by no means the only community under threat of removal. Factors which helped Crossroads into the limelight included firstly, the fierce resistance of the people to be moved; secondly, its proximity to a metropolitan area (and therefore press, concerned public, welfare organisations and university resources); and thirdly, the recent demolition of all other squatter communities in Cape Town.

The idea of establishing the Surplus People Project, as a national research project on relocation, took root at this time in response to these events. Some people who had been involved in the Crossroads support group were unconvinced of the desirability of the Koornhof deal there and felt the need to focus on forced removals throughout the country, particularly in the rural areas where access was difficult, resulting in relocation unknown to outsiders. It was felt that an update of The discarded people by Cosmas Desmond was due, looking particularly at what had happened during the 1970s since the publication of Desmond's study. At the same time Gerhard Maré was compiling African population relocation in South Africa, for the South African Institute of Race Relations; this raised the general issue of relocation and suggested further areas of work.

After consultation with various community workers and academics, it was decided to hold a seminar of interested people to see if a national project on investigating relocation and raising the issues in public could be launched. The first meeting was held in February 1980. It was attended by 23 participants, most of whom became the core of the project which adopted the name Surplus People Project (SPP).

The objects of the project were established then as follows:

- 1 To co-ordinate and initiate research projects into population relocation in South Africa, and anything which has a bearing on such relocation
- 2 To work in conjunction with other groups and individuals who are engaged in similar work
- 3 To publish the results of the research in any manner that is decided by the management committee
- 4 To engage in any activity which is deemed by the management committee to be necessary to the adequate fulfilment of the above objects.

Initially the project was intended to last one year, but this became clearly inadequate and while funds were raised for that period, they were stretched to cover three years. Sincere thanks are expressed to the Interchurch Co-ordination Committee for Development Projects in the Netherlands for its financial and moral support.

The Surplus People Project derives its name from obvious sources. As a result of increased capitalisation of industry, agriculture and mining, relatively fewer unskilled workers are demanded by the economy. The changing nature of capitalist development in South Africa has



resulted in an increased demand for skilled workers, hence an attempt on the part of the ruling class to consolidate an urban black population with a stake in the system, and the determination to rid white South Africa of the unproductive, unemployed, disabled and youth. From surveys and field work, it has become clear that there are thousands of people who will never gain access to employment in urban areas and unless they are prepared to work for R1,00 per day on white-owned farms, where there may still be some work, they have been made redundant permanently. These surplus people will never enter the wage labour market under the present economic system.

However, during the course of the project, it has also become clearer to those involved in it that relocation has not been used only against those surplus to the economy's needs. Large numbers of skilled workers and employed people generally have been relocated under the group areas and urban relocation policies, for instance, while the removals linked to the consolidation planning of the 1970s have had a major political component to them. The original conceptualisation of what the project was investigating, as reflected in its name, has been broadened as a result.

The Surplus People Project was created as a voluntary group with a part-time national co-ordinator and a small steering or management committee for administrative matters. The strengths and weaknesses of a voluntary group were continually present. The experience from so varied a membership, based in Cape Town, Grahamstown, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg but with participants from the length and breadth of the country, was very valuable. There was a healthy mixture of theoreticians and practitioners with each learning from the other. For the first time many of the academics were involved in field work while community workers, priests and health workers were introduced to theoretical material which helped explain what they had observed for years. But the difficulties of voluntary work lie in the coordination of work and the responsibility of members to the group when it comes to working to deadlines. Some dropped out of the group and others joined. Those left to the end have had the major task of collating and writing up the masses of material collected.

The State intervened at various stages: Guy Berger, an early participant, was jailed (under the Terrorism Act) for other activity; Cedric de Beer and Aurret van Heerden were detained for over ten months and released without being charged. A number of other participants were detained for shorter periods in connection with other alleged activities. Field workers were harassed at various times.

It became clear that while a national understanding was essential, the whole country could not be covered in the same detail. Some areas were more accessible, both in terms of proximity to metropolitan areas and the level of political repression, e.g. KwaZulu; other areas exhibited less relocation on a mass basis, e.g. Transkei. In the case of the Transkei it was decided that the Eastern Cape group could not deal in depth with more than the Ciskei where mass removals have taken place on a very large scale and some of the worst conditions in the country occur. Relocation in the Transkei is therefore dealt with only as a chapter in the regional report. The national 5-volume report attempts to be comprehensive but it cannot claim to be uniformly reliable. It is, however, the most up to date and the most comprehensive account yet published.

While it is difficult to offer the right proportion of thanks to organisations and individuals, AFRA (Association for Rural Advancement) in Pietermaritzburg deserves special mention for making the services of Cherryl Walker available at all times for research and field work (which accounts for the Natal volume being so much more detailed than the others). Co-operation has been particularly close with Saldru (Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit) at the University of Cape Town. It gave generously of research officer and research assistant time and facilities for computer processing and for printing. The University of Natal and Lovedale Press have also been helpful in printing matters. The churches, particularly the Church of the Province of South Africa, the Roman Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church and the South African Council of Churches co-operated warmly. Without their network and contacts this project would not have been possible.

Sincere thanks also go to the Black Sash, the South African Institute of Race Relations, PACSA (the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness and Action), Diakonia and the Community Research Unit, both in Durban, the Legal Resources Centres in Johannesburg and Durban, the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, journalists and many people from universities and institutions too numerous to mention.

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Tony Duncan Brown	Ray Moyikwa	Aurret van Heerden
Jeremy Grest	Vuyani Mqingwana	Cherryl Walker
Jenny Grice	Colin Murray	Nick Wellington
Priscilla Hall	Jean Ngubane	Joanne Yawitch
Ron Hall	Jeff Peires	Helen Zille
	Laurine Platzky (co-ordinator)	

Much of the production and co-ordination was done by Laurine Platzky (national co-ordinator), Cherryl Walker (Natal) and Priscilla Hall (Eastern Cape).

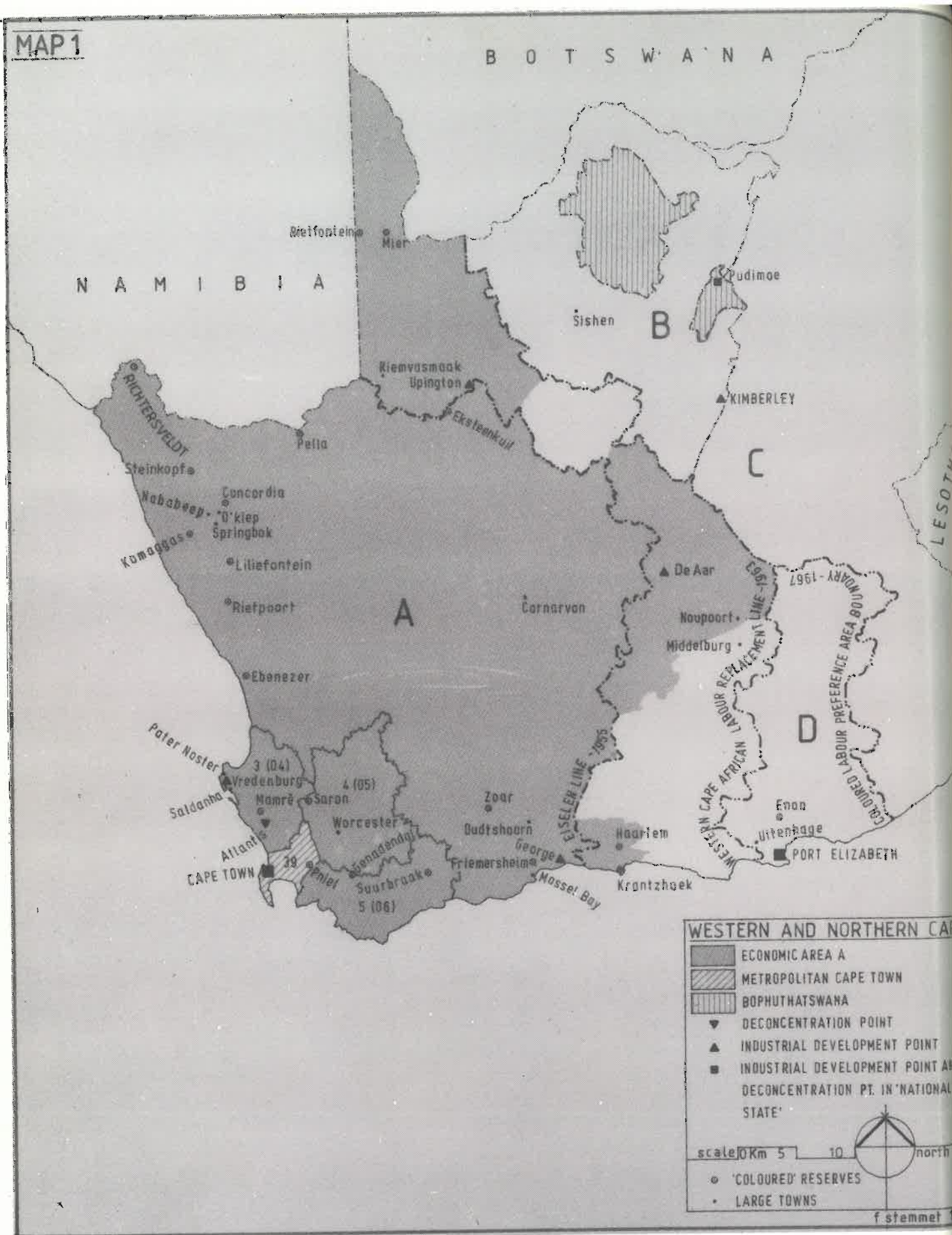
Cape Town, January 1983

# Western Cape



Yanga Bush - families shivered through the long cold  
Western Cape winter nights under plastic and twigs (August 1981)





# WESTERN CAPE

## PART 1

### Introduction and Background

#### 1.1 NATIONAL CONTEXT

Over the past 30 years two main trends have affected the Cape - the move to the cities and the move to the north. As increasing numbers of whites move to Cape Town, and from there to the Witwatersrand, the economy declines and coloured people find fewer jobs in rural areas. Meanwhile desperate blacks from the reserves are brought in on contract to work in the white rural areas for low wages, having been moved out of the Western Cape at an earlier stage.

State policy is thus geared to stopping the flow to the urban areas and to the north. The decentralisation proposals are intended to give the four industrial development points economic advantage, hopefully encouraging skilled people not only to remain in the area but to attract others. Secondly, the State controls the number of blacks intent on moving to the urban areas, particularly Cape Town. Africans are controlled through pass laws and the lack of housing while coloureds are mainly controlled by the latter. The establishment of Atlantis, for example, is intended to boost the declining economy providing capital with a carefully controlled residential and industrial area and, at the same time, to control urbanisation.

At the risk of making some predictions, it is quite possible that group areas legislation could be amended to allow the small pockets of people still to be moved in Cape Town, to remain where they are. Now that the city has been carved up and the coloured people moved to the extremities, 'reforms' could be implemented with little disruption.

While it seems unlikely at the moment, the Coloured Labour Preference Area policy could be scrapped. Urban blacks 'legally' in the Western Cape could be given the same privileges as coloureds. The economy needs their skill; the State wants their allegiance. The Transkei and Ciskei have both been made 'independent' giving the State justification for 'deporting foreigners'. It is clear from the sheer numbers of people daily risking fines and personal safety, that State policy of keeping africans in the reserves until their labour is requisitioned can neither satisfy starving people nor the changing needs of the economy.

It would seem that recent moves to incorporate coloureds and indians into local government, and urban africans on a more permanent basis, depicts an awareness on the part of some policy makers of changing needs. Capital is increasingly demanding skilled labour. The reserves offer millions of unskilled workers. The urban areas are the future producers of that skilled labour. Meanwhile some policies are becoming obsolete and a new, more sophisticated means of control is being developed.



This regional report is a collection of material collated over the past year. It is an attempt to present many already well known facts and characteristics of the region in terms of the national project on relocation. Reference is made to published and forthcoming work which should guide the researcher to further detail. It is recognised that this report is not comprehensive. With scarcity of time and voluntary workers, only a small part of the relocation process since 1652 could be studied and presented.

## 1.2 EARLY HISTORY & DEVELOPMENT

From the 17th century when European settlers competed with local inhabitants for good grazing and agricultural land, there have been disputes over who lived where and used which resources.

Once minerals had been discovered in the hinterland the railway was built and Cape Town's role as the centre for import and export was reinforced. Small towns along the railway grew while those off main transport routes began to decline. Agriculture, the primary product of the region, grew to feed the miners and new settlers. Processing of agricultural produce was introduced.

From 1918 onwards the Western Cape lost its prime position in South Africa. Cape Town became the second largest industrial centre, the second largest market and second largest port. It remained the legislative capital of South Africa but as air and telecommunication links developed, Cape Town began to decline relative to national development.

A complex interrelationship of exploitation of natural resources (West coast over-fishing, mono-cropping and soil erosion), rapid population growth, depopulation of rural areas, low wages, lack of service infrastructure (housing, health and educational facilities) and a narrow, mainly primary economic base developed.

## 1.3 DEFINITION OF THE WESTERN CAPE REGION

For the purpose of the report the Western Cape will be basically defined as National Physical Development Plan Regions 1 to 7, 13 to 17 and 39, or Development Region 'A'. (See Map 1.) This is most of the area west of the Eiselen Line. It must immediately be said that project work has only been carried out in the Cape Town area and Region 3, Vredenburg.

The biggest problem in defining the region is that for every statistic produced a different version of 'the Western Cape' is given. Where possible it will be stated what part of the Western Cape is being referred to. In other cases an assumption will be made.

## 1.4 WESTERN CAPE: DECLINING REGION

According to figures calculated in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Cape Town in 1976, the Western Cape (01, 04, 05 and 06 Economic Regions) was growing at 5,6% pa between 1958/9 and 1968/9 in terms of Gross Regional and Gross Geographical Products (i.e. growing in absolute terms) but its share in the Gross National Product declined 0,7% over the period:

Table 1 REGIONAL PRODUCT AS % OF GDP OF SOUTH AFRICA

Region	1958	1968	Change
01	9,5	9,6	0,1
04	0,7	0,5	-0,2
05	2,8	2,4	-0,4
06	0,7	0,5	-0,2
Western Cape	13,7	13,0	-0,7
South Africa	100,0	100,0	-

Thus Metropolitan Cape Town (Economic Region 01) increased its proportion of the South African GDP by 0,1% and it is one of the four metropolitan areas which, according to the National Physical Development Plan, (NPDP), needs 'deconcentration'.

In 1936 39% of whites lived in the Cape, in 1980 28%. Of the 196 magisterial districts which show a decrease in white population, 89 were in the Cape. Most emigration has taken place from the Karoo. Between 1970 and 1980 the coloured population in 40 Cape towns dropped, whereas 68 districts in the Transvaal, 38 in OFS and 36 in Natal showed an increase in coloured population. (Die Burger, 7.05.82)

## 1.5 NPDP & PROPOSED INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The most recent addition to State planning for the Western Cape is the 'Industrial Development Proposals' produced for the Prime Minister's Conference in Cape Town in November 1981, and subsequently published by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information (Supplement to S A Digest, 2.04.82).

The Western Cape (Region A) is given special consideration in terms of criteria stated for development strategies;

- need for creation of employment
- need for a higher standard of living
- potential of the region to satisfy its own employment needs in future through economic growth

The Cape Peninsula metropolitan area was identified as having strong influence with sub-regions and their towns of influence being Southern Cape (George), North-West Cape (Upington) and Karoo (De Aar).

In terms of the criteria, the Western Cape was graded in the third category in terms of national need for development potential. (Fourth and last category was the PWV complex.)

Atlantis was defined as a DECONCENTRATION POINT - 'points adjacent to the metro areas to which industrial growth could be deconcentrated to lessen the pressure of over-concentration in the metro areas'.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT POINTS defined as 'points where alternative agglomeration advantages could be created to counter-balance the existing metropolises and thus create employment opportunities in the regions concerned': George, Upington, Vredenburg/Saldanha, De Aar.

Incentives applying in these areas include 40% rail rebate, 80% rebate on total wage bill up to R70 per month per worker, training grant, relocation allowance, 40% interest and rental subsidy up to 10 years, 40% housing subsidy and 5% preference on tenders.

This is a revision of the NPDP which provided for:

- the Cape Town metropolitan area as a 'controlled area' where growth would be curbed by control over zoning of industrial land, location of industries, employment of black labour, residential land (no further 'coloured' land to be declared)
- coloureds to be channelled to Mitchells Plain and Atlantis
- Saldanha to become a planned metropolis for over one million people by establishing: Saldanha/Sishen railway line to carry iron ore to the shipping and harbour facilities and the steel-semi plant. Ship building and repair yards would be built. The steel processing plant has been shelved.
- Cape Town-Saldanha axis.

The 1980 'Spatial Development Strategy for the Western Cape' produced by the Department of Planning and the Environment reaffirmed the NPDP. Dewar and Watson criticise the 1980 proposals saying '(they) will not only fail to improve conditions in the Western Cape, but actually threaten to worsen them'. (their emphasis) The basis for their criticism is that firstly by deconcentrating Cape Town, the plan will stifle growth of an already slow growth area. Secondly Atlantis is too close to Cape Town to create a competitive node of development, it will merely drain Cape Town and become an adjunct to an already sprawling structure. Their criticism is relevant to all the State plans, which, as they say, arise from two major conceptual and analytical confusions:

- the form of the government plan and the conception of planning such as spatial factors being treated in isolation from social, economic and political factors; the Western Cape being treated as a homogeneous region, and prescriptive planning;
- definition and analysis of problems of declining share of GDP instead of poverty, inequality and unemployment.

In the NPDP Worcester and Mossel Bay were designated 'principal town' and 'growth pole' respectively but little further action has been taken. Now George, Upington, Vredenburg and De Aar are designated 'industrial development points'. It remains to be seen what infrastructure is brought in while the priorities seem to be development of areas close to the 'national States' or reserves.

## 1.6 METROPOLITAN CAPE TOWN

As has been indicated Greater Cape Town (01 Economic Region) shows a small 0,1% increased share in the GDP. The rest of the region has shown a decreased share in the GDP.

Table 2 POPULATION OF THE WESTERN CAPE  
(Economic Regions 01, 04, 05 and 06)

	White	Coloured	Black	Total
1960	461 851	731 831	130 306	1 325 841
1970	551 000	1 023 000	200 000	1 759 000
% Increase	1,9	3,9	5,3	3,3
1980	606 758	1 165 318	237 216	2 026 310
% Increase	1,0	1,4	1,9	1,5

(These figures are for the magisterial districts of Bellville, Bredasdorp, Caledon, Ceres, Hermanus, Hopefield, Cape Town, Kuils River, Malmesbury, Montagu, Heidelberg, Paarl, Piketberg, Riversdale, Robertson, Simonstown, Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Strand, Swellendam, Tulbagh, Vredenburg, Wellington, Worcester, Wynberg)

The african population cannot be taken as accurate. It is currently understood that up to 180 000 africans reside in the Western Cape 'illegally'. In August 1981 Dr Koornhof admitted that of 199 600 blacks estimated to live in Greater Cape Town, 85 436 (42%) were illegal. Population growth has slowed down for two main reasons: increased migration to the north (Cape Times, 28.10.81): 57 districts out of 128 in the Cape Province lost population to the north. The absolute numbers of coloureds decreased in 40 Cape districts as they moved to the other provinces, according to a sub-committee of the HSRC De Lange Commission. The other reason is that it is well known world-wide that population growth does slow down when socio-economic living standards improve. Even with high inflation rates, wages for coloureds have improved slightly over the past 10 years in the urban areas of the Western Cape.

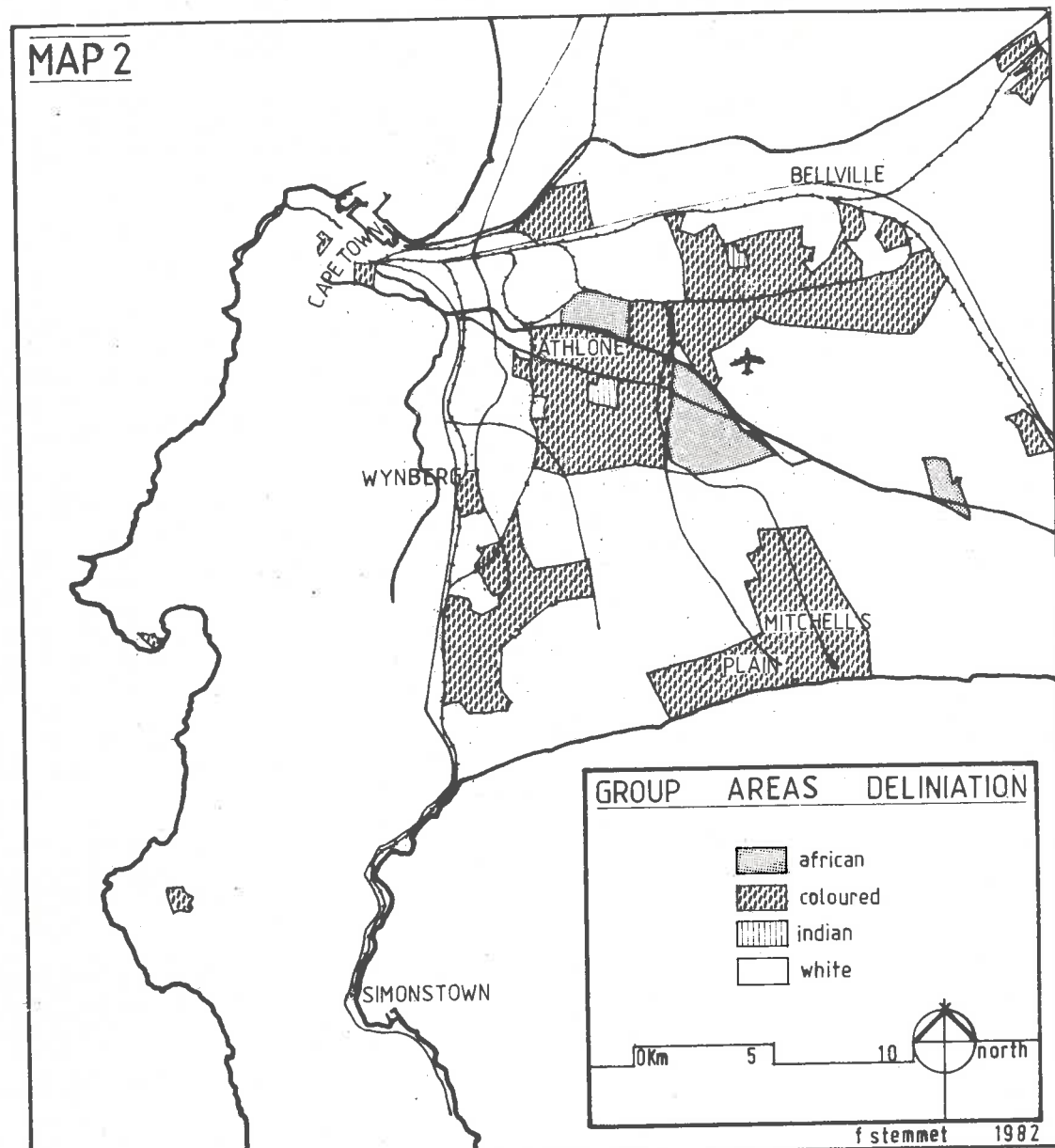
Due to restrictions on africans in the Western Cape there is an uneven distribution of the age/sex pyramid, compared with Johannesburg which is not a coloured preference area. 26,5% of the black population in the Cape Peninsula is under 15 years old, 43% in the rest of the country.

The figure on p 12 illustrates the african position. Metropolitan Cape Town has developed along the southern and then northern suburbs' road and railway lines from the central business district and port in the north-west corner.

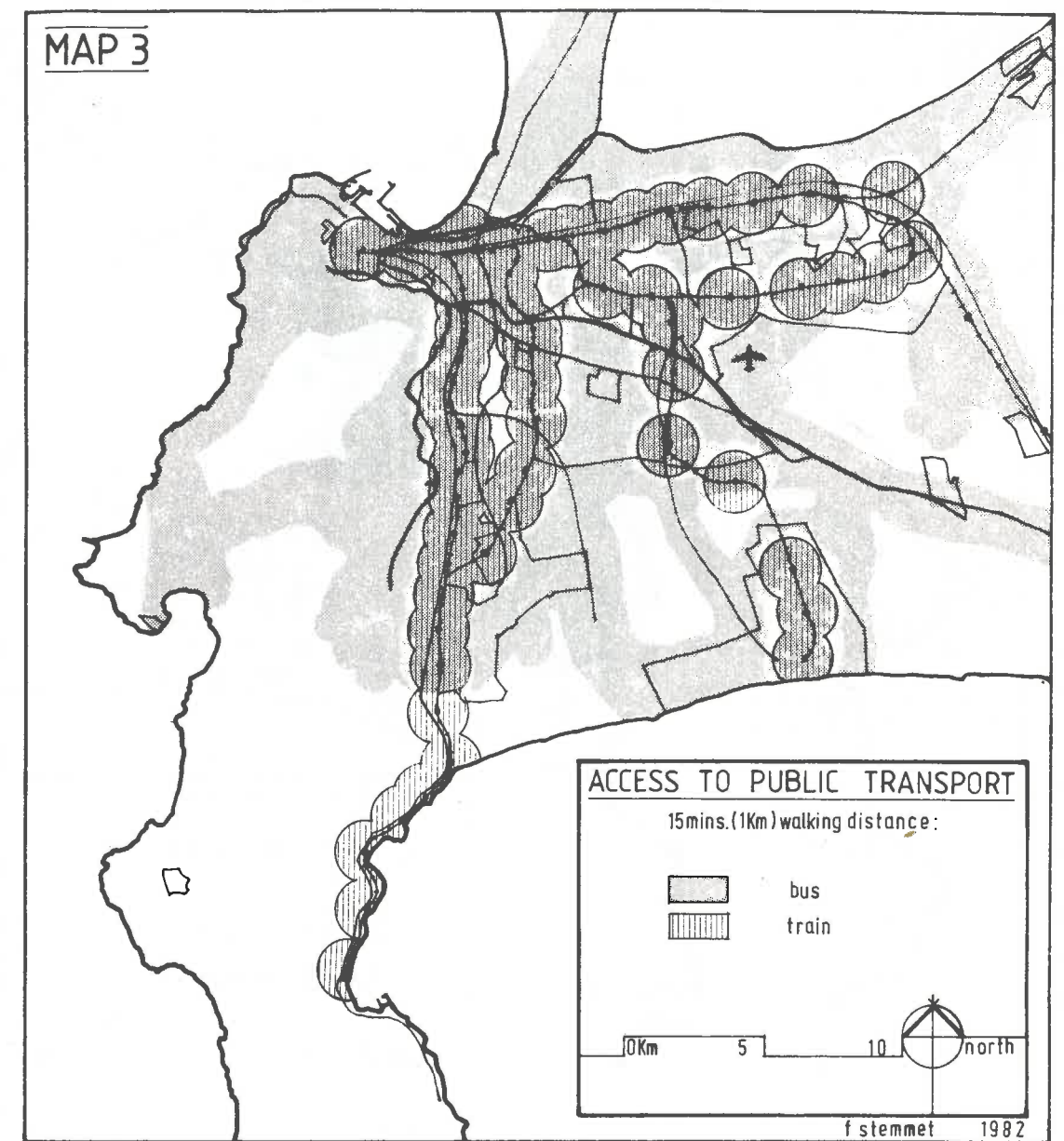
As Davenport and Hunt point out, the early establishment of locations had much to do with outbreaks of bubonic plague at the beginning of the twentieth century and Spanish influenza in 1918: 'The Ndabeni location, the first to be founded, developed out of the plague encampment at Maitland. The ground was later reserved by Parliament for the purpose of a location. The original buildings were taken over from the Plague Administration...' (Report of the Department of Native Affairs for the years 1913 to 1918 UG 7-1919, 17, 19)

Prime residential land which was originally settled by everyone is reserved for whites in terms of the Group Areas Act of 1950. From Maps 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the metropolitan area (Group areas, Transport accessibility, Densities, and Crime recorded against persons) it will be seen that there is a direct correlation between coloured and black group areas (on the Cape Flats) and undeveloped transportation links, high density of people living per hectare and crimes against persons (murder, assault and rape) and lack of facilities. These areas are separate from those where people work and recreate. It is generally accepted that the best living environments are those where people live close to where they work, shop, attend school, recreate, etc. Metro Cape Town is strictly zoned keeping these functions apart, making dormitory townships, long commuting distances to work, unsafe and environmentally as well as infrastructurally poor areas. Thus the majority of Capetonians, the black and poor, live in areas specifically designed in this way. Mitchells Plain and Atlantis are the two main new areas for coloureds which are being developed in the same way, to cope with population growth.

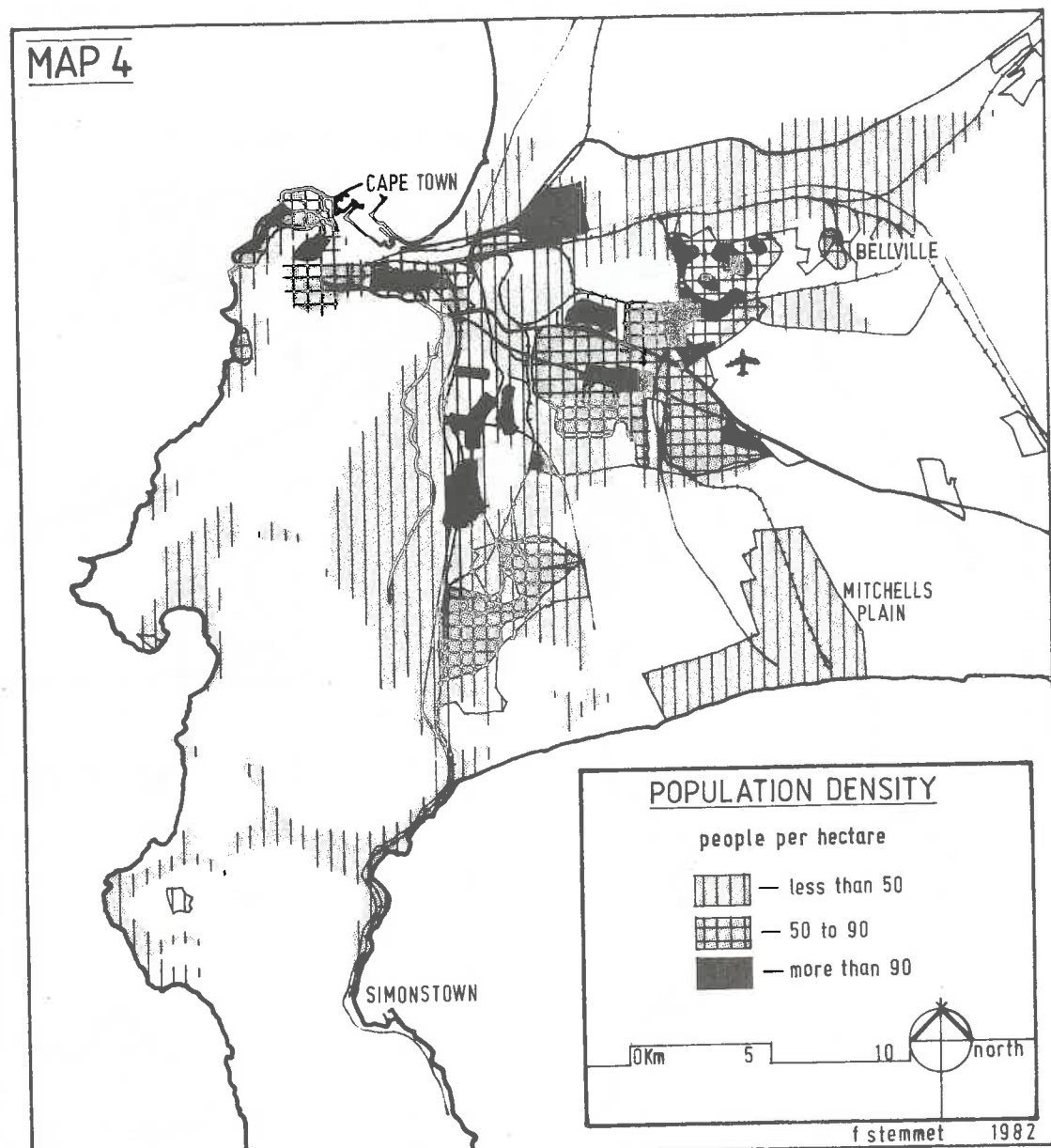




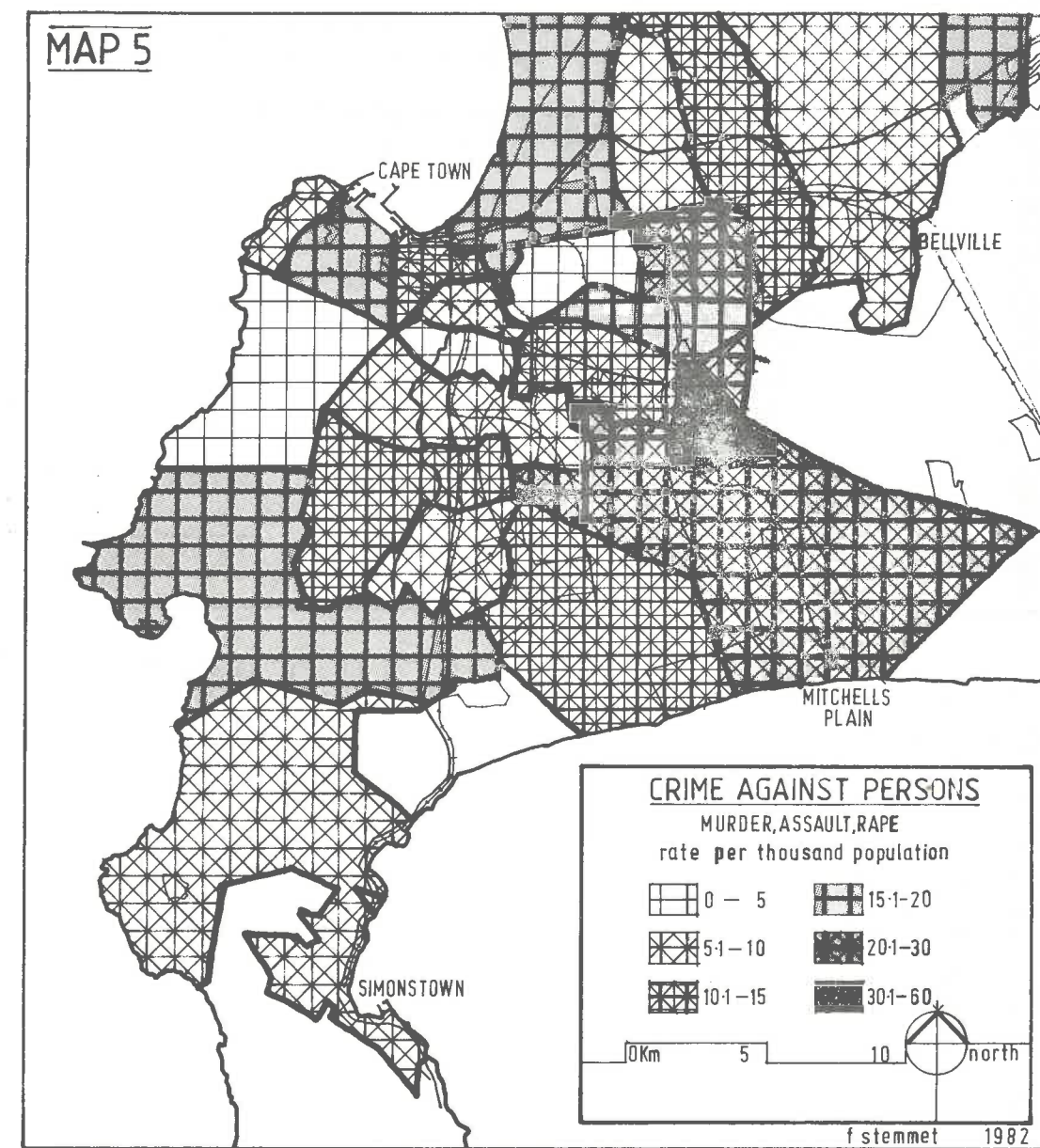
source: CAPE METROPOLITAN PLANNING COMMITTEE (1975).





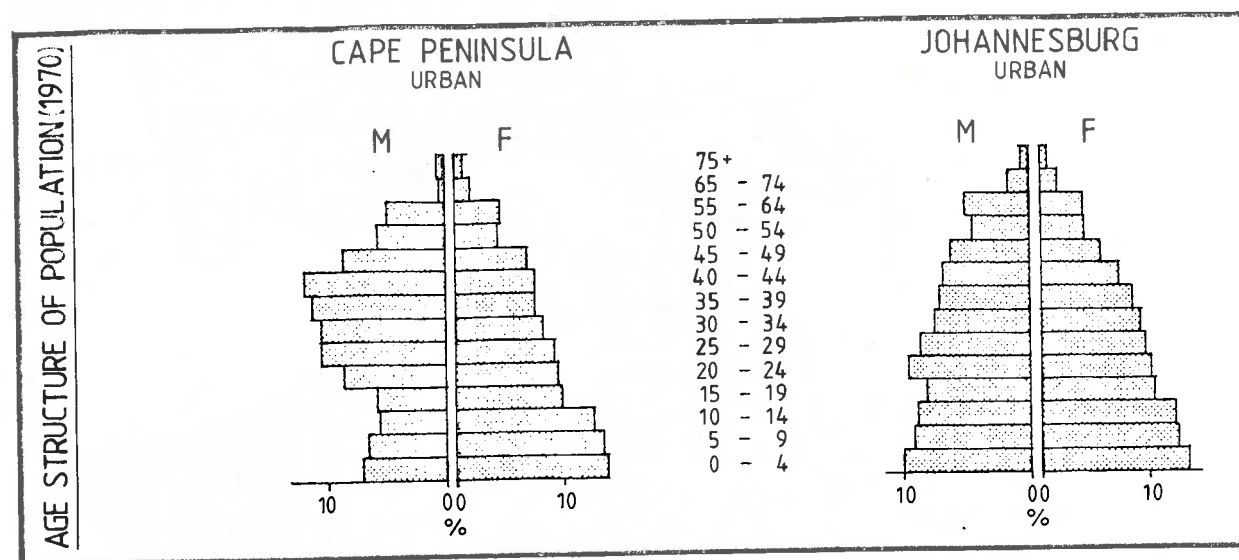


Source: JOINT TOWN PLANNING COMMITTEE Ref.4.2.296



Source: Technical Management Services (CITY OF CAPE TOWN), 1976

Fig 1\*



## WESTERN CAPE PART 2

### Regional Overview

#### 2.1 EXPORT REGION

As there are no reserves in the region under consideration, as far as africans are concerned, there is no relocation by the State within the region. The Western Cape is a major 'export' area of redundant and 'illegal' africans mainly to the Ciskei and Transkei. Africans are endorsed out of the urban areas in terms of various sections of the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No 25 of 1945 (as amended). In April 1981 Brigadier van der Westhuizen, Chairman of the Western Cape Administration Board, said up to 70 people per day are arrested for pass offences. In 1979, 602 males and 326 females were arrested by the S A Police and 6 342 males and 3 413 females were arrested by officers of the Administration Board in the Cape Peninsula - all for influx control offences. In 1980, 7 747 men and 8 113 women were arrested for the same offences (*Argus*, 3.04.81).

'Since December 4th 1981', reports the Athlone Advice Office in its report for November and December 1981, 'the independence of the Ciskei means that almost the entire Black population of Cape Town has lost its South African citizenship. All these people are either Transkeians or Ciskeians. As such, those illegally here are illegal immigrants, subject to summary deportation (in terms of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Act No 59 of 1972, Section 40(5)) or a sentence imposed by a court of six months without the option of a fine.'

Removal of squatters goes back to 1836 when an ordinance was passed by Governor Sir Benjamin D'Urban referring to areas of the Cape Flats being 'unlawfully used and occupied by various persons.' (See Appendix 1.) A series of laws prohibiting squatters has been passed over the years culminating in the latest amendment (No 33 of 1980) to the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (No 52 of 1951) which enables local authorities to demolish shanties built on private land before 1977 on a retroactive basis, even if they were built in accordance with laws at the time.

Thus the provision, or lack, of housing controls the flow of people to the urban areas, in much the same way as the pass laws. In fact, an african man who qualifies to be in the urban area may bring his wife into the area PROVIDED he can prove he has suitable accommodation for her (not a shanty). (See section in Part 3)

\* from P Smit, 'Verstedeliking van die swart bevolking - beplannings vir die volgende twee dekades', SAITRP, 31.07.79



## 2.2 CONTROL

There is a close interrelationship between influx control, contract work, provision of housing and location of it, citizenship, Coloured Preference Area policy, lack of political representation on all levels and control of the unenfranchised/black population. This is not only true for Cape Town, of course, but a necessary statement for the understanding of why particular indicators have been chosen for analysis.

### 2.2.1 Influx control

Briefly, africans may only live outside reserves if they qualify in terms of Section 10(1) of the Urban Areas Act No 25 of 1945. Children born after 'their' reserve has taken 'independence' cannot qualify in terms of Section 10(1)(a), but do qualify if their parents qualify. Thus future generations will not qualify.

3 666 blacks were deported to the Transkei 'lately' (2 017 in August) according to Dr P G J Koornhof (Argus, 15.09.81). A number were deported more than once. (See 3.3.3 below.) In 1980, 16 327 people were arrested plus 6 991 in the first six months of 1981 under the pass laws.

### 2.2.2 Contract work

The Riekert Commission Report gave the following numbers of contract workers (Section 10(1)(d)) allowed in prescribed areas (quoted from SAIRR Survey 1979, 210):

Table 3 NUMBER OF CONTRACT WORKERS IN PRESCRIBED AREAS

Year ended 30 June 1975		1976	1977
South-West Cape	53 545	37 506	30 796
Cape Peninsula	34 307	33 155	23 726
Totals	87 852	70 661	54 522

There was nearly 40% decrease in the number of registered contract workers. (These figures are given for the Administration Board areas relating to 'prescribed urban areas' and areas where contract workers may be brought in. The South-West Cape is bounded in the east by the magisterial districts of: Namakwaland, Calvinia, Williston, Carnarvon, Fraserburg, Laingsburg, Ladismith and Riversdale. The head office is in Worcester. The Cape Peninsula Board includes the magisterial districts of Cape Town, Bellville, Goodwood, Wynberg, Simonstown, and Kuils River with its head office in Goodwood.)

In the 1979 Report of the National Manpower Commission it was stated that 95 680 african workers were registered in the Western Cape Administration Board area on 30 June 1979. This figure includes contract workers, and, as no separate figures for South West Cape and Peninsula are given, it would seem to be the number for both areas. This must be the case if this figure is compared with the total number of residents of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu (three townships of Cape Town) as given by the Minister of Co-operation and Development in parliament in 1980: 110 184 (of whom 86 639 were over 16 years old and not even all those could have been economically active). In 1981 he reported 118 178 living in family housing, 38 314 in single quarters and 28 039 in other accommodation including Crossroads. (Argus, 15.09.81)

The Athlone Advice Office reported that since the Rikhoto judgement had been handed down in the Transvaal Supreme Court in August 1981 conceding local qualification to contract workers with ten years service with one employer, many potentially qualifying workers have sought their advice. However, until Mr Stanford Booie was granted the right by the Cape Supreme Court on 19 May 1982 all cases had been refused registration pending the outcome of an appeal by the East Rand Administration Board against the Rikhoto judgement. The report quotes two cases:

Mr D M was born in Qumbu in 1947. He came to work in Cape Town in 1965, and has been on contract to the same employer ever since. He married in Qumbu in 1968 and has 4 children, 2 born in Qumbu and 2 born in Cape Town. He has worked continuously for 16 years on contract for the same employer, but his wife and 4 children must live in Qumbu.

Mr B W M was born in 1945 in Peddie. He has been on contract in Cape Town for the same firm since 1965. He married a locally qualified woman in Cape Town by Christian rites in 1977 and has 4 children, all born in Cape Town. His wife is supposed to lodge in a house which is very overcrowded. As a result she lives with him in his single quarters where she says that she is more comfortable. All his ties are in Cape Town, but he is considered a foreign worker.

(Athlone Advice Office Annual Report, October 1980 - December 1981)

### 2.2.3 Coloured Labour Preference Area policy

Detailed work on this policy will be published by SALDRU shortly. The first formal implementation of the policy of giving preference to coloured workers over african came in 1955 with the demarcation of the Eiselen Line (later in terms of Section 3 of the Environment Planning Act of 1967). The area was that west, south and including the magisterial districts of Hankey, Steytlerville, Jansenville, Pearston, Graaff-Reinet, Middelburg, Colesberg, Philipstown, Hopetown, Hay and Gordonias. Dr W W M Eiselen, then Secretary for Native Affairs, outlined the government plan to remove foreign africans, 'freeze' the existing position as regards families, to send all women and children who did not qualify to the reserves - only contract migrant workers would be admitted.

In 1967 the Line was moved east to the Fish/Kat/Aliwal North line but from 1978 Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage have been exempted if the percentage of coloured male and female workseekers in the areas is less than 2%.

The aim of the policy was to decrease the number of africans working in the Western Cape by 5% p.a. According to Francis Wilson (Migrant labour) the african population of Cape Town grew from 100 000 to 110 000 from 1960 to 1970 which meant that the African proportion of the total population decreased from 10% to 8%. According to Mike Hubbard (African poverty in Cape Town 1960-70, SAIRR), the percentage of africans in family accommodation decreased from 70% in 1960 to 50% in 1970. It was in the late 1960s that the relocation camps of Sada, Dimbaza and Ilinge were established east of the Eiselen Line to cater for people endorsed out of the Western Cape towns, peasants forced off the land, those removed from white farms and ex-political prisoners.

The Minister of Manpower Utilisation gave the following figures regarding the number of applications refused for the employment of african labour in the Western Cape (SAIRR Survey 1980, p 118):

Table 4 REFUSALS FOR AFRICAN LABOUR

	Application Refused	Number of Africans Affected
1977	688	4 884
1978	298	1 270
1979	465	1 375



The Minister of Coloured Affairs mentioned that 944 770 african workers had been allowed into the Cape since 1968 in order to help meet the labour demands of industry in this area. (SAIRR Survey 1980, 118)

While these are the main controls of blacks in the Western Cape, there have been some less spectacular kinds of relocation.

## 2.3 DEPROCLAMATION OF TOWNSHIPS

Throughout South Africa townships have been deproclaimed in terms of Section 3(4) of the Urban Areas Act and the people relocated in reserves or 'temporarily' housed in single quarters if they are employed. Thus only those who are employed may remain in the areas where previously families lived.

From an inadequate search of the Government Gazettes, only one township was deproclaimed in the years 1967 to 1969: Oudtshoorn in December 1968. Noupoot, which was established in 1942, was abolished as a township on 24.09.71.

## 2.4 FARM REMOVALS

The labour tenant system as known in the other provinces was little used in the Cape. Farm work was carried out mainly by coloured men who lived on the farms with their families, members working on the farms particularly on a seasonal basis or in domestic work.

However, as Dr Philip Smith of the HSRC (Die Burger, 7.05.82) and Levy (see below) found, as increasing numbers of coloured families move to the urban areas, contract african labour is replacing them.

As there are no reserves in the W Cape, no removals as a result of betterment planning took place.

## 2.5 BLACK SPOT REMOVALS

From the records it seems that there were two black spots removed:

RIEMVASMAAK, an isolated black spot near Kakamas and the Augrabies Falls in the Gordonia magisterial district from which 937 africans were removed in July and December 1973 and February 1974, was a dramatic move. The africans had lived there with a few coloured families for over 60 years. About 46 families were moved to an agricultural settlement at Welcomewood, 24 km from King William's Town, near Mount Coke. Others were moved to Xhorixas, north of Windhoek. (Daily Dispatch, 2.08.73, Star, 16.10.73, Hansard 4, 27.02.74 and Question 537, 1980) (See 3.7.2 below.)

SCHIETFONTEIN: On 16.11.1860 Sir George Grey granted 81 413 morgen and 531 roods of the Outer and Inner Carnarvon Commonage to '108 Native owners' to graze 500 sheep and 30 oxen and horses. The area was 4 miles out of Carnarvon. A Committee of Management was established in 1883 and gave rights to those owners to settle, build and sow land. They were given right of occupation but no title to the land. 84 garden plots were subsequently bought and sold without legal transfer and by 1930 (when the 'trouble' started) the then inhabitants thought themselves legal owners. On 13 January 1930 a 'riot' broke out according to detailed records in the Cape Town archives. The people living on

the Commonage were african and coloured and there had been moves by the local authorities to evict them. Some of them were members of the ANC and invited their leader from Cape Town to help them make representations to remain on the land. The dispute lasted throughout 1930. An ejectment order was finally served on the people.

It would be interesting to follow up settlement on crown land throughout the Cape as this may have been where africans settled, although they were never given freehold rights outside urban areas.

Unlike Natal and the Transvaal, few africans owned freehold rural land in the Western Cape. Hence there were few black spot removals.

On an undated Geological Survey map of the 'Union of South Africa, Distribution of Native Areas' (said to be a 1946 map), a small piece of land is shaded in as released area in the Williston magisterial district. From some research into the matter it can be concluded that this is a mistake on the map. There was no scheduled or released land in the district. From interviews with elderly residents of the area, there were no black freehold farms or reserves in the area. The only clue is that there is talk of 'crown land' but the informant remembered the 'trouble' over it in the Carnarvon District.

These sections have dealt specifically with africans in the Western Cape. No african, whether here 'legally' in terms of the Urban Areas Act or not, has security in the area, particularly now that his/her reserves have taken 'independence'. Africans are controlled by influx control, whether or not they are able to obtain employment (in terms of contracts if no suitable coloureds are available) and provision of housing. As has been shown, the number of contracts offered has decreased. Until housing was built for some Crossroads people in 1980, no new family units have been built by the State for africans since 1972 in Cape Town. The coloured population is controlled mainly by the provision of housing and the Group Areas Act.

Legislation and policy has thus been established to control the number of blacks in Cape Town and in the rural areas of the Western Cape. As coloureds moved off the farms and into the cities, the blacks who were brought in on contract to replace them, would not be allowed to bring their families as they would then, presumably in time, also migrate to the urban areas off farms.

## 2.6 DISORGANISATION & REORGANISATION

### 2.6.1 Group Areas

Background material on group areas has been provided by the Natal group. Pinnock's work on disorganisation and reorganisation on group areas will provide a comprehensive background to this note, which refers to local developments (D Pinnock, Safe, Brother, David Philip, Cape Town, 1982 (forthcoming)).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the dislocation of people and their lives in terms of the Group Areas Act (No 41 of 1950) was enormous. For decades people had lived close to their places of work and recreation. The coloured people in Cape Town were particularly affected by this legislation in terms of numbers (65 532 families) as well as their quality of life and means of earning a living, e.g. Kalk Bay fishermen being moved to Ocean View miles away from a harbour.

According to Mana Slabbert of the Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town, 'Removals under the Group Areas Act are the most powerful source in perpetuating crime and violence'. (Cape Times, 27.10.81) People are moved from a well established, integrated environment to tightly controlled, uniform barren landscapes. Where previously they found time to shop or relax near where they lived and worked, now they have to organise their own childcare facilities, working lives and entertainment separately from their dormitory townships.



Table 5 CAPE FAMILIES DISQUALIFIED & MOVED AS A RESULT OF THE GROUP AREAS ACT

	WHITES		COLOURED		INDIANS/CHINESE		TOTAL	
	Disqual	Moved	Disqual	Moved	Disqual	Moved	Disqual	Moved
Feb 1971	534	285	53 133	27 918	2 380*380**	720*64**	56 427	28 987
Dec 1979	846	732	65 532	58 366	3 619	2 581	69 997	61 679

(Davenport & Hunt and SAIRR Survey 1980) \*indian \*\*chinese

114 white, 7 186 coloured and 1 038 indian (8 318) families remained to be moved under group areas proclamations as at December 31, 1979. 70 000 families, at least 350 000 people, have been affected if not moved in term of this legislation in the Cape. Most of them would have been in the Western Cape, metropolitan Cape Town.

#### SUMMARY OF AREAS PROCLAIMED IN WESTERN CAPE

Detailed work has not been possible in the time available. (See Appendix 2.) In terms of Section 20 of the Group Areas Act No 77 of 1957, the following were among the areas proclaimed in the Western Cape:

CLAREMONT On 24.06.66 two areas on either side of the Main Road above the railway line in Claremont were declared white group areas. About 500 muslim and coloured families were later removed. Many had their own businesses in the area. There was a mosque, schools and the Tafala Institute which had to be left. (SAIRR Survey 1966)

DISTRICT 6 In terms of Proclamation 43 of 11.02.66, District 6 was proclaimed a white group area. At the time 33 446 people were affected, 31 248 of them coloured. By the beginning of 1976, 282 indian families had moved to Rylands, 59 to Cravenby (proclaimed indian areas) while 6 854 coloured families had been moved to the various proclaimed coloured areas.

Of the 8 500 workers living in District 6, 90% were employed in and immediately around the Central Business District (CBD). At the time of the proclamation there were 3 695 properties, 2 076 (56%) owned by whites, 948 (26%) owned by coloureds, and 671 (18%) owned by indians. Residents were 94% coloured, 4% indian and 1% white.

District 6 being the single largest area to be declared a white group area, and in the centre of Cape Town, South Africa's oldest city, the declaration caused international condemnation. Much has been written about it both by those who lived there and by outsiders. It has been photographed and painted and filmed. It was said that those who went to live in the white group area would be cursed. A campaign to stop big business and institutions from buying the land has been largely successful. District 6 is a huge wasteland on the edge of the CBD for the most part, but the SAP have built staff accommodation and the new Cape Town (all white) Technikon will be built there. Houses are presently being sold to whites for R31 000 - R52 200 (10% deposit + 13,5% bond while building society rates of interest are 14,25% for R25 - R30 000, 14,75% for R30 - 40 000, 15,25% over R40 000) (Rand Daily Mail, 3.04.82).

KALK BAY was declared a white area in mid-1967. The fishermen and their families in City Council Flats were given 15 years to move while the others were given one year, whether they owned or rented their accommodation. (Whisson and Kaplinsky) Most people were moved to Ocean View.

MAITLAND GARDEN VILLAGE was proclaimed white in 1958. In 1974 there were still 1 450 coloured people to be moved to Facreton/Kensington area where the Cape Town municipality intended building 364 sub- and 231 economic dwellings. (Hansard, 7.02.75) Maitland Garden Village was established in 1917 for City Council employees. Many families have lived there since then. The Minister of Community Development said that if Maitland Garden Village was renovated, it would be proclaimed coloured. The City Council is investigating renewing the area. (Cape Times, 21.08.81) The same is happening for the handful of families left in Harfield Village, which has been renovated into a chic suburb.

SIMONSTOWN was declared white on 1.09.67 despite representations to the Group Areas Board by the townspeople asking for it to be allowed to remain as it was. Since then 5 000 people have been removed, mainly to Ocean View.

SOMERSET WEST was declared white in 1965 and the majority of coloured people have been moved to Macassar. In April 1982 it was announced two parts would be redeclared coloured (Garden Village and Heldersig) after 17 years of 'struggle and uncertainty'. (Cape Times, 27.04.82)

Pinnock argues that the Coloured Labour Preference Area policy worked with group areas legislation to create labour rationalisation. Africans were forced to work on the mines and the Orange River redevelopment scheme, while coloureds were forced onto the market by removing them from their previous more supportive environments into the consumer society. The City Council used the Slums Act to force single families into the new township houses, rather than extended families which could share rent, appliances, child care, etc. While the city was experiencing industrial boom conditions, the Council could not build houses to accommodate those moved and a housing crisis developed. The State had to intervene and provide funds as well as a 'central organisation' to buy up property of people disqualified from living in an area. Vast profits were made by white entrepreneurs, particularly some with inside Cabinet contacts, who could buy in a depressed market, renovate houses and sell them as 'Chelsea' cottages in such areas as Harfield and Newlands Villages. (Sunday Times exposure of Waring Scandal) Disqualified people sold in a depressed market and had to buy in newly declared areas where there was a tremendous shortage of housing, hence at hugely inflated prices. (The Institute of Social Development of the Western Cape is publishing work in the near future on the Group Areas Act and its impact.

## 2.6.2 Housing

### PROVISION AND SHORTAGE : AFRICAN

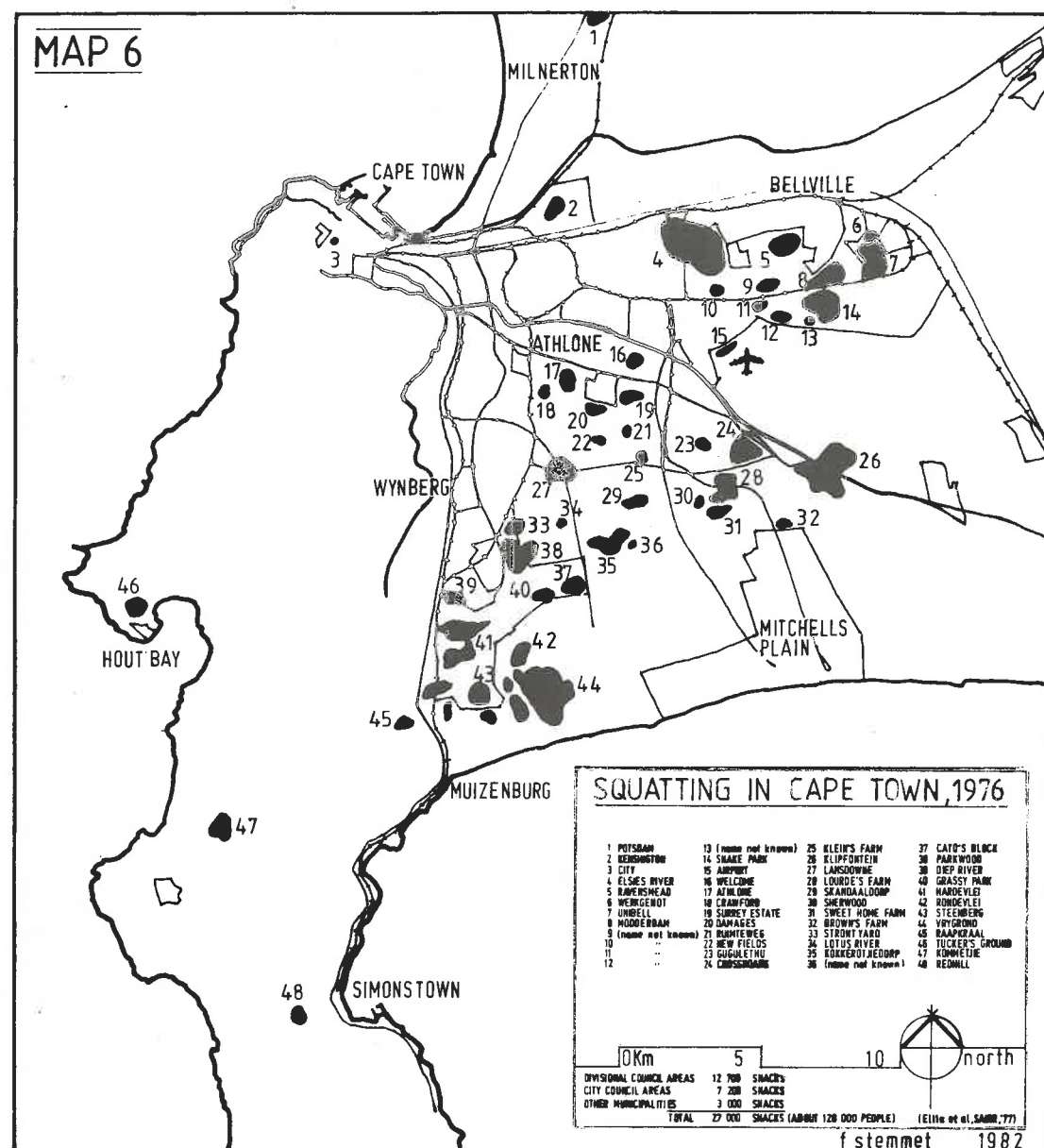
A 'catch 22' situation exists for urban blacks - they may live together as families in the cities provided suitable (i.e. township) housing is available. But the State has not built extra housing to cope with the population increase even of those living in Cape Town, let alone for spouses wanting to live in the city.

Table 6 NUMBER OF HOUSES ACCORDING TO OWNERSHIP FOR AFRICAN FAMILIES

	Total	Own Funds	Com Dev Funds	Shortage at 31.12.77	Expected Provision 1978 - 82	Expected Shortage 31.12.82
S W Cape Peninsula	2 178	370	1 808	290	143	230
	10 091	-	10 091	1 700	1 700	500
Total	12 269	370	11 899	1 990	1 843	730

\*as at 31.12.77 (SAIRR Survey 1979, 403)





The Riekert Commission reported the following numbers of africans in hostels as at 31 December 1977 (SAIRR Survey 1979, 404)

Table 7 HOSTEL ACCOMMODATION

	No of hostel beds 31.12.81	Shortage of beds 31.12.81	Expected Provision 1.01.78 - 31.12.82	Expected Shortage 31.12.82
S W Cape	15 406	155	540	672
Peninsula	35 285	-	-	-
Total	50 691	155	540	672

The Riekert Commission further reported that 276 ha was available for african housing in SW Cape and 135 ha in the Peninsula. No further land was required in the next 10 years. However, the Minister of Co-operation and Development reported a 'shortage of 7 135 family units and 1 000 beds were being supplied'. (Argus, 15.09.81) According to the Athlone Advice Office there are 2 500 families on the township housing waiting list. (Annual Report 80-81) An Urban Foundation project launched the Uluntu Utility Company which is offering 196 sites for home ownership on a 60-year leasehold basis. Anglo American and Truworths invested R7 and R2 million in the project respectively. (Argus, 12.09.81)

According to Mr J A Grobbelaar of the Unit for Research at Stellenbosch University, by the year 2000 there will be:

166 000 more whites requiring 38 600 more homes, 80% in metropolitan Cape Town  
664 000 more coloureds requiring 110 700 more homes, 90% in metropolitan Cape Town  
109 000 more blacks requiring 18 200 more homes. (Argus, 20.08.81)

#### COLOURED HOUSING

Group area legislation has been a major factor in the present shortage of housing for coloured people. Together with inadequate State funding, this led to a crisis in the mid-1970s in the Cape Peninsula. (See Map 6.) The Minister of Community Development announced that there would be no more squatters in Cape Town by 1981. Africans were to be removed through influx control. Coloureds and africans would be removed through the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. In his 1980/81 Report, the Director-General of Community Development said 30 103 coloured squatter huts had been registered in Cape Town since 1975, 18 936 had been demolished. Between October 1980 and September 1981, 2 728 had been demolished, and 11 167 remained to be demolished. (Cape Times and Die Burger, 5.05.82)

Map 7 shows the distribution of shacks in 1982. Table 8 gives the official statistics from the various local authorities responsible for Greater Cape Town. Of the 12 authorities in the area, 8 replied that they had no shacks. Answers varied from 'We don't have a problem; we pull them down the moment they appear' to 'The police deal with them' to 'We don't have shacks, but we do have vagrants'. It seems that while the policy has been extremely efficiently applied and the number of shacks has been cut drastically (as well as thousands of houses built), the problem of people unable to afford rents in townships has been displaced. Every local authority said they had vagrants and that the problem was growing. Some felt the people were 'mostly harmless' and merely sleep in different places. In other areas officials complained of trespassing, drunkenness and potential violence.

It seems that while many houses are being built, firstly not everyone can afford the rents and, secondly, there is still an enormous backlog forcing people to live in extremely overcrowded conditions in small one-family houses, garages and out-houses as they are no longer able to build shacks.

Each local authority has a 'squatter control' division. Fish Hoek reported that they have no shacks as they do 'regular sweeps' to clear squatters. Kuils River reported no shacks but 'about a dozen regular bush sleepers'. Durbanville reported that in 1981 they had cleared 27 squatters out of the bush. Up till May 1982, they had cleared 15 people out of the bush. Bellville reported no shacks but 'harmless vagrants' adding that in the Bellville South area they had a housing waiting list for 809 families. Presently these people are residing with other people. The City Council had brought their number of shacks down from 7 200 in 1976 to 7 074 in 1977, to 663 in 1982.

Table 8 on the next page gives the official list. Many other shacks exist in these areas but their occupants will not be granted housing. Only those registered in 1976 are being housed. The rest are 'chased away'.

According to Die Burger, 12.09.81, in 1976 the Theron Commission said there was a housing shortage for coloureds of 131 000. Now the shortage is 50 000 according to the Secretary for Community Development but the Minister of Community Development said 67 000 homes were needed for coloureds in the Western Cape. (Argus, 27.11.81) On 20.11.81 Die Burger reported that 150 000 people live at Mitchells Plain in 20 000 houses. By 1983 another 20 000 will be built and the population will be 250 000. There is a waiting list of 18 000 to rent houses and 9 000 to buy houses priced between R8 500 and R16 400 (deposit R100). Die Burger said people are demanding jobs nearby, an adequate train service, creches and nursery schools.

In June 1980 the railway line extended from Nyanga at a cost of R12 million was opened at Mitchells Plain. Up to that time people had to catch at least three buses to reach work in the city. Commuting was, and still is, extremely costly in terms of time and money.

Not only in Cape Town is the provision, or lack of it, used to control the coloured population. According to a report in the Argus of 7.10.81, no new homes were built in Grabouw in the last 20 years. Grabouw lies in the Caledon magisterial district which showed a 6,6% pa growth between 1960 and 1970. Grabouw is the centre of the agricultural and food processing expansion. (Agricultural production increased by 7,7% pa and secondary activity 7,5% pa (food processing, furniture and wood).) This means people were attracted to the area by employment. However, there is an increase in employment of contract workers, according to Brian Levy. It seems that coloured people prefer to migrate to the towns and Cape Town in particular, so contract workers are brought in to replace them. This means they can be housed in single-sex quarters and repatriated more easily when redundant.

Cape Town's City Engineer said that natural population growth and in-migration generates a demand for 6 000 new housing units annually. (Cape Herald, 14.08.81)

Community action and organisation is being mobilised around the issue of increased rents, which were due to be raised between 10% and more than 100% in 1982. Thousands of people have attended protest meetings throughout the Cape Flats and as far away as Worcester. Thousands more have signed petitions. The Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) is co-ordinating the protest with the support of churches, community organisations and unions.

## 2.6.3 Transport

The Mitchells Plain Bus Service Ltd and Atlantis Bus Service Ltd have applied for fare increases of up to 60% (Argus, 21.12.81). According to the report, about 50% of Atlantis workers and most of Mitchells Plain workers commute to

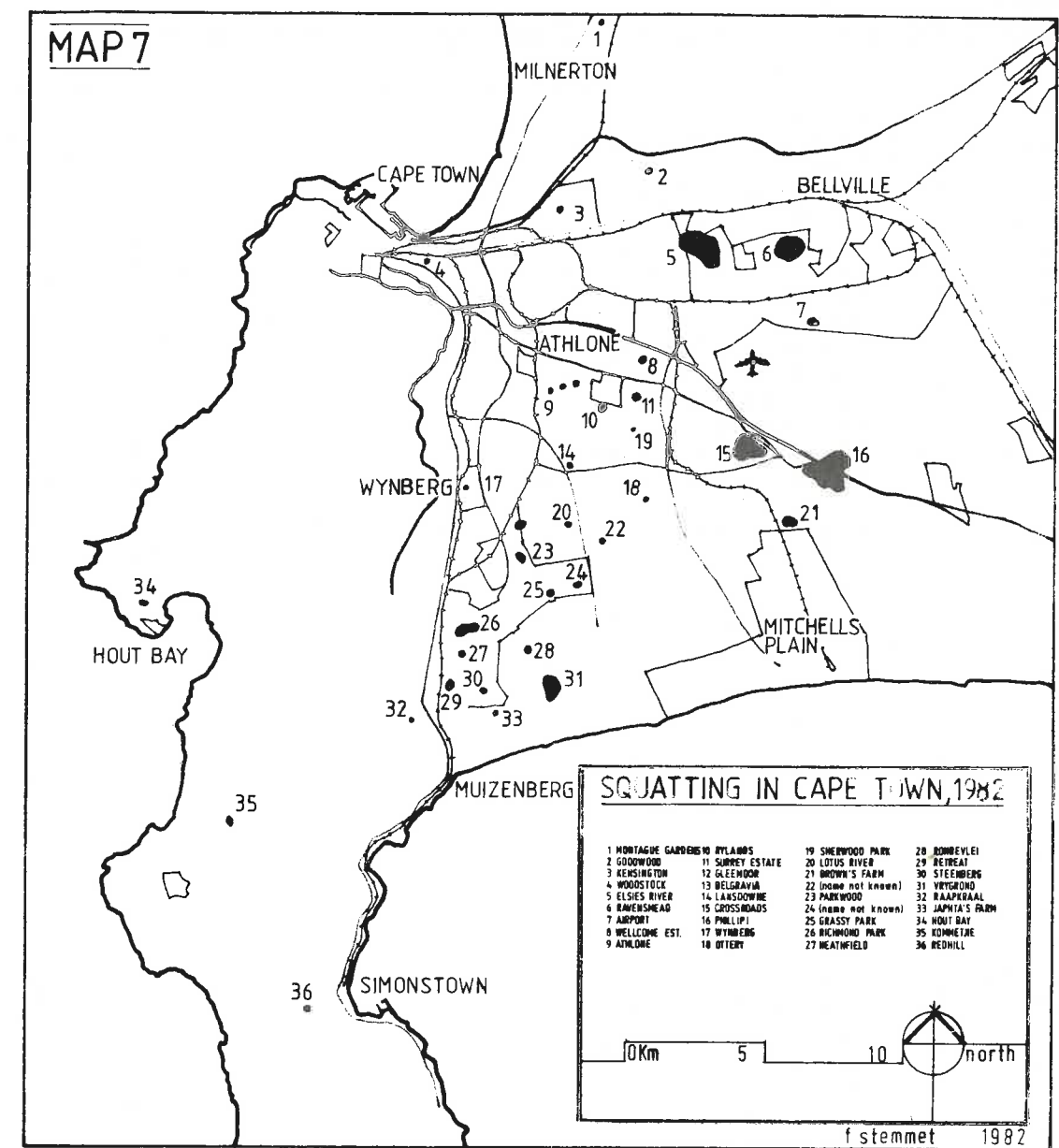




Table 8 NUMBER OF REGISTERED SHACKS TO BE DEMOLISHED  
(as of 25.03.82)

Redhill to Cape Point	29
Kommetjie/Noordhoek	12
Hout Bay	14
Pollsmoor/Raapkraal	11
De Wets Rd, Grassy Park	1
Philippi	636
South of Lotus River	53
Methodist Church, Philippi	104
Swartklip	18
D F Malan Airport	175
South of Kuils River	85
Philadelphia	20
Klipheuwel	11
Richmond Park Cemetery	110
North of Richmond Park	25
Grassy Park (south of Rooikrans & 7th Ave)	41
Grassy Park	358
Lotus River	105
Elsies River	1 300
<b>DIVISIONAL COUNCIL AREA</b>	<b>3 108</b>
Kensington	14
Parkwood	22
Surrey Estate	11
Rylands	3
Welcome Estate/Vanguard	5
Belgravia	4
Gleemore	1
Athlone/Crawford	9
Japhta's Farm	20
Sherwood Park/Philippi	4
Lansdowne	5
Ottery	1
Woodstock	3
Retreat/Steenberg	280
Vrygrond	233
Wynberg	8
Heathfield	23
Rondevlei	17
<b>CITY COUNCIL AREA</b>	<b>633</b>
Parow/Ravensmead	1 100
Table View	12
Montague Gardens	6
Goodwood (not necessarily in shacks)	10
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4 869</b>

Cape Town daily. During 1980, 100 993 eviction notices were served on Divisional Council tenants - an average of almost six issued for each housing unit during the year. Residents report having to choose between paying rent and buying food. Transport is essential to keep one's job.

The National Transport Commission refused a fare increase to these two Companies and City Tramways (which serve Cape Town) in November 1981. In terms of the regulations, increases may be applied for in six months' time.

Grassroots hailed the rejection of increases as a victory for the commuting public including the 20 000 people who had signed the petitions. (Grassroots, 11/81) During 1980 Cape Town had a three-month-long bus boycott over fare increases which resulted in fares being frozen for a while.

## 2.7 ORGANISATION

The black communities of the Western Cape have been seeing their hardships in political terms in recent years. Although there were protests and delegations to Group Area Board hearings, isolated boycotts, strikes, etc, not since the early 1960s before the ANC and PAC were banned has there been such organised mass action. 1976 saw school boycotts and unrest mainly in the townships, but also a peaceful march through the centre of Cape Town (which was violently ended by riot police). The two-day 1976 stay-away from work was largely successful.

The most organised community action started in 1980 with the boycott of red meat (in support of striking meat workers), the bus boycott (over increased fares) and the schools boycott (in protest over inferior education). Since 1976 there has been much closer co-operation between african and coloured members of the community, with increasing numbers of 'democratic whites'. Table 9 shows the number of people involved in strikes in the Western Cape in 1980, a proportion of them being contract workers (CMGM at Saldanha Bay) who were dismissed and returned to the reserves for striking.

Table 9 NUMBER OF PEOPLE INVOLVED IN STRIKES IN W CAPE, 1980\*

Strikes Over Pay		Recognition Union/ Works Committee	Dismissals	Other
Namakwaland Mine	200	Preserving factory	650	Peckers Restaurant (Cape Town) 19
Helderberg Meat Products	20	Karoo Meat	59	
Kromrivier Apple Co-op (Grabouw)	700	Table Bay Cold Storage & 17 Meat Firms	800	African Mail Advertising 28
TEJ	200			Packaging Firm 8
Rex Trueform	3 000			
Roy Beamish/Murray & Roberts				
Mode Morris	800			
CMGM	750			
CMGM	700			
Cape Herald	23			
Cape Herald	12			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6 405</b>	<b>1 509</b>	<b>1 030</b>	<b>55</b>

\* SAIRR Survey 1980

Much research is being done to expose conditions at work and in the townships. The community newspaper Grassroots published results. While Cape Town is the focus, work in limited areas in the rest of the Western Cape is seen as important, e.g. Zwelihle (the African township of Hermanus), Worcester, Paternoster.

Before the government institution, the Coloured Persons Representative Council, was abolished, it was interesting to note voting patterns in comparison with white voting patterns. It could be said that people only bother to exercise a vote if they feel it will 'help' i.e. bring about change. Most white rural constituencies do not have elections as no opposition is forthcoming and the candidate is elected unopposed. In white urban constituencies percentage polls often reach 80%.

Table 10 COMPARISON OF WHITE (1970 & 1974) AND COLOURED (1969 & 1975) ELECTION PERCENTAGE POLLS

	WHITE		COLOURED	
	1970	1974	1969	1975
Urban	78,4	69,8	16,3	15
Rural	81,5*	32,9	32,3	26

\*relatively high as the United Party contested many seats; United Party too weak by 1974 election to spread resources to seats they would be unlikely to win.

The 1975 CRC elections showed a marked decline in participation. These figures indicate the poll of registered voters over 21 years old. Most coloured people refused to register. Although there was greater disillusion in 1975, the rural vote was still much higher than the urban, indicating

- forced voting, eg. farmers taking labourers to polls,
- lack of alternative political structure.

The CRC member for the Worcester area was involved in everything from helping people obtain pensions, to laying charges against farmers for ill-treatment of workers. (Interview, May 1976) So people in his constituency supported him for his general involvement.

For the black community, civic and union organisation has grown - these organisations include representatives from coloured and African areas. Rejection of all forms of government 'puppet bodies' has increased - including anti-South African Indian Council elections, management committees and community councils.

# WESTERN CAPE

## PART 3

### Case Studies

This section deals with a few areas in more depth. There was one household survey carried out - in Atlantis. The other areas have been examined to a greater or lesser extent from secondary sources and field trips.

The Western Cape has been divided into the following sections for this part of the report:

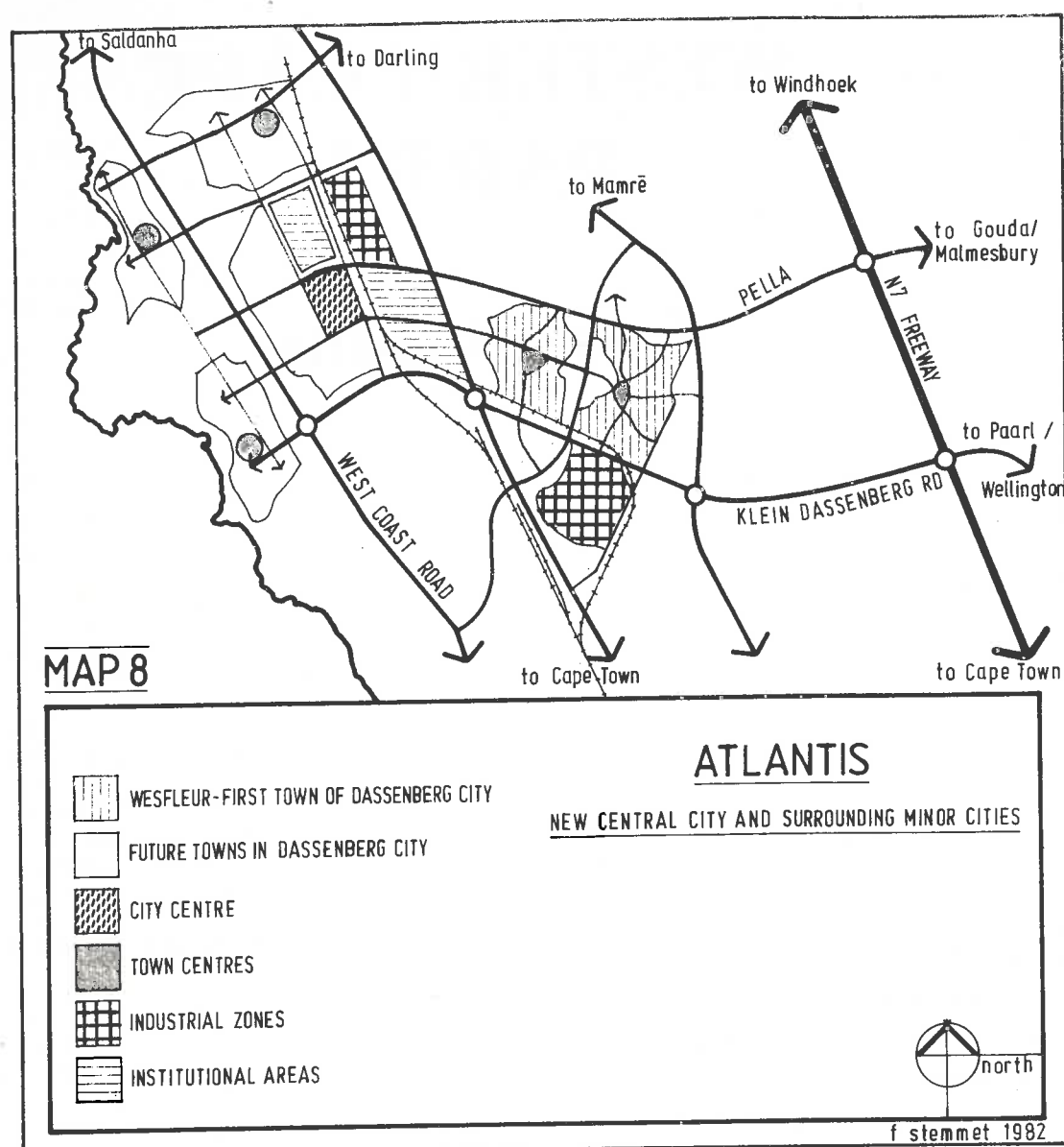
- 1 Metropolitan Cape Town
- 2 Boland (05 Economic Region)
- 3 Southern Cape
- 4 North-Western Cape

### 3.1 METROPOLITAN CAPE TOWN

As has been outlined, the main forces at work in this sub-region are those of urbanisation and emigration. During the 1930s many whites left the rural areas and moved to the towns, particularly from the Karoo and dry areas to the north. Later the trek was followed by coloureds who moved first to places like Worcester, then, in the second stage of their urbanisation, to Cape Town. Blacks, having been collected from scattered settlements over the whole area, were sent to the Eastern Cape reserves as most were Xhosa-speaking. As they find it increasingly difficult to survive in the overcrowded poverty-stricken Ciskei and Transkei, more and more escape to the urban areas looking for work.

Atlantis was chosen for the household survey to test this suggestion about urbanisation and as will be seen, it seems true that Atlantis is fulfilling the twin purpose of providing accommodation for those moving to Cape Town and for those squeezed out of a tightly controlled city.





Source: The Argus, 5-6-81

The second area to be examined in this sub-region is the african urbanisation process by looking at the history and forces behind african squatting in the Cape Peninsula in the late 1970s and 1980s. While squatter struggles are not unique to this part of the region, they have occurred on a mass basis unparalleled in the rest of the Western Cape where many people have been evicted and moved over the years, generally as families or small communities (e.g. the story of Poppie Nongena).

Lastly in this area, the position of some coloured squatters will be examined. Over the past five years coloured squatting has been outlawed and people's structures destroyed unless they occupied numbered shacks, in which case they were to be housed and the shacks demolished so that no others could take over the structures.

## 3.2 ATLANTIS High-class resettlement

### 3.2.1 Introduction

It was decided to survey Atlantis as an example of planned resettlement of the coloured people in the Western Cape. Atlantis was established in 1976 as a 'deconcentration' centre for the W Cape according to the Department of Planning and the Environment in its document A Spatial Development Strategy for the W Cape. Others describe it as a 'coloured homeland', an attempt to extend the government policy of segregation of 'ethnic' groups to a racially mixed group in terms of its own definition.

In the Argus of 9.01.81 it was reported that 'It's Atlantis or nothing for house-seekers'. It therefore seems important to examine this new development 45 km north of Cape Town (Map 8), in terms of why it was planned, for whom, what the conditions are, why it was planned there and why people go there.

### 3.2.2 Deconcentration plan

Atlantis has been designated a deconcentration point by the government as part of its plan to promote decentralised industrial development. It is planned to lessen the pressure of over-concentration in metropolitan Cape Town. Incentives industrialists will receive at Atlantis are a 40% rail rebate, 80% of the total wage bill up to R70 per worker per month, a training grant, 40% rental and interest subsidy for 10 years, a 40% housing subsidy, relocation and electricity subsidies, and a 4% price preference on tenders.

### 3.2.3 The household survey

In January 1981 the SPP and the Cape Western region of the Black Sash completed 99 household questionnaires. (According to Die Burger, 27.11.81, there are 30 000 people living in Atlantis) It was recognized that this was probably not the best way to do the survey. It would have been better had the community itself undertaken the survey, but no 'community' could be found. Initial investigation resulted in isolated discussion with a few individuals. Not until May 1981 had there been broad-based debate between residents when a mass meeting elected an action committee to deal with grievances.

The report covered home-ownership, economic and sub-economic rental schemes. Every 10th house was visited as randomly selected from a house and street plan of Atlantis. Where the occupants or a reliable adult were not available, the next house was visited. The report was carried out during the day on weekdays and weekends to make sure workers were included.

Thanks to the Black Sash for their time and petrol in making this report possible.

#### REPORT BACK

Ways and means must be found of getting this report back to the residents, as well as to the wider Cape Flats community. It is suggest that this report be given to Grassroots, a community newspaper.

#### RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

From the very long questionnaire which takes up to an hour to administer, masses of information can be extracted. For the purposes of this report some of the most important and interesting material is presented. There is far more which could be used and those wishing to do more detailed work on the area are welcome to contact SPP. The completed questionnaires will be available at Jagger Library, University of Cape Town.

### 3.2.4 Origin of households

Just over 70% of the households arrived between 1978 and 1980, with 19% of them arriving in 1976.

#### WHY ATLANTIS?

As houses are built, people from the Divisional Council waiting list move in. It was reported very easy to get a house in Atlantis - 'even unmarried mothers could get houses'. Most people reported Atlantis was the easiest place in Greater Cape Town to get a house.

66% of the people reported came from Greater Cape Town, mainly from overcrowded township houses and squatters' camps. They came because they wanted their own house. A few came because their firms decentralised from Cape Town and either the firm got them the new house, or they felt it would be too far to travel to work so they moved the household to Atlantis. A few came because there were jobs at Atlantis, although a number reported that their firms had gone bankrupt and that they had to find new jobs. A reliable percentage cannot be quoted because not everyone volunteered this detailed information and it was not part of the written questionnaire. No one specifically reported that e.g. 'All my life I have wanted to live here...'

It is likely that the many people coming from the rural areas came to Atlantis because it was easy to obtain a house and squatting is very strictly controlled. Cape Town is a magnet for people from small town locations, off white farms (who may not have been working on the farm, only two of them did work on the farm), from mission land (three) as the growth of these small towns is at best static, if not declining. There are no longer opportunities on mission land as there are too many people to work the land and small crafts enterprises cannot support the present population.

According to Pinnock (Elsies River), Elsies River performed the function of interim host for those urbanising. Migrants left farms and settled in the nearest towns, then went to the city. It seems now that Elsies River is being cleared of shacks (note the number of people who came from there). Atlantis may perform that same role.

Those people who had lived in shacks near Atlantis, e.g. Table View area, seem to have obtained houses at Atlantis, probably for the first time in their lives.

The people who came from Johannesburg and Pretoria reported that they came for job opportunities (but one is leaving again) and that this was the only place coloureds could get nice houses. (This brings to mind the interview with a woman from Soweto now living in Nondweni - her family were tired of waiting for a house in Soweto and heard there were opportunities in KwaZulu)

Table 1 NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS FROM DIFFERENT AREAS

Mission Land	White Farms	Small Town	City	Other including squatter areas	Total
5	9	16	54	11	95

Of the 65 who came from Greater Cape Town, 12 came from Elsies River, 7 from Kensington, one from Cape Town centre, and the rest from the Cape Flats including Grassy Park, Bonteheuvel, Crossroads, Vrygrond, Mitchells Plain, Hanover Park, Manenberg & Athlone. Nine households came from the vicinity of Cape Town: Paarl, Richmond Park, Sir Lowry's Pass, Joostenberg, Firgrove, Killarney, Klappmuts & Kraaifontein. 18 came from the Northern and N W Cape: Carnarvon, Saxonwold, Williston, Katzenberg, Douglas, Pella, O'Kiep, Upington, Velddrif, Darling, Saldanha, Dassenberg & Kalbaskraal. Four households from the Southern Cape came from Mossel Bay, George, Barrydale and Kranshoek. One household came from Johannesburg and one from Pretoria.

Of the 98 households that reported their place of origin Greater Cape Town accounts for 66%, near urbanisation 9%, far urbanisation 22% and job relocation 2%.

#### REASONS FOR RELOCATION

82% of households went to Atlantis of their 'own free will', 13% were evicted and decided to go to Atlantis, 2% were evicted and moved there. (The rest did not reply to the question) There should have been an open-ended question on why people came to Atlantis as many people added 'ifs and buts'. It would be more realistic to qualify the 82% by adding that many went through force of circumstance.

Table 2 LENGTH OF STAY IN PREVIOUS PLACE

Years	0-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	+50
Number of households	37 42%	18 20%	16 18%	15 17%	3 3%

(10 households did not reply)

It seems that most people were fairly mobile, probably moving from one overcrowded house to another, squatting in different places before they were cleared. Most people reported Atlantis their first home, even after 20 years of marriage. Compensation was received in four cases.

#### RURAL IMMIGRANTS

People from rural areas were so few in number that it is difficult to generalise. Only one household had produced significant agricultural goods. Of the nine households from white farms, five heads had worked on the farm. In three cases members of the households had also worked on the farm. None had written contracts with the farmer.



## TENURE & OWNERSHIP

80% of households had rented their previous accommodation, 54% from private owners, 46% from public authorities (as London has confirmed (p28)). 13% had occupied their accommodation free and 8% had owned their own homes.

### 3.2.5 Population profile

#### FAMILY SIZE

Atlantis offers sub-, economic and home ownership housing for nuclear families. There is no provision for extended families. The most common size (mode) family reported was five with 79% of households having three to seven members 58% had four to six members. (London reported average family size as 5,9) However, there were 16 extended, 16 compound and one extended compound family (61 nuclear families and two one-member households). Nuclear families have come, in most cases, from households of extended and compound families on the overcrowded Cape Flats (see Origins of households). While many people reported the advantage of living in Atlantis was having one's own home in a relatively quiet neighbourhood, the disadvantages of living as a nuclear family were given e.g. not having granny to look after children, having to buy one's own furniture and appliances, who to turn to in trouble or unemployment.

#### INFANT MORTALITY

Only two households reported one death each since arrival in Atlantis.

#### HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS AT THE TIME OF THE MOVE WHO HAVE SINCE LEFT THE HOUSEHOLD

Of the households which lost one member most were through death (including one 29-year-old household head who died while working for Escom at Koeberg) and marriage, one was transferred and one moved because Atlantis was too far out.

Of households which lost two and three members, most left because it was too far from work or they wanted housing closer to town (half of all those who left).

### 3.2.6 Survey population

Table 3 TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX & RESIDENTIAL STATUS

	Total	Male	Female	Not Stated
Permanent	265	120	145	3
Commuter	157	94	63	-
Migrant	7	6	1	-
Not stated	129	56	73	3
	558	276	282	6
Missing data	6	5	1	
	564	281	283	

The survey sample included 564 people (281 males and 283 females) with a masculinity rate of 99(281/283), which is close to the normal of 100.

39% of the total population is under 15 years old (50% of the permanent population). 59% of the total population is of working age, 15 - 64 years (48% of the permanent population : 43% male, 52% female), and 2% of the total population is over 64 years old. London found 2,9% of pensionable age and 18,2% of the population under six years old. It seems Atlantis shows a lower proportion of under-15-year-olds compared with the rest of the coloured population. (43,8% computed from Simkins, Table 1.)

Nearly 84% of the surveyed households were headed by males, with 46% of them being between 25 and 34 years old. (Only 19% of them were between the ages of 35 and 44, giving a high proportion of young working age men.) These people would not have had housing for their own families in the rest of Greater Cape Town. Figures for 6 households were not given.

Table 4 RESIDENCE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE POPULATION OF WORKING AGE

Residence type	Males	%
Permanent	52	31
Commuter	86	52
Migrant	6	4
Non stated	22	13
Total	166	100

In May 1980 the Cape Divisional Council found that 62% of household heads commuted to the City Council areas, Bellville, Parow and Goodwood, to work, while 24% worked in Atlantis; the other 14% commuted to Durbanville, Pinelands, Milnerton, Simonstown and Fish Hoek (unpublished report).

Table 5 RESIDENCE STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS & MEMBERS (%)

	Permanent	Commuter	Migrant	Missing	Total
Head	24	63	3	10	100
Member	52	22	1	25	100

Thus Table 5 confirms the Divisional Council survey. The situation had not changed in the year, 24% of household heads worked in Atlantis and 63% commuted. Officially only 35% of the workers of Atlantis commute, and the rest work in Atlantis. So said the Atlantis project director as quoted in the Cape Times, 28.07.80. 83,9% of surveyed household heads are male between the ages of 15 - 64 years (78 men), i.e. nearly half the males mentioned in Table 4. London found 48,7% of breadwinners worked in Atlantis.

#### ECONOMIC STATUS

Table 6 RESIDENCE STATUS OF THOSE OF WORKING AGE (15 - 64 YEARS)

	Number	%
Permanent	127	47
Commuter	134	50
Migrant	7	3
	268	100
Missing status	60	-
Total	328	100

Table 7 ECONOMIC STATUS OF THOSE OF WORKING AGE (15 - 64 YEARS)

	Number	%
Employed	156	48
Not economically active	68	21
Unemployed	19	6
Missing status	85	26
Total	328	101
(figures rounded to nearest %)		

London found 3,4% unemployed.

Of the 175 people of working age and economically active, 156 were employed and 19 unemployed giving an unemployment rate of 10,9 (4,8 male and 19,7 female). Female unemployment is far higher than male.

Of the total permanent population, 28% of the males and 24% of the females were employed (63% male and 60% female being not economically active), 9% of the males and 16% of the females were unemployed. Only 29% of the permanent population of working age was employed i.e. only 29% had jobs in Atlantis. 50% of the working-age population commutes while 14% of the 0 - 14 age group commutes. It was reported that two 0 - 14-year-olds are employed, both female, one commutes and one works in Atlantis. Nine 0 - 14-year-olds were reported unemployed, while the rest were not economically active.

#### EDUCATIONAL STATUS

Of the total number (550) whose educational status was mentioned, 124 had no education at all. 80 of these (of a total of 101) were under six years old, and 44 (of a total of 449) were seven and older i.e. 10% of the school age population had no education at all.

Table 8 NUMBER OF YEARS OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Years	People	% of Population
0	44	10
4	88	20
7	140	31
10	147	33
more than 10	30	7
		<u>101</u>

84% of the surveyed population over six years old has between one and ten years of formal education. Two of the seven migrants have more than 10 years formal education which indicates some skilled migration. Amongst those with no formal education, there are as many males as females. In the categories of higher education, males tend to predominate.

#### MARITAL STATUS

65% of the surveyed population were never married. 31% are married, 2% widowed, 1% divorced. All except one of those widowed and all those divorced were female. The divorce rate is lower than the national average probably

because the area is new and newly divorced people would be unlikely to move out to Atlantis by choice. Perhaps the divorce rate amongst working-class coloured people is lower than average anyway (possibly owing to economic dependence of the women).

### 3.2.7 Working conditions

As Atlantis has been established to take the pressure of industrial growth off Cape Town, the general conditions are examined. It is generally known that Cape Town is not suffering from growth problems - rather the contrary.

#### WHERE PEOPLE WORKED BEFORE AND AFTER MOVE

A cross-tabulation of where people worked before and after the move would be complex and limited in its use as the places mentioned cover the Cape Peninsula and further afield.

A number of points emerge:

25% of those now working in Atlantis had not worked in their previous place (some are as young as 14 years old)

40% of those who worked before and after the move work in Atlantis.

12% of those who worked before the move, no longer work

11% of those who worked before and after the move work in Cape Town now (12% before the move so there has been little change).

People living in Atlantis have not necessarily changed their place of work since the move: 18% have remained in the location. Many firms relocated either to Atlantis e.g. Tedex and garment factories from Bellville, Lansdowne, Salt River and Cape Town or to industrial areas e.g. Epping at about the time the workers moved, or had to move.

People surveyed in Atlantis work as far away as Brackenfell, Retreat, Philippi and St Helena Bay.

The survey carried out by the Divisional Council in May 1980 for where household heads work may be a useful comparison, though the above deals with all working members of the household and it seems many young people work in Atlantis which would account for the difference in percentage working in Atlantis.

Table 9 PLACE OF WORK

	DC		SPP	
	No's	%	No's	%
Atlantis	374	24	98	46
City Council area	735	47	67	31
Bellville, Parow, Goodwood	232	15	6	3
Durbanville	20	1		
Pinelands	69	4		
Milnerton	137	9	19	9
Simonstown	3		2	1
Other Areas			23	11
Total	1 570	100	215	101



66% of the work force commutes and 24% is working in Atlantis, which is the same figure the DC found to be the percentage of household heads working in Atlantis.

#### EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY BEFORE AND AFTER MOVE

Table 10 PRESENT EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

	Total		Male		Female	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
1. Manufacturing	60	39	28	28	32	54
2. Service	33	21	17	17	16	27
3. Construction	27	17	24	24	3	5
4. Electricity etc	12	8	10	10	2	3
5. Transport	10	6	10	10		
6. Trade	8	5	5	5	3	5
Other	10	4	7	6	3	6

34% of those who worked in the last place were in manufacturing and 24% were in services; 12% in construction, 1% in electricity (note Escom/Koeberg employees live in Atlantis), 9% in transport and 13% in trade (few trading sites in Atlantis). There has thus been a slight increase in manufacturing and construction owing to new factories. Domestic service would be more limited in Atlantis as it is so far from more affluent areas.

#### OCCUPATION BEFORE AND AFTER MOVE

Table 11 PRESENT OCCUPATION

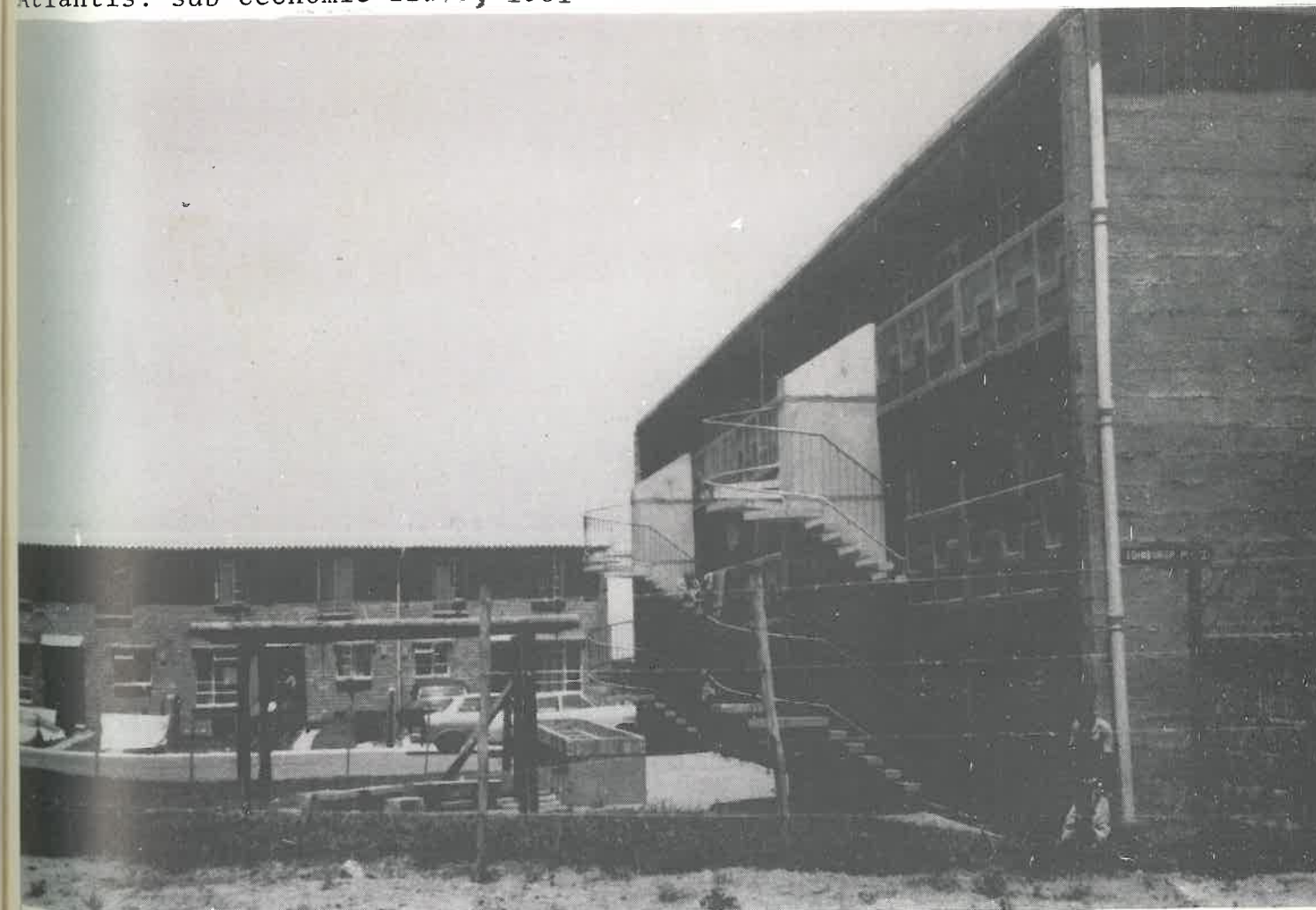
	Male	Female	Total	%
Professional	1	1	2	1
Business	3	-	3	2
Clerical & Sales	5	4	9	6
Service	3	5	8	5
Farm	1	-	1	1
Skilled	17	4	21	13
Semi-skilled	26	23	49	31
Labourer	42	19	61	38
Missing	3	3	6	4
Total	101	59	160	101

Before the move the percentage of people in the first five categories in Table 11 did not change much (9% remained in white collar jobs) but the percentage of skilled workers moved from 19% to 13%, semi-skilled from 27% to 31%, and labourers from 36% to 38%. The only category which improved their position with the move was the semi-skilled, and that not remarkably 82% of the workforce remained workers before and after the move.



Atlantis, January 1981

Atlantis: sub-economic flats, 1981







Paternoster, 1981

District 6: view across to the centre of Cape Town, 1981



District 6: remains of a shop, 1981

District 6: flats partly occupied at the end of 1981







District 6: Bloemhof City Council flats, no longer home to hundreds of families over the generations, 1981

District 6: new flats under construction for white civil servants, 1981



Nyanga Bush: people came from all over the Western Cape having heard that Dr Koornhof would legalise them... August, 1981





Nyanga Bush: they waited with their belongings but the officials' response was one of violence - raids, tear gas, dogs... August, 1981



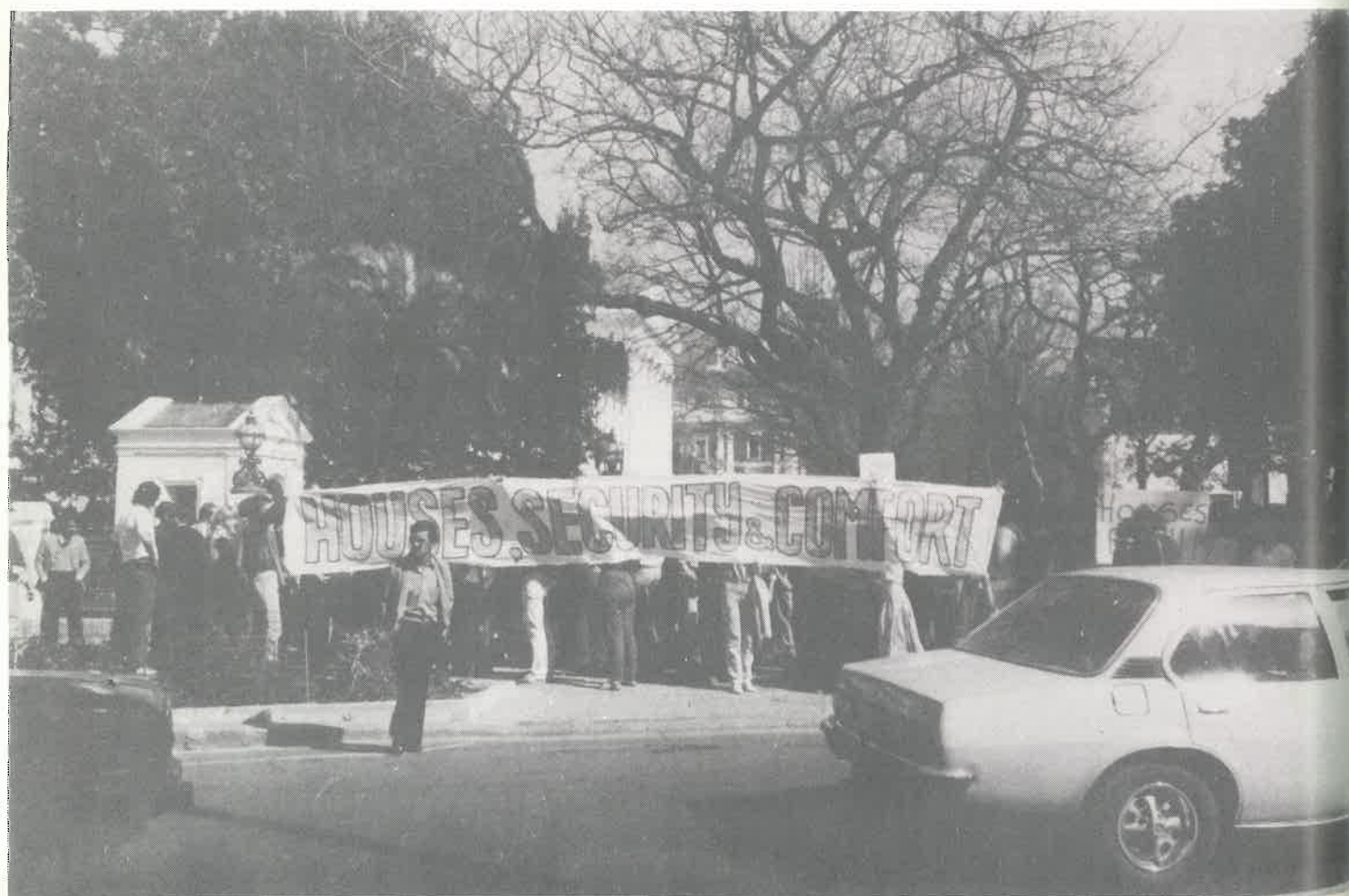
Nyanga Bush: the people built makeshift shelters from bushes... August, 1981





Nyanga Bush: the entrepreneurs set up shop to feed the people... August, 1981

Nyanga Bush: the people of Cape Town protested outside the Houses of Parliament demanding houses, security and comfort for all, August, 1981



## EMPLOYERS AND INCOME TYPE

78% of the workforce is employed by private enterprise, with 18% in the public sector and 3% self-employed. 47% (75 people) of the workforce is employed in the private sector and commutes, while 13% commutes to public sector work. 20% of the workforce is employed in the private sector in Atlantis.

61% of the population did not state income type, presumably because they were not economically active or unemployed and not receiving Unemployment Insurance. 32% receive wages and 5% receive State grants (including disability 1,5%, old age pension 2%, maintenance order and maintenance grant each 0,7%). Annexure 1 gives an idea of some of the difficulties experienced.

## INFORMAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN THE HOUSEHOLD

81 households replied that there were no informal economic activities which could contribute to household income; 14 replied that they undertook the following activities:

Table 12 INFORMAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN THE HOUSEHOLD

	Households from <u>urban</u>	<u>rural</u> areas	Total
Child minder	1	2	3
Baking	-	1	1
Knitting	1	1	2
Odd jobs	-	1	1
Hawking vegetables & fish	2	-	2
Selling spices	1	-	1
Radio repairs	1	-	1
Makes doilies	1	-	1
Fosters children	-	1	1
Sells paraffin	-	1	1
Total	7	7	14

Although, as it has been shown, more than 66% of the people come from Greater Cape Town, 50% of those engaging in informal economic activity came from rural areas, showing perhaps greater dependence on agglomeration of people to provide income, i.e. the necessity for urbanisation. Four households did not reply to the question.

Another indicator of the household needing to supplement its income is whether it receives gifts from outsiders. 77 replied they did not receive gifts, while 9 did, including a woman who had a week-old baby and whose husband had died recently while working for Escom. 13 households did not reply.

One household reported agricultural produce.



## Atlantis residents assoc. formed

MONTHS of organising by a 17-person action committee culminated in a successful mass meeting in Atlantis on May 18.

More than 600 people attended and there was standing room only.

The meeting unanimously decided to establish a Residents' Association to replace the one which had become defunct.

All 17 members of the action committee were elected to the executive of the Residents' Association.

The executive, as part of its action programme, is to prepare a memorandum to be sent to the "highest authority" listing the grievances expressed at the meeting.

Some of the grievances are:

- Dissatisfaction with the Management Committee which has "done nothing" for the people of Atlantis.
- There are only two doctors during the week and none at weekends when they are most needed.
- The day hospital has only one doctor

and a serious shortage of nurses.

- The ambulance service is hopelessly inadequate.
- Too few recreation facilities.
- An alarmingly high crime rate and too few policemen.
- No internal bus service.
- Brackish water.

When a member of the Management Committee tried to interject during one of the speeches he was booed.

Later, however, he was given a hearing.

He said that people should be patient.

"Atlantis has only been in existence for five years," he said.

"Elsies River and Tiervlei have been going for scores of years without facilities and they aren't complaining like we are."

This statement infuriated the audience.

A speaker from the floor was loudly applauded when he said: "We should have nothing to do with Management Committees. We, the people, must ostracise Management Committee Members."

## Pensioner must feed seven on R12 pm

A DISABILITY pensioner told the meeting that after paying her rent and other essential expenses she only had R12 over for food for the month.

And that for a family of seven!

She was speaking from the floor during question time.

She complained bitterly about the lack of medical facilities in the area.

"My husband is a chronic asthma sufferer," she said. "We can't

get treatment for him here so he has to go to Grassy Park every time. This costs R4 in travelling alone. I suffer from high blood and I also have to go to Grassy Park which is another R4.

"I have a deaf and dumb son. He has to go to school in Wittebome.

"He is too young to travel all the way from Atlantis so he has to board there. This costs R40."

"After I have paid everything I'm left with

only R12 for food for seven people for the month. I am sure I am not alone in this trouble in Atlantis. There are many like me." (A "yes" chorus from the audience).

"Not long ago they told me that as a pensioner my rent would be coming down. What happened? It went up instead."

"We've just been dumped here in Atlantis."

"They treat us like dogs."

"I ask you would they treat Whites like this?"

Speakers also complained about inadequate medical facilities in the area.

"There are only two private doctors and they are only available from Monday to Friday," said one.

"There is only one doctor at the day hospital and then also from Monday to Friday."

"He is so overworked that much of the treatment is done by the nurses."

## Raw deal for local workers

BOSSES in Atlantis have been accused of ganging up against local workers.

Speaking in support, a resident told the meeting that because of the bosses attitude in the area nearly 6 000 local residents had to travel to Cape Town to work.

"The industrialists here have made a pact that if a worker leaves his job at a local firm no other firm in the area will employ him."

"This leaves us wide open to exploitation. Workers have to work

24 hour shifts. Overtime is compulsory — no matter how inconvenient it is to the worker."

"If we refuse to work overtime we are sacked and that means the end of our employment chances in the town in which we are forced to live."

He said that people working in Atlantis were paid much less than those doing the same job in Cape Town.

He said that a machinist earning R34 in Cape Town would

only be paid R23 by the company's sister company in Atlantis.

"And this despite the fantastic concessions received by companies operating in Atlantis."

"Did you know that for every rand the boss pays you he receives 40 cents back from the government?"

"For every rand he spends on rail costs he gets 30 cents."

"If he has to pay removal costs to bring workers from outside to live and work in Atlantis he gets the whole amount back."

### 3.2.8 Diet

In order to compare Atlantis with other relocated communities and establish the standard of living, the question 'How often does your household eat?' was asked. Of the 70 households which replied to this question, 51 (73%) ate three times a day, 16 (23%) ate twice a day and 3 (4%) ate once a day.

The daily diet of over 80% of those surveyed consists of starch (potatoes and rice), milk, tea or coffee, sugar, bread and margarine. Over 50% responded that they ate maize, meat, greens, jam daily as well. Eggs, fish and cheese were eaten less frequently than meat: Daily — 35% ate eggs, 6% fish, 19% cheese while weekly 13% ate eggs, 12% fish and 19% cheese (of those who responded). 18% of those surveyed never eat cheese, 11% and 5% respectively never eat fish and eggs. Interviewers report a range from wealthy home owners eating protein three times a day to one mother who gave her children eggs and milk but drinks black coffee and can only afford bread for herself.



### 3.2.9 Conditions on arrival

#### FACILITIES

Everyone said that water and latrines were available on arrival. Only 3 people reported no roads or shops, 9 reported no buses, 11 no taxis, 13 no fuel, 1 no schools, 6 no clinics, 7 no churches or local authorities. 12 reported some other facilities. This shows most basic services were provided by the time the people moved to Atlantis.

#### HOUSING

Only one household brought building materials with it. 86% of households moved from a permanent house or flat into a permanent house or flat. 4% moved from shacks or temporary shelters into permanent accommodation, while one household moved into a tent and three into temporary housing. 47 households paid a lump sum before moving into their houses, 36 did not and the rest did not reply. Lump sum was defined for Atlantis in different ways - some people paid a deposit for a house which then becomes theirs, others had to pay rent, usually three months, in advance.

### 3.2.10 Home ownership

Only 8 households in the survey owned their own homes in Atlantis (about proportionate with the number of home-ownership houses available), 81 rented them from the Cape Divisional Council and one rented from a private individual.

### 3.2.11 Present conditions

In reply to the question 'How do you get on with the people who live here?'

53	households	- well
23	"	- reasonably well
14	"	- no relationship
8	"	- not sociable/children cause problems/shebeens
98		

These replies should be read in conjunction with replies to the question about differences between living in Atlantis and the last place. The single most common reply was that Atlantis was safer. (From June 1977 to April 1981 (47 months) there were 128 rapes, 804 attacks and 37 murders. One temporary police station deals with the crime.) Many also said it was quieter (45 households), while the three which replied that Atlantis was not safer all came from rural areas.

48% of respondents felt conditions had improved since they arrived, 31% felt they had not, 18% thought they were the same and 3% said they had worsened since arrival.

Of those who felt conditions had improved, more than half stated the bus service, 40% the schools, and the majority of the rest community facilities including another shop, hospital, churches, taxis, library, sports fields, roads and lights. One person said people were turning to God.

Those who said conditions had worsened gave the reasons as skollies and shebeens in the area, and increased evictions.

#### HOUSING

The second major difference stated was that households had a bigger and far better house now. Many stated that it was better in Atlantis because they were no longer so overcrowded, it was quicker to get a house, they had their own house/were not sharing for the first time in 20 years of marriage, for example. Ex-shack dwellers remarked that it was good to have electricity and running water. Five households complained of higher rents, water and electricity rates in Atlantis. According to Die Burger, 27.11.81, the cost of water and electricity is higher than at Mitchells Plain and Bonteheuwel. One said rent was lower than the previous place.

Improvements demanded included lower rents, better fencing, better quality of water and hot water cylinders (in one case). Mr L Rothman, Chairperson of the Cape Divisional Council, reported a shortage of 1 500 houses mainly for those earning over R650 pm, for professionals. 535 economic and 610 other housing units had been completed in 1981. (Die Burger, 17.11.81)

#### TRANSPORT

A major problem is the distance from Atlantis to Cape Town and the areas people use for shopping, recreation and work. Problems relating to the distance include high bus fares, bad bus connections, feeling isolated (even frightened), no train service, too few bus shelters and 'it's too far from town to pick up odd jobs'. People complained that by the time they had read the newspaper and travelled to the interview, jobs had gone to those who lived closer.

The only person who said bus connections were better than before came from a rural area. The City Engineer, Mr J G Brand, reported that by the year 2000, 65 206 Atlantis people would work in Greater Cape Town. A fleet of 692 buses would be needed to transport them daily. He urged that a rail system be provided. This would be cheaper for the State and the people and cause less congestion. He said the present fleet of 25 buses would have to be increased to 113 by 1985 and 235 by 1990. (Argus, 10.5.82)

#### COMMUNITY FACILITIES

Shopping was the single biggest problem. Since this survey was completed, a branch of a large supermarket chain costing R3,7 million has opened, so presumably this is not such a problem now.

Shops were said to be too far away, in Cape Town, and the variety was minimal in the one shopping centre in Atlantis. Again one ex-rural household said shopping was better than where they had lived before. Shops in Atlantis were expensive as there was little competition. People wanted supermarkets, butchers, clothing shops, chemists, banks, rent offices and post offices throughout Atlantis. There was also demand for take-away facilities, garages, burial and insurance companies.

Some people said they had to turn shopping into a form of entertainment for one member of the family as it was so far and expensive to shop in Cape Town.

Improvements were seen in terms of the structural problems of Atlantis - being far from the city therefore new facilities would have to be provided and even then it is unlikely that other large supermarkets and clothing stores will be willing to locate at Atlantis until purchasing power would warrant the investment.

People liked the additional space in Atlantis - space to play and for sports fields. However, many demanded more playgrounds, parks, lawns and paths. A swimming pool was high on the priority list. Next came other recreational and sports facilities including a cinema, evening entertainment such as discotheques and night clubs. Only one respondent wanted a hotel (luxury hotel with ladies bar, conference and dancing facilities plus restaurant costing R1 million is in fact to be built next to the shopping centre. (Die Burger, 27.11.81)) People wanted more doctors, particularly at night as only nurses are on duty at the hospital at night.\* Creches and nursery schools were wanted. Two households wanted better police protection and 'skollies removed'.

One household each wanted more schools,\*\* more churches,\*\*\* a Gospel Centre, a clinic nearby, and a war veterans' club.

Ten households complained of a lack of community, no friends and that there was nothing to do, particularly for children and young people. Before the move one could find interesting people to watch and places to go without everything costing money. One person said Barrydale was bigger! Another said Atlantis was more sophisticated. A number of people complained that shebeens and gangs were growing, that there was nothing else to do.

#### WORK AND COST OF LIVING

More than 50 households complained that the cost of living in Atlantis was too high. Specific complaints included:

rents and rates too high 13  
bus fares too high 14

Eight households complained of unemployment and four said wages were too low. In a talk on her research for the Urban Problems Research Unit, Vanessa Watson quoted wages for males averaging R146 per month in Atlantis, R275 in Cape Town, R94 per month for Atlantis females and R200 for females in Cape Town, all in September 1980. (Also see Annexure 1.)

Two households reported difficulty in getting grants. Job opportunities in Atlantis appear not to be as stable as those relocating there to find employment would expect. A number of families gave the reason for moving to Atlantis as either 'The firm moved here' or 'We came for work'. Now some of those firms are bankrupt and people are unemployed.

\* There is only one doctor at the hospital, on duty weekdays only. 33 nurses serve the hospital and 5 nurses the clinic. Serious cases have to be transferred to Groote Schuur or the Red Cross Children's Hospital. There are two private doctors who may be consulted in Atlantis. In October 1981 there were 455 ante-natal cases and 283 accidents (mainly the victims of stabbing) attended to. A chemist shop is being built. There is no dentist.

\*\* There is a double-shift system in some schools. At the moment there are four primary schools and one high school with another high and two primary schools being built. The State Children's Home was opened early in 1982 and will concentrate on technical training.

\*\*\* There are seven church buildings serving 33 denominations.

### 3.2.12 Organisation

Closely related to the question of differences in life style since the move and problems experienced, is that of local organisation. While 27 households reported no problems, many of those cited were community problems around which little organisation has grown. 24 households belonged to no organisation. 73 belonged to churches (New Apostolic 17, Independent churches 17, NGK 10, Roman Catholic 9, Anglican 8, Old Apostolic 5, Muslim 4, Methodist and Baptist one each). One member of a household belongs to each of the Ratepayers' Association, a Keep Fit class, a youth club, scouts, a tennis club, and a school committee.

The churches provide the only social activity for most people. One of the biggest complaints is that no credible community organisations exist, particularly in comparison to areas from where people came.

#### LEADERSHIP

Although the question 'Who are the leaders here?' may not result in a truthful response, at least some indication of perception should be obtained. Responses included names of people and these have been linked to their positions for the purposes of this report.

Table 13 RESPONSES ON LEADERSHIP

There are none	33	Mr Pietersen (Rent office)	2
Don't know	27	'The Committee'	2
Church leaders/priests	10	Chairman of the Tennis Club	2
Mr Isaacs (Rent office)	6	Mr van Wyk (Cape Div. Council)	2
Mr Louw (Management Committee)	6	Ivan Hampshire (Chairperson CDC)	1
Ratepayers' Assn. Executive/ 'Property owners association'	4	'I have no trust in coloured leaders'	1
'The woman working for Coloured Affairs'	1	Mr Thomas (first resident)	1
Scorpion gang	1	Total	98

61% respondents thought there were no leaders or did not know who they were. 13% gave the names of officials working for the CDC or the State, as the people they went to with their problems in many cases, 6% recognized the Management Committee (another 2% 'The Committee') and 4% the Ratepayers' Association Executive, although comments were made that the latter were not interested in problems of tenants.

In the Cape Times of 9.03.82 it was reported that nominated members of the Atlantis Management Committee had been given observer status on standing committees of the Cape Divisional Council: '(they) will be unable to participate in committee proceedings or vote on issues before the committees.' The Management Committee has two members each as observers at monthly meetings of the



The Argus, 29.05.81 reported that the Atlantis Civic Affairs Association had been formed 'at a stormy meeting of 600 residents last week'. No confidence was expressed in the Management Committee. Grievances raised were extra service charges, distance and related bus fares to work and to visit relatives, brak water, a poor internal bus service, bus shelters, acute shortage of creches, double shifts at schools, inadequate sporting facilities, no doctors at the hospital during weekends, lack of recreational facilities and inadequate police protection (Appendix A).

Since the formation of the Association no further publicity has been forthcoming. However, at a mass meeting of 400 people on 1 February 1982, the Atlantis Housing Action Committee (AHAC), an affiliate of CAHAC was launched. Rent increases and proposed bus fare increases are being fought. (Appendix B & C)

The level of frustration and apathy is reflected in answers to the questions 'what do you expect to do about your problems?' and 'who do you expect to help?' 62% expected to do nothing and 54% expected no-one to help. Of those who would do nothing most (11%) expected the Divisional Council to help, 4% expected the church to help.

Ideas were raised such as holding meetings, having the women organise a petition, finding out rights, starting a community newspaper, 'standing together', complaining, writing letters to the press, organising men into work camps (3 replies) and praying. Most people who proposed action wanted to approach the authorities including the Cape Divisional Council, Magistrate, Coloured Affairs Department (Internal Affairs), Church leaders and the Ratepayers' Association. ('The home ownership people want nothing to do with us' was one reply.) Not many expected a positive response. 'Coloureds don't stick together' and 'Who are the leaders?' were responses.

One person reported that 'the boss at the factory has meetings with us sometimes and we can take our problems to him, but nothing much happens'.

Mr Cliff Alexander, Personnel Manager of the John Strebel Group in Atlantis, was reported in Die Burger, 27.11.81 as saying that his group took 24-hour responsibility for the workers. The Group had started a grocery delivery service and 'milk powder for babies' scheme. They dealt with medical and housing problems, in the case of the latter, going directly to the Divisional Council. Of the 600 members of staff, most lived in Atlantis. Absenteeism had dropped from 10-16% to 2,5%, labour turnover had decreased from 75% to 48% in the unskilled category. There was a good spirit among workers and productivity had increased.

### 3.2.13 Conclusions

Atlantis shows a similar profile to dormitory towns established as labour pools outside major South African towns, e.g. Ezakheni near Ladysmith (Natal), Itsoseng near Lichtenburg, and Mdantsane outside East London. In each case the area has been planned to accommodate workers for the nearest white town. The townships are situated at least 20 km outside the cities or large towns, 'just far enough', according to one Atlantis resident, 'to keep the people tired after commuting to

\* The Argus (16.9.81) reported that the Atlantis Management Committee had opposed the Divisional Council proposal to lower the deposit for homes at Atlantis from R300 to R100 'because lowering the deposit might attract "undesirable persons" to the new city and lead to houses being repossessed'. Mr S Louw, Chairman of the Management Committee, added that '(they) may be a contributing factor for lowering the standard of living in home ownership schemes'. (Beaconhill, a suburb for the higher income group, has been approved. It will house 1 000 families earning more than R650 per month each. (Argus, 8.10.81))

and from work, so that they do not have the energy to demand higher wages or better community facilities'. It is also interesting to note that there was no unrest in the schools at Atlantis during 1980 when the majority of black schools in the Peninsula were closed for most of the year. There was no bus boycott while residents of the Cape Flats boycotted buses for nearly half of 1980.

Major problems stated relate to:

COST OF LIVING: expensive shops, then rent and bus fares too high.\* They are not dissimilar to problems on the Cape Flats, but worse because people are isolated and have no alternative but to use Atlantis shops; there is no train service.

ISOLATION: is stated as a main problem - both physical in being far from facilities, and mental, out of the mainstream of action as discussed above. People remarked on the quiet and peaceful lifestyle positively in most cases but many added that crime was beginning to appear and that life could be too quiet, leading to loneliness.

COMMUTING: is a problem taking time and money. While it may be better to have a job in Atlantis to save travelling, a Divisional Council survey carried out in July 1979 showed that household heads working in Atlantis earned on average R140 per month, those working elsewhere earned R168 per month.\*\*

MATERIALLY: many people are better off with reasonably good-quality housing. Many squatters and people from overcrowded township houses were very pleased with their 'first home' or 'a room for the boys and a room for the girls'. People from farms and rural townships remarked on the good facilities provided while those from metropolitan townships thought the facilities could do with much improvement.

ORGANISATION: at the time of the survey was non-existent. People did not know whether there were leaders or who they were and felt themselves by and large unable to redress their grievances and did not expect anyone to help, or were fatalistic about the help.

URBANISATION: on one hand Atlantis seems to be a new gateway for rural people to Cape Town. On the other hand, it was planned to attract people from the city. While this is happening, as housing is relatively easily obtainable and as squatting is harshly dealt with by the authorities, Atlantis fills up.

INDUSTRIALISATION: has been slow in spite of attractive concessions including

- financial assistance for up to 8% of the land and buildings, 45% of machinery and working capital, interest rates 5% below prime commercial rate
- tax concessions of 40% of wage bill for 7 years; tax is reduced by 30% of the value of initial investment in plant and machinery at 10% p.a. over 3 years
- housing loans
- cash grants to cover costs of moving plant and personnel
- railage rebates of 30% for goods made in Atlantis.

These concessions were effective until 31 March 1982.

So far R60 million has been invested in 52 factories employing 5 500 people. Mr A Quinton, partner in Atlantis Industrial Park, commented in the Cape Times (12.08.81): 'These are highly motivated people, and there is a strong pride in home ownership. The quality of one's workforce can make a lot of difference'. Project Director of Atlantis, Mr P S Burger, said there was a high degree of

\* Mr P le Roux of the Institute for Social Development, University of Western Cape, said that if bus fares were increased, more than 30% of Atlantis people would fall below the breadline. (Argus, 20.08.81)

\*\*Summary of salient features of rental community in Atlantis : CDC, July 1979.

community identification shown in the Management Committee elections earlier this month (Cape Times, 12.09.81) but did not quote the percentage polls. He conceded that present weaknesses were the lack of small businesses and services such as electricians or plumbers, to service existing houses. According to Vanessa Watson\* there are two main groups that have relocated to Atlantis:

- a) textile and garment industry which is a slow growth, labour intensive industry
- b) electric, chemical and technical industry which shows high growth and needs unskilled labour.

With the planned growth at Atlantis with State concessions and an abundance of labour, capital has used relocation as a means of accumulation. Industries which have relocated are often capital intensive, many are branch plants making workers susceptible to retrenchment (and this has happened to many of the people interviewed) and needing a highly controlled labour force; many are branches of multi-nationals so that profits are repatriated.

According to a report in Die Burger (27.11.81) 5 653 coloured, 632 whites and 1 564 contract workers are employed in Atlantis. R600 million has been privately invested, R16 million spent on industrial infrastructure and R50 million on housing and related services so far.

With the new deconcentration incentives released on 1 April 1982, more investment is expected in Atlantis according to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha. (Argus, 1.04.82)

In conclusion, it seems Atlantis has been established partly to cope with increased population growth, pressure on the metropolitan area particularly for the fastest growing sector, the coloureds, and partly to encourage capital to invest in the Western Cape at highly attractive rates. Although the people may be a different colour and not subject to bantustan independence, it seems broadly the same plan as the rest of South Africa: relocate to control, keep the wage bill down, separate the races and keep social infrastructure just high enough to prevent community organisation. Again, as is being found throughout the country, one must ask whether the State has responded to interests of capital. From press reports it seems capital is not keen to decentralise to Atlantis. Established plants might expand there through branches and new enterprises might be encouraged by subsidies, but other than Atlantis Diesel Engines and Tedelex no major industries have relocated to Atlantis. As industrial sites in metropolitan Cape Town fill up, new development will only be able to go to Atlantis. Meanwhile people are moving there to get houses faster than jobs are being provided which seems to be a consequence of the state of the whole Western Cape economy.

\* Talk based on research in progress for the Urban Problems Research Unit, University of Cape Town, September 1980.

## Annexure 2

THE PEOPLE OF ATLANTIS SPEAK Grassroots, March 1982

# 'We need a strong organisation'

FROM all over the Western Province, from Grabouw, from Saldanha, Elsies River and Manenberg people came to Atlantis hoping to find a better life. But as one housewife said:

"If I had the choice, I would go back to Stellenbosch where life was not so bad."

These are the words of Mrs Appollis.

Her husband works in Salt River for their five children.

She has been unable to find a job in Atlantis.

From the R50 per week that Mr Appollis earns, R18,68 is spent on rent (per week), R10 on electricity (per month), and R8 on water.

He also has to pay R5,50 per week for a clipcard to Cape Town.

Mr Appollis is forced to work in town because there are no jobs in Atlantis.

The jobs that are available in Atlantis offer lower wages.

The residents of Atlantis did not have a choice when they moved there.

From where they came there were no houses and Atlantis was the only place where they could find a house.

The Group Areas Act forced the people to leave their older communities like District Six and prevented them from getting houses in other areas where houses stand empty.

"Because of all these problems, we in Atlantis need a strong organisation through which we can voice

our grievances. The only way is for us to organise ourselves," said a spokesperson for Atlantis Housing Action Committee (AHAC).

AHAC, an affiliate of CAHAC, was launched at a mass meeting on 1st February this year. More than 400 people attended the meeting. A committee was formed and is organising in the area. Atlantis has been hit hardest by the rent increases and recent proposed busfares. AHAC is taking up this fight.

## Developed

Atlantis was developed as a growth point because the government refuses to do away with the Group Areas Act.

Houses and suburbs would be built together with developing factories to provide jobs.

But the industries have not moved to Atlantis and there are no jobs.

Only 40 percent of the bread-winners work in Atlantis. The other 60 percent work outside in areas like Bellville, Parow and Maitland.

At present there are 30 000 people in Atlantis. The area is divided into a number of "suburbs" like Avondale, Protea Park and Saxon Sea.

There are blocks of flats like the Dura Flats, Atlantis Senior Secondary School is the only high school and also has to cater for pupils from Darling, Mamre and Pella.



# AHAC fights busfare increases

MR Groenemeyer who works in Tiervlei spends R10 per week on transport to work by bus. Mr Groenemeyer is one of many families in Atlantis who earn R40 per week. With rent increases and other expenses it is hard to make a living.

The people of Atlantis have to use the bus because there is no train service which is

much cheaper. Mr Groenemeyer says the bus service is not only expensive but also unreliable.

"Daar gaan nie 'n week verby dat ek nie laat by die werk aankom nie".

He also feels that it is unnecessary for the Atlantis bus-service to increase its fares since there are only bus shelters on the wrong side

of the road and the service is poor.

The bus does not enter Protea Park, one of the suburbs of Atlantis and residents walk about 30 minutes to the nearest stop.

The residents of Atlantis are totally dependent on the bus service to move out to other areas. This they have to do often, not only to get to work,

but to do other necessary things like shopping, attending school and the hospital.

AHAC has organised residents to lodge their objections with the National Transport Commission. They have attended the hearing and presented their problems themselves to stop the busfare increases.

## Poor facilities

The Atlantis residents have a good way of describing life in this "promised land".

They all say "Atlantis maak jou flenters."

Through this people refer to the many problems that they face in Atlantis.

Atlantis only has one supermarket and two smaller dealers to cater for 30 000 residents. The people prefer to shop in town because the prices are much lower and there is a wider choice of goods. A member of the A.H.A.C., Mrs van Rooyen who prefers to shop in Athlone has to spend R4,80 each Saturday to get to Athlone.

The medical facilities offered in Atlantis are inadequate. A survey of the facilities was done by the UCT Medical School. There is one day hospital providing 28 in-patient beds.

The hospital is staffed by 2 part-time doctors and 15 nurses.

No doctors are on duty at night and over weekends, only on standby for emergen-

cies.

There is a clinic which has the only dentist but there is no chemist or optician.

Residents are very unhappy with the quality of the treatment.

Doctors are known to prescribe medicine without examining patients.

The day hospital is referred to as "die perde-hospitaal" by the residents.

### Gogga-dorp

Atlantis is sometimes referred to as "gogga-dorp".

The reason is that the ash bricks used by the Divisional Council to build the houses breed bugs which come out once the people occupy the houses.

A resident from Saxonwold, Mrs Harrison is angry because Council will not allow her to use a certain paint which will help to destroy the bugs.

Another irritation for all residents is the water of Atlantis. The water of Atlantis is "brak".

This means that soap does not lather easily.

It is thus difficult to wash oneself and do the washing.

It is also expensive because of all the soap and soap-powder used.

### Children

Atlantis only has one creche. The creche caters for 80 children.

Many mothers leave children at home with elder brothers or sisters.

Some are forced to send their children to relatives in other areas during the week so that they may work.

### Cut-off

"Hier in Atlantis bly ons in die bos".

These words people use to describe the isolation which living in Atlantis has brought into their lives.

They are cut off from family in other areas and cannot visit regularly because of the high bus fares.

Moving to Atlantis has also meant an end to sport and other cultural activities for most residents.

## 3.3 RELOCATION & RESISTANCE From Modderdam to Nyanga Bush

### 3.3.1 Western Cape removals 1977-78: Modderdam, Unibel & Werkgenot

In February 1977, the Minister of Community Development, Marais Steyn, publicly announced the government's intention to remove illegal squatters from the Bellville-South area (near D F Malan airport).

The communities immediately under threat were Modderdam, Unibel and Werkgenot (all three mushroomed during 1972-77). The residents of these communities were representative of the growing numbers of squatters who existed on the margins of South African cities, forced to live 'illegally' in order to escape starvation in the 'reserves', ducking the influx control regulations, to gain some measure of control over their own lives, outside strict township control. Communities such as this, if strongly organised, posed a potential political threat to the State. They challenge the very roots of the apartheid system.

All three communities had some internal organisation - residents' committees, informal clinics, schools, etc.

In Modderdam, a community of about 12 000 people, the people fought a predominantly legal battle. When demolition notices were first issued they won an initial court case against the demolition based on a legal technicality under the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. The State's response to this was to amend the law five months later, taking away the squatters' last remaining 'legal' rights.

The potential for strong community organisation and resistance existed, but outside church and liberal organisation, by making representations on behalf of the community to the State, undermined the community's own role in its struggle.

High-profile public campaigns were undertaken to 'save' Modderdam, Unibel and Werkgenot. In less than one week, both Modderdam and Werkgenot were destroyed.

There is no use bargaining on this. This is an instruction from higher authority. I have never known people to be so obstinate. When the government speaks you must listen. (F H Botha, Chief Director of BAAB, August 1977)

Church, liberal and welfare organisations responded to the demolitions by treating the people like victims of a natural disaster - rather than people caught in a political and economic vice. They were moved into tents on church property and given relief such as food, blankets and clothing. This further demoralised the people. With the people dispersed all over the Peninsula, further resistance and reorganisation became impossible.

In January 1978, when Unibel too was demolished, approximately 10 000 more people were made into refugees. Few returned to the reserves. (54 tickets to the reserves were issued in Modderdam and about 1 500 in Unibel) Most drifted into the nearby townships in the Peninsula. The Crossroads population is reported to have increased by about 3 000 residents after the demolitions.

The State's response to the resistance of these communities was a brutal one. It clearly indicated its intention to destroy organised black settlements which existed outside strict government control. Tolerated during the earlier economic boom, it appeared to be politically and economically expedient to remove the settlements at that particular point. Without strong community organisation, a clear analysis of the State's as well as the people's own strengths and weaknesses, as well as a lack of creative tactics vis-a-vis the State, it was impossible to achieve positive short- or long-term gains. The lessons of the removals, and resistance to them, have yet to be learned in the Western Cape. (See Crossroads and Nyanga Bush)

### 3.3.2 Crossroads

The resistance to the removal of Crossroads remains an important case study in terms of squatter resistance in the Western Cape. The highly public nature of its resistance, with world focus upon a government trying to implement total strategy, forced the State to adopt sophisticated strategies in repressing resistance. The brutal force of the 1977-78 removals became a political non-option. Instead Dr Koornhof, with the sleight of hand befitting a magician, gained greater control over Crossroads and blacks in the Western Cape, whilst appearing to grant concessions and treat a squatter 'problem' with humanity.

#### EARLY HISTORY, ORGANISATION AND RESISTANCE

Crossroads developed as a community in early 1975 in response to

- a) an increasing demand for black labour in the Western Cape during the economic boom of the early 60s and 70s
- b) the lack of adequate family housing in the local black townships
- c) the 1974/5 move to control coloured squatting in the Cape Peninsula. Blacks were pressurised to move from areas such as Browns Farm, Elsie's River, etc. And in the case of Crossroads, BAAB inspectors instructed people to occupy the land between Lansdowne and Klipfontein Roads.

Increasing numbers and frequent pass raids pressurised the community into developing its own organisations. Three residents' committees were formed - Noxolo, Sizamile and the Women's Committee. The Women's Committee was the first organisation to emerge and take up community issues. The women were to continue to lead the struggle in the months ahead.

Assistance was sought from the Black Sash and lawyers. A number of successful court cases were won. The most significant was the declaration of Crossroads as an Emergency Camp in 1976. The effect of this legal victory meant that Crossroads escaped the demolitions of the 1977/78 period, by obtaining this timeous legality. These legal battles initiated the process of dependence upon external (and particularly legal) solutions to community issues.

Crossroads was threatened with demolition in February 1978. Organisation was consolidated within the community as well as amongst those relating to their particular struggle through a supportive role. The women formalised their committee and all three committees met together on a regular basis to discuss the crisis and how best to respond to impending demolition.

#### CROSSROADS SUPPORT GROUP

The support group consisted of individuals and members of churches and liberal organisations with a history of concern and involvement in squatter and human rights issues. The issues of concern were the maintenance of family life and an economically viable and stable community. Others felt that if these were demolished the political cost to the State should be raised. The underlying causes - e.g. migrant labour system - were hardly mentioned. Any attempts to broaden the issue and make a solution proved impossible. This not only castigated the issue in the broader political struggle, but drove a wedge between Crossroads and the existing black townships.

Some members of the committees regularly attended the weekly support group meetings, but the initiatives and direction of the public campaign were largely dictated by the outside support group. The line of action was a high-profile public campaign to strike at the hearts of the 'white' population locally and abroad, e.g. car stickers, media coverage, public exhibitions, etc. The development of stronger community organisation and participation was sacrificed by adopting this strategy. In view of the urgency of saving Crossroads from the bulldozers, these short-term strategies were the only options seen - there was 'no time for community development' or long-term work.

#### STATE'S RESPONSE

Faced with an organised and highly publicised 'legal' squatter camp, the State initially adopted different tactics from those used in dealing with the 1977 removals.

For example, a series of early morning 'crime prevention' raids were launched to harass the community; about 400 houses were threatened with demolition by the local Divisional Council for rental arrears; pamphlets telling the people to return to the 'homelands' were regularly distributed by local BAAB officials. However, none of these tactics succeeded. Instead, they were countered and publicly exposed, helping to keep the Crossroads issue public, locally and abroad.

In September 1978 the State launched two massive 'crime prevention' raids to counter the continuing resistance. The community, having been warned of the impending raids, met the riot police and BAAB officials with singing and open defiance. However, by the end of the second raid in the early hours of 14 September 1978, about 900 people had been arrested. Many were brutally beaten, one resident was shot dead. Overnight the name Crossroads ricocheted around the world.

Physically and mentally exhausted by eight months of continued resistance, the community desperately sought an end to their struggle. Dr Koornhof, the new Minister of Plural Relations, didn't miss his cue.



## THE KOORNHOF INTERVENTION AND 'DEAL'

Dr Koornhof's intervention in late 1978 ushered in a new (albeit short-lived) era of cooperation politics and humane solutions to 'problems'.

Neither the support group nor the community were prepared to cope with the more sophisticated strategies Dr Koornhof adopted to solve what he called the Crossroads 'problem'.

The level of tension started high, but through communication this was lowered and they responded as any group under similar circumstances. They were not out of the ordinary. (Steyn du Plessis, Urban Foundation, 1979)

Dr Koornhof was quick to perceive the political cost of the situation and defused it by offering a new township as a solution. 2 575 families would receive residential rights. At face value it appeared a victory for the people. In actual fact it was a stroke of political genius on Dr Koornhof's part. He not only defused a highly political local and international issue, but increased influx control measures in the Western Cape. He stated unequivocally that another Crossroads would not be tolerated in the future.

Through a sophisticated and protracted negotiation process he managed to obtain the community's consent to greater government control. Ironical, in view of the community's four-year history of resistance to control. The four-month process between the elected community delegates, their advisers and Dr Koornhof undermined mass community participation since all delegates were sworn to confidentiality. However, the community delegates continually expressed reservation about trusting government promises, BAAB officials or Dr Koornhof. At such times Dr Koornhof used the community's own advisers to assure them of his integrity.

It was under pressure such as this that the community 'acquiesced', as opposed to agreeing, to Dr Koornhof's proposals.

The negotiation left division and confusion within the community and the support group. Community organisation and decision-making was effectively destroyed. With the visible enemy removed, or parading in ministerial clothing, Crossroads was ripe for the internal fighting, corruption and disintegration of organisation that was to mark the next few years.

## THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

The history of Crossroads since the April 1979 statement of Dr Koornhof is an illustration how the community leaders have coped with the concrete implications of the 'deal'. Close collaboration with BAAB officials led members of the committees to involvement in fraud cases; for cooption of individual leaders into BAAB was achieved, thereby making it easy for Board officials 'with easy access to information on community disputes' to play groups and individuals off against one another. By the time the first families moved to New Crossroads in 1980, no less than four of the members of the executive committee were paid officials of the local Peninsula Administration Board.

On the positive side, the contradictions inherent in the 'deal' - an 'ad hoc' solution and impossible to apply to all Crossroads residents - has had the effect of politicising the people through daily struggles with promises that cannot be fulfilled.

Affordable rents were promised in the new township, yet many cannot afford the monthly rentals of R29.50; additional water charges have been levied; pass raids (a thing of the past in old Crossroads since 1978) have already taken place in the new township. (Residents of old Crossroads pay R7.00 per month levy which includes water, rubbish and sewage disposal.) Many residents in Crossroads have not as yet qualified for the new houses, others are losing their rights as they lose jobs. All a black person's reality in the Western Cape.

Issues such as these have forced the community to reorganise against tremendous odds. With most of the original support group members no longer in contact with the community on a regular basis (since the issue was won) the leaders have been forced to rely on their own strength and solutions to community problems.

The realisation that in fact very little has changed for them as blacks, resident in the Western Cape and therefore subject to the same repressive laws, has forged a growing sense of solidarity with other black townships. Having once been isolated and treated as 'a special case' by support groups and the State, left the community with a tremendous obstacle to overcome in terms of township solidarity. The community has, despite this, moved beyond local issues to broader ones such as the schools and bus boycotts, rent and Nyanga Bush issues. As members of the newly formed Western Cape Civic Association (an organisation of community-based township organisations) the potential exists to overcome previous isolation from other black communities and the broader issues.

Months of struggle with the Koornhof 'deal' has left the community with a healthy cynicism towards Dr Koornhof and his department. Mistrust of close collaboration with BAAB officials proved valid. Dependence upon outsiders for solutions has decreased and confidence has been regained in their own ability in the battle to reorganise and fight community issues. Crossroads, with a long history of struggle and organisation and growing political awareness, has the potential to play an important role in local and broader community issues.

The biggest challenge facing the community is whether it can overcome some of the more negative effects of its history such as bureaucratic leadership, internal divisions, etc. and begin to develop new leadership and structures of a progressive nature. With developments such as this, the community could turn a potential victory for the State into a victory for the people. The struggle in and for Crossroads people is far from over.

## 3.3.3 Nyanga Bush

### EMAVUNDLENI (NYANGA EXTENSION)

In June 1980 about 300 squatters from Hout Bay were told to leave the area and given temporary accommodation at the Langa hostels. There was low-keyed intimidation of the people by the officials after their move, but not until about 600 people were evicted in March 1981 did the issue receive public attention. Residents resisted by returning to the zincs. This was met by a series of pre-dawn raids. The people were moved to church property (as in 1977) by community and church workers, and the same issues of family life and Christian moral responsibility were once again raised. Community workers, church representatives and members of liberal organisations negotiated with the State on the people's behalf.

The squatters continued to resist by moving to a site adjacent to Crossroads. The State turned this strategy to its advantage by using the Crossroads agreement as a stick to wave at the Crossroads residents, and as an excuse to return the people to the reserves. Resistance continued as the women returned to Crossroads in hired buses. The resistance, continual liberal protest and church negotiations resulted in a temporary reprieve.

The people were 'legalised' by being given shacks on the Nyanga East side of Crossroads. Once again the State defused a potentially explosive issue. Little community organisation, liberal involvement, old strategies and no broad-based community support made it possible once again for the State to coopt a struggle and defuse resistance.

# ESIGANGENI (NYANGA BUSH)

On 14 July 1981, about 400 people threatened with eviction from the Langa hostels marched to the Administration Board offices demanding 'passes and places to stay'. This action initiated the latest resistance to forced removals in the Western Cape.

Joined by about 700 residents the following day, they elected a committee and moved onto land between Crossroads and the Nyanga BAAB offices.

On 16 July the site was raided and approximately 1 500 people arrested. (The original Nyanga Bush people were joined by people from the overcrowded hostels, flats and houses in the townships, Table View, as well as Crossroads residents who had not yet qualified under Dr Koornhof's categories and were therefore also 'illegal'.) The crowd offered no resistance, but stood and offered to be arrested in a scene reminiscent of the Defiance Campaign. Virtually overnight the site became a symbol of those without rights to be in Cape Town.

The Langa Courts were overcrowded with cases and special courts were established elsewhere to cope with the overload. The number of defended cases slowed the notorious 'assembly line' pass courts. There had been some talk of not taking bail or defence at the beginning, but it is not clear what happened to that strategy.

When relatives, friends and supporters waited outside the Langa courts the day following the arrests, they were dispersed with teargas.

## ANALYSIS OF NYANGA SITE CASES

Interviewed at the Athlone Advice Office between 21 July 1981 and 30 October 1981:

Number of cases	902 (262 men, 640 women)
Number of married women	266
Number of single women breadwinners	374
Number of children supported by the 902 cases	2 452 (an average of 2,7 children family)
* * *	*
Number of people from Transkei*	787
Number of people from Ciskei	30
Number of people from R S A	85
* * *	*
85 came to Cape Town less than 2 years ago	= 9,4%
186 came to Cape Town 2-5 years ago	= 20,6%
264 came to Cape Town 5-10 years ago	= 29,3%
367 came to Cape Town more than 10 years ago	= 40,7%

\* Mainly from Lady Frere, Cofimvaba, Engcobo and Cala

Table 14 EMPLOYMENT (ADVICE OFFICE CASES)

Men	Employed	Self-Employed	Casual Labour	Unemployed
262	221 84,3%	8 3%	21 7%	12 4,6%
TOTAL % OF MEN IN EMPLOYMENT : 95,4%				
Single Women	Employed	Self-Employed	Unemployed	
374	259 69,2%	55 14,7%	60 16,1%	
TOTAL % OF SINGLE WOMEN IN EMPLOYMENT : 83,9%				

## OUTSIDE SUPPORT

Initially outside support came from individual township residents, and church and liberal organisations. Assistance took the form of food, blankets and shelter (plastic and tarpaulin). (The shelters were removed each day for the first week by police and Administration Board officials.)

At meetings held in the townships and at Crossroads, 43 community-based organisations pledged support. This was, however, rebuffed by the Nyanga Bush Committee at a subsequent meeting of church representatives, community workers and representatives from these 43 organisations. It was clear that the motives of the organisations were being questioned. With links firmly established between the churches, community workers from liberal organisation, and the Nyanga Bush Committee, the broad-based community support never materialised.

The liberal strategies which won the day (apart from relief work) included petitions, a mass meeting in the Cape Town City Hall called by the PFP, a march on parliament, prayer meetings, press statements, and delegations to Dr Koornhof.

## STATE RESPONSE

After extensive media coverage of the pre-dawn raids locally and abroad, Dr Koornhof denied the removal of shelters but made it clear that the 'illegals' would not be tolerated. He offered to negotiate and the people elected additional members of the committee to negotiate with the authorities. This offer to negotiate was obviously a delaying tactic. Instead of meeting the committee as promised, Dr Koornhof released a 'new deal' to the press.

## 'THE NEW DEAL'

The deal offered legality to some in the Peninsula. Others were offered jobs in the Transvaal and OFS. No new employment was allowed in the Western Cape for 'illegals', nor was squatting to be tolerated at Nyanga Bush. No families were allowed to accompany workers to jobs.

The people can rely on me not to rat or go back on what is written here, but we must have cooperation to resolve the problem. (Dr Koornhof, August 1981)



The deal failed miserably. It was seen as not only divisive but unrealistic since jobs did not exist in the OFS and Transvaal for local blacks, let alone for those from the Western Cape. It was unofficially rejected by the people.

#### FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

By 17 August about 25 000 people gathered at the site, hearing that Dr Koornhof was offering jobs to 'illegals'. People interviewed at the site said they were told to go there if they were looking for 'jobs and passes'.

The meeting scheduled for August 18th between the committee and the Administration Board to give a response to the 'deal' was cancelled. Instead the camp was raided at 6 a.m. the next day. Approximately 2 000 people were arrested after being surrounded by police in 80 vans accompanied by dogs and teargas. Those arrested were taken to Pollsmoor Prison and divided into Ciskeians and Transkeians.

On 20 August, 1 059 people were deported to the Transkei in buses in terms of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act 59 of 1972, and given tickets to the station nearest to 'their village'.

Mr D G, a young man of 20, legally resident in Cape Town was returning from a trip to Mount Frere when his bus was stopped at Touws River on Monday 24th August. He was repatriated to Cala on Wednesday 26th August. His mother then sent him his travel document and R22 for his fare and he again embarked for Cape Town. He was again stopped, this time at Worcester, and sent back to Umtata. This in spite of the fact that his travel document showed that he was legally resident at Crossroads and employed. On his third attempt - this time with a rail warrant - he reached home after yet another incident at Worcester during which he states that he lost his watch and was manhandled by the police.

The Transkei 'border' was sealed and road-blocks set up between Cape Town and the Transkei. Those who were left at the site moved to Holy Cross Church in Nyanga and were subsequently also arrested and deported, following a pre-dawn raid on 26 August.

The Langa courts were no longer used as the State deported Transkeians as 'prohibited immigrants'.

Those deported to Umtata were sheltered by the churches and fed by the Transkei army.

Cape Town townships were surrounded by road-blocks, especially over weekends, and according to the Athlone Advice office more than 300 people were arrested on pass offences over the weekend of 5-6 September.

Dr Koornhof made the State position clear when he said he would always treat illegals this way and accused liberal organisations and the churches of being responsible for the squatter resistance.

The people in church halls in Umtata organised to return to Cape Town. From November onwards it is thought that most, if not all, returned to Cape Town.

When the State deported 'Transkeians' to Umtata and left the 'Ciskeians' in Cape Town, it began a process of division amongst the people known as the Nyanga Bush people - a division which has not yet - and possibly may never be - resolved. Those who were deported developed their own organisational structures whilst away.

A new committee was elected to deal with the day-to-day problems encountered in Umtata and upon return to Cape Town.

When they returned to Cape Town they initially joined those who had been left behind. The people remaining had held regular meetings at Holy Cross Church, Nyanga. They were dispersed throughout the townships, coming together only at these weekly meetings.

A number of problems emerged. Most of those who returned from the Transkei had a problem of having no place to stay. Many felt closer to the committee elected in Umtata than to the Nyanga Bush Committee. There was also disagreement over remaining dispersed until such time as there was an official response to the last discussions held between the Nyanga Bush Committee, their representatives and the authorities. Tensions increased over these issues, and numerous attempts were made by community workers, as well as church representatives, to reconcile the differences - but with no success.

In November those who had no other place to stay, who felt the committee elected in the Transkei should have some authority, and who disagreed with the strategy of waiting for the State to respond before taking further action, moved onto the sand dunes next to Crossroads.

From this point on there emerged two clear groupings of people fighting for their rights to remain in the Western Cape. Both with the same common objective, but each adopting differing strategies, as well as seeking support from different sectors of the community.

#### THE PEOPLE IN THE BUSH

In January 1982, the State opened fire on the people living in the sand dunes next to Crossroads. Once again the struggle of the Nyanga Bush people received broader public attention. At the time of the raid approximately 300 people lived in the sand dunes. After the raid, 104 remained. They were once again asked to give their names to the authorities. The State responded with a further raid and deportation to the Transkei on February 10th. The people resisted. Within a week all were back in the bush.

Having returned, they began actively to develop a support network with the neighbouring townships. They met with community leaders in Crossroads and were soon attending general community meetings there. Crossroads showed its solidarity with the squatters by holding a Day of Prayer for the Nyanga Bush people. Support for their struggle was openly expressed. They also collected money for food.

Further overtures were made to other community-based organisations and a number of support meetings were held (with Crossroads as the venue). The struggle for rights of the Nyanga Bush people, as well as the broader struggle for rights of blacks in the Western Cape, was discussed.

One of the most significant results of the people from the bush reaching out to the surrounding townships for support, has been the establishment of a tradition of broader community involvement in squatter struggles. Struggles which have, from Modderdam up to the present, been dominated by the churches, liberal organisations and community workers from these organisations.

#### THE HUNGER STRIKE

On 9 March 1982, a group of 57 squatters, said to represent the Nyanga Bush people, began a fast in St George's Cathedral, Cape Town. Their aim was to win rights to remain in Cape Town. They were part of the group which had been

meeting regularly at Holy Cross Church, Nyanga since August of 1981 (following the mass arrests and deportations to the Transkei). They were under the authority of the Nyanga Bush Committee.

The fast received significant media coverage at a local as well as international level. Although successful in focussing attention once again on the Nyanga Bush struggle, it failed to take into account the political context within which the action was taken. It also increased divisions between the two groups, since the group in the bush were not even given the opportunity to agree or disagree with the strategy. It received much criticism from community leaders within the townships, as well as from progressives, for acting without soliciting broader community support. The role of the church, which appeared to be openly supporting of one group and not the other, was also brought into question.

Dr Koornhof eventually responded to the fast and the many deputations to him by church representatives, by agreeing to negotiate - provided the squatters left the cathedral. This they did. On meeting a delegation of the committee and church representatives the following day, he made it clear that he would only continue the discussions if the fast itself was called off. Delegates of the Nyanga Bush Committee agreed to this at his office, without consulting those who were fasting back at Holy Cross Church, Nyanga. Once again, Dr Koornhof managed, as was the case in the Crossroads struggle, to defuse a potentially explosive situation by getting the people to (a) move from the cathedral, and (b) stop their fast. He persuaded them to relinquish the only power they had, and then negotiated with them - all on his terms.

A long process of screening has ensued, with no assurances that anyone would get their rights. The only promise given was that each case would be considered according to its own merits.

When names of those living in the bush were included in the lists submitted to the authorities, however, having been excluded from the original process, they rejected it and negotiated directly with the authorities instead.

The entire screening process terminated on the weekend of 24 April, amidst complaints from members of both groupings that all were not included in the process. At the time of writing no decision has been made public.

#### ANALYSIS OF BLACK FAMILIES FASTING IN ST GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL, CAPE TOWN, MARCH 1982

##### NUMBER INTERVIEWED : 54

Number of women	32
Number of men	22

##### LENGTH OF TIME IN CAPE TOWN :

More than 10 years	39 (72%)
More than 5 years	13 (24%)
Less than 5 years	2 (4%)

##### REASON FOR COMING TO CAPE TOWN :

To work	40
To join husband	9
To join husband and to work to help support family	5

##### EMPLOYMENT :

Men	all employed	
Women	23 employed,	9 supported by husbands

##### AGE (All under 50) :

Over 40	15
30 - 39	24
20 - 29	14
age unknown	1

#### PLACE OF BIRTH (all were born South African Citizens):

Cape Town	2
Paarl	1
King William's Town	3
Tarkastad	1
Laingsburg	1
Middleburg	1
East London	1
Seymour	1
Transkei *	38
Ciskei **	5

\*Part of South Africa until 1976

\*\*Part of South Africa until 1981

#### NUMBER OF CHILDREN SUPPORTED BY THESE PEOPLE:

189 - mostly living in Transkei or Ciskei

#### INFORMATION REGARDING ARRESTS AND FINES PAID:

- One man had been arrested 15 times but never deported. He served the sentence every time.
- One woman had been arrested 13 times and paid fines 7 times.
- One man had been arrested 12 times and paid 12 fines.
- One man had been arrested 26 times since 1964 and paid 25 fines.
- One man had been arrested 20 times since 1975 and paid 20 fines.
- One woman, who had a miscarriage on 18th March 1982, had been arrested 10 times and paid several hundred rand in fines.

IN ALL, BETWEEN THEM 54 PEOPLE HAD BEEN ARRESTED 252 TIMES, AN AVERAGE OF 4,5 TIMES EACH.

#### SUMMARY

All the men and single women were employed - formally, casually, or self-employed - when they started the fast. 72% of the people first entered Cape Town more than 10 years ago.

Issued by Athlone Advice Office, 5 Long Street, Mowbray 7700, on 24 March 1982

The Nyanga Bush struggle illustrates in microcosm the ongoing struggle of black 'illegals' for rights in the Western Cape. It is a continuation of the Modderdam, Unibel, Werkgenot and Crossroads struggles, and clearly illustrates the failure of influx control and the 'homeland' policy.

Faced with a group of potentially organised people who had escaped township and 'homeland' control, the State has been forced to crush the resistance with naked repression.

#### CONCLUSION

While the State may appear to make short-term gains, in the long term many lessons have been learnt:

- The State has the force to implement its policies and will use that power despite national or international outcries if it is necessary for the survival



of policy which protects political and economic privileges of the few.

- b) Dr Koornhof, despite earlier (1980) smooth talk, is a Nationalist cabinet minister and has reaffirmed he will not change the existing policy.
- c) The State does not always need to negotiate. It can gamble on using force. The organised resistance of the people makes the difference.
- d) The 'reformist' element in total strategy is over - it's back to confrontation in Nyanga, Angola, trade unions, etc.
- e) South Africa need no longer be as careful about its business image with right-wing leadership in the USA and UK.
- f) Transkei, and now Ciskei, are agents of South Africa - forced removals cannot be refused by a 'bantustan'.
- g) There is no substitute for organisation - demands should have been clearly stated by the people themselves, as they were in Crossroads, then outsiders could have related to demands rather than helping to articulate them.
- h) Resistance cannot be sustained without community support - the Nyanga Bush Committee should have taken up the support offered by the 43 community organisations (which one section did at a later stage).
- i) In the short term the people lost for the right reasons (direct repression) rather than for the wrong ones (cooption in Crossroads).

Thus far in the history of squatter resistance the State has been able to win, but only in the short term. In the long term, struggles such as these can only strengthen those people affected as they continue to fight for a democratic and newly structured South Africa.

## 3.4 SOUTH PENINSULA

Since 1976 when the Minister of Community Development announced that there would be no more squatters in the Cape Peninsula in five years' time, local authorities have been forced to 'clear' squatting areas. If the local authority does not comply with the law, the Department of Community Development destroys the shelters and bills the local authority.

In the South Peninsula over the past few years local authorities have 'swept' the area. Gangs of officials scour the mountainside for shacks and people living under bushes. A helicopter is also used to patrol the area from Cape Point to Muizenberg.

Ocean View is the only coloured group area. There is a long waiting list for houses. A proportion of the 430 houses being built will be allocated to squatters from the area. 25% of newly built housing is normally allocated to 'houseable squatters - those who earn enough to afford housing', according to the Divisional Council Medical Officer of Health (Cape Times, 12.05.82). A site-and-service solution is being presented to the Divisional Council and local authorities but it is unlikely to be successful.

In May 1982 about 40 to 50 (mainly coloured) people living on the mountainside between Redhill/Simonstown and Fish Hoek/Kalk Bay were being severely harassed. Their shelters had been removed and they were scattered throughout the area, hiding themselves and their belongings by day, sleeping under bushes and overhanging rocks by night. Three families sought refuge in a Kalk Bay church hall. Almost all the families had a breadwinner. Some had come from housing schemes such as Atlantis, Mitchells Plain (having failed to pay rent and subsequently evicted), others had been evicted in terms of Group Area legislation and yet others had not a roof over their heads for 20 years owing to the housing shortage.

Once more it was reported that there were vagrants in the area, as well as 'respectable' families who simply could not find shelter. It seems increasingly true that the vagrant population is growing and that more people will turn to alcohol and methylated spirits to drown their plight. The comfort and security of middle-class people is likely to become increasingly threatened by bands of vagrants desperate for shelter and employment.

## 3.5 BOLAND

One of the largest townships outside Cape Town in the Western Cape is MBEKWENI outside Paarl. Established in 1952 by Paarl municipality with 30 family dwellings, its residents originate from Paarl, Wellington, Franschhoek, Klein Drakenstein, and Groot Drakenstein.

Subsequently 300 houses were built in 1964, 150 in 1969 and 140 in 1976. Presently there are 622 houses and between 15 000 and 20 000 residents. According to the Administration Board the present population is estimated to be:

2 000 married males
2 000 married females
7 000 children
3 700 single males
14 700

Lodgers and unregistered people have not been included in the 14 700.

### HOUSING

The Administration Board admits there is a critical shortage of housing but funds for new houses are in short supply. People are allowed to build shacks in their backyards and rent them out. Most backyards have two to three shacks in each. In one single-bedroomed house 30 were reported to be living. Rent is paid to the householder and a R2,75 fee to the Administration Board for a lodger's permit. Rents vary from R4,86 in single quarters to R20,31 per month for a four-roomed house. Water is metered in the family housing section.

### EMPLOYMENT

Residents reported increasing retrenchment of blacks in local factories. Most people are employed by wineries, food, canning and textile factories. The Coloured Labour Preference Area policy discriminates against blacks, making them last hired and first fired. In May 1982 a number of contract workers were retrenched but the factory was forced to take them back or pay them until their contracts expired in September when they would be sent back to Ciskei or Transkei to face unemployment. A number of people have come off the farms in recent years to settle in the township. Others have qualified to remain in Mbekweni, having worked for the same employer for 15 years. This adds to the housing crisis.

### FACILITIES

There is one clinic, one lower primary school with 903 pupils (pupil: teacher ratio of 60:1), one higher primary school with 480 pupils, and a secondary school up to Std 9 with 300 pupils and a pupil:teacher ratio of 27:1. There are two general dealers, a post office, one public telephone, a beer hall, a bar, a bottle store and some sports facilities. There are no creches, library, day hospital or

police station. Roads are in a very poor condition.

#### ORGANISATION

The community is split in its support for the officially accepted Community Council and the Mbekweni Residents' Association - both elected. Residents complained about (1) shortage of housing, (2) poor facilities and (3) profits from the sale of liquor which is supposed to go towards the provision of facilities. The Administration Board argued that the profits go to the General Revenue Account first and if there is any surplus, it is put towards new and improved facilities.

In early 1982 there was a crisis when three families were evicted from their lodgings and were unable to find alternative accommodation. The Community Council gave them permission to erect shacks on a vacant lot but they were charged with illegal squatting. The matter was heard in the Paarl Magistrate's Court and the families were allowed to remain as the Court found that they had no alternative accommodation and that they had acted legitimately in going to their representatives for permission to erect shacks.

WELLINGTON had its own squatter area, Sakkiedorp. In 1975 an emergency camp was established to shelter people from Franschhoek and surrounding areas. This seems to have been the second wave of farm people, the first being those who were forced off in the late 1940s and early 1950s as a result of the Urban Areas Act of 1945. Previously people had lived scattered over the farms, not necessarily working for the farmers, but renting land from the farmer. Langabuya seems to have been Mbekweni's predecessor, being the emergency camp. Mbekweni developed as a result of the growth of industry in Paarl and the demand for labour. Firms initially built their own accommodation for migrant workers. Later the Administration Board built single quarters for the 3 700 contract workers.

PAARL has also been the scene of squatter removals of coloureds in 1982. A number of families were evicted off farms in the district and had nowhere to go. They pitched tents and slept beneath their belongings on the pavement in Dal Josafat, the industrial area of Paarl.

## 3.6 SOUTHERN CAPE

BOSSIESGIF African squatters set up this camp near Plettenberg Bay in about 1972 when they were told to leave Sandkraal. By 1982 Bossiesgif housed 35 families (392 people). Then in May 1982 they were moved again to the coloured area at George (see the story in the annexure below). Now negotiations are in progress to move the community once more, to the coloured township at Plettenberg Bay, the Department of Co-operation and Development told the EP Herald office in Grahamstown in November 1982.

NEW AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS FOR GEORGE AND MIDDELBURG As the annexure below points out, these new plans seem to contradict the Coloured Labour Preference Area policy. George and Middelburg are among the four new townships proclaimed in the Western Cape region between 1977 and 1980 (the others being Hanover and Crossroads). The George township will probably house more than the 3 320 people mentioned in the press report. Koornhof told parliament in June 1982 that the Administration Board was negotiating to buy land and intended putting up a township of 750 houses for 4 895 african people from the Harveys, Blikkiesdorp and Urbansville squatter camps around George. (Private Question 1, 4.06.82) The Bossiesgif group may finally be relocated here, in which case it would be their fourth move.

### Annexure 4

BLACK VILLAGES FOR GEORGE, MIDDELBURG (Eastern Province Herald, 30.06.82)

IN an apparent contradiction in Government policy - which in the past has been to reduce the number of African people living west of the Eiselen line (through Kimberley, Colesberg and Humansdorp) - two new African townships are planned for George and Middelburg.

In George, the constituency of the Prime Minister, where no African township has existed before, the boundaries for a township to house the 3 320 African people in the area were recently finalised, a spokesman for the East Cape Administration Board (Ecab) said this week.

And in Middelburg it is planned to create a new township to replace the existing one where conditions were recently described by an Ecab official as "appalling".

Mr Roger Matlock, head of technical services at Ecab, said in an interview yesterday that both township plans had Government approval.

Although George's Town Clerk, Mr Carel du Plessis, said recently that the African population of George would remain where it was for the next five years - in a coloured-designated area - Mr Matlock said yesterday it was hoped the new township would be developed in the next financial year.

Several years ago plans were mooted to move the entire African population to Mossel Bay but these were abandoned and it was decided that an African township would be built.

A member for the Coloured Management Committee in the area, Mr Samuel Vigland, said that Africans and the coloured community of about 45 000 lived "quite happily" side by side. "We are all friendly and there is no trouble," he said.

He said that although there was enough space for everyone, there were only about 40 houses for Africans in the area. The rest lived in shacks.

Altogether about 1 000 houses were needed for everyone to be adequately housed.

He said people in the area were aware that a new African township was to be built but no-one knew when this would be done.

In an interview yesterday, Mr Matlock said the layout for the new Middelburg township had been prepared and pegged. A loan had been granted but funds had not yet been allocated.

The provision of essential services such as water and electricity would not be a problem but funding for the planned installation of a flush sanitation sewerage system would have to be found.

In a recent address to the Middelburg branch of the National Council of Women he said the bad conditions in the township were due to the fact that, being on the wrong side of the Eiselen line, loans at a reasonable rate had been impossible to find.

He said the site was ideal for a township, with educational, recreational and social facilities in the centre and houses grouped around in economic and sub-economic blocks.

Mr Matlock told the Middelburg meeting that once the township development was under way those

people able to purchase plots should do so and should be encouraged to build, under supervision, whatever they could afford.

Core housing, with toilet, bathroom and kitchen erected, would enable owners to extend houses according to their needs.

He said five things were essential in the establishment of a self-help housing scheme. They were: Security of tenure, access of capital, appropriate standards, opportunity of employment and supplies of appropriately priced material.

The 20 squatter families who were moved from their camp, Bossiesgif, near George, to the town's coloured area last month, will remain there until an African township is built, Mr Du Plessis said last week.

Mr Du Plessis said the squatters had been moved because their camp had developed directly beneath Escom power lines and this constituted a danger.

He said accommodation had been provided for the relocated people at Sandkraal. They had lived at Bossiesgif for the past 10 years. They were told a month before their removal that they could either move to Sandkraal or return to the homelands.



# STOP PRESS NEW CONTROL ON COLOURED LABOUR

## Labour Reporter

THE government has extended influx control to coloured people in certain parts of the Northern and Western Cape.

This move, which was strongly criticized by the official Opposition yesterday, is contained in a proclamation gazetted by the Department of Community Development last month.

The proclamation is in terms of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951.

Before employers in six areas listed by the department can employ a coloured worker from outside those areas, the department has to be satisfied that "proper housing" is available.

The six areas are the divisional councils of Langeberg and Swartland and the municipalities of

Ceres, Klawer, Port Nolloth and Garies.

Dr Alex Boraine, the official Opposition spokesman on manpower, said numerous requests had been made to the government to scrap influx control because of the hardships caused by the practice.

Instead of heeding these warnings and pleas "the government has chosen rather to compound the problem by extending influx control to coloured people", he said.

"This further encroachment on the rights of people can only bring hardship and anger in its wake. The extension of influx control to coloured people is a direct contradiction of the reformist noises which the government has been making. "This is a further indication that coloured

people must be subservient to the masterplan which ensures continued white Nationalist rule and control."

Mr P D McEnery, the deputy director-general of Community Development, said the department had received representations from the local authorities in the listed areas and the Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze, had acted on their request.

The decision was taken in terms of an amendment to the act — Section 3C(1) — the purpose of which was to prevent illegal squatting and the development of slums.

He said there were many areas in the Western and Eastern Cape where these regulations already applied, but, when asked, could not name them specifically.

(Cape Times,

8.12.82)

Dr Boraine said he did not know of similar regulations for other areas. "If this is the case, then they were sneaked in."

The proclamation means that an employer from Ceres, for instance, who wishes to employ a coloured person from outside the municipal area must first apply to the department for a certificate stating that "proper housing" is available for him.

## 3.7 NORTH-WESTERN CAPE

### 3.7.1 Paternoster - a community under threat of removal

#### INTRODUCTION

In October 1981 it was reported that the Group Areas Board had refused an application from Paternoster Fisheries that the Kliprug area be proclaimed white and that its residents be moved to a sub-economic township to be built east of the village. However, it is still not clear whether the coloured community of Paternoster, who opposed the move, have 'won' or not.

#### BACKGROUND

1970 population census figures show 696 coloureds, 62 whites and 20 'Bantu' living in Paternoster. The community is over 100 years old, traditionally earning its living by fishing. White presence has always been limited, confined to owners and managers of the fishing company. Africans have been brought to work on contract. They live in an extremely dilapidated and inadequately serviced compound.

#### Group Areas

Paternoster was divided into coloured and white group areas on 13 January 1967 (Proclamation 4 in Government Gazette 1633). The white-owned Paternoster Fishing

Company continued to own its factory and its workers' houses in the coloured area. Few locational changes occurred as a result of the 1967 proclamation.

At its initial hearing on proposed group area reproclamations on 3 October 1980, strong opposition was heard from the coloured community. The Board agreed to receive further representations which resulted in 16 ha of white area being declared coloured for residential development and beach properties'. (Cape Times, 9.10.81) About 30 coloured families already live in this area.

#### Reason for proposed deproclamation

Paternoster Fisheries stated that since 1978 their workers had wanted to build and own their own houses. Kliprug was not suitable as it was too rocky. They said the people had requested a sub-economic township.

Members of the community said they wanted better housing, not attached to the Fisheries but which they could own or rent. They did not want to move from Kliprug and wanted the Fisheries to hand over the present housing stock. Further housing would be required.

As the area is idyllically beautiful some members of the community felt Paternoster Fisheries wanted to sell their picturesque white cottages and turn the area into a holiday resort for whites (already some whites own houses next to coloureds on the beachfront). People said:

They want everything.

They like the view.

They don't want us here any more, they want to build homes for the rich.

#### Circumstances surrounding the proposed proclamation

Mr L Pienaar, one of the Directors of Paternoster Fisheries (and past South African ambassador to Paris) argued that people wanted to move 'to fulfil their socio-economic aspirations'. The people claimed the Fisheries were trying to divide the community, eg. by having meetings with factory workers who have year-round secure jobs (and who could therefore pay rent), not the fishermen who are employed seasonally and depend on year-round free housing.

#### FACILITIES

In fact the quality of HOUSING is very poor and the Fisheries do not maintain it adequately. People reported not having toilets for years and finally digging their own pit latrines. Night soil is collected.

WATER is provided free, with two to three households sharing a tap. Water comes from the Berg River.

There is a permanent CLINIC where people have to pay for medicine. No serious health problems were reported.

Bus TRANSPORT is provided to Vredenburg 17 km away in the early morning and evening. The single bus fare is 60c and when taxis are available the single fare is R8,10. A few women who work in Vredenburg use the service. The single train fare from Vredenburg to Cape Town is R6,20.

## Annexure 5

South African Outlook, October 1981

### Paternoster revisited

CHRISTIANE M ELIAS

*When our February 1981 issue focussing on 'Paternoster and Group Areas' appeared, the fate of the local fishing community at Paternoster still hung in the balance. This month a proclamation in the Government Gazette advised the decision of the Group Areas Board not to re-proclaim certain Areas white. The Press has interpreted the widely welcomed decision as a 'reprieve' for the Paternoster community. The author of the brief analysis below believes that the proclamation requires further interpretation by legal counsel.*

On the 2nd October 1981 Mr Colin Eglin asked the Minister of Community Development in Parliament whether any decision had been made by the Group Areas Board with regard to the representation made to them regarding the application of the Group Areas Act in respect of Paternoster. Minister Pen Kotze replied in the affirmative, but was not prepared to enlarge on the subject.

On the 9th October 1981 in Government Gazette No 7878 dated 9 October 1981 Proclamation 199/1981 advised the decision of the Group Areas Board with regard to its original proclamation that Paternoster was to be a "white" group area.

Apart from excluding area (a) in Proclamation 4 and 5 of 1967 Minister Kotze also included an extra scheduled area for occupation by the "coloured" group. This in effect means that Kliprug, the most attractive and accessible area of Paternoster which had been proclaimed a "white" area in 1967 is now excluded from such a proclamation; i.e. it can be "occupied" by "coloureds". The same applies for the area known as Kraaifontein. In addition there is an extra area which has now been added for occupation by the "coloured" people under Section 23 of the Group Areas Act. This is standard procedure then an area is being proclaimed as belonging to a group.

Part D of Proclamation 199/1981 which states that provision of Section 16-23 in-

clusive, 29, 30 and 32 - 37 inclusive apply to the new area means that the new area is under the jurisdiction of the Community Development Board and will be developed by them as a "coloured" group area.

What is not clear is what the status of Kliprug is. If it has been excluded from the proclamation does it in fact mean that it has become an open area? In which case to whom does it belong? Paternoster Visserye? They owned the land originally until it was proclaimed a "coloured" area in 1967. If this assumption is correct this would mean that the status of the people living at Paternoster is virtually unchanged; that they are still living in houses owned by paternoster Visserye with all the attendant problems of tied housing. It would also mean that if they did want to purchase land or housing that they would be obliged to buy it from the owners of the land Paternoster Visserye; naturally as this is prime land it would most probably be beyond their means.

Although it seems that a concession has been granted to the fisherfolk of paternoster, one wonders if the latest proclamation is not an effort to correct a situation which was blatantly discriminatory. The solution however does not appear to alter the position of the residents of Kliprug - a people caught in the lifestyle of the last century; of stewardship to their employers Paternoster Visserye.

## Annexure 6

SASPU National, March 1981

## Paternoster fishermen struggle against company

AT FIRST sight Paternoster looks exactly like any idyllic Cape village - one of the most peaceful places on earth.

The villagers in this Western Cape coastal hamlet have lived in their seashell and clay cottages for more than a hundred years - a quaint sight to delight any tourist.

But behind this picturesque facade the people of Paternoster are waging a generations-old struggle that is only now approaching a climax.

The lives of the Paternoster fishermen and their families reflect none of the beauty with which they are surrounded. They live a life of low pay, inadequate company housing and a lack of bargaining power that traps them in a never-ending vicious circle of misery and dependance on the fishing companies.

They are tied in the fishing companies' nets in exactly the same way as the fish they catch are trapped in theirs.

Because their only skills and experience are those of the sea and fishing, they can only earn a living by working for the fishing companies - it is no longer viable to live as their fathers and grandfathers did running small, independent fishing operations.

The fishing companies control the entire industry and are able to force the fishermen to accept their pitiful wages, knowing they have only fishing as a livelihood.

The fishing season is a short one - at best it lasts from November to March - and it is only during this season that the fishermen are guaranteed an income. For the other seven months of the year the people of Paternoster must scrounge as best they can to stay alive.

They can catch Hottentot fish - which will earn them between R2 and R10 a week.

They can beg for a shore job with the fishing companies - which pay little better because of the great demand among the fishermen and the shortage of jobs in this fishing-dominated community.

Or they can borrow money from the fishing companies - money which will have to be repaid from the meagre in-season salaries. This system of credit effectively ties the

fishermen to the fishing companies. Even in season the workers in Paternoster get no pension or workmen's compensation.

They do get rent-free housing from the company - the land and picturesque cottages in which they live are owned by the fishing bosses.

If a fisherman loses his job - particularly if he loses it for complaining about his conditions of work - he loses his cottage.

And with no other accommodation left in what is effectively a company-opened and run village, most prefer to suffer in silence.

The fishing company owns the houses, but does little to ensure their maintenance. The houses have no electricity, no inside taps and inadequate sewerage facilities.

An additional problem is that with the housing shortage in Paternoster Bay, more and more workers and their families are forced to live at Vredenburg more than twenty kilometers away - and to pay from their meagre wages, for transport to and from the fishing centre.

Two years ago people decided they had had enough.

They saw housing as their most important grievance and decided to approach the Saldhana municipality to provide a housing scheme for the fishermen and their families to rent or buy their own homes.

Saldhana municipality agreed, but struck a bargain with the fishing community that worked out little better than their existing situation. In return for a Community Development housing scheme, the people of the area's two central villages would have to agree to be moved out of the area, which would then be re-proclaimed white under the Group Areas Act.

The declaration of Kliprug - Paternoster's central village - as a white area would turn the entire stretch of Western Cape coast, from Paternoster to Saldhana, into an exclusively white area.

To lose Kliprug would be a blow. It is more than a century old, and apart from people's traditional ties to it, their church, school and other community facilities are situated there. It also has the best access to the sea and protection from the

strong Atlantic winds in the area.

The option split the community. Another problem was the cost of this new housing. With the low fishing company wages, the people of Paternoster would struggle to pay for these new homes.

Saldhana municipality offered them a choice: either all of you move or all of you stay where you are. But with an imminent Group Areas re-proclamation of Paternoster nobody seemed to have much choice.

There is another possibility - raised ironically, in a report drawn up for the Group Areas Board hearing on the area. The people could stay in their villages and rent or buy their own homes.

The report recommends that the ownership of the land on which Kliprug stands should be ceded to the Department of Community Development at low cost. The company owning the land says that it has little value.

This would mean secure tenure could be offered to the residents, including the possibility of renting or buying their homes.



SHOPS include a general dealer, bottle store, butcher and second-hand furniture dealer. There is a hotel, bank and post office. Most people shop in Vredenburg. Some local prices:

1 loaf brown bread	21c	bar soap	54c
small tin powdered milk	71c	pack of candles	48c
1 kg sugar	44c	1 kg washing powder	1,50
1 kg mielie meal	33c	30 pieces firewood	1,00
4 litres paraffin	1,64	1 litre milk	56,
9 kg gas	8,80		

Most people use wood and gas for fuel.

There is one CHURCH in Paternoster which is where most people worship. It is central to the community and it played an important part in mobilising opposition to the move. There is a branch of the Anglican Women's Federation.

SCHOOLING: 203 children and six teachers form the primary school while senior pupils commute by bus to Vredenburg at a cost of 64c per day. Pupils have to wear uniforms unless they are very poor.

The Fisheries control the area. There is no police station or local authority office. People pay the usual income tax.

#### WORK

According to interviews reported by Andrew and Dewar, levels of poverty are high and earning periods erratic. The fishermen work a maximum season of five months, but if the Company's quota is low the season could be one or two months. They found the lowest paid workers were those crew members living in the Kraaifontein area of Paternoster, earning R1 300 per annum (R750 for 2, R200 for 3 and R350 for 7 months) while the best paid were 5 skippers getting R4 050 per annum (R3 000 for 2, R350 for 3 and R700 for 7 months). 73% of workers earn under R2 500. The top 16% earn over R3 500. Factory workers earn from R30 per week with women packing and wrapping and men sorting crayfish for export or pumping water to keep crayfish alive. In the season all the women try to work part-time but unemployment, particularly of women, was reported. People go to the factory or boat builders seeking work. The Fisheries was reported to make large profits on crayfish which sells well on the international market while the fishermen get 50c per kilo, divided between five men. Catching Hottentot fish in the off season can earn men R2 - R10 per week. Repairing equipment can also earn low amounts. There are no sickness benefits or workmen's compensation.

People felt tied to the company, with housing being used to keep the workers 'toeing the line'. Although the Fisheries had said the workers wanted to buy or rent their homes, they had not offered higher wages.

#### COMMUNITY ORGANISATION

The school principal was seen as the leader of those who did not want to move. At one stage the community was split: 75% not wanting to move, 25% wanting, not necessarily to move, as it turned out, but wanting to be independent of the Fisheries. It also appeared that most of the 25% did not belong to the Anglican Church, were factory workers mainly with regular incomes and that this was part of a wider issue - not simply that they wanted to move. Later it seemed as though there was some communication between the groups and it

was decided that they wanted control over housing and would rather not be moved.

#### CONCLUSION

The Paternoster community seems to have worked through its differences in order to present a united stand against forced relocation. With the help of the Church, the S A Institute of Race Relations, Urban Foundation, Urban Problems Research Unit and legal representatives, the campaign has been partially won. The area will not be reproclaimed white but it remains to be seen who gets access to the prime beach sites and who will own the houses.

LAAIPLEK to the east, on the coast near Velddrif, is said to be the next area to be sorted into group areas. The community is mainly coloured and fairly mixed, like Paternoster, and it seems a similar fate might befall it.

### 3.7.2 Further north: Upington, Riemvasmaak & Springbok

Further north in the region under consideration, superficial field work has been undertaken. This report serves to outline areas which need further study.

Between Upington and Springbok the major item of interest was the new mining town of Aggeneys owned by Black Mountain Development Corporation, a partly American-owned subsidiary of Goldfields Mining Company. This new mining town in the midst of the desert waste of Gordonia is reportedly extremely rich in all the basic minerals and is scheduled for rapid development.

The area around Springbok (Nababiep and O'Kiep) is similarly distinguished by the existence of copper, though with the decline in the world copper price in the 1970s it is not clear what the short-term prospects for these mines are. There are reports that diamonds are to be mined at Port Nolloth and of the construction of a huge harbour some 20 km to the north.

The area to the west of Upington is dominated by the growth of new established mines. Clearly, this development will have far-reaching effects on the allocation of labour. There seem to be very few africans (except for some contract workers) resident in the area. Coloureds are the main source of labour in both surface and underground work. Thus, aside from Riemvasmaak, it is unlikely that there has been significant removal of africans in this area as part of bantustan consolidation strategy.

In 1978 legislation was passed providing for individual tenure in the coloured reserves of Mier, Rietfontein, Eksteenkuil (Gordonia district), Richtersveld, Concordia, Steinkopf, Komaggas, Leliefontein, Rietpoort (Namakwaland) and Ebenezer (Vredendal).<sup>\*</sup> The Missions and Communal Tenure Act was repealed, and as a result many people have been pushed off the land while the wealthier have been encouraged. In 1974 there were about 50 000 people living on 1 715 974 ha with between 10 and 16% of farmers making a living from full-time farming.

<sup>\*</sup> The 1978 legislation also provided for individual tenure in coloured reserves elsewhere in the Cape: Saron (Ceres), Mamre (Malmesbury), Pniel (Stellenbosch), Genadendal (Caledon), Suurbraak (Swellendam), Zoar (Calitzdorp), Friemersheim (Mossel Bay), Kranshoek, Haarlem (Knysna), Enon (Port Elizabeth); and two in the O F S : Thaba Phatshwa and Oppermgronde.



On Rietfontein and Mier 150 out of 300 families were pushed off the land as a result of the 1978 legislation. Resistance is present but uncoordinated except at Richtersveld on the Namibian border where resistance was so strong that the provisions were not enforced. The reserves were earlier subjected to better-ment planning.

Older people try to get land rights. If they are away from the reserves too long, they lose claim to land. Many retire to the reserves having worked as migrants mainly on the copper and diamond mines, living in townships and returning to the reserves once or twice a year. 90% of the economically active reserve male population work on these mines. Up to 1973 black contract workers were used but as mines began to retrench labour from 1973, the government enforced the Coloured Labour Preference Area policy. Octha, a new independent mine, has opened in fierce competition with De Beers Consolidated Mines. Octha cut costs of production, including labour, so De Beers have closed mines and are retrenching labour (also as a result of the low diamond price). Thus employment opportunities are few and far between with low wages.

The Namakwaland mines were opened in 1852, so struggles over land (squatters and labour tenancy) are 50 years ahead of other regions. Up to 1913 coloured reserves were created (see Derek Luyt's Honours thesis). Even late in the 19th century the authorities were careful to return Africans to their homes once their contracts had expired.

In the post-war copper depression of 1920, the government moved 1 000 workers (either 1 000 people or 1 000 workers and their families, it is not clear) out of Namakwaland, putting them up in tents.

In 1930 when the fishing industry collapsed many people had to 'trek' from Port Nolloth as a result of retrenchment.

Prieska Copper Mines will close their Copperton mine in 1985 as the copper price has reached its lowest ebb in 30 years. Copperton has grown from nothing in 12 years. No figures for numbers of people to be retrenched were given. (Die Burger, 11.05.82)

In conclusion, the land in the coloured reserves is tightly regulated. No outsider can get land. The population is expanding, including some wealthy farmers, but individual tenure causes people to leave and look for work on the mines which offer increasingly less employment, and Northern Cape towns with few employment opportunities. Most people are then forced to move to Cape Town. (See Atlantis report for where people came from.)

Aside from the development of mining in the North-West Cape, one further feature of the political economy should be noted: the tremendous increase in militarisation in these areas. (See Northern Cape.)

## UPINGTON

Upington is an especially interesting area, partly because it has a large concentration of black, white and coloured people, and because the Group Areas Act has wreaked its particular havoc there. Upington requires further research, but what follows may serve as some sort of introduction.

According to informants there are some 17 000 africans in Upington and a similar number of coloureds. The african population is both Tswana- and Xhosa-speaking, though the recruitment of 'Ciskeians' and Transkeians' was ended about three years ago. Contract labour from Bophuthatswana is brought for the mines and factories in the area. Others work on the railways. Many of those who work on mines (eg. Sishen) commute fortnightly.

The old location known as 'Blikkies' was demolished in 1944. Though known as a black location, it was an area where africans, coloureds and whites lived. In 1952 the Group Areas Act was applied in Upington. Separate coloured, white and black locations (as our informant expressed it) were built.

Farmers in the surrounding districts opposed the implementation of the group areas because it entailed moving coloured farm labour off the farms and into the location. The sub-economic housing offered to some coloured farm labourers partly released them from the stranglehold exerted on them by farmers. It seems white farmers' treatment of blacks in the area leaves much to be desired. Yet despite the existence of the coloured location, average wages for farm labourers are between R10 and R15 per month. These wages are paid even to tractor drivers and 'those who have better education than the farmer himself and do his books for him'.

Further research is needed into group area removals in Upington as well as the dispossession of coloured farmers along the Orange River irrigation scheme.

## RIEMVASMAAK

Riemvasmaak was a reserve on the northern bank of the Orange River, stretching westwards from Augrabies. In extent it is about 3 000 sq km. In 1973 there were about 1 500 people living there, most of whom were pastoralists. The community was so integrated, apparently, that it was difficult to categorise people racially. Except for a small Xhosa-speaking group of 60 to 80 people at Xuhu-Xhab, african people spoke Afrikaans. A Catholic mission was established at Riemvasmaak in 1948. There were four primary schools spread through the reserve with a total of 440 children.

The wealthier pastoralists had 300 to 400 sheep and 10 to 20 head of cattle. Others had only 20 or so sheep and goats. Those with large numbers of livestock sold sheep and goats to speculators from Kakamas or Upington. The people had 'farming in their blood'. People hired land for grazing from an Upington man. Africans paid poll tax.

The younger members of the Riemvasmaak community worked on the Marchand-Augrabies-Kakamas irrigation farms along the Orange River, picking cotton and grapes. Others worked as far afield as Cape Town.

In 1966 a representative from the Coloured Affairs Department in Upington told the Riemvasmaak community to 'pack up and leave'. Apparently their strategy was to destroy the community by breaking up the schools. Realising this, one of the teachers refused to accept an appointment at an Upington School. He was prepared to teach at Riemvasmaak without payment. Having served in the S A Navy in World War II, he declared 'a captain always leaves his ship last'.

His refusal to move was initially successful because the Coloured Affairs Department was acting illegally at this stage. Thus the Department was forced to offer him his job at Riemvasmaak back again. The Riemvasmaak community was not alone in opposing their removal: certain white farmers in the area opposed their expulsion as they were afraid of losing a source of cheap labour.

By 1973 the legal loopholes had been sealed. In that year the magistrate at Kakamas closed the schools, burned the people's huts and began moving the people. They were removed on open cattle trucks to the Molopo River where temporary accommodation in the way of tents was offered to them. Compensation was paid but it was not considered equivalent to what they lost. (In 1980 Dr Koornhof replied in Parliamentary Question 537 that 937 people had been moved from Riemvasmaak in 1973/74.)

The absurd logic of mass removals is hardly better represented anywhere than at Riemvasmaak. Some people declared themselves to be 'coloured' and took names such as Basson or Booysens. They were moved to Upington as well as to farming areas along the Orange River. Others declared themselves to be 'Nama' or 'Damara' in the hope of getting land in Namibia. Thus in January 1974 some 500 people left for Welwitchia, 'a barren desert area' in Namibia (Xhorixas as reported in the press, see Section 2.5 above). Still others claimed to be Xhosa although some did not speak the language and most, if not all, had never visited the Ciskei. Nevertheless, 30 families were moved to Welcomewood near King William's Town.



In 1973 Riemvasmaak was declared a military area. At Riemvasmaak itself there are hot springs which have been made into a tourist resort. (Riemvasmaak is the place in the centre of the largest red arrows in the 1977 Black Sash map: A land divided against itself.)

#### THE SPRINGBOK AREA

As an important mining and commercial area, the Springbok-OKiep-Nababiep triangle is worthy of in-depth research. Springbok itself was subject to the Group Areas Act some 15 to 18 years ago when the coloured population was moved to Bergsig. However, population removals related to homeland consolidation have not been a major factor as there are few Africans in the area.

The OKiep Copper Company which operates mines at Carolusberg, Hoits, Spektakel and Nababiep employs a total of 2 422 workers, including white management. Of these there are some 607 african employees, 500 of whom are recruited from the Transkei on yearly contracts. White, coloured and african workers lost jobs in 1974, 1976, 1978 and again in 1981. This is part of the coloured labour preference area. The mining operations at Aggeneys which opened in 1978 are highly mechanised and only employ about 900 people producing R45-R60 million worth of ore per year. (Business Argus, 3.09.77)

It might be interesting to conduct research into the three coloured settlements of Concordia, Steinkopf and Komaggas, which are 14 km, 45 km and 85 km away from OKiep respectively. These three communities were established by so-called Queen Victoria grants. They are apparently autonomous 'Burgersdorps' with their own governing 'raads'. There are rumours that Komaggas is threatened with removal because De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd has mineral rights in the area.

(In the Business Argus of 3.09.77, there was an article about a road and the Sishen-Saldanha railway linking R8 000 million deposits to be opened shortly. The two areas mentioned were Aggeneys (117 km from Springbok) and Gamsberg nearby. Lead, zinc and copper were to be mined at Aggeneys by the Black Mountain Development Company in which Goldfields South Africa has a 51% share and Phelps Dodge, an American company, a 49% share. The Gamsberg project is owned 45% by Anglo American Corporation, 27,5% by Newmont Mining, an American company, and 27,5% by OKiep Copper. The R170 million Gamsberg project will mine zinc.)

Thus the North-Western Cape is becoming an increasingly important area strategically, both economically and militarily.

## WESTERN CAPE

### PART 4

## Miscellaneous

### CONCLUSION

While more work needs to be done on the region west of the Eiselen Line, some initial steps have been taken in this project. The area is vast, stretching from just west of the Great Fish River to Port Elizabeth and then another 790 km to Cape Town; from Cape Town to De Aar 774 km, and from Cape Town to Upington 886 km.

Influx control and group area removals account for the majority of people moved. While people are forced through circumstance to move from rural to urban areas, they are discouraged, if not prevented in the case of africans, from doing so. Once in the urban areas, they are expelled to the outer extremities should they be dark-skinned and therefore destined to be labourers; or encouraged and given incentives should they be white, enfranchised and materially privileged.

## APPENDIX I Squatting as a Cape Town tradition

From THE SQUATTER PROBLEM IN THE WESTERN CAPE (SAIRR, 1977)

Various aspects of the current squatter problem - new immigration, questions of legality, very poor quality dwellings - have been present for a long time.

Initial disputes may be regarded as centring on the question of who the squatter was. For example, according to Jan van Riebeeck's Journal for February 10, 1655, (1)

Only last night it happened that about 50 of these natives wanted to put up their huts close to the banks of the moat of our fortress, and when told in a friendly manner by our men to go a little further away, they declared boldly that this was not our land but theirs and they would place their huts wherever they chose.

With the extension of more formal control, lawful and unlawful occupation were defined. Already by 1836, many parts of the Cape Flats were "unlawfully used and occupied by various persons".(2) The Cape Vagrancy and Squatting Act of 1879 prohibited idle and disorderly people of any race from squatting on Crown land, mission land, or in native locations.

By 1903, squatting proper was under way in the Cape Flats. Witnesses giving evidence to the Cape Peninsula Commission testified about Rondebosch Extension:

You are not acquainted with Rondebosch Extension? - To a limited extent, I have not prowled in that unsavoury neighbourhood.... Large numbers of natives and most undesirable persons are practically squatting there without any restraint. They are putting up tin shanties and shanties made of all kinds of material that they can lay hold of, without sanitary arrangements of any kind, and without a water supply, and the consequence is that a most undesirable state of things is occurring at that place.(3)

Referring to Maitland, evidence was given that between 700 and 800 people were living in the eviction camp; these people had been turned out of houses which were overcrowded and unfit for habitation.(4) A further 100 houses housing 500 to 600 people were described as very unsanitary: (5)

It is a very filthy spot? - Yes.

Almost every dog kennel is occupied by human beings there? - I could not say that, but every little hut is.

Every little hut and shanty is occupied? - Yes.

Conditions at Blaauwvlei in Retreat were similar.

In 1913 the Minister decided not to include provisions against squatting in the Land Bill, because if he had done so the Government would not have known what to do with the large number of natives who would be thrown on their hands.(6) At this time the physical conditions in the town locations, the only places where Africans in town were legally allowed to live, were very poor. In these locations,(7)

speaking generally, the dwellings are mere shanties, often nothing more than hovels, constructed out of bits of old packing case lining, flattened kerosene tins, sacking and other scraps and odds and ends.... The dwellings are low, dark and dirty, generally encumbered with unclean and useless rubbish, mud floors are the rule, often below the ground level and sometimes apt to be flooded in the wet weather. Overcrowding is frequent; and altogether one could hardly imagine more suitable conditions for the spread of tuberculosis.

All population groups were migrating to town, and many poor whites also lived in 'squatter' conditions. The 'interim accommodation' principle was used by them to obtain housing:(8)

(at Crawford on the Cape Flats) an impoverished sheep farmer, now earning about 7s. 6d. as a railway labourer, was found busy with trowel and mortar building a second room of good bricks. His original dwelling of one room only was built of boards and tinsplate that he bought at a rubbish sale, and now served as the kitchen. The plot had cost him £65, and half of this was paid.

During the war years, there was a tremendous new influx of Africans and Coloured people into Cape Town. The State recruited large numbers of Africans from the Transkei and Ciskei in order to build the Duncan Docks and defence works on Signal Hill, Karbonkelberg, and elsewhere, but did not provide accommodation for them, so they provided their own accommodation in shanties, particularly in Retreat (Blaauwvlei), Hardervlei, Vrygrond, Cook's Bush, Windermere, and also in Philippi, Grassy Park and Elsie's River.(9 & 10) Large numbers of Coloured people also came to Cape Town, both because the wages they were paid in agriculture were so low, and because there were many vacancies in the Council work forces caused by Council workers enlisting with the Cape Corps. Many of these people squatted in Vrygrond, Grassy Park and the Valley of Plenty. (11) The 1942 Committee of Enquiry into conditions on the Cape Flats considered that poverty was an important factor in causing Coloured people to squat on the Cape Flats, and quoted with approval an analysis by Professor Hutt:(12)

The outlying regions and the Flats especially, in spite of all their deficiencies, have permitted the mitigation of the human severity of poverty. This is because higher standards of shelter than are just, given their meagre earnings, are not there forced upon them. Migration to the flats (from the city) enables the poor to choose the lesser evil, namely shelter in shacks built of wood and corrugated iron, with the most primitive sanitary arrangements and poor cooking facilities. The acceptance of such conditions permits better nutrition or other benefits. In other words, the high cost of building, leading to high property values and so to high rents, tends to drive the poorest of the poor to where costly standards of shelter can be avoided.

In the case of Africans, the basic cause was seen more as being "the hopeless inadequacy of native housing";(13) on being interviewed the Deputy Commissioner of Police stated emphatically (14)

he was not prepared to take action against natives who are living illegally in the area unless some provision is made for them after they have been ejected from the premises ... it is not the fault of an employed native if he is compelled to take up residence in a particular area in contravention of the (Natives (Urban Areas) Act) because neither his employer nor the local authority makes provision for his housing need.

The Committee estimated that 82 000 people were awaiting rehousing in the Cape Peninsula.(15)

In the period after the war, for a considerable time there was little State or local authority housing provision except that needed to clear certain of the squatter areas (Blaauwvlei, Steenberg, the Valley of Plenty and Windermere). As industrial development increased in Cape Town, particularly from 1955 on, and mechanisation on farms increased, migration to Cape Town continued. The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 was enacted to make provision for the control of squatting, and from 1958 on a major housing drive was started in the Peninsula. However at this stage conditions were such that natural increase, Group Areas evictions and in-migration had the edge; despite this building programme, the housing backlog in the area increased and squatting also steadily increased. By the end of the 1960's the housing situation constituted a major problem, and in the early 1970's was being described as a 'crisis' by several authorities.(16)

One should note that not only is squatting as such an old Cape Town phenomenon,



but also certain of the present squatter areas are long-established - for example squatting was taking place in Rylands, Welcome, Parkwood, Vrygrond in the City Council Area, and Grassy Park and Elsie's River in the Divisional Council Area, 35 years ago.(17) Some of these areas have been established for considerably longer.

- 1 Quoted in Davenport T R H & K S Hunt (eds), The right to the land, Cape Town, 1974, p 11
- 2 Preamble to Ordinance No 5 of 1836, passed by the Governor, Sir B d'Urban; quoted in the 1942 Commission Report (footnote 10)
- 3 Report of a Commission appointed to enquire into and report upon certain matters affecting Cape Peninsula municipalities and the Cape Divisional Council, Cape Town, 1903; 8920-8924
- 4 Ibid, 10955-10958
- 5 Ibid, 10985-10994
- 6 Quotation from Hansard in The right to the land, p 57
- 7 Report of the Tuberculosis Commission of 1914: *ibid*, p 69
- 8 The poor white problem in South Africa (Report of the Carnegie Commission), Stellenbosch, 1932; v 1, p 281
- 9 We are indebted to Dr O D Wollheim for information on these events.
- 10 Report of a Committee of Enquiry appointed to enquire into conditions existing in the Cape Flats and similarly affected areas in the Cape Division, 1942 (Government Printer, 1943), sections 66-74
- 11 Ibid, sections 61-63
- 12 Ibid, section 51
- 13 Ibid, sections 66 and 288
- 14 Ibid, section 80
- 15 Ibid, section 195
- 16 S P Cilliers, 1972; Cape Divisional Council, 1974
- 17 1942 Committee of enquiry into conditions on the Cape Flats, section 181

## APPENDIX II

### Some declared Group Areas in the Western Cape

Group area	Magisterial district	Date	Proclamation	Govt Gazette	Colour group*
Maitland Garden Village	Cape Town	1958			w
Wellington	Wellington	1961	29		w/c
Petrusville	Philipstown	7.01.66	5	1330	w/c
District 6	Cape Town	11.02.66	43	1370	w
Kenhardt	Kenhardt	18.02.66	51	1374	w/c
Swellendam	Swellendam	21.03.66	51	2308	w/c
Claremont	Wynberg	24.06.66			w
Fraserdale		1.07.66			
Rosebank/Rondebosch	Wynberg	1.07.66			w
Simonstown	Simonstown	1.09.67	202	1830	w
Redelinghuys	Piketberg	.09.67	226	1846	
Paternoster	Vredenberg	13.01.67	4	1633	w/c
Riversdale	Riversdale	13.01.67	6	1633	w/c
St Helena Bay	Vredenberg	10.02.67	23	1650	
Stilbaai / Melkhoutfontein	Riversdale	17.03.67	57	1684	w/c
Fish Hoek/Noordhoek/Kommetjie	Simonstown	23.03.67	63	1691	w
Springbok	Namakwaland	14.04.67	76	1711	w/c
Strydenburg	Hopetown	14.04.67	78	1711	
Nuwerus	Vanrhynsdorp	5.05.67	100	1726	
Nieuwoudtville	Calvinia	12.05.67	109	1733	
Montagu	Montagu	2.06.67	122	1755	w/c
Somerset West / Bakkershoogte	Somerset West	30.06.67	142	1781	w/c
Lakeside/St James/Clovelly/Muizenberg/Kalk Bay	Simonstown	7.07.67	150	1785	w
Bredasdorp	Bredasdorp	21.07.67	157	1793	w/c
Bellville	Bellville	11.08.67	181	1808	w
Calitzdorp	Calitzdorp	6.10.67	251	1863	

\* w=white c=coloured

## SOME DECLARED GROUP AREAS IN THE WESTERN CAPE contd

Group area	Magisterial district	Date	Proclamation	Govt Gazette	Colour group
Lamberts Bay	Piketberg	6.10.67	253	1863	
Port Nolloth	Namakwaland	13.10.67	260	1868	
McGregor	Robertson	13.10.67	262	1868	
Hopetown	Hopetown	20.10.67	268	1873	
Upington	Gordonia	3.11.67	286	1881	
Sutherland	Sutherland	1.12.67	311	1902	
Firgrove	Somerset West	15.12.67	335	1913	c
Elands Bay	Piketberg	15.12.67	337	1913	
Moorreesburg	Malmesbury	22.12.67	352	1924	w/c
Wolseley	Ceres	22.12.67	354	1924	w/c
Heidelberg	Heidelberg	29.03.68	65	12026	w/c
Garies	Namakwaland	29.03.68	68	12026	
Paarl	Paarl	10.05.68	117	2071	w/c
Keimoes	Gordonia	14.06.68	147	2094	
Fisherhaven	Hermanus	21.06.68	158	2101	w
Kuils River	Kuils River	5.07.68	181	2117	
Loeriesfontein	Calvinia	12.07.68	183	2123	
Vosburg	Victoria West	12.07.68	185	2123	
Woodstock	Cape Town	19.07.68	202	2130	w
Wilderness/Sedgefield/ Knysna	Knysna	19.07.68	204	2130	w
Noupoort	Noupoort	26.07.68	206	2133	w/c
Three Anchor Bay to Chapman's Peak	Wynberg/Cape Town	30.08.68	252	2153	w
Greyton	Caledon	9.08.68	216	2141	c
Brackenfell	Kuils River	16.08.68	226	2145	w
Tulbagh Road	Tulbagh	23.08.68	229	2149	
Barrington/Sour Flats	Knysna	23.08.68	231	2149	w
Athlone	Wynberg	18.10.68	304	2192	c
Stanford	Hermanus	18.10.68	306	2192	c
Klipplaat	Jansenville	18.10.68	308	2192	

## SOME DECLARED GROUP AREAS IN THE WESTERN CAPE contd

Group area	Magisterial district	Date	Proclamation	Govt Gazette	Colour group
Firgrove	Somerset West	25.10.68	319	2197	c
Albertinia	Riversdale	6.06.69	145	2423	
Kraaifontein	Bellville	13.06.69	147	2430	
Betty's Bay/Kleinemonde	Caledon	13.06.69	156	2430	
Parow	Bellville	13.06.69	157	2430	
Great Brak River/ Tergniet/Reebok/ Little Brak River	George/Mossel Bay	11.07.69	191	2482	w
Athlone	Wynberg	25.07.69	198	2489	c
Bredasdorp	Bredasdorp	12.09.69	242	2517	
Niekerkshoop	Hay	26.09.69	255	2525	
Velddrif	Vredenberg	26.09.69	amending 251 of 1966		
Wilderness/Klein Krantz/ Swartvlei mouth	George	31.10.69	286	2551	w
Goodwood	Goodwood	14.11.69	293	2559	w
Harfield Road/ Lansdowne	Wynberg	14.11.69	296	2559	w
Arniston	Bredasdorp	12.11.69	325	2578	w/c
Dal Josafat	Paarl	23.01.70	23	2611	w/c

This list has been compiled from Government Gazettes for the years 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969. Further work on earlier and later Gazettes needs to be done, but most Western Cape group areas were declared during these years.



## APPENDIX III

### ADMINISTRATION BOARD WESTERN CAPE

#### NOTICE TO ALL EMPLOYERS OF BLACKS

The following very important points relating to the employment of Blacks in the Western Cape are brought to your notice.

- (1) The employment of Blacks without the necessary authority of the Board's Labour Officer is viewed in a very serious light.
- (2) The policy in the Western Cape is that this area is a Coloured labour preferential area and as such, Coloureds are to receive preference above Blacks in regard to employment opportunities.
- (3) The employment of Blacks illegally in the area causes serious social and economic hardships which affect all in the Western Cape especially the local Black population of + 145 000. Among these are the establishment of illegal squatting areas, housing shortages and the lowering of wage and income levels.
- (4) Employers offering employment to Blacks unlawfully in this area encourage the influx of such persons to the Western Cape. This conduct is of such a serious nature that the Government has prepared draft legislation which, inter alia, provides for fines with a maximum penalty of R5 000,00.
- (5) To ensure that you do not employ Blacks illegally you are advised to ascertain that all your Black employees are registered with the Labour Bureau at Langa and that you hold a BA 1004 registration certificate in respect of each Black employee. This certificate is an important document and the ENGAGEMENT portion thereof should be completed, signed and returned forthwith upon engagement to the Administration Board.

The DISCHARGE portion of the registration certificate BA 1004 must be completed and kept by you as proof of registration of your Black employee. This card must be kept in a safe place and produced for inspection by an authorised officer.

When your employee leaves your service, the discharge certificate must be returned to this office immediately.

CHIEF DIRECTOR  
15 September 1982

# NORTHERN CAPE

## PART 1

## Introduction and Background

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Large-scale mass removals have taken place in the Northern Cape over the last 20 years. Most of the planned relocation has been completed and thousands of people have been moved north into the vast dry, dusty plains of what are now pieces of Bophuthatswana, which took 'independence' on 6 December 1977.

This report on the Northern Cape has been compiled with significant constraints. Firstly, there was no established group active in the area so research was conducted from Cape Town 1 300 km away. Secondly, field work with extremely scarce resources and long distances was limited. If it had not been for valuable contacts, little would have been covered, as to rely on secondary material would have been too unreliable. What follows should be seen as a provisional scan of relocation in the Northern Cape.

People have been moved off mineral-rich land, out of small towns and off white farms, to overpopulated reserves. The carrying capacity of the reserves is small particularly in the semi-desert north of Kuruman. Many areas from which people have been moved have been converted to military camps.

### 1.2 PROFILE OF THE NORTHERN CAPE

#### 1.2.1 Definition of the region

Maps 1 and 9 outline the area, part of the Development Region 8, or National Physical Development Plan Regions 18, part of 19 and the whole of 22. These

include the magisterial districts of Hay, Postmasburg, Kuruman, Vryburg 1 and 2, Mafikeng 1, Barkly West, Herbert, Kimberley, Warrenton and Hartswater. It is bounded by Botswana, the Western Cape, OFS and the Molopo and Ditsobotla districts of Bophuthatswana.

As this is a series of regional studies on relocation, reports are region- rather than reserve-based. For Background on Bophuthatswana, see the Transvaal report which includes statistics, economic, social and political development of Bophuthatswana. Although Mafikeng was in the Cape before it was incorporated into Bophuthatswana, it is dealt with under the Western Transvaal in Volume 5 as most people were moved from Western Transvaal to the Mafikeng/Molopo area, rather than from the Cape.

Within the region under consideration here are two pieces of Bophuthatswana, the Taung reserve north of Kimberley and Tlhaping-Tlharo/Ganyesa north of Kuruman.

## 1.2.2 Early history

For a more comprehensive account of early developments in the region see Lye and Murray, Kallaway and forthcoming work from Kinsman. According to Kallaway, the Tlhaping split into two groups:

- 1 Likatlong under Chief Mothibe who lived on tribal land at the confluence of the Vaal and Harts Rivers,
- 2 Taung/Phokwane under Chief Gasibone.

In the north Littakoo was the chief Tlhaping town and by 1810 Dithakong had 2 000 to 3 000 households. The Griquas were given land south of Kuruman in 1823.

Further south, land disputes broke out with the scramble for diamond fields after the discovery of diamonds in 1867. By 1876 practically all the land in the Barkly West area had been sold to white farmers and speculators. In 1877 the following locations existed for the indigenous population: Hay, Herbert and Barkly West where Xhosa, Sotho, Khoi and San lived with Tswana, and the Taung reserve. By the 1880s people came together having been deprived of their land through annexation and military defeat. They settled 'legally' in locations and provided goods and labour for the expanding markets. Their only alternative was to trek north where drought, loss of wealth through rebellions and being forced into reserves awaited them. Most were forced into wage labour through the pass system, restriction on settlement and lack of viable alternatives.

Thus after the wars of dispossession and natural disasters, the people were given limited access to the means of production (land) which 'froze' the newly formed peasant class at a low level of production, increasingly dependent on wage labour.

## 1.2.3 Development of the region & NPDP

The main economic activities of the region are mining (diamonds, asbestos, copper) and agriculture, mainly cattle and maize. Primary activity has generated a certain amount of industrial and commercial activity particularly in Kimberley and around mines such as Kuruman, Sishen and Postmasburg. However, the white population is emigrating to the Transvaal. With uncertainty in the diamond and copper markets, long-term development is inhibited and more and more people are being relocated in reserves, waiting for employment. Agriculture is extensive, not requiring much labour. Wages in agriculture average R20 per month. Cosmas Desmond reported on poor health in the region - TB, kwashiorkor, diphtheria, scurvy, and serious malnutrition and starvation during droughts.

It is not yet clear how the National Physical Development Plan and Proposed Industrial Development Plan will help but Kimberley has been appointed an Industrial Development Point and Pudimoe an 'Industrial Development Point and Deconcentration Point in a national state'. Industries in Kimberley will be eligible for 40% railage rebates, 40% rental and interest rebate over 10 years, up to 80% of the wage bill to a maximum of R70 per month per worker for seven years, 40% deduction on interest on housing loans, training grants of 125%, up to R500 000 relocation grant and 5% price preference on tenders. Pudimoe incentives are the same except a cash subsidy of up to R80 per month per worker and 45% interest and rental subsidy are available.

## 1.2.4 Migrant labour

No clear picture can be given of the extent of migrant labour in the Northern Cape as figures are seldom given for the parts of Bophuthatswana. Table 1 shows numbers of migrant labourers requisitioned and working in the area under the Northern Cape Administration Board, showing a large difference between those requisitioned and those enumerated in 1981.

Table 1 MIGRANT LABOUR IN THE NORTHERN CAPE

From	Requisitioned*			Enumerated** 1981
	1979	1980	1981	
Lebowa	-	-	-	100
Gazankulu	-	-	-	-
Qwaqwa	129	259	148	700
KaNgwane	-	-	-	-
KwaNdebele	-	-	-	-
Venda	95	109	125	-
Bophuthatswana	19 929	19 906	21 052	28 400
Ciskei	191	191	218	1 800
Transkei	667	745	933	5 200
KwaZulu	121	-	-	700
Total	21 132	21 210	22 476	36 900

\*Parliamentary Question 655, Hansard 27.05.82

\*\*Benbo, calculated by C C Mastoroudes, R22/82 May 1982

The number and percentage from the Ciskei and Transkei is particularly remarkable: 19% of those enumerated and 5% of those requisitioned. The number of migrants from Bophuthatswana as a whole to South Africa has increased by 47 000 over the last decade while as a proportion of all migrants from reserves to the rest of South Africa, it has decreased from 15,7% to 14,8% (78,2% were male (154 000) and 21,8% female (43 000) in 1981).



Table 2 MIGRANT WORKERS FROM BOPHUTHATSWANA TO THE REST OF SOUTH AFRICA

	Number*	% of S A migrants*	Number**	% of S A migrants**
1970	150 000	15,7	-	-
1971	153 000	15,7	-	-
1972	157 000	15,8	-	-
1973	160 000	15,8	-	-
1974	164 000	15,9	-	-
1975	167 000	15,9	168 000	14,7
1976	171 000	15,9	174 000	14,8
1977	175 000	16,0	179 000	14,7
1978	178 000	15,9	178 000	14,0
1979	185 000	16,2	177 000	14,3
1980	197 000	16,2	-	-
1981	197 000	14,8	-	-

\*Benbo calculated by C C Mastoroudes, R22/82 May 1982

\*\*Benbo Statistical Survey 1980, Table 18: Estimated Extent of Migrant Labour (on contract) from the National States in the RSA

It is assumed that the 1982 figures are more accurate than the 1980 estimates. For a debate on various estimates and methods, see Graaf, 1982.

### 1.2.5 Commuters

From the household survey of Pampierstad it will be seen that almost all workers commute. Benbo figures for numbers of commuters in the two reserves under consideration increase over the years as more people are removed from 'white' areas to the reserves. However, it should be noted from Table 3 that there was no increase between 1980 and 1981 from Taung area while hundreds of people were moved in that same period. Thus either people lost jobs with the move, or all those who were moved in were unemployed, as there are no jobs in Pampierstad.

Table 3 NUMBER OF COMMUTERS FROM RESERVES IN THE NORTHERN CAPE

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Taung to Hartswater	1 600	1 200	1 200	1 400	1 500	1 500
Taung to Jan Kempdorp	600	600	600	700	900	900
Tlhaping-Tlharo to Kuruman	2 800	3 000	2 500	2 800	3 200	3 700

## 1.3 URBAN AREAS

By 1979 Mothibistad was the only proclaimed town in these parts of Bophuthatswana under consideration. Benbo figures are:

Table 4 MOTHIBISTAD : NUMBER OF HOUSING UNITS AND POPULATION

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Population	4 841	4 982	5 097	5 097	5 086
Housing units	521	538	558	560	560

(Benbo Statistical Survey 1980, Table 32. Preliminary figures for 1977 onwards.)

Pampierstad is the main 'urban' area of Taung reserve although it could hardly be described as a town in the normal sense of the word, rather a place to stay with no economic base.

## 1.4 SQUATTER AREAS

Bophuthatswana as a whole has a huge squatter population, estimated as at least 200 000, mainly resident in the Odi district, Winterveld being the best known. Squatting is common around all closer settlements/townships. As those who are evicted from white farms are not given housing, sometimes not even a plot, people can only move to the reserves and find a plot. Many others cannot afford the rents of township housing. So people are forced to build shacks where they can pay rent to a landowner in which case they are tenants, rather than squatters, or where they will be least harassed on public land. From the Wiechers Report Graaf lists 1 269 people squatting in Molelema, Losasaneng and Matoleng in the Taung area. This shows another phenomenon, that of tribal villages within reserves being inundated with landless people, many evicted from white farms in OFS and Northern Cape. Others had lived in 'Diggers' locations' on State land. (These were alluvial diamond diggings along the Vaal River.)

Seeding in the Tlhaping-Tlharo area is listed from the Wiechers Report as being a 'squatter area' with 3 671 people. Seeding was in Kuruman crown reserve where 29 185 people lived (Breutz, 1963). The new Kuruman township was built in the 1960s. It seems many were not allocated houses or could not afford them and were forced to squat.

## 1.5 ATTITUDES OF BOPHUTHATSWANA AUTHORITIES

It seems that while the Bophuthatswana authorities do not welcome Tswanas being forced to move to Bophuthatswana, they are more concerned about 'foreigners'. During the second reading of the Bophuthatswana Citizenship Bill, Minister Kgomoengwe warned that citizenship rights would not be granted automatically after five years. Bophuthatswana was not to be 'a dumping ground for the scum and outcasts of other countries' (Mmabatho Mail, 21.04.78).

# NORTHERN CAPE

## PART 2

### Regional Overview

#### 2.1 PLACES & NUMBERS

From various sources a list has been compiled. It should be noted that extensive field work was not conducted in the region. However, this is probably the most accurate picture compiled to date.

From Table 5 it will be seen that no breakdown of official figures is given for categories of removals. These are the most recent figures. (The 1980/1 annual report of the Minister of Co-operation and Development did not quote figures for removals. Future reports are likely to follow this example as when during the 1982 parliamentary session it was clearly stated that such information might be regarded as a threat to State security.)

Table 5 RELOCATION IN AND INTO BOPHUTHATSWANA

	Internal Bophuthatswana		Transvaal to Bop.		Cape to Bop.	
	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	Persons
1.04.76-31.03.77	85	595	1 498	10 552	972	6 813
1.04.77-31.03.78	(independent so no figures available)		996	6 641	561	3 927
1.04.78-31.03.79			1 453	10 809	-	-

(from SAIRR Surveys 1978-1980)

These figures do not reflect the thousands of people forced off farms and out of urban areas through influx control into Bophuthatswana. The 6 813 people moved from the Cape to Bophuthatswana in 1976/7 is probably the same 6 813 moved from Maremane and Gatlhose reserves in 1977 (as given by the Minister of Co-operation and Development in reply to Parliamentary Question 537 of 1980).

# Northern Cape



Huhudi, Vryburg - under threat of removal (July 1981)



MAP 9

BOTSWANA



## 2.2 SUMMARY OF RELOCATION

Relocation area	Nearest town	Date estd.	Estim. pop.	Moved from	Category
<b>KURUMAN RESERVES</b>					
Batlharos/Wyks	Mothibistad	1964	2 000	Groenwater	Consolidation
Churchill	Mothibistad	1959/60		Kono (Kleinkoning)	Consolidation
Deerward	Mothibistad	1973	3 101	Di Takwanen (Takwaneng, Ditakong, Dithakong)	Consolidation
Durham*	Mothibistad	1977	10 000 to 20 000 (C&D) 6 813 (PQ)	Gamotswedi in the Gatlhose reserve;	Consolidation
Slough*				Madtlakeng in the Maremane reserve;	
Padstow*				Bojelakgomo - 2 500 people from Gatlhose reserve	
Laxey*					
Bendall*					
Part of wyks*					
Ellendale				Smouswane (Smauswane)	Consolidation
GaSehunero	Mothibistad	February 1968	3 000 to 6 000	Schmidtsdrift; Skeyfontein (Skynfontein)	Consolidation
Mothibistad (GaMothibi, Mothibi)	Kuruman	1963	then 1 800	Gasegonyana (Kuruman location); locations of Postmasburg, Griquatown and Douglas	Urban
Ganyesa	Vryburg			Madiakgama (Madiakgham)	Consolidation
Phakane	Kuruman	late 1960s	1 000	Vlakfontein (Metsematshwe, Metsamatsa, Metsi Matsi)	Consolidation
<b>TAUNG RESERVE</b>					
Losasaneng	Taung	1965/6		Windsorton	Urban
Magogong	Taung	late 1960s		Christiana; Vaal River; Bloemhof; Schweizer-Reneke; Vryburg	Urban
Mammutla (Mamuthla)	Taung	1965		Holpan	Diamond diggings
North of Taung	Taung			Kaukwe	Consolidation

\* These farms north of the Moshaweng River were bought for the settlement of people from the Gatlhose-Maremane reserves.

Relocation area	Nearest town	Date estd.	Estim. pop.	Moved from	Category
TAUNG RESERVE contd					
Pampierstad	Hartswater	late 1960s	25 000	Kimberley; Koopmansfontein; Barkly West; Delportshoop; Jan Kempdorp/ Valspan (c 2 000 people); Hartswater; Gongong; Stella; Warrenton; Windsorton; Bloemhof; Schweizer-Reneke; Sydney-on-Vaal	All urban or squatter
Pudimoe (Pudumoe)	Vryburg	late 1970s	2 000 to 3 000	People moving in off farms and endorsed out of towns: Schweizer-Reneke & Sannieshof	Farm and urban
Pudimoe (Pudumoe)	Vryburg	1981	300	Huhudi township, Vryburg	Urban
Vaalboschhoek	Taung	1975	3 770	Mayen (Majeng) reserve	Consolidation
Valspan	Jan Kempdorp	1950s?	5 000	Fourteen Streams	Irrigation scheme
Molopo area	Mafikeng	July 1968	500	Mosita	Consolidation

#### PEOPLE UNDER THREAT OF REMOVAL

Relocation area	Nearest town	To be moved from	Estim. pop.	Category
Pampierstad	Hartswater	Valspan	c 4 000	Some people have already been moved, others are resisting. Urban
		Saltpan	250	Been declared a mine, so workers only, families must move.
		Hartswater		Township abolished
		Delportshoop		Township abolished
Vergenoeg		Delportshoop		Coloureds to be moved
Pudimoe (Pudumoe)	Vryburg	Huhudi	20 000	Urban (lodgers & those on waiting list have moved)
Rensville	E Kuruman	Khosis (Gatlhose)		Coloured location in old reserve

This list is incomplete and compiled from official sources (which often under-estimate the number of people involved), Cosmas Desmond's information, interviews and field trips. From these very rough calculations it could be said that about 58 000 people have been moved in the Northern Cape in the last 20 years, but it should be stressed that this is a 'guestimate'.

## 2.3 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

This section will be a brief description of some of the areas out of which and into which people have been moved. The whole area could not be comprehensively covered so this should be seen as an introduction.

### 2.3.1 Kimberley to Vryburg

Kimberley has a large township, Galeshewe, on which the government plans to spend R50 million over the next five to ten years in an attempt to improve facilities. Roads and shortage of housing are serious problems. During 1980 Galeshewe was the site of unrest, resulting in an arson charge against five young men which is still (1982) being heard in court. During 1981 rents were increased by between 30% and 186% in most Northern Cape townships, causing more discontent and probably unrest in the not too distant future.

### 2.3.2 Saltpan

'We as the Nantwich Salt Works labourers together with our families don't want to move from this place.'

Saltpan lies 24 km north of Kimberley, 4 km off the Riverton Station turnoff. For a couple of generations people have lived on ground belonging to the owner of the saltworks. The community of 40 families were told that all but the workers would be moved in April 1981. The area has been declared a mine and the workers must live in a compound; their families will probably be relocated at Pampierstad 100 km away in Bophuthatswana. 33 men and three women worked on the saltworks in 1980. Many of the women and strong children over the age of 10 do 'skoffelwerk' (hoeing and weeding) in nearby cotton fields for R5,50 per week (about 42 hours). Local farmers pick them up in trucks. Wages for saltworkers are R13,50 per week.

Reasons for not wanting to move include not wanting to be separated from their families, having to finance two households plus transport for visits, the proximity to Kimberley (50c each way by train) where food and other essentials are cheaper than in rural shops and that they have lived together peacefully for so long.

Conditions at the saltworks are hardly ideal. One toilet, one tap, one shop, no clinic, two primary schools at the station serve everyone. A few brick houses were built in the early 1960s - they are now in bad repair; most people have built their own mud houses.

The people have no rights to work or live in towns. They may only do mining or farm work. If men are desperate they join women doing 'skoffelwerk' for R5,50 per week. People used to be allowed to keep stock until local farmers complained of overgrazing and straying. People may cultivate gardens round their houses, but water has to be fetched some way away from the tap.



People do not pay rent or for water. The owner has not been strict in evicting old people or the working children of his workers. Some workers did not want their children working on the saltworks. They tried to educate them for better jobs - 'We must educate our children - it is very hard to go into life blind'. The people feel their boss does not want them to move.

In October 1980 an article appeared in the Diamond Fields Advertiser (the Kimberley newspaper) publicising their plight. Since then the people have heard nothing about the proposed move.

As a small community on private land they feel they have little chance of resisting the removal but they do not want to move.

### 2.3.3 Valspan

Valspan will be examined in more detail in the section on case studies as the community has resisted removal to Pampierstad from the beginning. 5 500 Tswanas, 1 300 Xhosas and some Sothos have been under threat of removal since 1963 when it was decided to move the township of Jan Kempdorp. The community council has been joined in its protest by the local business community. The chairman of the Jan Kempdorp Chamber of Commerce, Mr Phillip Botha, was reported as saying that the town's economy would suffer a heavy blow with the removal of the black community. A delegation of businessmen had been to Cape Town to see senior government officials but the government's attitude had been that it was a 'closed case'. (Argus, 9.07.80) 40% of the cash income of Jan Kempdorp is generated from Valspan business.

### 2.3.4 Taung Reserve

Another community which resisted removal fiercely was that living in the Majeng/Mayen Reserve which was excised as a result of a report of the Select Committee on Bantu Affairs debated in the S A Assembly on 16 and 17 October 1974. The reason for their removal was given as infrastructural - a dam would be built near Warrenton which would inundate the reserve. Details of the resistance are given in Section III on case studies. In December 1965 about 500 africans were moved from the diamond diggings at Holpan to the Mammutla reserve, adjoining Mayen, south of Pampierstad. On arrival they found no tents had been erected, no rations provided, insufficient water and no local employment. They were forced to erect what shelters they could from the pitifully inadequate materials they had brought with them. (SAIRR Survey 1966)

Magogong is planned to house 20 000 people in a township. About 4 000 people were moved there from Christiana 29 km away, from the Vaal River diamond digging area, Vryburg, Schweizer-Reneke and Bloemhof.

The Taung reserve is vastly overcrowded. The dry dusty land cannot hold the numbers of people settled almost continuously from south to north along the national road. There are some tribal villages with access to irrigated land along the Vaal-Harts but Agricor controls most irrigated land. People have come off white farms and settled wherever they can obtain plots. Pudimoe, an old Tswana settlement, is a perfect example of this disturbing trend. The tribal village is surrounded by hundreds of recently built shelters and a housing scheme to accommodate those evicted from surrounding 'white' towns such as Vryburg. Pudimoe shows little sign of becoming a growth point. Construction work is in evidence - a new training college has been completed and there are a few factories employing very few people.

### 2.3.5 Huhudi

50 km further north is Vryburg, a fairly prosperous town with a township, Huhudi, under threat of removal but no one seems too sure what the situation is. A new school was built in 1980. The Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman was told in 1979 that the people would not be moved for eight years. They are scheduled to be moved to Pudimoe. Some have moved already - those who are lodgers and have applied for houses. No new houses will be built in Huhudi. About 300 houses a year are being built in Pudimoe. It is said that Vryburg township will only house workers in hostels, not families. It is rumoured that Vryburg might be included in Bophuthatswana and this might explain the delay in moving the township but this seems unlikely.

Huhudi is a large township with very old houses, bad roads, 13 general dealers, 2 bottle stores, 2 beerhalls, lots of shebeens and a butcher. People pay R11 per month rent to the municipality; there are 4 primary schools and one secondary, 7 churches and a clinic. Employment is found largely in Vryburg - domestic, shops, hotels. The rest work in mines. Unemployment is high. People queue at the Administration Board offices looking for work.

It was reported that there were a number of Xhosa people here and in Jan Kempdorp. They had been brought to work on farms but gradually settled in the townships and brought their families. They were particularly threatened by the move from Huhudi but got on well with the Tswanas.

It seems some people want to move as houses at Pudimoe are better but most do not want to live that far out. The teachers have formed a group to try to get more information on proposals. There is an MP for Bophuthatswana for Huhudi but it was reported he may be somewhat resented as he is a wealthy businessman.

Huhudi Community Council opposes the move. It was reported that no further development of Huhudi would take place and that the whole township would be moved. (SAIRR Survey 1981, 285)

The scheduled area of Kaukwe was moved into the Taung reserve but no further information has been collected.

### 2.3.6 Kuruman area

The segment of Bophuthatswana just north of Kuruman has been a major receptacle of Tswanas moved from in and around Kuruman. In 1963 and 1964 Gasegonyana, the location 1 km east of Kuruman, was moved to Gamothibi or Mothibistad, one of the two large 'self-contained Bantu towns' in the Northern Cape as described in the Circular 25 of 1967 from the Department of Bantu Affairs and Development. (The other town so described was Pampierstad.) Those from Kuruman township and outlying areas who could not afford the rent in Mothibistad built their own shelters on the outskirts. (This also happens at Pampierstad.) Those moved from rural areas were sent to the tribal villages and trust farms north of Mothibistad, known as 'the wyks'.

### 2.3.7 Mothibistad

About 300 families were moved to Mothibistad. Most of the population worked in Kuruman itself, on neighbouring farms, or in Johannesburg. Very few worked on the asbestos mines as they felt such work was 'humiliating'. The location had been built in 1916 or 1917. Its establishment was opposed by the London Missionary Society on the grounds that it would hinder their work. The inhabitants of Gasegonyana drew water from 'The Eye', apparently the largest natural fountain in South Africa which raises some four million gallons of water



each day. Black people were very bitter when they were denied access to 'The Eye'.

The move to Mothibistad was extremely disadvantageous. What had once been a ten-minute walk into town now necessitated a bus ride. Rent in the old location was only R1,00 per annum for a plot on which people built their own houses. When Cosmas Desmond visited Mothibistad in 1969, rent for a two-roomed house was R2,99 while for a four-roomed house it was R4,33. By way of comparison a four-roomed house now costs R15,00 per month. Despite the increase this rent is low relative to that in the Galeshewe location in Kimberley where a house costs R34 per month. Thus it is seen as a means of encouraging people to move to Bophuthatswana.

About two years ago the Bophuthatswana Development Corporation built large houses in Mothibistad, which sell for R13 000 to R24 000. After paying a deposit payments are made over some 30 years at 20% of one's salary. There are about 600 houses in Mothibistad, but except for a few houses for sale to civil servants and others, there has been no recent development.

Part of the reason for Mothibistad's lack of development is probably that people prefer to avoid paying rent by settling under a tribal authority in the vicinity and building their own mud houses. Thus many people scheduled to live in Mothibistad have in fact settled in villages such as GaMotlhwane, Maropeng, Seeding and Bankhara. The unofficial chief of this Batlharos region is James Toto, who was deposed in the nearly 1970s for opposing Lucas Mangope. The newly appointed chief is reportedly an alcoholic and is not recognised by the people.

## 2.3.8 The Wyks

To the north-east of Kuruman and Mothibistad is a large relocation area known as 'the wyks' (literally 'districts'). The wyks are a collection of trust farms where people were moved from black spots and excised reserves, together with their chiefs or headmen, as well as where people evicted off white farms have landed. The nine wyks are spread over an extensive area and are situated some kilometres apart. Boreholes have been sunk but the land is extremely arid and sandy. Cosmas Desmond described the wyks as 'infinitely remote, like a lost, dead land'. There are thousands of people in the wyks. They commute weekly or monthly to Sishen, Kimberley or the mines in the Kuruman area.

In a series of articles on mesothelioma, the Argus exposed conditions of people living in this area who work on the asbestos mines round Kuruman. The reporter interviewed one woman living in the wyks who had lost two of her three brothers and her sister from mesothelioma of the pleura - a cancer of the lining of the lung contracted through exposure to blue asbestos. The seams run from Prieska through to the Botswana border but are mined mainly round Kuruman and Postmasburg. The disease is not dose-related. Even staying a day or so in Kuruman where piles of the fine blue dust lie around, is time enough to inhale a particle which could be lodged in the lining of the lung, causing death some 20 years later. The disease was first identified in 1956 and related to the asbestos mines when migrant workers from the Transkei were found suffering from it. Some had worked on the Kuruman mines 20 to 40 years previously. (Argus, 10 and 11.12.81)

Various townships in the Northern Cape were relocated in Mothibistad. Some residents moved to the wyks as well. Townships of Postmasburg, Griquatown, Douglas (which was deproclaimed in August 1971 and moved 225 km away) were involved. The Diamond Fields Advertiser (29.12.77) reports that 1 200 people were moved into Batlharo (wyks) from surrounding areas. This must refer to all the people relocated off 1913 scheduled reserves (Gatlhose, Maremane, Schmidtsdrift, Groenwater, Skeyfontein) who were moved to farms such as Bendall (2 500 people from Gatlhose), Durham and Slough (people from Gamotswede in Gatlhose), Padstow (Madtlhakeng in Maremane) and Laxey (Bojelakgomo in Maremane). Conditions at the time of Bophuthatswana's 'independence' were described as

'grim' by a reporter for the Diamond Fields Advertiser (28.12.77):

There is little water, roads are almost non-existent, the nearest hospital is nearly 130 km away, and there are a few telephones at widely spread shops dotted throughout the area. Some of the villages are up to 25 km from the nearest store, food is hard to come by, and it is almost impossible to grow mielies or other crops in the semi-desert lands. A number of primary schools have been built but there are few teachers. The villages during the week are places for women, children and the aged. Most breadwinners are working on the mines in the Republic and few of them are able to get home regularly at weekends.

## 2.3.9 Removed areas

### SCHMIDTSDRIFT

At Schmidtsdrift there was a small reserve through which the Vaal River ran. Situated some 70 km west of Kimberley, the Batlhaping settled there in the 1880s. It was scheduled a reserve in 1913 and in the 1960s it was replanned according to a betterment scheme. In February 1968 between 3 000 and 6 000 people (figures vary) were moved in 100 open lorries north to the wyks. (World, 28.02.68) Cosmas Desmond wrote that satisfactory compensation was paid out but that the area to which they were removed was too dry for agriculture. Schmidtsdrift is said to be the southernmost point of the Tswana 'trek'. It was an extremely fertile area, said to be rich in diamonds. Most men had worked close by on Kimberley and Douglas mines. Schmidtsdrift is now a military zone.

### GATLHOSE-MAREMANE RESERVES

The Gatlhose-Maremane reserves are a large area south of Kuruman and east of Sishen, roughly 500 sq km in extent. Desmond wrote that it consisted of 10 000 to 20 000 people grouped in some 17 villages. Settled in the 1880s with influxes in 1906 and 1910, it was scheduled according to the 1913 Land Act and regrouped into trust villages in 1964. Most of the people were Batlharos though there were some Zulus and Xhosas as well. Most men worked at iron-ore or manganese mines near Postmasburg or Sishen. When Desmond visited them in 1969, they were expecting to move north-east of Kuruman, on the Vryburg border to the Moshaweng River (170 km away).

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that 6 813 people had been moved from these reserves in 1977. The Diamond Fields Advertiser estimated 12 000 people moved in 1976. The people had resisted the move from 1965 when they were first told of it. They were removed to various farms (mentioned in the previous section), including Bendall 60 km north-east of Kuruman where there is no spring. Dams and pumps have been built. There were no houses at Bendall when the people were moved there so they had to build their own. Bendall was described as a 'location in the sand'.

The Gatlhose reserve was granted to the Batlharos in 1885 by the British and they held the land 'in agreement with the Griquas'. Twenty years ago african and coloured people were well integrated and there was intermarriage between them. The coloured people still live there (Afrikanerised to Khosis) with the knowledge that they are to be removed to Rensville, east of Kuruman where some have built houses.

The released farm of Legoko on the western border of Gatlhose reserve was also excised. The Gatlhose-Maremane reserves have been expropriated together with 17 neighbouring white farms for the SADF military range known as Lohatla.



## GROENWATER

25 km east of Postmasburg 2 000 people were moved from Groenwater scheduled reserve some 200 km north in 1964. They were cattle keepers as well as being employed at Postmasburg and Sishen. Living at Groenwater under a chief they were able to live relatively cheaply. They have been moved to Batlharos north of Kuruman.

## SKEYFONTEIN/SKYNFONTEIN

In much the same way people were moved from Skynfontein or Skeyfontein (like Groenwater about 150 sq km), some 20 km south-east of Postmasburg.

## METSEMATSHWE/METSEMATSA/VLAKFONTEIN

At Vlakfontein near Reivilo (about 80 km east of Kuruman) about 1 000 Batlhaping people were moved to Phakane in the late 1960s. Phakane is east of Mothibistad.

## KLEINKONING/KONO

Kono was a scheduled area 30 km south of Kuruman from where about 1 000 people were moved to Churchill in the vicinity of Mothibistad in 1959 or 1960. It seems that the farm (or part of it) is now owned by Jan Hoon, the sitting member of parliament for Kuruman and one of the two Cape members of the newly formed Conservative Party.

## SMAUSWANE/SMOUSWANE

This scheduled area was also excised and the people moved in the same way. Smauswane was situated south-east of Kono and moved into the wyks, onto the farm Ellendale, now known as New Smauswane.

## KAUKWE

This reserve was moved into the Taung reserve prior to 1961. Kaukwe was situated just north-east of Reivilo.

## DI TAKWANEN

To the west of Vryburg at Di Takwanen (or Takwaneng or Ditakong) some 100 families under Chief Mahura were moved after a long history of resistance, 210 km west to Deerward north of Kuruman. The Minister of Co-operation and Development reported that 3 101 people had been moved from Takwaneng in 1973.

Members of the Batlhaping tribe had settled on the fertile land in 1889. The people had been told to move in 1960 and had refused to do so, even engaging the services of a lawyer to fight their case. They were, however, not hopeful when Cosmas Desmond visited them in 1969. Their resistance delayed the move until 1973 when they were finally moved at gun-point by army escort.

The authorities had tried various means to get them to move, for example when the local shopkeeper moved in 1960, they would not give anyone else a trading licence and the people had to travel 25 km into Vryburg to shop. No public transport was provided, so they had to organise their own.

The people said there were rumours of precious metal on their land. They had not wanted to move because they said they liked living near Vryburg. Their families had lived there a long time. They had a fertile farm with water where they grew fresh vegetables, wheat and raised cattle. They had built a school which offered tuition up to Standard VI and they had a clinic. Their conditions at Deerward have, unfortunately, not been investigated.

## 2.4 CATEGORIES OF REMOVALS

Major categories of removals in the Northern Cape have been:

- 1 Consolidation - scheduled land excised mainly
- 2 Black spot removals - freehold land mainly
- 3 Urban relocation
- 4 Betterment
- 5 Farms removals
- 6 Clearance of informal settlements
- 7 Group areas
- 8 Influx control
- 9 Infrastructural and strategic removals.

This list is compiled roughly in order of descending magnitude - numbers of removals. Some people have been moved a number of times, in terms of various categories, eg. Gatlhose/Maremane people were concentrated during betterment planning in 1964 and removed from their excised reserve to Bophuthswana in 1977. Their reserve has become a military camp.

### 2.4.1 Consolidation proposals

In terms of the 1975 proposals further removals will have to take place. Some would involve many people where they have only recently been moved. Maps 12 and 13 give a picture of the proposed consolidation and excision. The results of the Commission of Co-operation and Development (the Van der Walt Commission) are not available at the time of writing, but it seems certain the Mammutla reserve in the southern Taung district will be moved. It should be noted that the area east of Kuruman into which many have been moved is scheduled for excision while the drier northern part is to be added. It is possible that this may change now, with the member of parliament for Kuruman being in opposition to the government. The heavily populated Ganyesa district was scheduled for excision.

This extract from a table in Appendix A of Marian Lacey's book Working for Boroko (p 380) gives an indication of the extent of land allocated until 1936. (See Map 10.)

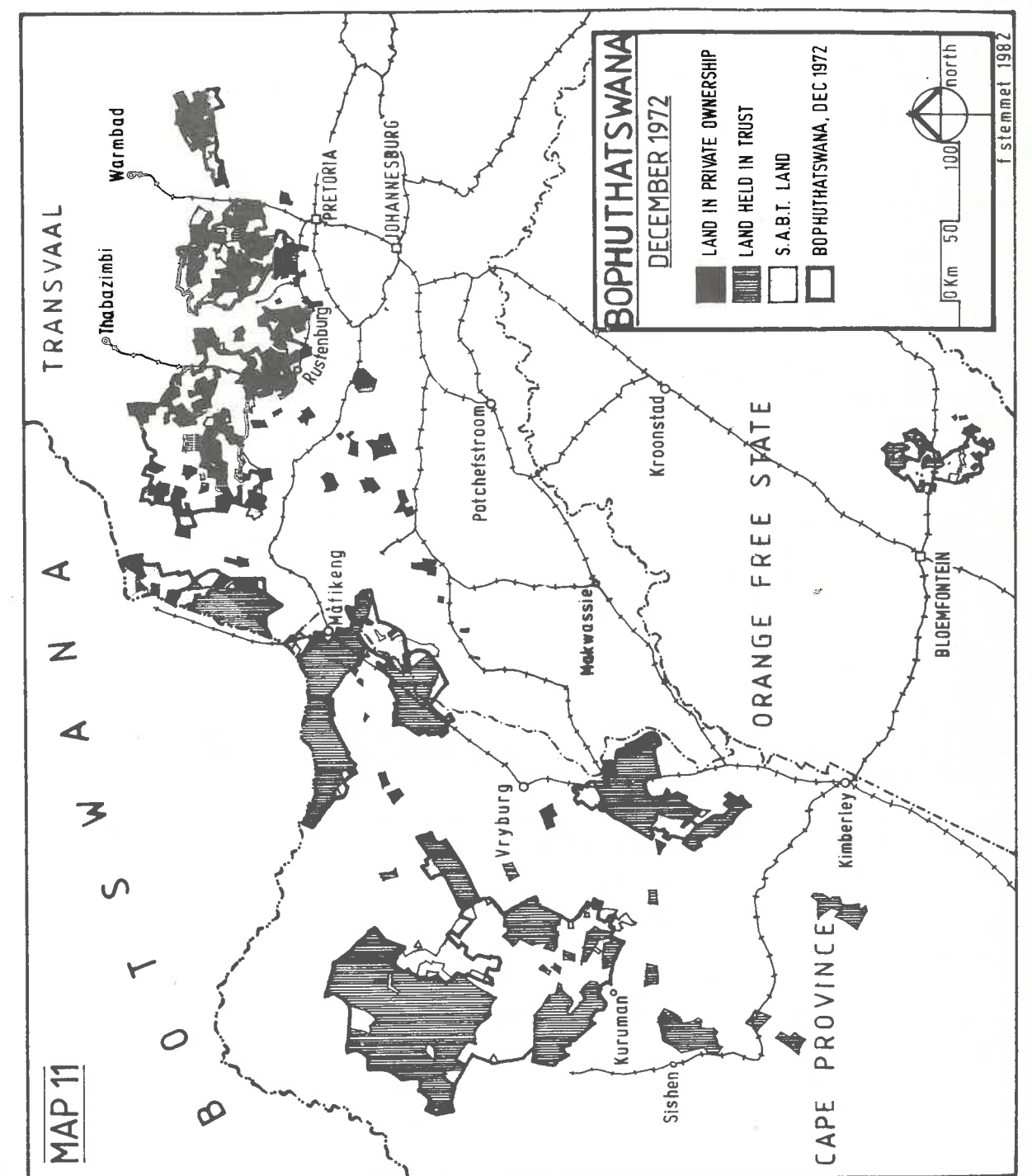
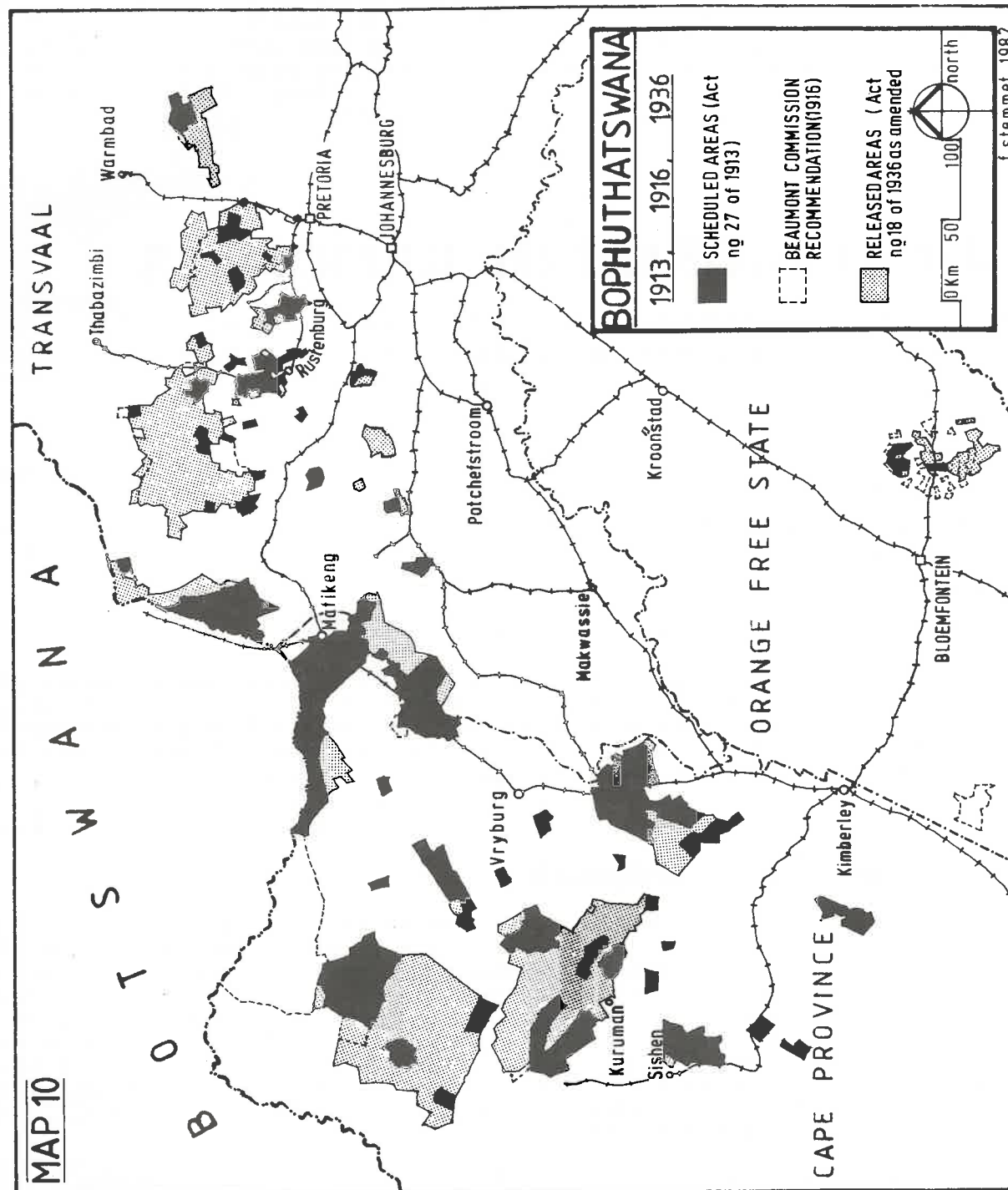




Table 6 ESTIMATED AREA & POPULATION OF AFRICAN AREAS IN N.W. CAPE 1916 & 1936

	Total	Mafikeng	Vryburg	Taung	Barkly West	Kuruman
Sq. miles						
Native Areas 1916	4 215	1 208	1 232	642	377	756
Native Areas 1936	5 988	1 216	2 800	676	377	919
Native Population 1916	75 100	18 200	15 400	21 200	10 000	10 300
Native Population 1936	89 200	32 000	18 200	19 700	7 200	12 000
Population per sq. mile 1916	17,8					
Population per sq. mile 1936	14,9					
Normal rainfall inches		22	19	17	16	15

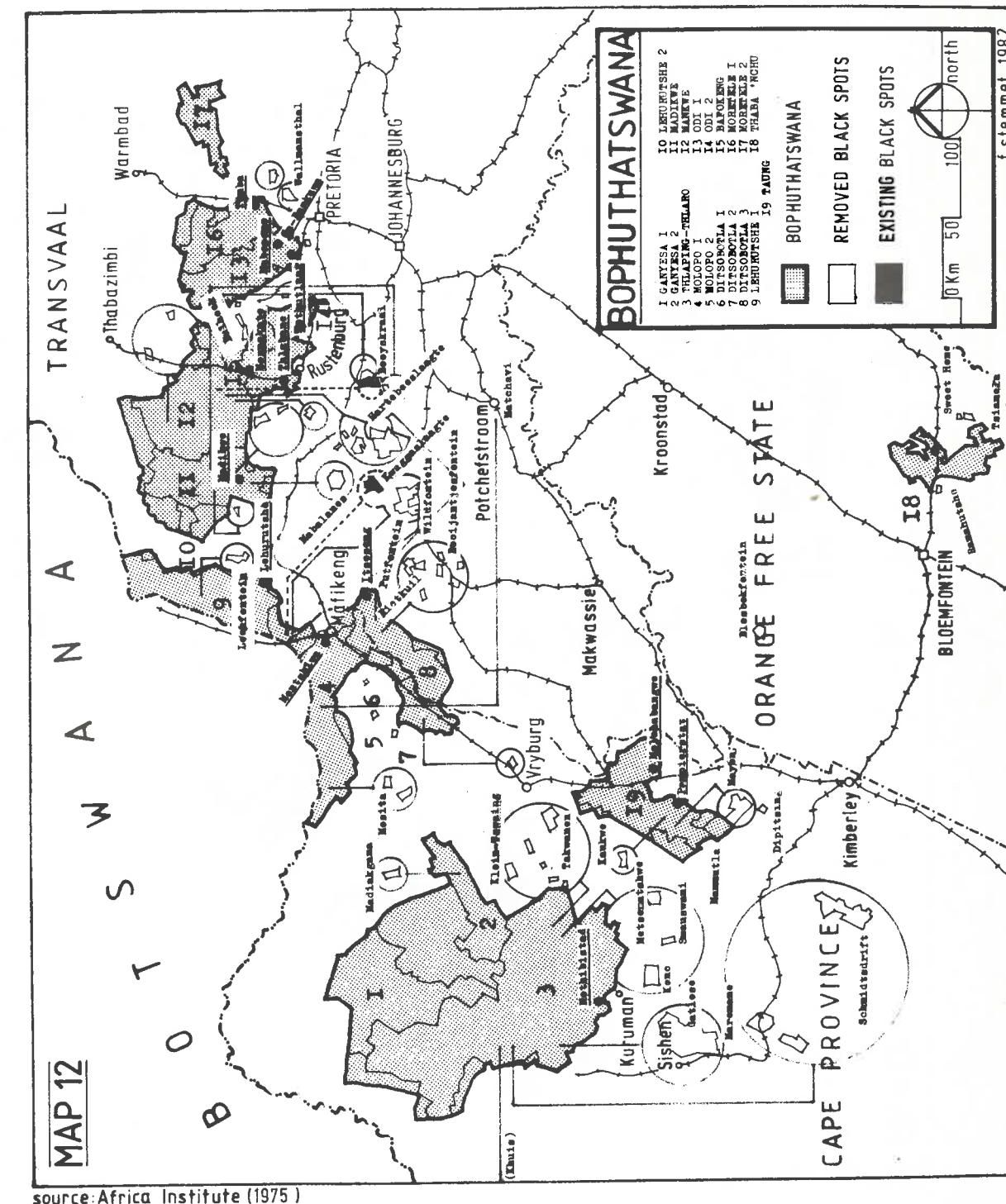
From various sources the following list of excised scheduled areas (1913) may be presented:

Gathhose	Kaukwe
Maremane	Majeng
Groenwater	Mosita
Skeyfontein	
Schmidtsdrift	
Kono/Kleinkoning	
Smauswane	
Metsematshwe/Vlakfontein	
Di Takwanen	
Klein-Tswaing	
Madiakgama	

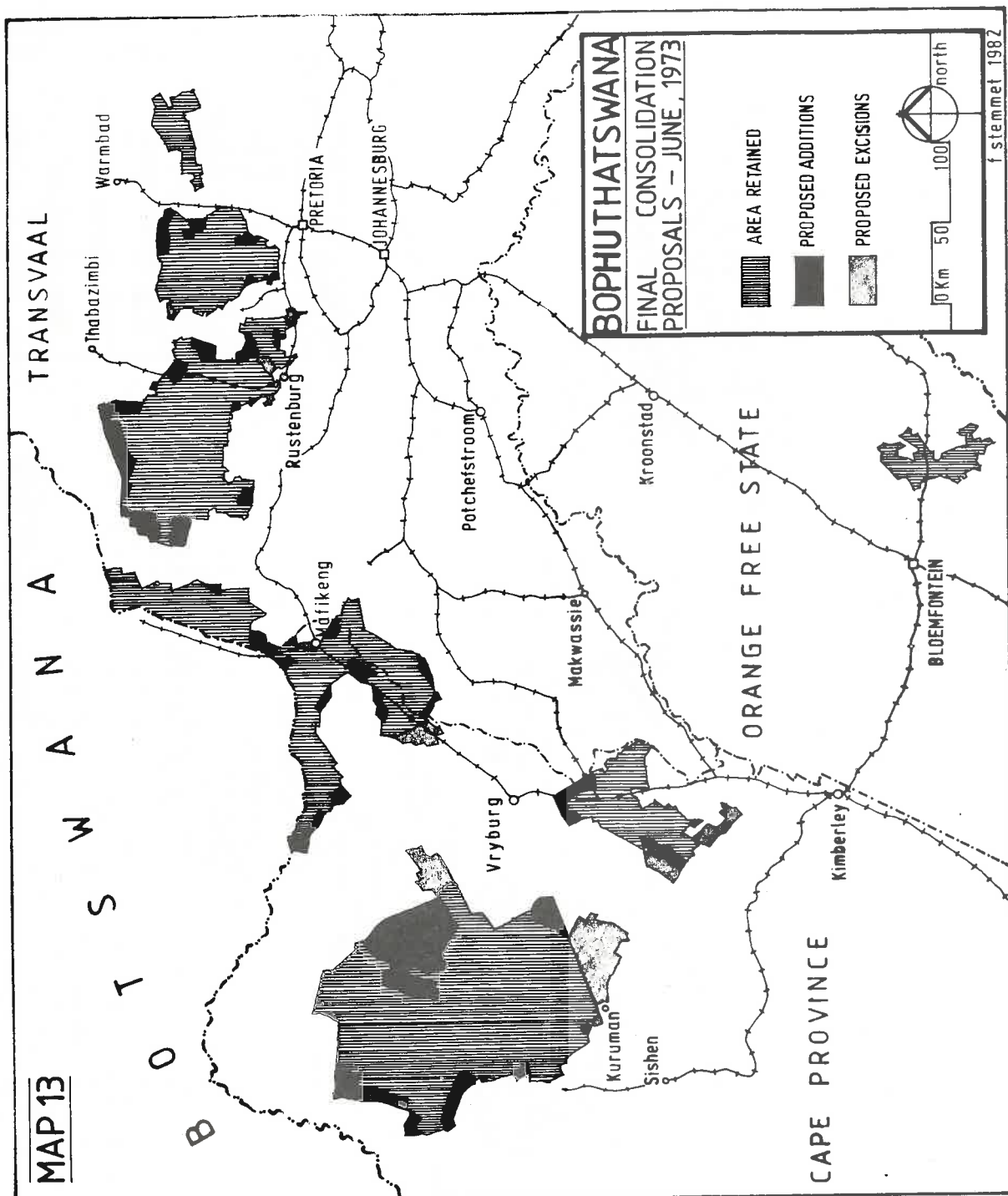
The reserves listed on the left were moved into the Tlhaping-Tlharo and Ganyesa magisterial districts of Bophuthatswana, while Kaukwe and Majeng were moved into Taung, and Mosita into Molopo.

By 1961 the following 'Bantu Reserves (had been) cleared up' according to an unidentified official circular of circa 1961:

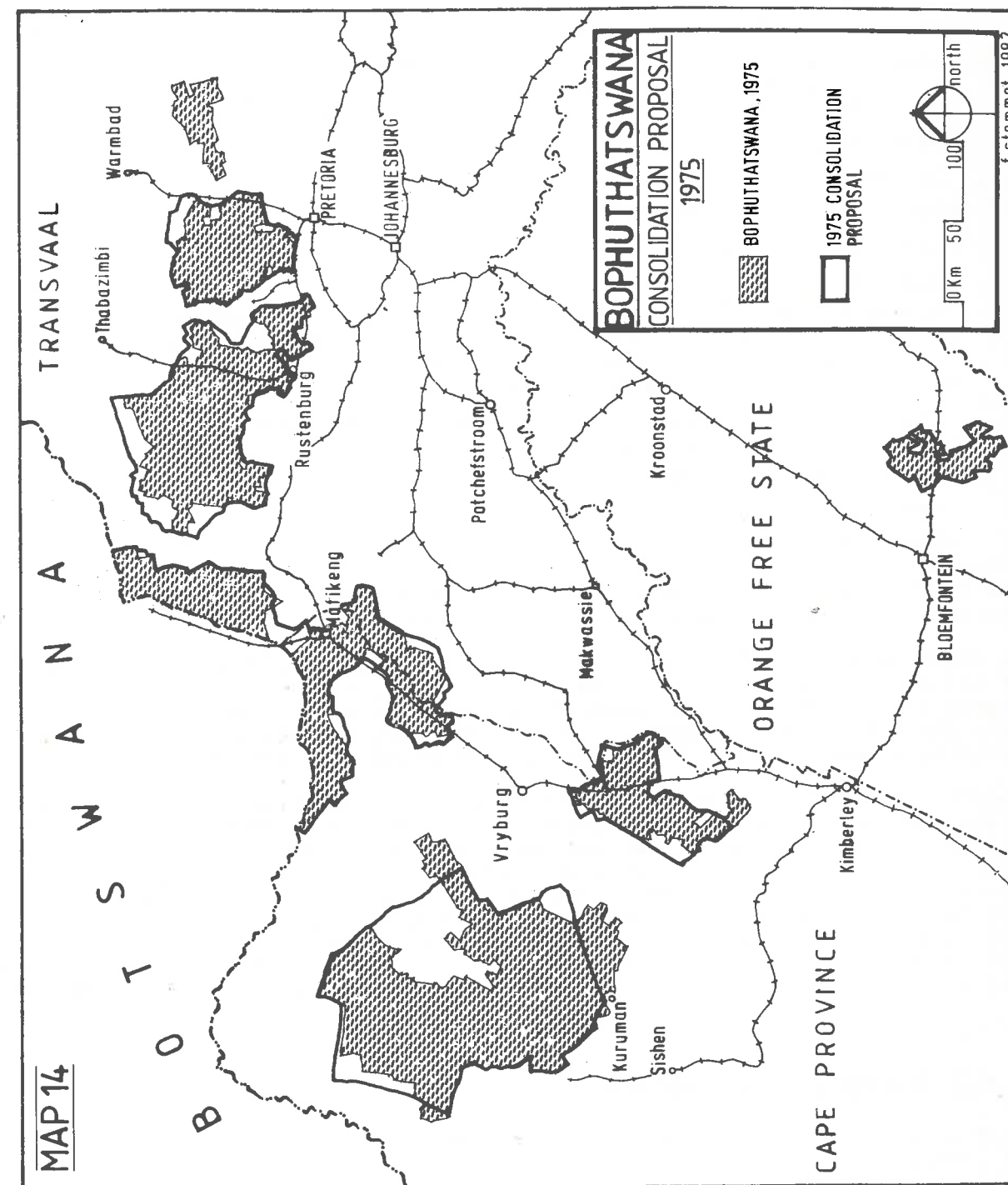
	Morgen
1 Kaukwe (Taung district)	3 351
2 Kono (Kuruman district)	12 475
3 Madiakgama (Vryburg district)	6 000
4 Smouswane (Kuruman district)	3 226
	25 052
land which may be acquired	80 000
(a) land acquired by Trust	76 114
(b) vested in Trust	-
(c) acquired by Bantu	2 928
(a) + (c)	79 042
difference still to be acquired	958



source: Africa Institute (1975)



source: Africa Institute (1975)



source: Africa Institute (1975)



According to Breutz the Kuruman reserves comprised the following in the early 1960s:

	<u>Morgen</u>
Lower Kuruman (Batlharos, Maroping, Gamopedi, Maipeng, Tsining, Mapiniki, Legobare)	105 050
Seoding in Kuruman crown reserve	29 185
Khuis (established in terms of Act 36 of 1931) comprising the farms of Khuis (10 000 mg), Bogogobo (6 955 mg) and Police (2 067 mg)	19 021
Manyeding	21 820
Bothetheletsa	16 985
Metsi Matsi/Vlakfontein	5 831
Gatlhose	57 939
Maremane	14 250
New Smauswane (comprising farms of Ellendale, Cardington, Kookfontein, and portions of Victory, Uitkyk, Kamer and Middledale in terms of Proclamation 234 of 1951)	12 163
New Konong of Thamoanche Block (Scheduled Proclamation 191 of 17.06.60)	17 190
Non-quota trust land	299 434
Trust-vested crown land	42 559
Quota 1936	116 211

The Postmasburg reserves were Groenwater and Skynfontein (also known as Skeyfontein) established in 1913 (Proclamation 1313).

On 28.03.69 the locations of Police, Bogogobo and Khuis and the scheduled areas of Gathlose and Maremane reserves were excised (Gazette 2323). On 19.09.69 Legoko farm in the released area of Gatlhose was excised and replaced by March farm (in N W Tlhaping-Tlharo). One privately owned farm is included in the Tlhaping-Tlharo reserve, Bailybirth, in the south-east corner.

Breutz mentions Metsematswe/Vlakfontein and the Manyeding reserves east of Kuruman being included in the Kuruman Reserves, but Metse Matsi/Metse Matswe/Vlakfontein was removed to a place of the same name near March farm and Phakane in the late 1960s. There were about 1 000 people moved. Smauswane/Smouswane was declared a black spot in 1943 and moved to Ellendale/New Smouswane. (According to Moolman and Leister at least 14 240 people in black spots remained to be moved in 1972. 82% of black spot removal occurred between 1965 and 1969. 33% of black spots (90 713 ha) in the Cape remained to be moved to Bophuthatswana in 1972. (Moolman and Leister include scheduled reserves in their definition of black spots.)

## 2.4.2 Black spot removals

According to a list given in reply to a question in parliament on 7.02.69, the following black spots (freehold land) had been removed since 1948 (Map 12).

Dipitsing (Barkly-West)

Geluk, Middelvlei, Holpan between Vryburg and Mafikeng

Tampaansfontein and Utrecht next to each other west of Vryburg

Chobham Eastwood, Holland, Rooidammetjie and Vryhof on border of Molopo 2 and Mafikeng 1 magisterial districts i.e. adjoining Bophuthatswana

Magonna and Noonan north of Stella in the Mafikeng 1 district

Doornbult north-east of Vryburg

Vergenoeg (the furthest farm where the borders of Botswana, Vryburg and Mafikeng 1 districts meet)

Between 1970 and 1979 the following black spots were removed according to the reply to Parliamentary Question 537 of 1980:

Takwanen/Di Takwanen/near Vryburg in 1973 - 3 101 people moved

Mayeng in the Taung district, moved in 1975 - 3 770 people

Gatlhose: 5 803 people moved in 1977

Maremane: 1 010 people moved in 1977

All the places mentioned here as black spots were scheduled reserve areas, not freehold land, compared with the answer to the 1969 question, where the 15 places mentioned were freehold farms.

## 2.4.3 Urban relocation

Almost all the locations of the small towns of the Northern Cape have been deproclaimed and the people moved to the reserves, eg. Hartswater location was established on 26.03.59 and abolished on 27.09.74 (by Notice 1726 in Government Gazette 4403). The Griquatown location was abolished in April 1967. In 1963/4 Gasegonyana, the location 1 km east of Kuruman, was moved to Mothibistad.

People were moved from the townships of Postmasburg, Griquatown, Douglas, Koopmansfontein, Kimberley, Barkly West, Delportshoop, Windsorton, Stella, Valspan (Jan Kempdorp), Hartswater, Warrenton, Christiana, Huhudi (Vryburg), Schweizer-Reneke, Bloemhof and Sannieshof to Bophuthatswana and other reserves, depending on 'ethnic affiliation'.

Breutz gives the following population figures for the number of Africans in 1960:

Kuruman location	(established in 1926)	2 902
Debeng (W of Kuruman)	( " " 1958)	384
Postmasburg		2 567
Olifantshoek		772
Danielskuil		772

In terms of urban relocation policies, most, if not all, these people would have been moved by the end of the 1970s.

## 2.4.4 Betterment

Betterment planning has been a feature of the Northern Cape over a long period, with two main thrusts:

- 1 Betterment planning as a result of Tomlinson proposals
- 2 An adapted version practised by the Bophuthatswana administration through Agricor. This system has resulted in widespread removals within Bophuthatswana.

For a detailed discussion of the Land Acts and Bophuthatswana regulations, transfer of land to the Bophuthatswana authorities and land tenure in general, see Jeppe, 1980. From Table 11 (p 150) of this book, Table 7 has been adapted to show the extent of betterment over the whole of Bophuthatswana:

Table 7 PERCENTAGE OF LAND WITH PLANNING COMPLETED BY 1976

Magisterial district	%
Odi	33,4
Moretele	79,3
Tlhaping-Tlharo	77,8
Ditsobotla	91,0
Molopo	60,2
Mankwe	59,6
Madikwe	80,7
Bafokeng	0
Taung	69,1
Thaba 'Nchu	69,1
Ganyesa	71,3
Lehurutse	70,4

Breutz comments that '... and in the neighbouring district of Vryburg got little co-operation from the Native farmers...' (p 66) with reference to betterment planning. He would probably have been referring to Takwanen which was moved in 1973, among other places.

Planning was started on trust land, some of which has been handed over to Bophuthatswana. According to Jeppe, the following areas into which people were relocated were planned:

Table 8 PLANNED RELOCATION AREAS

Area	District	Planning started
Kalkpan group	Lehurutse	1967
Penryn group	Tlhaping-Tlharo	1968
Polfontein group	Ditsobotla	1969
Vaalboschhoek	Taung	1969
Tshidi Lamolomo	Molopo	1970
Roodebank & Vaderland	Mankwe	1976
Rietfontein (Lotlhakeng)	Tlhaping-Tlharo	1976
Morokweng	Ganyesa	1976

A number of people were moved when their areas were bettered, e.g. the Gatlhose-Maremane people in 1964, the Schmidtsdrift people in the early 1960s, while in other areas (they) 'have not yet been cultivated due to the process of resettlement' (Jeppe, p 112, describing De Hoop in Ditsobotla). According to Cosmas Desmond some people claimed they had not been compensated for the first move, when they were given notice of the second move.

The second phase of planned agriculture was that instituted by the Bophuthatswana authorities in conjunction with the para-statal organisation for agricultural development, Agricor. Aid from South Africa, Israel and the Philippines supports Agricor which encourages co-operative farming among 'progressive' farmers. Agricor projects include:

- 1 SHEILA A maize project in the Ditsobotla district, 26 'successful farmers' on 3 600 ha. There are 210 holders of rights of use of the land and 26 co-contractors who purchase and hire out equipment to the rest.
- 2 MOOIFONTEIN A second maize project in the Ditsobotla area, 2 500 ha with the average field about 18 ha.
- 3 MIERRUST A wheat project in the Madikwe/Mankwe area near Klipkuil. This is a training project on trust land; 2 400 ha.
- 4 POLAR 16 approved farmers ranch beef cattle on 11 000 ha in the Ganyesa district.  
Benny Colville group of farms is planned to become another beef co-operative in the Tlhaping-Tlharo region.
- 5 TAUNG Cotton farmers are involved in a project based on two methods of irrigation. While some farmers are reported to earn R4 000 per annum, others make a lot less. An informal study has been undertaken by students at the University of Bophuthatswana on the viability, difficulties and impact on the economy but results are not yet available. (3 057 ha are irrigated.)

From observation, Agricor projects benefit a small elite of farmers with access to land, capital (on a shared basis) and expertise while the vast majority remain landless and unemployed. In some areas Agricor is expanding, sometimes with the encouragement of the local chief who 'sees' the benefits. Land previously used by local peasant farmers is allocated to 'successful' or 'progressive' farmers.

Further work should be undertaken on the impact of Agricor-type projects. (Reference could be made to Agricor publications; a study on cattle ranching by Groenewald in 1982, who found that 28% of farmers owned 68% of the cattle while 55% of the farmers owned 17% of the cattle in four areas of Bophuthatswana: Ganyesa, Tlhaping-Tlharo, Mankwe and Madikwe; and W J O Jeppe on the Lesedi Agricultural Co-operative of Taung.)

When people under threat of removal in tribal villages were asked what happens to those who do not receive land when Agricor develops, they replied that they moved 'further out'.

## 2.4.5 Farm removals

Thousands of people have had to leave the farms as a result of evictions and poor conditions. While labour tenancy does not seem to have been a major factor in the Northern Cape, many lives have been disrupted by farm evictions and more subtle forms of removal, for example, people reported hearing on Radio Bantu that others were 'streaming to their homelands where there was land, housing, schools, clinics and all the facilities'. No-one mentioned jobs. This was how many people came to leave the farms only to find that they were given a small plot of arid land, unserviced, in the middle of nowhere with no job prospects. However, many still reported being better off than on the farms where they had worked long hours for almost no cash wage and very little in kind. At least now they were no longer controlled by the farmer.

Most people from farms cannot afford rent for a house in a township in Bophuthatswana. They approach local chiefs for permission to build huts or shacks around closer settlements, on the outskirts of townships, in tribal villages or on land meant for grazing or ploughing in betterment schemes. Wiechers calls these 'squatter areas' naming Seoding outside Kuruman, Molelema, Losasaneng and Matolong in the Taung area. Bankhara in the Kuruman area was also mentioned as an informal relocation area.



## 2.4.6 Clearance of informal settlements

Most people living in shacks and huts who are not employed by white farmers or living in recognised townships have been moved into the reserves. Clearing of 'Diggers' locations' had been completed by the late 1960s. Between 1 October 1978 and 30 September 1979, 138 (coloured) squatter shacks are demolished in Kimberley. By the end of 1979, 529 remained to be demolished. (SAIRR Survey 1980, 347) No further work has been done on coloured squatting and subsequent relocation.

## 2.4.7 Group Area removals

Compared with the Western Cape, there are relatively few coloured people in the Northern Cape, so it seems group area declarations have not been as high a priority as removals of africans. Some areas are still racially mixed. People report good relations until legislation intervenes. The tiny community of Saltpan is an example. The families are to be split into 'coloureds' who will be allowed to remain with their breadwinners and those who will have to move to Pampierstad, the Tswanas. (See 2.3.2.)

In June 1967 Kimberley and in 1975 Postmasburg were divided into white and coloured group areas.

## 2.4.8 Influx control

People who were moved from urban areas where they qualified to live in terms of Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act of 1945, have had to take out Bophuthatswana citizenship. Once their townships have been deproclaimed, they no longer qualify in terms of Section 10, have to move to a reserve and look for contract work. Thus in the Northern Cape influx control is mainly administered through the contract labour (migrant and commuter) system to control 'foreigners' from 'independent Bophuthatswana'.

People qualifying to live and work in Kimberley may retain Section 10 rights although their children born after 6 December 1977 (when Bophuthatswana became 'independent') automatically become citizens of Bophuthatswana, not South Africa. They may qualify to live in the urban area of Galeshewe as long as their parents qualify.

No separate influx control figures are available for the Northern Cape.

## 2.4.9 Infrastructural & strategic relocation

The main reason for people moving into the township of Jan Kempdorp which is itself under threat of removal, was that they were evicted from Fourteen Streams where the Vaal-Harts irrigation project was being established.

Now Valspan is in the process of being moved and the people are trying to resist.

Moving people from areas rich in diamonds and precious metals could also be seen to fall under this category. This has happened along the Vaal and Orange Rivers where alluvial diamonds are found, as well as in some black spots, said to have precious metals.

The main strategic relocation in the Northern Cape is for military purposes although it is difficult to state whether this was the rationale behind the removals. Many areas out of which people have been moved, eg. Schmidtsdrift and Gatihose-Maremane, have been converted into military camps. It may be that once

the land was empty, the people having been moved into Bophuthatswana, and local white farmers reluctant to absorb it for agriculture, the military took the opportunity. Detailed discussion is not permitted in terms of defence legislation.

## 2.4.10 Ethnic sorting

As people have been moved out of locations, off reserves and farms, they have been sorted ethnically and sent off to 'their' respective tribal areas even if they have never been there or have no relatives there. The majority of africans in the Northern Cape speak Tswana and have Tswana origins and are therefore sent to Bophuthatswana. However there are significant numbers of Sotho- and Xhosa-speaking people who have been sent to Qwaqwa and Transkei respectively, some against their wishes. Bophuthatswana policy is that anyone may apply for citizenship, not only Tswana, but that non-citizens may not reside in Bophuthatswana. Ethnic conflict has not been as serious as a result of these and general South African policies in this part of Bophuthatswana as, for example, in Thaba 'Nchu or Winterveld.

# NORTHERN CAPE

## PART 3

### Case Studies

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Only one household survey was administered in the area for reasons already outlined. Field work was difficult not only because of the long distances from centres where groups were resident and between relocation sites, but because security police activity in Bophuthatswana is intimidating. People in the local areas are watched and those who speak to the occupants of a foreign car may not be dealt with kindly. On a number of occasions field workers were asked their business by plain-clothes men who would not produce identity documents. It can only be concluded that there is much to hide for such a widespread network to be necessary.

This section will start with the report on Pampierstad and then go on to field worker reports of areas visited but not studied in depth.

#### 3.2 PAMPIERSTAD

##### Household survey, May 1981

##### 3.2.1 Introduction

Pampierstad is an 'urban area' built with funds from the S A Development Trust for people evicted from locations all over the Northern Cape, Western Transvaal and OFS, as well as some from farms. Situated 31 km north-west of Jan Kempdorp in Bophuthatswana, it was started in the late 1960s. Many houses have been built for rent and sale (from R13 000) but the township is surrounded by informal mud and shack houses built by people mainly from farms who are desperate for a place to settle.

Most of the houses intended for Valspan people stand empty as the majority refuse to move from there to Pampierstad. (43 of the 78 households surveyed were moved from Valspan, the township of Jan Kempdorp).

People also come to Pampierstad from the towns and cities as it is almost impossible to find housing in, for example, Kimberley, whereas in Pampierstad housing is plentiful provided one can afford the rent.

Apparently many South Sotho people live in Pampierstad. They wanted to remain in Valspan but were threatened with removal to Qwaqwa, so rather than be forced there, they moved to Pampierstad.

##### HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

The survey was conducted in May 1981 by two young Tswana speakers who reported that they could not complete the full quota as they were intimidated. They completed 78 forms, visiting all three classes of housing: starting with the poorest, whence they received most co-operation. These ex-farm people live in mud huts, or State-erected asbestos and iron shelters. From those living in four-roomed township-style houses they expected some hostility, but when these people heard why they were conducting the survey they responded well, giving their main grievance: 100% increase in rents in six months. Once they reached the home ownership section, they started having trouble with suspicious respondents, one of whom was the wife of a security policeman. They left, thinking it better to have a slightly smaller survey than none at all.

##### VALSPAN

The history of Pampierstad is closely tied to the history of Valspan, which will not be detailed here. While Pampierstad, like Itsoseng, Ezakeni and Onverwacht, was built in a 'homeland' to accommodate black workers (who would now have to commute to work) and surplus people such as the unemployed and the old from small white towns throughout South Africa, it has received those leaving the farms through force of circumstance who cannot afford rentals until jobs are found, if ever, and it has been the subject of intense debate and resistance for those not wanting to move from Valspan. Memoranda have been written, meetings attended and the Community Council has called for and got the support of many outside groups, but the removals continue bit by bit. More and more bitter, divided and confused people arrive in Pampierstad to 'start a new life'.

##### 3.2.2 The move to Pampierstad

The majority of people came from white towns (78%) while 12% came from white farms. The rest came from trust, tribal and freehold areas.

From 1966 to 1971, 35% of those surveyed arrived in Pampierstad mainly from locations of small towns which were being cleared. There were two main attempts to clear Valspan, one in 1972 when 19% of those surveyed arrived in Pampierstad, the other from 1980 when 36% arrived.



Table 1 PLACES OF ORIGIN

Jan Kempdorp/Valspan	43 (location)
Schweizer-Reneke	6 (5 from location, 1 from white farm)
Gongong/Barkly West	5 (location & tribal)
Hartswater	4 (2 from location, 2 off white farms)
Sydney-on-Vaal location	3
Thagadiipelajang/Jan Kempdorp	3 (location)
Rooirand/Barkly West	2 (location)
Nooitgedacht/Barkly West	1 (location)
Delpoortshoop near Barkly West	1 (location)
Ikhutseng/Warrenton	1 (location)
Vryburg location	1
Meadowlands, Soweto	1 (location)
Burgersdorp, Cape (near Aliwal North)	1 (location)
Fourteen Streams near Warrenton	1 (trust land)
Landbou/Jan Kempdorp	1 (location)
Pampierstad	1
Rietfontein (Bophuthatswana/Taung)	1
Koopmansfontein (W of Warrenton)	1 (white farm)
Breypan/Jan Kempdorp	1 (white farm)
	<u>78*</u>

84% of the households surveyed were removed and brought to Pampierstad. 11% came of their own 'free will' but one should consider this literally, not necessarily not coming through force of circumstance. 5% were evicted and came to Pampierstad.

Table 2 WHO TOLD YOU TO LEAVE?

Municipality/Municipal police	27
Whites/whites from Govt/'Police of Native Affairs'	20
Superintendent	9
Boss/white farmer	5
'Mr Numbers from Barkly West'/Government	4
Magistrate	1
Community leaders from Pampierstad	1
Welfare Society (Soweto)	1
Don't know	1
Free will	9
	<u>78*</u>

\* Only 77 questionnaires were computer-processed while 78 were examined manually, thus open-ended questions will total 78 and coded 77.

Table 3 WHAT REASON DID THEY GIVE FOR THE MOVE?

They had built houses for us at Pampierstad, we must go/ it was a modern suburb/pay no rent after 5 years	15
No notice/no reason/told to move next week	7
Owners wanted their land	8
Firms and factories going to be built (Valspan)	6
Chief wanted us his side/Bophuthatswana is for blacks/ Government of Bophuthatswana gave orders	5
We should go to our 'own land'	5
The government has given orders	4
The location has come to an end	4
Pensioned/too ill to work and farmer claimed doctor's orders to pension him/because father was pensioner, farmer said it would be better at Pampierstad	4
People will be allowed livestock and to cultivate at will without interference (and this place is for coloureds)	3
Gongong has diamonds	3
Not on good terms with farmer/foreman	2
Land to be used for farms	2
Valspan would be a white township	2
Black people should be cleared off farms as place at Pampierstad prepared for them	1
Gave us to understand we suffer here (Valspan) and Pampierstad is a bed of roses/hoodwinked	1
Owners of claims did not want us, we must go to our 'own land' and govern ourselves	1
Blind so I should go to get house in Pampierstad (most evicted from Soweto were sent to Mafikeng)	1
Said the area was beautiful/heard government helping people there	1
Missing	3
	<u>78</u>

Quote from one of the respondents:

They told us that our chief want(s) us in Pampierstad. So all the women were to come over but the men were allowed to continue to work. There would be a camp for men who will work on the mines. (ex Nooitgedacht near Barkly West, 1967)

#### RESISTANCE

Most people from Valspan tried to stay but were forced to move. Those moved off the farms and from other areas felt there was little they could do to stop the move. Those who tried said that they held meetings, fought verbally, tried to refuse, sat, waited, expressed resentment, went on strike, blockmen were even stoned, tried to speak to superiors. But they were threatened with bulldozers, forced, officials came with trucks, they broke up meetings and said 'You are being governed'. One respondent said:

They did not ask us, the lorries were standing outside, we even left from work to find people loading our lorries. The government people were already pulling out our roofs. So there was nothing we could do apart from telling them that we don't want to go away. (ex Gongong, 1967)  
Another said they tried to stay but 'These people are stubborn.'

Another said that he tried to stay, but his reference book was stamped for Vryburg for three days, then he had to leave. If they did not move at the time of the eviction, they would have to pay for their own transport at a later stage, which is what happened to some 'Sotho, Xhosa and even some Tswana people.'

The coloureds were left untouched  
 We didn't want to come under Bophuthatswana  
 The Bophuthatswana government claims we belong to them.

Table 4 WHO BROUGHT YOU?

GG/government	63
Self	11
Farmer	2
Welfare people	1
Bophuthatswana government	1
	78

Table 5 WHAT BROUGHT YOU AND WHY?

	Free-will	Evicted	Removed	Total
GG Trucks & Buses	1		61	62
Public Transport			2	2
Other			1	1
Missing	6	4	1	11
TOTAL	7	4	65	76

Table 6 HOW WERE YOU BROUGHT?

GG trucks and buses	63
Truck	7
Train	1
Other	7
	78

Table 7 HOW LONG DID YOU LIVE IN THE LAST PLACE?

YEARS:	0-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	51-99	Total of respondents	Missing
No. of households	8	3	18	28	9	66	11
% of all respondents	12	5	27	42	14	100	

83% of households lived more than 11 years in their previous place but only 33% received compensation for their homes.

Table 8 AMOUNT OF COMPENSATION

AMOUNT:	R20-40	R60-64	R80-90	R160-180	R200-210	R227	R250
No. Households	5	3	3	3	4	1	1

(Respondents requested it to be noted that they had received R250 for a 14-roomed house with a cement stoep, R210 for 11 rooms, R64 and R80 for 7 rooms, R160 and R30 for two rooms, the latter having had to move to one room in Pampierstad. One old woman said that she had not yet received her compensation for a 7-roomed



Huhudi, Vryburg: the Administration Board has let township facilities decline, pressurising the people to move voluntarily to Pudimoe 50 km away in Bophuthatswana, 1981

Huhudi, Vryburg: some people have worked hard to keep their houses in top condition, hoping this will be a strong argument against the removal, 1981







Saltpan: under threat of removal, 1981

Saltpan: declared a mine, only the workers may remain, their families will have to move to Pampierstad 100 km away in Bophuthatswana, 1981



Saltpan: the salt mine workers unanimously reject the move, 1981

Saltpan: neighbouring farmers fetch men, women and children to work on their farms for R1 per day, 1981







Pampierstad, 1981

Pampierstad: one of the R13 000 houses built for those to be relocated from Valspan, Jan Kempdorp, 1981

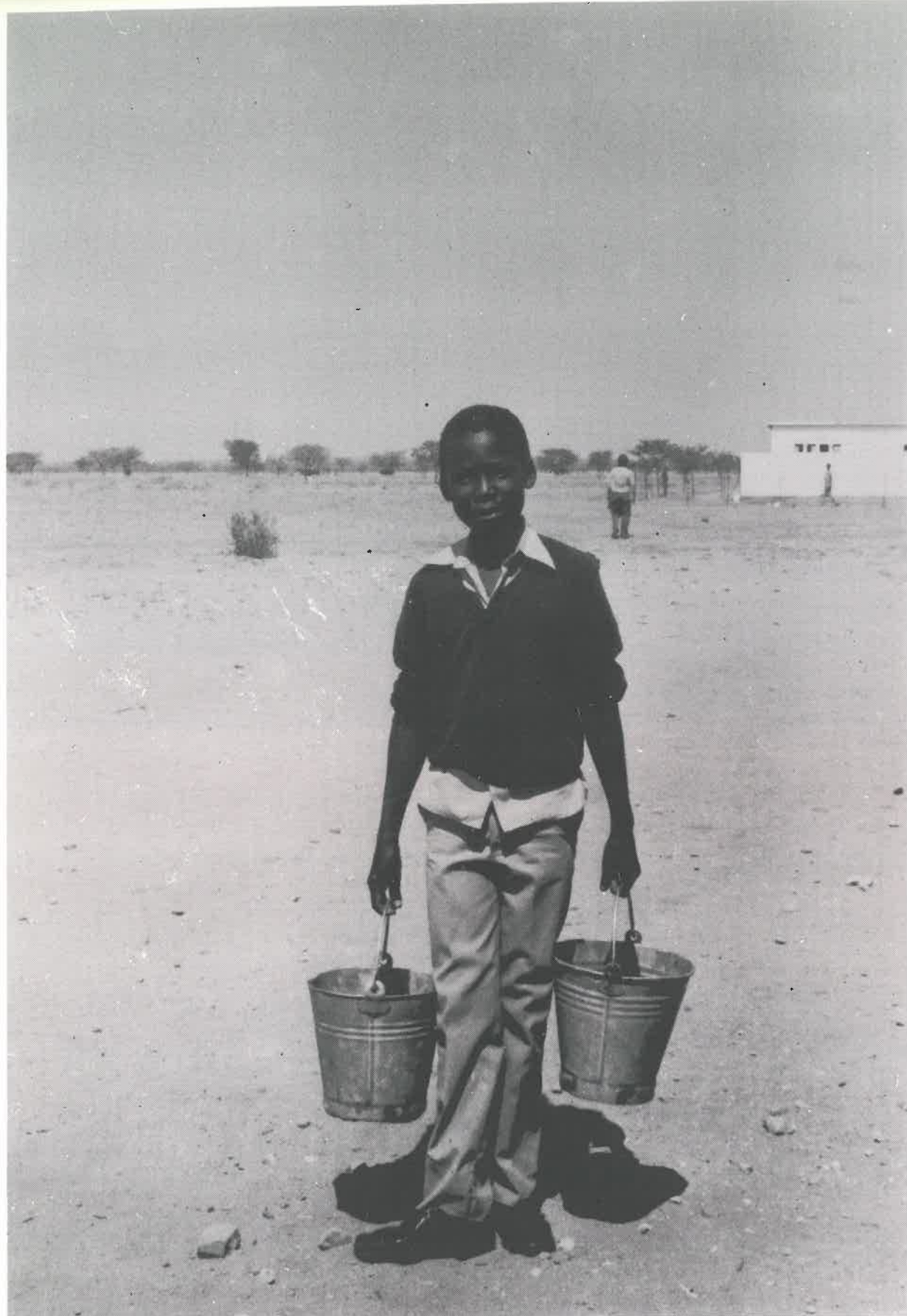


Vaalboschhoek: closer settlement near Jan Kempdorp, September, 1982

Vaalboschhoek: c 500 rough graves dated 1981 and 1982, September, 1982







Bendall, north of Kuruman: continual struggle for water, September, 1982



Bendall: where conditions for at least 25 000 in the area are amongst the worst in South Africa, September, 1982

Bendall, on the edge of the Kalahari Desert, September, 1982







Bendall: too hot and hungry even for play, September, 1982



Deerward: where Ditakwanen people who resisted their relocation were moved at gunpoint  
September, 1982

A removed black spot near Vryburg, September, 1982







Deerward: the main 'street', September, 1982

house and that her pension had not been transferred.)

It seems no-one had access to fields before and therefore could not grow anything. However some had cattle (at least four households), 15 had goats, 5 sheep, 8 pigs, 7 poultry, 3 horses and 14 grazing rights. The following number of households produced from their stock:

meat produce	14	wool	2
dairy	15	eggs	9
hides	15		

Only one household sold produce. Six households produced more and one much more before the move. 11 had to sell stock as a result of the move, with 10 receiving an unfair price. There were many bitter comments about sale of livestock, even for people who had not noted down that they had owned livestock:

We were told to sell all our livestock (goats and poultry). The reason given is that Pampierstad is a modern suburb where there is nowhere to keep goats etc. Because of this urgency everyone was trying to get rid of his/her livestock. I was selling my goats to farmers at R1.00 to R2.00 each. (ex Hartswater, 1970)

Most of them (stock) were bought by the neighbouring whites at a giveaway price. Goats and sheep were sold at R1.00 each; they refused to buy them for R3.00 or more. The others we just slaughtered (them). We had paid 'grasgeld' i.e. grazing money per year. The fee then was 5c per head of goat or sheep, i.e. the more you had the more you paid. (ex Gongong, 1967)

#### FARM WORKERS

Only 7 households were moved from white farms, and in one case the house was relocated itself. It is generally felt that farm work is least preferable being poorly paid with long hours and poor working conditions. Those who worked on farms before they moved reported cash wages of up to R9 per month, R10 to R19 per month (two workers in each case), and one worker reported getting between R20 and R29. Only one worker reported wages in kind as well.

Two households reported that more than one member of the family worked on the farm. Two households reported working less than 12 months a year on the farm (1 and 4 months).

### 3.2.3 Conditions on arrival

Table 9 WHAT WAS HERE WHEN YOUR HOUSEHOLD ARRIVED?

	NONE	%	SOME	%	MISSING	TOTAL
Water	3	4	73	96	1	77
Latrines	27	36	49	64	1	77
Roads	7	9	69	91	1	77
Buses	3	4	73	96	1	77
Taxis	37	49	39	51	1	77
Fuel	33	43	43	57	1	77
Shops	15	20	61	80	1	77
Schools	5	7	71	93	1	77
Clinics	16	21	60	79	1	77
Churches	14	18	62	82	1	77

Local authorities	14	18	62	82	1	77
Other facilities	72	95	4	5	1	77

36% of the respondents did not have latrines on arrival. Other difficulties included lack of shops, taxis, fuel, a clinic.

49% of respondents moved from a permanent house into a permanent house while 34% moved from an 'other' into an 'other' meaning mainly from asbestos or wood and iron houses to asbestos houses, usually one room in Pampierstad. In some cases an iron room was built on later. 'Other' includes the mud houses erected on the edge of Pampierstad. 68% of the people brought building materials from their old place with them.

26% of respondents paid a lump sum for their houses, some being for sale. 80% pay rent now. One person who was moved from Gongong in 1967 said:

We were told that we do not have to pay money at the time of settling but then as the years went by the white Superintendent was changed and his successor ordered us to pay rent as from the time of our arrival. We had to pay that. So it is just as good as having to pay from the start.

Table 10 WHO ALLOCATED YOUR HOUSE?

Local authority/Municipality/Jackals Erasmus	39
Truck driver ('Your hideout is this 1234')	15
Superintendent (Mr Letebele)	9
Bophuthatswana government	4
Had choice	4
White man from government/GG	3
Blockman (monitor appointed by authorities)	1
Owner gave permission to share his mud house	1
Missing	2
Total	78

#### DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PAMPIERSTAD AND THE LAST PLACE

The biggest difference between Pampierstad and where surveyed people had lived before was the isolated location - far from town, shops, work, things to do. Now that they live far out they have to pay for transport - 'There are no jobs and bus fares are high' was the difference that counted most.

The most serious problem was the high cost of living with high rent being the most common grievance.

Table 11 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PAMPIERSTAD & LAST PLACE (Now stated)

WORK & TRANSPORT			
Town is far/did not need buses to get to work	21	Can't get work on farms	1
No jobs here	18	Not allowed to do small business at home	1
Bus fares high	15	Only the educated can get work	1
Can't get piece/harvest jobs	3	Salaries not as high here	1
Infrequent transport	1		

COST OF LIVING		FUEL	
Have to pay for everything including graves	12	Pay for fuel/hard to get/fined for collecting it	30
Can't keep livestock	10		
Shops further & more expensive	5	HOUSING	
Don't have food	5	Overcrowded	3
Standard of living very low, cost of living very high	4	High rent	19
Caught fish (Vaal), had livestock so didn't need to go out to work	3	Not own house	2
Could buy veg in bulk cheaply	3	House not as good	2
Could brew beer	3	Have own house now	2
Tax high	1	Water costs more/pay now	4
Shops run out of supplies	1	GENERAL	
More shops here (ex farm)	1	Better before	7
Poor bread quality	1	Everyone has to fend for self	3
		Had security	1
		Start again	1
		Confusion	1
HEALTH		"Tough time all the way, no difference here"	1
No doctors	4	Could hold church services in house legally	1

The single biggest difference and complaint was the lack of fuel and the cost compared with where they were previously. Next in priority was the distance to town and costs of getting there.

#### PROBLEMS

Table 12 PROBLEMS

WORK & TRANSPORT			
High bus fares	11	No meat in diet/want to keep stock	4
No work	8	No help for disabled	2
Distance to work/town	2	Queues at clinic	1
'Piece jobs keep us till late in the evening'	1	Leaving aged mother to work	1
HOUSING		NON-PHYSICAL	
Inadequate house	8	Bringing up children without fathers	2
House too small	4	"Dying in misery"	1
Rent arrears	1	No future security	1
HEALTH*		Lack of community organisation	1
Ill health	9	Life getting hard but used to it	1
Hunger	7	People with large houses despise us	1
Inadequate facilities/health care	6		



COST OF LIVING		FACILITIES**	
High rent ('Rent is chief government whip')	22	Water availability and cost	3
Absence of fuel/wood/fines	19	Need electricity but expensive	1
Absence of money	9	Have own church (not allowed to practice without church building)	1
High school fees	8	Daughter at school far (local full)	1
Children not at school	4		
High food prices	4		
Lack of clothing, blankets	3	GENERAL	
Waiting for pension	3	Nothing specific "born with problems"	2
Keeping warm in winter	2	Don't know	2
Cost of living	2	Leaders only take grievances if bridged	1
Paying furniture shops	2		
Child will have to leave school to look for job	1		
Wanting pension (too young)	1		
Begging	1		
Vegetables expensive and bad	1		

\* It was reported that people suffer from asthma and high blood pressure, while TB is common.

\*\* There are no community organisations and few facilities: schools, churches, a clinic, post office, garage, beerhall, three shops, one butcher, one factory. Although there is no official GST in Bophuthatswana, the people believe prices are raised to include the tax.

86% of respondents said that conditions had not improved since their arrival. Of those who said conditions had improved, reasons given were:

water/toilet inside house	4	well built area	1
have own house now/no longer share	2	better house now	1
not as overcrowded	1	more shops and buses	1
high school, college, supermarkets	1	'bit of life here' (ex farm)	1

#### IMPROVEMENTS WANTED

Of those who said conditions had not improved, the following improvements would be sought; this question is closely tied to the one on differences between now and the last place and the one 'What are your problems?'

Table 13 IMPROVEMENTS WANTED

WORK & TRANSPORT		HOUSING	
Work to be provided (locally particularly)	15	Better houses (but where do we get rent?/asbestos and iron very cold/hot)	20
Wages to be increased/ corresponding to the work we do	6	Electricity/lights	3
Lower bus fares	6	Bigger houses	3
Nearer bus stops (tsotsis attack pensioners)	2	Decrease in rents	10
Better transport (ex Soweto)	1	Fenced yards	6
COST OF LIVING		FACILITIES	
Decrease in food prices	4	Better/more schools	5
Increase in pensions	3	Better medical facilities	14
Pension to be paid monthly	1	Nurses to regard everyone the same	1
Decrease in price of paraffin	1	Regular water supply/nearer/ cheaper	7
Decrease in school fees	2	Shop in our area	1
Improve quality of food	1	Better roads	1
		Dustbins to be available	1
NON-PHYSICAL		Streets to be named	1
Care from the community	1		
Secure life	1	REGULATIONS	
Nothing	12	To be allowed to collect wood	5
Don't know what improvements	3	To be allowed to sell from home	1
		To be allowed to keep livestock	4

In answer to the question 'What do you expect to do?' 65% replied there was nothing they could do, 26% could not answer what they would do, 5% the government should improve the place, one person replied 'I am not in a position to reconstruct anything', and two said 'If I had work?'

Table 14 WHO DO YOU EXPECT TO HELP?

The government	11	Mr Balatseng	2
'Government people'	5	Mr Balatseng & Mr Holele	1
Mr Motsumi promised ("We voted for him, but who is he?")	5	'Maybe the people we voted for when they begin to work'	2
Mr Motsumi and his government	3	'We have no leaders'	2
President of Bophuthatswana	2	'The people'	1
Bophuthatswana government	1	Husband	3
'Government should'	9	Family	2
Blockmen (1 maybe)	5	Consulted social workers, but they can't help with pass	1
Mr Letebele (Superintendent)	2	Missing	13
Nobody	6		

Table 15 ORGANISATIONS TO WHICH RESPONDENTS BELONG

None	15
Churches	4
Bophuthatswana Democratic Party	4
Burial societies	3
Church women's organisations	8
Church youth club	2
Church choir	1
Missing (none as reported by interviewers)	41
	78

It can safely be assumed that 72% do not belong to organisations.

Table 16 WHO ARE THE LEADERS?

Mr Motsumi (bottlestore owner)	32	Mr H Louw	2
Mr Letebele (Superintendent)	8	Mr Modise	2
Mr Mosala (teacher)	7	Mr Mosegedi	2
Mr Holele (farmer/school principal)	7	Mr Matsheka ('sacked')	1
Mr Balatseng (shopkeeper)	6	Mr Mojala ('sacked')	1
Mr Thabalaka ('useless')	3	Mr Mosipoa	1
Mr Mokgele	2	'They've been removed'	1
None	12	Don't know	9

(It seems Mr Motsumi is the 'Mayor' of Pampierstad)

One respondent said that he was 'not going to vote anymore, these people are making me suffer'. While the answer to this question is unlikely always to be truthful, it shows who holds the power in the community. Many respondents seemed unsure of who should be mentioned, those who were voted for, those who were sacked afterwards? The interviewer reported an argument about whether the leaders should be chosen from the poor or from the upper class. If chosen he/she would not be in a position to carry out tasks responsibly. If he/she is a treasurer he/she would end up using the community's money because of his/her financial situation. This was said by the upper class when the people demanded leaders from the peasantry. (discussion with someone moved from Valspan, 1980)

### 3.2.4 Survival

How do people survive in places such as Pampierstad? One woman replied, 'There is nothing to say on the subject as we are just starving.'

Indicators include regularity of remittances from migrants, pensions, informal economic activity, and level of agricultural production.

#### REGULARITY OF REMITTANCES

While this question was intended for those who were migrants or commuters, it was answered by everyone who earned:

83% (69/83) of the commuters remit regularly (86% of those employed i.e. 80 of the 83 are employed)

79% (27/34) of the migrants remit regularly (all 27 are employed)

9% (36/416) of the permanents, although only two are employed; the others make a contribution to the household income through pensions, small jobs, etc.

NB: From Table 23 it will be seen that there are 110 employed people in this survey (110/536 = 20,5%).

#### INFORMAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Only seven people reported informal economic activities, while many said that it was illegal. Informal activities included:

selling nuts, snuff, eggs, fat, meat, potatoes and tomatoes

taking in lodgers and catering

piece jobs in wealthier parts of the community ('if you help you get rewards')

buying and selling clothes

transporting people and vegetables by van.

11 households reported receiving gifts eg. from family in town.

8 households reported producing agricultural produce.

Table 17 HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF TRANSFER/OTHER INCOMES &amp; WHETHER LOCAL OR MIGRANT WORKERS

No. of Trans- fer Incomes*	No earners Yes No		Local earners Yes No		Migrant earners Yes No		Locals & Migrant Yes No	
MALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS 0	1	0	2	1	12	9	3	0
1	3	2	2	0	4	2	1	1
2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
TOTAL (47)	4	2	6	1	17	11	5	1
FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS 0	0	1	0	0	5	1	2	0
1	6	2	1	0	6	0	2	0
2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL (28)	6	4	1	0	12	1	4	0

\* Transfer incomes are those derived from State grants and pensions.

From both sections of Table 17 it will be seen that 38% (29/75) have migrant workers only, 23% (17/25) having no transfer but another form of income including informal activities, agricultural produce, etc. By and large the female-headed households are worse off: 4 having no transfer income earners or informal income and one of the four having no transfer income i.e. ONE HOUSEHOLD HAS NO INCOME AT ALL. Two of those households depend on a transfer income only, as do two of the male-headed households. One female-headed household and 9 male-headed depend on remittances from migrant workers only.



82% of the female-headed households undertake informal ways of earning income while 68% of the male-headed households do likewise. It should be stressed that such opportunities are limited so that even if households appear to have such a form of income, it is totally inadequate, as is the old age pension paid to africans: (R66,00 paid every two months). Other grants are of the same order, if not less. Local earners are poorly paid, as mentioned elsewhere in this report.

Potentially the household in the best position is that male-headed one with 4 transfer incomes, local and migrant workers and informal income activity.

Only 8 households reported producing agricultural produce. Three reported having access to a small rent-free field each, while seven households had access to garden plots. Five households produced maize, 3 each beans and potatoes. One household reported keeping poultry and selling eggs and meat.

50% of surveyed households ate 3 times a day, 46% twice a day and 4% once a day. Of the households surveyed, 88% eat maize daily and 32% eat starch at least every second day, 87% eat sugar daily, 59% have bread daily and 91% drink tea or coffee daily. This forms the basic diet.

46% have greens less than once a week.

43% have milk, 58% meat, 80% eggs, 61% fish, 36% margarine or fat less than once a week.

19% have greens, 18% starch, 16% milk, 5% sugar, 35% meat, 61% eggs, 41% fish, 94% cheese, 19% margarine or fat, 52% jam LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH.

Table 18 HOW DO YOU SURVIVE?

Buying food on account	(3)
Begging	(3)
Pension	(9 people)
Washing and 'helping people'	
Eat with friends	
Husband brings leftovers from army camp	
Sort nuts on farms for R20 per month	
Have to produce citizenship card before pension is granted	
Visitors bring food	
Live by combining salaries	
Salary R100 per month; another R125 per month	
Look out for tractor for recruiting agent from white farms	
Transvaal farmers bring lorries to pick up harvesters	
Wander round farms looking for work	
Borrow from neighbours and children have to leave school	
Pay furniture shop 1 month, food other	
Could use bus fare for food	

'We are just starving'. 'People are happy at meetings. I don't know why. It's bad being this side.'

From one household which had nine members, having lost five and four children who died, the eldest being 2 years old, having moved from a farm in the Barkly West area in 1968:

It's bad around at home, we just live by luck. Elvis is the only one who is keeping the candles burning somehow. Otherwise the pension is a source of income. We've become popular beggars.

From one household of four (three having left to get work) moved from Valspan in 1980:

Benjamin (elder son) could not stand me (the grandmother) as I did not want to move. He was very tired of the instability of the area and said that he would like to take up a job in Welkom and see us settled somewhere. They told us that there is no place to go other than Pampierstad. They supplied us with lorries to head to the area.

This gives some indication of the desperation of people in an area such as Pampierstad. People are forced to move through insecurity if not force, dump their families where they can and head for the cities to earn a living.

### 3.2.5 Household data

#### HOUSEHOLD SIZE

66% of surveyed households have between five and nine members with 31% having seven or eight members. The most common size was seven.

Although they live in one- to four-roomed houses, 47% of households reported extended families. 37% were nuclear and 12% compound families.

#### POPULATION

##### Infant mortality 1976-1980

Children born in area 1976-1980 and still alive	67
Children born in area 1976-1980 who have died	10
Mortality rate to age 5 - per thousand births	130
PB value is	,870

This is lower than the usual D5 measure since some children have not yet survived to the age 5. All have survived to the age of 1 so the downward bias is not likely to be great. It is impossible to be more precise given the smallness of the samples.

The PB measures the survival of children born in a five-year period to the end of that period. The measure is correctly estimated.

##### Heads of households

Respondents were asked who the head of their household was. Therefore head of household here means perceived, if not resident head.

64% of surveyed households were headed by men and 28% of households by men between 45 and 64 years old.

39% of households were headed by male commuters, 36% by permanently resident females, 16% by permantly resident males and 9% by migrant males.

While 21% of surveyed households had NO breadwinners, more were headed by females (10) than males (6).

One third of surveyed households had no migrant workers and no local breadwinner, usually a pensioner; and 16% of households had two local supporters and no

migrants. In both cases, male-headed households had more breadwinners.

Table 19 POPULATION BY AGE, SEX & RESIDENTIAL STATUS

	Permanent			Commuter			Migrant			Missing			Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
0 - 14 years	94	110	204	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	206
15 - 24 "	44	57	101	12	12	24	6	3	9	1	-	1	135
25 - 34 "	5	24	29	14	9	23	13	3	16	-	-	-	68
35 - 44 "	2	15	17	10	7	17	2	2	4	-	1	1	39
45 - 64 "	7	18	25	13	-	13	4	-	4	-	-	-	42
+ 65	7	17	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
Missing	5	11	16	1	5	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
Total	164	252	416	50	33	83	25	9	34	1	2	3	536

Table 20 MASCULINITY RATES

	Permanent
0 - 14 years	85
15 - 24 "	77
25 - 34 "	21
35 - 44 "	13
45 - 64 "	39
+ 65	41
all ages	66

Table 21 RESIDENCE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES OF WORKING AGE (15-64 YEARS)

	Number	%
Permanent	58	44
Commuter	49	37
Migrant	25	19
Missing	1	-
Total	133	100

Note 13 males to every 100 females permanently resident in the 35 - 44 age group, while 44% of males of working age are permanently resident. The young male workers in the 15-24 group show a masculinity rate of 77, higher than one would expect in a place where none of the permanently resident males are employed (Table 24). Thus local work opportunities are non-existent and males are not leaving to take jobs as migrants and commuters on the scale one would expect.

The survey covered 536 people (240 males, 296 females), masculinity rate: 81.  
 38% of the total population was under 15 years old (206/536)  
 51% of the permanent population was under 15 years (204/400)  
 53% of the total population was of working age (15-64 yrs) (284/536)  
 43% of the permanent population was of working age (172/400), only 2 employed  
 34% of the permanent population was male (58/172) of working age  
 66% of the permanent population was female (114/172) of working age  
 4% of the total population was over 64 years old (24/536), all permanent.

# Marital status

While 73% of the surveyed population had never been married (64% being under 24 years old), 23% were married, 2,6% lived together, 0,8% were widowed and 0,6% divorced.

# Education

Of the surveyed population seven years old and above:

30% (132/437) have no formal education

26% (115/437) have lower primary education i.e. functionally literate

24% (107/437) have higher primary

16% (71/437) have attended lower secondary school

Only 2,7% (12/437) have 10 years of schooling or more (Std 9 +)

# People who have left the households since the move

40% of surveyed households lost no members since the move. 7% had one member leave, while households losing two or more members accounted for 26% (some even losing five or more members). While 10% left in 1973-4, 26% and 29% left in 1979-80 and 1980-1 respectively, which correlates with one major move to Pampierstad, 1972 and 1980 onwards.

Table 22 MARITAL STATUS OF THOSE WHO HAVE LEFT THE HOUSEHOLD SINCE ARRIVAL

Marital Status	Male	Female	Total	%
Never married	31	30	61	53
Married	22	24	46	40
Divorced	1	3	4	3
Living together	1	4	5	4
TOTAL	55	61	116	100

Table 23 REASONS FOR LEAVING THE HOUSEHOLD\*

Reason	Total	%
Work	45	37
To find work	20	16
Died	19	16
Married	19	16
Other including schooling	10	8
Got own houses	9	7
TOTAL	122	100

\* This table was compiled manually



(Some respondents stipulated that members of the household had left to find work, others said they had found work elsewhere, others merely said work was the reason for leaving - which could mean they sought it.)

26% of household leavers were between 15 and 24 years old.

54% were between the ages of 15 and 44 (63% of working age).

NB: These are people who have left the household permanently i.e. no longer regarded as part of the household and do not remit money regularly.

It will be seen that the majority of leavers were of working age, never married, and left for reasons of work.

### 3.2.6 Economic profile

Table 24 ECONOMIC STATUS BY SEX & RESIDENTIAL STATUS

	Permanent M F T			Commuter M F T			Migrant M F T			Missing M F T			Total
Not economically active	152	230	382	1	1	2	6	6	-	1	1		391
Employed	-	2	2	49	31	80	24	3	27	1	-	1	110
Unemployed	10	20	30	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	32
Missing	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3
TOTAL	164	252	416	50	33	83	25	9	34	1	2	3	536

Only two females permanently resident were employed, while 96% of commuters and 79% of migrants were employed. No males were employed locally. Both females were employed as domestic servants in Pampierstad.

According to the interviewers many permanently resident people said they were not looking for jobs as they knew there was no hope. 82% of the permanently resident working age population (141/172) are not economically active, 17% (29/172) are unemployed and 1% (2/172) are employed. 92% of all ages of permanently resident people (367/400) were not economically active.

32% of the sample were of working age and permanently resident (only 2 of them employed) (172/536)

61% (172/284) of the working age population is permanently resident

27% (77/284) of the working age population commutes

12% (33/284) of the working age population migrates

52% (148/284) of the working age population is not economically active

37% (104/284) of the working age population is employed

11% (31/284) of the working age population is unemployed

Thus it seems that with 61% of the working age population permanently resident and 52% not economically active and 66% of them being female, little improvement in income and earning power can be foreseen in terms of the existing economic structure, Pampierstad being far from a metropolis and females seldom being engaged as contract workers.

### Unemployment

There were 135 surveyed people economically active (83 male, 52 female). Of those 104 were employed (73 male, 31 female), 31 unemployed (10 male, 21 female)\*, giving an overall unemployment rate of 23 (male rate 12, female rate 40). These figures include the working age population (15-64 years), and it should be remembered that many people claimed there was no point in looking for jobs, so they classed themselves as not economically active.

\* slight discrepancy with table below, hand processed.

Table 25 PROFILE OF THE UNEMPLOYED

NUMBER OF MONTHS UNEMPLOYED		PREVIOUS SECTOR		PREVIOUS OCCUPATION	
1	3 people	Agriculture	3	Service	13
2-3	2 people	Mining	3	Farm	2
4-6	1 person	Construction	2	Unskilled	11
7-12	1 person	Transport	1		
13 and more	16 people	Services	17		
Missing	9 people	Missing	6	Missing	6
TOTAL	32		32		32

At least 50% of those unemployed have been without work for more than a year. More than 50% were involved in the service sector and 75% were unskilled and servants. The move from areas such as Valspan where many people would have worked as domestic servants in the closely situated white town has affected many people. It will also be seen that those without skills find it more difficult to obtain contract work. Female unemployment is much higher than male. Probably many of the women who worked on farms and in the white towns as domestic workers are finding it difficult to get work close to their homes, now that they have been moved so far away.

### Present employment by industry

Table 26 SECTORIAL EMPLOYMENT

	Permanent M F T			Commuter M F T			Migrant M F T			Missing M F T			Total	%
Agriculture	-	-	-	3	3	6	1	-	1	-	-	-	7	6
Mining	-	-	-	2	-	2	6	-	6	-	-	-	8	7
Manufacturing	-	-	-	9	4	13	1	-	1	1	-	1	15	14
Electricity	-	-	-	3	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	4	4
Construction	-	-	-	3	-	3	4	-	4	-	-	-	7	6
Trade	-	-	-	1	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Transport	-	-	-	5	1	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	5
Service	-	2	2	22	21	43	9	3	12	-	-	-	57	52
Missing	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	3	3
TOTAL	-	2	2	49	31	80	24	3	27	1	-	1	110	100

From this table it will be seen that 52% of those employed work in the service sector with only 6% and 7% respectively working in agriculture and mining, while 15% work in manufacturing. It would seem that recruitment for the primary sector is not common and that a limited number of jobs are offered to residents in the

secondary sector.

Before the move to Pampierstad, the situation was not very different:

Table 27 CROSS TABULATION OF EMPLOYED POPULATION BY SECTOR  
BEFORE & AFTER THE MOVE

AFTER	BEFORE										%
	None	Agriculture	Mining	Manufacturing	Electricity	Construction	Trade	Transport	Service	Total	
None	-	2	3	-	-	1	1	1	30	38	27
Agric	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	7	5
Mining	6	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	6
Manfg	8	-	-	4	-	1	-	-	2	15	11
Elec	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	4	3
Constr	3	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	7	5
Trade	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2
Transpt	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	6	4
Service	36	-	2	-	1	1	-	1	13	54	38
TOTAL	63	3	9	5	5	4	1	5	47	142	101
%	44	2	6	4	4	3	1	4	33	-	101

(Figures do not tally with the table immediately above as some people who are now unemployed or no longer economically active replied to the questions.)

The service sector has increased from 33% to 38% of the employed.

44% have entered the economic sphere since the move, while 27% left, nearly all of whom lost service jobs.

Manufacturing has increased from 4% to 11%.

Agriculture has increased from 2% to 5% while mining has remained 6%.

It does not seem as though the move has meant much difference to the sector in which those employed work, except for manufacturing.

Table 28 CATEGORIES OF INCOME TYPE

	Permanent			Commuter			Migrant			Missing			Total	%
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T		
Earnings	1	2	3	48	31	79	24	3	27	1	-	1	110	20,5
Old Age Pension	9	19	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	5,2
UIF	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0,2
Disability Grant	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	0,7
Maintenance Grant	2	10	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	2,2
Missing	148	220	368	2	2	4	1	6	7	-	2	2	381	71
TOTAL	164	252	416	50	33	83	25	9	34	1	2	3	536	99,8

It may be assumed that 71% with 'missing income' source, get no income. It was reported that 132 people remit to the household regularly, while there are only 110 wage earners, thus pensioners would have been included in the 132. Questions about the amount of wages were not asked but some respondents volunteered their income, the highest being R125 per month, the lowest R20 per month.

Table 29 PRESENT EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION

	Permanent			Commuter			Migrant			Missing			Total	%
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T		
Professional	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	3	3
Business	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	1	4	4
Service	-	1	1	21	19	40	4	2	6	-	-	-	47	43
Farm	-	-	-	1	3	4	1	-	1	-	-	-	5	5
Skilled	-	-	-	2	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Labourer	-	1	1	22	6	28	15	1	16	-	-	-	45	41
Missing	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	2	2
TOTAL	-	2	2	49	31	80	24	3	27	1	-	1	110	102

The vast majority of the workers are unskilled and in the services (84%).

Table 30 CROSS TABULATION OF EMPLOYED POPULATION BY OCCUPATION  
BEFORE & AFTER THE MOVE

AFTER	BEFORE								Total	%
	None	Professional	Business	Service	Farm	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled		
None	-	1	1	22	2	-	-	10	36	26
Professional	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2
Business	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	4	3
Service	27	-	-	13	-	-	1	3	44	31
Farm	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5	4
Skilled	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	2
Semi-skilled	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Unskilled	26	-	-	1	1	-	1	16	45	32
TOTAL	63	2	4	37	3	1	2	29	141	101
%	45	1	3	26	2	1	1	21	-	100

Since the move there has been an increase in the percentage of workers occupied in the services and unskilled jobs, 26% to 31% and 21% to 32% respectively, while now 26% are not occupied economically whereas before the move 45% were not thus occupied. Once more the farm sector has moved marginally from 2% before the move to 4% after it.

Table 31 EMPLOYERS

	Permanent			Commuter			Migrant			Missing			Total	%
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T		
Private	-	2	2	30	29	59	11	3	14	1	-	1	76	69
Public	-	-	-	18	2	20	11	-	11	-	-	-	31	28
Missing	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	3	3
TOTAL	-	2	2	49	31	80	24	3	27	1	-	1	110	100

There are no formally self-employed people; 69% are employed by private concerns, 28% by the public sector and the rest not stated.



Table 32 HOW DID YOU FIND YOUR JOB?

Self	71%	76
Network (family/friends)	9%	10
Recruiting Agent	9%	10
Labour Bureau	6%	6
Employer direct	1%	1
Government	1%	1
Missing	3%	3
Total	100%	107

Table 32 needs to be compared with national figures and the results of the Labour Allocation Project (LAP). Although legislation introduced since the Riekert Commission prohibits work seekers coming to urban areas, finding their own jobs and returning to register themselves in the 'homelands', this is being done on a large scale according to these figures and the findings of the LAP. Where employers need only one or two workers, LAP reports that it is not worth time and money to recruit through the labour bureau but send the suitable applicant 'home' to register him or herself.

Surprisingly few employers came to recruit directly. This is a method favoured by farmers, but farm wages were reported as low and conditions bad so perhaps farmers have little success. On the other hand people are so desperate for work they often travel to the farms asking for work, making farmers' direct recruitment redundant.

Recruiting agents would be from the mines mainly.

The network of family and friends continues to play an important role for both employer and employee, particularly, once more, as reported by LAP, for smaller enterprises in urban areas.

#### Place of work before and after the move

20% of workers continue to work in Jan Kempdorp, now having to commute more than 30 km each way daily instead of walking to work. 14% work in Jan Kempdorp now, not stating where or if they worked before the move.

35,5% of workers surveyed work in Jan Kempdorp.

27% work in Hartswater, 12 km from Pampierstad; only 3% worked there before the move.

37,5% work further afield now and cannot commute daily (Klerksdorp, Kimberley, Stilfontein, Johannesburg, Rustenburg, Sishen, Durban, etc).

#### Resident status before and after the move

The number of daily commuters has more than doubled from 30% to 62,7%, probably even more if all the people previously living in Valspan had classified themselves as permanent residents of Jan Kempdorp instead of daily commuters, when they only had to walk to work.

The number of yearly commuters has also more than doubled from 6,3% to 12,7%.

In some cases people are able to be home more frequently but this might have meant a decrease in income as recruitment for better paid jobs is restricted in Pampierstad, eg. some people reported:

One of my children left in a Transvaal lorry.

She left with the harvesting group.

He went with a recruiting agent from Pretoria.

### 3.2.7 Conclusion

Pampierstad is a planned product of the apartheid system. People deprived of their land over the decades were forced to work on the farms, with a few being allowed into urban areas so long as they were 'serving the needs of the white man', and others sent to the mines. Once agriculture became capital-intensive, they were forced off the white farms. As the small towns grew at a slower pace skilled labour was required and the old, the young, the disabled and the economically inactive were moved out. On the other hand an 'independent State', Bophuthatswana, was created to channel demands for political and economic development. The result is a disorganised, poverty-stricken collection of houses and shacks with virtually no economic base, a repressive elite controlling economic and political power while the mass of people sit around apathetic, unemployed, dependent on migrant remittances, and more people are expected to move 'voluntarily' from relatively viable places such as Valspan. The sullen bitterness fed by resistance from the Valspan people could very well turn to anger in the future.

## 3.3 VALSPAN

Valspan is the african township of Jan Kempdorp, about 120 km north of Kimberley in the Vaal-Harts irrigation area. The area is largely agricultural with small farms under irrigation. Tobacco, a labour-intensive crop, is grown quite extensively. Jan Kempdorp is the headquarters of the irrigation scheme. The Department of Agriculture runs an experimental agricultural project on plots in the area. Employment is provided in agriculture, small related industries in the town and at the large military base outside the town.

Valspan is situated 3 km from the town near factories, the railway line, silos and the edge of the military camp. The houses vary in quality from mud with corrugated iron roofing to brick buildings. The concrete houses have been numbered as the occupants will be compensated before removal. The primary school has recently been improved and parents continue to send their children there, sometimes even after having moved to Pampierstad. Shops run by members of the community and churches built by them are the main facilities. Cooking and heating is done by wood fires as there is no electricity.

In July 1980 the people of Valspan were told they would be moved to Pampierstad in Bophuthatswana. The first removals began within a week. It seems about one-third have moved by now. Teachers say there are indications that people plan to stay as children are being registered for school in Valspan. Most residents do not want to move. They have been told only workers may stay, they will live in hostels, their families must move. Some people left early saying they would have to move and before they were bulldozed they would leave; however, if there was any chance of staying they would return to Valspan.

The 'coloured' people were moved to Andalusia, on the other side of Jan Kempdorp. Valspan has been the location of Jan Kempdorp for generations. People say they have lived there happily together and find it convenient being 3 km from town; they have a new school and there is some work on the experimental farms and in

the large ammunition camp. People work on the experimental 'plots' for R5 - R15 per week.

The Community Council has opposed the moves and submitted a memorandum to the Minister of Co-operation and Development. (Appendix I)

Various tactics have been used in trying to persuade the community to move voluntarily. During negotiations the Administration Board has been at pains to stress that they did not want to force people to move. An anonymous leaflet was handed out without the knowledge of the Community Council. It subsequently transpired that it had been distributed by the Administration Board. (Appendix II) The authorities have told the Community Council that it is in the people's best interests to move to Pampierstad although rents are higher in Pampierstad (and were increased 100% between October 1980 and March 1981) and return bus fare is about R1,00 per day (for those lucky enough to be employed at all, earning R15 to R20 per month for domestic work or R5 per week on the plots). They were promised they would retain Section 10 rights, now they find they have to take out Bophuthatswana citizenship.

The Community Council was told that it would be too expensive to redevelop Valspan. People would have to pay more than R40 per month in rents alone. They would be expected to foot the bill for facilities, whereas in Pampierstad they are given facilities. (See Pampierstad case study for details.)

Dr Koornhof said: 'If they want to stay where they are then they are welcome to do so. They will not be evicted.' It was reported in the same article (Rand Daily Mail, 16.07.80) that it was clear that a number of residents were signing applications for resettlement without fully understanding what they were doing. The Administration Board refused the Community Council permission to distribute their own pamphlets.

It was reported that the first 280 families would be moved in July 1980 and the rest would be moved when houses became available. There were reported to be about 5 500 Tswana-speaking people, some Xhosa and Sotho-speaking people in Valspan. The Sothos were to be removed to Qwaqwa against their wishes. By February 1981 a number of houses were standing empty at Pampierstad waiting for occupants from Valspan. By June 1981 about two-thirds of the Valspan people remain in their homes, refusing to move.

### 3.4 RELOCATION FROM THE MAYEN RESERVE

The Minister of Bantu Development explained in parliament that discussions had been held with people from the Mayen reserve since 1968 about their removal. In October 1974 a Report of the Select Committee on Bantu Affairs recommending that the reserve be excised from the scheduled areas was opposed by opposition parties in the House of Assembly. The Deputy Minister said that removals had been halted because of heavy rains.

'The reason for the scheme, he explained, was that a dam was being built which would inundate the Mayen reserve. Whereas this reserve was about 10 000 ha in extent, the compensatory land offered measured more than 12 000 ha. Discussions had been held with the people concerned at intervals since 1968, and arrangements were made for their stock to be either sold or transported to the new area where grazing existed. Some families moved voluntarily in 1970. During that year all the properties were valued, but the figures would now be outdated. It had been decided that when the removals took place, payments would be made at the 1970 valuations, but that new valuations would then be carried out and the additional sums due be paid as soon as possible. A school and clinic had been built in the new area.

'It was difficult to say how many people would move voluntarily, the Deputy Minister continued. Among their ranks was a very small group of agitators who were intimidating and victimising the rest. In consequence members of the police had been in the area to maintain order.

'The acting chief, Geoffrey Moseki, was said to have encouraged his people to resist the move. Early in May, when officials of the Department of Bantu Affairs and Development arrived to continue with the scheme, they found the village at Mayen deserted, all the inhabitants having hidden in the bush. They returned, however, having been warned that they were liable to arrest for illegal squatting. The acting chief was deprived of his rank and officials removed his possessions and demolished his hut. The people, apparently, then consented to go: on 16 May (1975) the Minister said in the House of Assembly that the move had been completed.' (SAIRR Survey 1975, pp 136-7)

In February 1976:

'Groups of women and children began returning to Majeng, stating that conditions at Vaalboschhoek were completely unsatisfactory. The first ten women to arrive were arrested, found guilty of trespass and sentenced to R30 or 60 days' imprisonment. They elected to go to jail. A second group of 42 women was sent back to Vaalboschhoek: their case was, apparently, referred to the magistrate of that area, stationed at Taung. Then a third batch of 27 women was arrested. They appeared before Mr A J Groenewald in the Barkly West magistrate's court but were not prosecuted because both the prosecutor and the defending counsel agreed that a solution to their problem must be found.

'Afterwards Mr Groenewald told a Press reporter that he recognised that the women's grievances were genuine. The new area was swampy, heavy rains had damaged the crops and caused houses to collapse. Because of mosquitoes, animals had died. Nevertheless he made it clear that Majeng was now a 'prohibited area'.

'Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana, told the press that he had raised the matter with the Minister, who had visited Vaalboschhoek and had agreed to the removal of the people to a better place. Land for the purpose was being sought.' (SAIRR Survey 1976, p 222)

During a field trip to the Northern Cape in February 1981 it was reported that the people had been given a new site near Madipelesa with which they were content. Informants said that about 2 000 people had been moved from the reserve which had been near Warrenton, and that it was rumoured there were diamonds in the area. It is not clear whether a dam has been built yet.



# NORTHERN CAPE

## PART 4

### Miscellaneous

#### CONCLUSION

Despite the superficial nature of this report, a number of comments can be made in conclusion:

Most of the removals in terms of consolidation have already taken place - black spots and isolated reserves have been moved. However, if the 1975 proposals are implemented a whole new series of removals will disrupt people, some for the second or third time in their lives.

Secondly, most blacks are employed in mining and agriculture, both low-paid sectors. With increasing mechanisation and extensive farming, fewer people are required in agriculture. It was reported that farmers come into the reserves with trucks to pick up women and children who work on a casual basis, earning R1,00 on average for a 10 to 12-hour day.

Thirdly, the Northern Cape seems to be an area of strict control of the black population. Being close to Namibia, it is obviously increasingly sensitive militarily. Black spots and relocated reserves have become military camps, field workers found more surveillance here than in any other part of the country and the terrain makes control relatively easy.

Fourthly, the extremely mineral-rich Northern Cape is being exploited under carefully controlled supervision. Once South Africa no longer has access to Namibian mineral wealth, the Northern Cape will be the substitute.

It is difficult to imagine any other function for the two bits of Bophuthatswana in the Northern Cape other than potential source of labour for the mines and farms. Climatically the area is hostile with very hot summers (drought one year, floods the next) and very cold dry winters. The people are isolated, very poor, and have very little prospect of changing that with limited access to low-paid employment opportunities.

#### STOP PRESS

REVISED SUMMARY OF NUMBER OF RELOCATIONS IN THE NORTHERN CAPE  
(refers to Section 2.2)

Batlharos/Wyks	30 000
Deerward	5 000
Durham/Slough/Padstow/Bendall/Laxey	25 000
Mothibistad	7 000
Ganyesa	10 000

This brings the total number of relocated people in the Kuruman reserve to about 90 000 and the total number of relocated people in the Taung reserve to about 40 000.

During a field trip to the area a number of people were interviewed. They all said that there had been no recent talk of further removals other than the coloured people from Gatlhose or Khosis who were living under difficult circumstances in the military area. There had been no talk over the past few years of the 1975 consolidation proposals being implemented, i.e. cutting off the end of the Ganyesa arm, removing the people south of the Vryburg/Kuruman road where the Manyeding reserve is situated. There had been talk that the Trust farms between Welkom and Moshaweng to the west of the Kuruman reserve would be returned to white ownership.

The only talk of removals was of within Bophuthatswana (the Wyks to Ditsapeng and scattered people to Lotlakong and Bothitong) where the administration had a policy of concentrating the scattered people, telling the chief to move with his people. There was no consultation and no compensation. Another example of centralisation without popular consent was heard at Padstow where the people had collected R2 000 to convert the old farm house into a clinic. The Bophuthatswana authorities have a policy that any money collected should go into the central kitty to be distributed equitably nationally. The Padstow people felt they had struggled to collect their money and wanted to use it for their own community.

Conditions in the areas visited north of Kuruman were amongst the worst in the country. The land is semi-desert and thousands of people have been dumped there with no means of support. At best a few families could ranch but few cattle were seen and anyway the land could only support extensive grazing. The dry, dusty, desolate terrain stretches for miles broken only by poverty-stricken settlements. There was little visible difference between them but it was said some were marginally worse than others. Deerward was said to be worse than Bendall. The chief and people at Deerward had resisted being removed from Ditakwaneng. They had remained bitter and little had developed at Deerward. The old chief had been punished severely by the State and the area is strictly controlled. The people of Gatlhose reserve had moved 'with dignity, not like slaves' to Bendall, a few kilometres from Deerward, but their settlement appeared little different except for the infrastructure developed by the Roman Catholic Church. The Church had introduced a brick-making scheme which has resulted in 27 houses built by some of the 500 families in the place. A commercial middle school has been financed by German Roman Catholics where nuns teach and work among the community. The priests struggled for years to have a water supply established at Bendall. The system works well when the pumps are properly maintained. It was said that 'the children died like flies' when the people were trucked to Bendall.

As an illustration of how heavily controlled the black and white population of the area is, a description of people being moved from Gatlhose to Bendall was given. No-one in the streets of Kuruman, black or white, asked where the people being trucked through the town in their thousands had come from, where they were going or why. They do not even protest over the deadly mesothelioma which kills black and white without discrimination. It was said that the Tswana people accepted relocation as a defeat and another stage in their history of trekking. Yet some resisted, violently.

The people of Padstow live in the worst place. They resisted being moved from the Gatlhose-Maremane reserve. The police were brought in to move them at gun point. Today the people of Padstow are still fighting and it was said to be a violent community.

Facilities in the area are scarce. At Bendall there is one shop, a cafe and a bottle store. Many shebeens are to be found particularly at month end. The return bus fare to Kuruman is R3,80 and the return taxi fare is R4,50. A parent would have to pay R60 for a set of school uniforms for a child. Those who have work commute weekly or monthly to the mines mainly around Postmasburg. Some people commute the more than 60 km each way daily to Kuruman, along the most terrible roads.

From the brief field trip to the area made in September 1982, it seems that the Northern Cape was cleared of blacks in the 1970s. There are still some people leaving the farms and Bendall is said to be growing at 20% per annum with people leaving the farms or no longer able to live in urban areas. The notorious dumping grounds are no better found than in the Northern and Eastern Cape. With them so far from the administrative capital of Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana takes little interest in the Kuruman and Ganyesa areas. There is little that can be done - the land simply cannot support more than a few hundred families. Mines are retrenching labour and there is little industrial potential for such a remote area.

The Taung reserve is better located, nearer to Kimberley. People are being structurally forced out of Kimberley townships as rent is being increased to R50 per month, in some cases. People are therefore forced to commute from parts of Bophuthatswana such as Pampierstad.

Vaalboschhoek was visited briefly on this trip. It had been reported as one of the worst relocation areas in the Taung region, but nothing could have prepared the visitor for the desolation and depression. Shanty after shanty on fairly big residential plots stretched in grid layout along a remote road between Reivilo and Jan Kempdorp. People live under rusty sheets of corrugated iron and cardboard. There were some fletcraft huts and latrines and one or two better houses, one shop, and pipes lying along the dusty track, but no taps were seen. There were more than 500 graves by the roadside, all dated 1981 and 1982. About 5 000 people live in Vaalboschhoek.

At the end of this report, a final reference again to the Conclusion to the Northern Cape section. The only hope for the relocated people of the Northern Cape is their determination, in some cases, to organise. The people of Valspan, Saltpan and Huhudi are under threat of removal as communities. They have more chance of resisting than isolated farm workers, who may not want to resist removal as their conditions are bad, even by feudal standards. If the people of the Northern Cape see relocation as a period in their history, they should be able to rise to future relocation for reconstruction.

## APPENDIX I

### ENTIRE REMOVAL OF VALSPAN

**PREAMBLE:** The (Bantu) Administration Board is a key administrative body of the Department of (Bantu) Administration. We have always regarded the Department of Bantu Administration as the father of the Blacks but here in Valspan it seems it is just the direct opposite and we emphasise on immediate analysis that our Diamond Fields Administration Board seem to work actively for removal of Valspan Location of Jan Kempdorp.

As the time for the preparation of this memorandum and its presentation are very limited, we crave your indulgence for the way in which this important and difficult subject of Removal of Valspan is dealt with. It has not been possible to deal at all fully with the matter nor to systematise the material into one continuous whole. It has merely been possible to advance a number of points which have seemed to us to be most relevant and to stress certain aspect of the subject.

Among the most discouraging signs for the progressive or accelerating removal of Valspan is undoubtedly the activity displayed by our Diamond Fields Administration.

Another point to which we wish to refer, is that there seems to be a growing tendency on the part of the Administration to place the Advisory Board in a state of accusation to the residents. We are not prepared to acknowledge that the Advisory Board in their position of powerlessness have any authority to consent to removal or vice versa, we as a Board can only petition the authorities for their sympathetic dispensation on behalf of the residents we represent.

**HISTORY OF VALSPAN:** Two hundred years, one hundred years, fifty years ago, Black and White in South Africa were distant from and practically independent of each other. Blacks lived peacefully in Fourteen Streams and Taung and along the banks of the Harts- and Orange Rivers, but the growth of industries and other material interests and concerns of life such as the establishment of the Vaalharts Irrigation Scheme have drawn them together and made them inter-dependent. Here the beginners of the Irrigation Scheme engaged themselves in temporising and compromising with the Black inhabitants around Fourteen Streams, to move to Valspan permanently and give way to the Scheme. While some Blacks who were dissatisfied with the arrangements made chose to go their own way, the majority of others came to settle in their new area, Valspan. This is how Valspan came into existence.

### DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE ADVISORY BOARD ARE:

- (a) To act in an advisory capacity on matters concerning the Location.
- (b) To receive and consider complaints, representations and suggestions from the inhabitants and, if deemed necessary to make representations thereon to the Council or to any Committee appointed by the Council to deal with the affairs of the Location.
- (c) To receive and consider any report concerning the Location by the Council or any of its officials, and if necessary to make representations in regard to such report to the Council.
- (d) To perform the functions assigned to it by the Natives' (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945, or any amendment thereof, and
- (e) To render every assistance to the authorities in preserving law and order in the Location.

Sirs, the argument is roughly this: When scanning through these duties and functions, one would unnecessarily assume undue importance not understanding their demoralising effect especially when it comes to where one has to be told that the function of the Board is purely advisory. That the Board can advise but the Department is not bound or compelled to accept the advice as we are not part of the final decision - making machine. In view of this prolonged explanation anybody saying that the Advisory Board of Valspan have agreed and accepted removal would be talking untruth.

SURVEYING/.....



**SURVEYING BEHIND THE LOCATION:** It is a well known fact among the residents that the area behind "R" Canal in Valspan Location was surveyed and that plans were drawn and put up in the Location Superintendent's office during 1954 or thereabout for every one to see. It was then stated that some time in the future the Location would be moved back to be settled in that area. What we advance here is true, nothing but the whole truth. A few years after that this was sunk into oblivion and an entirely new and different talk cropped up.

The Advisory Board was told that all Tswanas only were to be moved to Pampierstad and that that was the desire of Chief Mangope of Bophuthatswana before he became President. Sirs, here this is well to remember and to be weighed that nothing whatsoever at this stage was mentioned of the area surveyed and it was dropped like a rotten potatoe.

**PRESIDENT MANGOPE:** It is not President Mangope who wants us to be at Pampierstad but the Diamond Fields Administration Board. Bophuthatswana never want to borrow money from the Bantu Trust Fund to build us a Location in Pampierstad. It is the Diamond Fields Administration which did it and we say with emphasis that by so doing they want to cast us out as we are just in their way. They have proved to us beyond all doubt that we are not only a burden to them but an unnecessary evil. The policy of Bophuthatswana is not to move settled communities from one place to the other, theirs is, that Tswanas are to stay in the Urban areas, to preserve their identity and uphold the prestige of their race. Of course it is a fact that some listeners would think that we are actuated by prejudice. We have no prejudice whatsoever against the Diamond Fields Administration Board. In actual fact we are merely trying to prove that we are leaders of people who have somewhere in them the spark of divine inspiration and that it is well to see the evil thing in this setting.

Sirs, would we not be justified to mention that all these plans and drawings could have been pulled down from the Superintendents' office on the command of the Diamond Fields Administration when it took over the Location?

**REMOVAL OF VALSPAN TO PAMPIERSTAD:** In 1967 and January 1968 rumours of removal became rife as houses in Valspan were valued. In the seventys families were moved twice to Pampierstad without the Advisory Board being properly consulted and it was later hinted that those who had been moved had volunteered to go across the river for settlement. We were sorely provoked when two members of the Advisory Board were moved much against their intentions. For them it was like the Captain living the sinking ship first. We are pointing all this out to prove how the Administration can act unreasonably even to the members of the Advisory Board in their enforcement of removals. Is this not adequate prove of our powerlessness?

**CORRESPONDENCE WITH AUTHORITIES:** A Swazi knows his soil just as a Xhosa knows Transkei to be his soil. It became a strange thing to hear it spoken that Tswanas only were to be moved out of their soil namely Jan Kempdorp, which bears no connection with Swazis an Xhosas etc. That they and other tribal groups would be left to enjoy the facilities of this place. On hearing this the Advisory Board started a long interchange of letters with the authorities objecting strongly against this decision which objection appeared to have found reasonableness because of the audible silence on their part eventually. It would be better for the authorities to assert that this is going to be so or not while at the same expecting that this will not be interpreted as consenting to removal by any means.

**REPORTS AND RUMOURS AGAIN:** At one time reports and rumours again flooded Valspan, this time, mainly from the neighbouring coloured community that Valspan was being moved to Pampierstad to give way to coloured settlement. Here again the Valspan Advisory Board took the matter up in the Location Superintendents' office with the chief Commissioner of Bantu Affairs of Kimberley, who denied the knowledge of it. It is incongruous for the Commissioner now that this point, not being long ago gainsaid, should at the time of writing be heard confirmed by the radio and the public press.

**CONSTRUCTION/.....**

**CONSTRUCTION OF HOSTELS:** It is being stated that Hostels are going to be put up for all those doing key jobs. In fact as we understand the whole set-up there will still be blacks exemptionally staying permanently in Valspan. There is no reason why those hostels cannot be erected for them across the river and these workers fetched from there. How many of us are able and willing to give an impartial and unbiassed opinion that this would be total removal?

**OUR SCHOOL AND PLOTS' CHILDREN:** In 1976 the population statistics of National Units in Jan Kempdorp was reported as follows: Tswana 5 359, South Sotho 914, Xhosa 1 017 and Zulu 87. Now, all these people have school going children who are absorbed by our school in Valspan. If Valspan has to move these children will be without a school as it is reported that the school in question will be totally demolished. Surely, humanity is important here and it can easily happen that important human considerations are undervalued by the officials. The acceptance of these plots' children in our School, we have always viewed it in a humanitarian point of view.

**ACCOMMODATION AT PAMPIERSTAD:** Let us take the example of something that might be thought to be unessential namely accommodation in this instance. Everything that has been said concerning the removal of Valspan so far has been based on the idea that there is no great crisis in accommodation at Pampierstad whereas there is. An acute crisis existon. A great number of people who have been removed twice to Pampierstad still lack proper accommodation despite being there for a number of years. Some have been accommodated in smaller-roomed houses, while others live in plank houses or wooden houses. The result of all this is that it is extremely difficult for the authorities of Bophuthatswana to provide them just yet with decent houses and it does illustrate that it will take many years before any radical change follows.

There is also an enormously high list of applicants requiring houses in Pampierstad. One would pose the question, why is it that the Diamond Fields Administration did not find it essential to firstly extricate the Bophuthatswana Government out of this serious situation instead of adding hardship upon hardship? No matter what can be said, one can see the ostrich's head in the sand here.

**JOINT ADVISORY BOARD MEETING:** On the 23rd of May 1978 at a meeting of the Joint Advisory Board of the Valspan Location in which Messrs Faber and Claasen of the Diamond Fields Administration Board were present, we learnt verbally that the Location will, within a period of two years be removed to Pampierstad. Certain promises in connection with our settlement at Pampierstad were also verbally made to us. The village Board, in this particular that Location Advisory Board, accordingly took the message to the residents and the following is their reaction to and the expression of their feelings.

**REJECTION OF REMOVAL:** We learn with shock and disappointment that we are to be removed to Pampierstad within the next Eighteen months.

May it be known that this will be done against our wishes.

Sirs, Experience gained elsewhere has shown that removals of this nature have always resulted in:-

- People being thrown into misery and hardships through heavy losses in both movable and immovable property.
- The disruption to the lifes of the people employed and to the lifes of those who of necessity become unemployed.
- Non-Tswanas who may not wish to be adopted by Bophuthatswana or who may not be acceptable in Bophuthatswana yet having been born and lived all their lifes in Valspan and thus having no other home but Valspan, will be frustrated and become a social problem and burden.
- Adding to the social problems of ill-feeling, illiteracy, illness and high mortality.

We/.....

We believe Sirs, that;

- (1) Valspan and its people are an integral part of Jan Kempdorp and its community.
- (2) That our stay here has always and always will be an asset to the economic development of this town, Jan Kempdorp.
- (3) That our removal will be tragic to the many businesses which will eventually have to be closed down.

CONCLUSION: Lastly to conclude this memorandum, as we said in the beginning, that we as a Board never agreed to the removal of Valspan, ~~were~~ are living no doubts about this. It is the Diamond Fields Bantu Affairs Administration Board that has taken up a high-handed manner in our removal, to them alone, we humbly extend these words:-

The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to others, it shows he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island, cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them. If he be compassionate towards the affliction of others, it shows that his heart is like the noble tree, that is wounded itself when it gives the balm.

We petition the Diamond Fields Administration to let us stay across the "R" Canal in Valspan, after all the ground has long been earmarked for the purpose. We have lived in stagnation, suspense and apathy long enough, please relieve us from this intolerable situation.

By MEMBERS OF THE VALSPAN LOCATION ADVISORY BOARD.

JAN KEMPDORP  
JULY 1978

## APPENDIX II

### INFORMATION LEAFLET FOR ALL RESIDENTS OF VALSPAN CONCERNING SETTLEMENT IN PAMPIERSTAD

No doubt you will recall that the idea of settlement in Pamplierstad has, since 1967, been brought to your notice from various quarters.

In order to ensure that you are conversant with the true facts pertaining to the envisaged settlement, the following particulars are furnished in brevity:

#### 1. Why should I leave Valspan?

- 1.1 Because Valspan cannot develop any further due to lack of adjacent land, and because housing leaves a great deal to be desired, as a result of which it is absolutely impossible to replan Valspan to reach a standard that would make it suitable for habitation by self-respecting people.

Even if it should ever become possible to obtain additional land, the development thereof and the provision of essential services such as water, sewerage, streets, etc. would run into such astronomical figures that the inhabitants would definitely not be able to afford the rental. A conservative rating of the present-day cost, inclusive of services, is approximately between R4 000,00 and R5 000,00 per dwelling, which might easily result in a monthly rental of R40,00 to R50,00.

- 1.2 Presently there are 267 lodger families who are also in need of dwellings. Due to the impracticability of any further development or expansion, the provision of decent dwellings for these people is totally out of the question.
- 1.3 At Valspan I will never be able to possess land, in other words, I cannot obtain ownership of my plot of land.
- 1.4 To raise health services at Valspan to an acceptable standard would impose a tremendous financial burden and would, for various reasons, be exceedingly cumbersome. I must not lose sight of the fact that I will have to pay for such improvements on top of the already high rental of my expensive dwelling.



2. Why should I settle in Pampierstad?

2.1 In Pampierstad a brand-new dwelling is made available to me. This smart dwelling, which has all interior walls neatly plastered, comprises four spacious rooms plus a bathroom and the convenience of an indoors flush-system toilet and, in addition, an enviable, hygienic sink in the kitchen. All of this I can enjoy for a mere R6,27 per month.

2.2 On top of all this I receive a neatly fenced plot, large enough to enable me to lay out my own flower garden and grow my own vegetables.

2.3 Pampierstad is a beautifully designed town which boasts of broad, scraped streets.

2.4 In Pampierstad I can live my life to the full and realise myself because through my right to vote I enjoy the privilege of active and direct participation in the system of government for Bophuthatswana.

2.5 If my home is in Pampierstad I can easily pendle to Jan Kempdorp and enjoy the comfort of my own home and the company of my family every night, in exactly the same way as before.

2.6 How do I reach Jan Kempdorp?  
A daily bus service is available between Pampierstad and Jan Kempdorp at a very reasonable subsidised rate costing me only:

Weekly:

R1,50 : 5 day week

R2,00 : 5 day week

Monthly:

R6,25 : 5 day week

R7,25 : 6 day week

2.7 In Pampierstad my child is within walking distance from school and can pursue his/her studies beyond the mere Junior Certificate level.

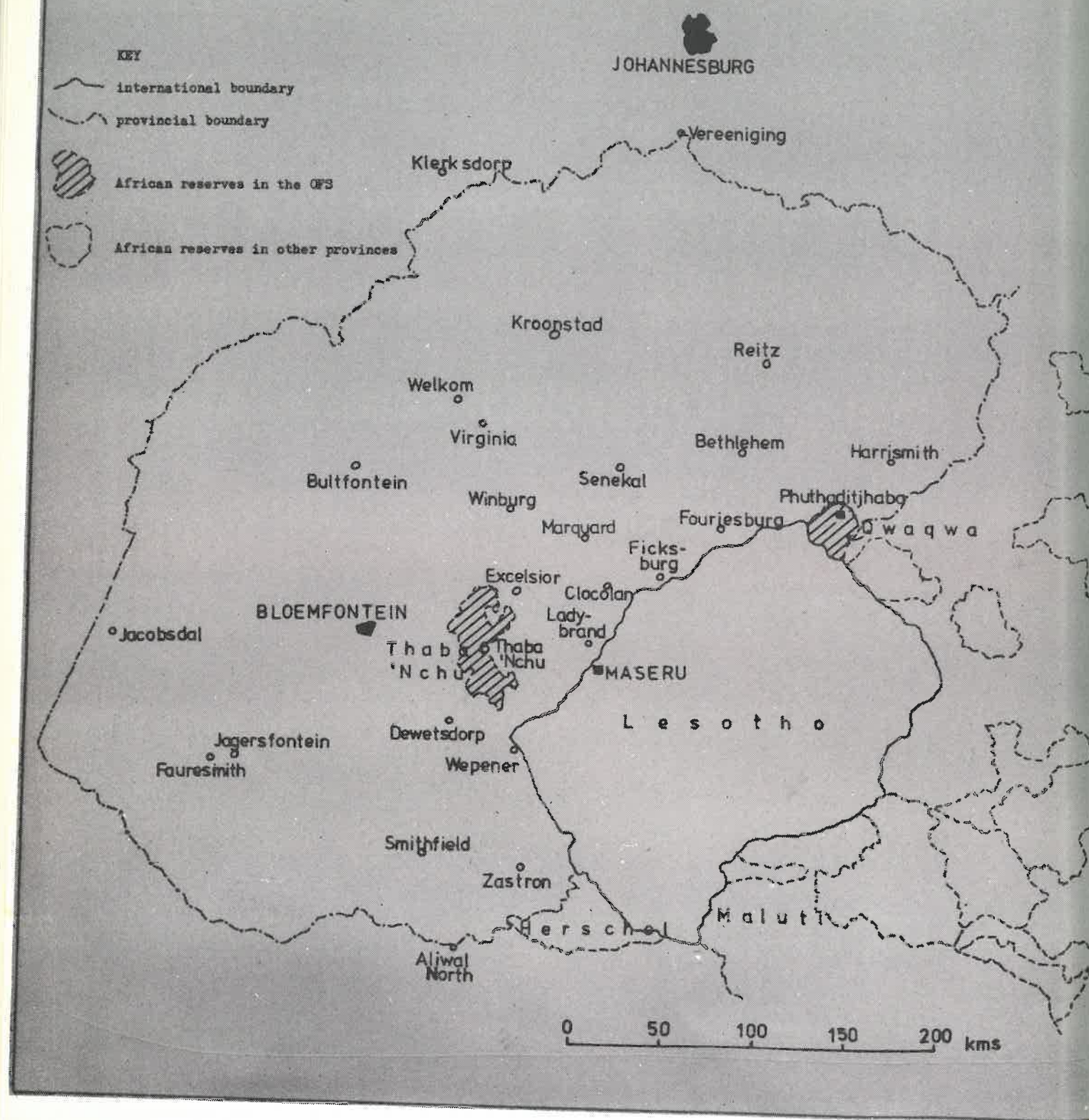
2.8 Finally and last but not least I view it that the very best and up-to-date health services, including for instance needs such as well-equipped and efficiently run clinics, are incorporated in the envisaged future planning in respect of Pampierstad.

# Orange Free State



Family in D section, Onverwacht, June 1980, evicted in October 1979 from farm in south of Excelsior district





# OFS

## PART 1

### Introduction

Several hundred thousand people have been relocated in the Orange Free State within the last decade. They have been physically concentrated in two very small areas of the province: the tiny barren Southern Sotho bantustan of Qwaqwa, on the northern edge of Lesotho, adjoining Natal; and the Thaba 'Nchu enclave of the Republic of Bophuthatswana, with a vast new slum known as Onverwacht just outside its western boundary (Map 1). This report will therefore concentrate on these two areas in particular.

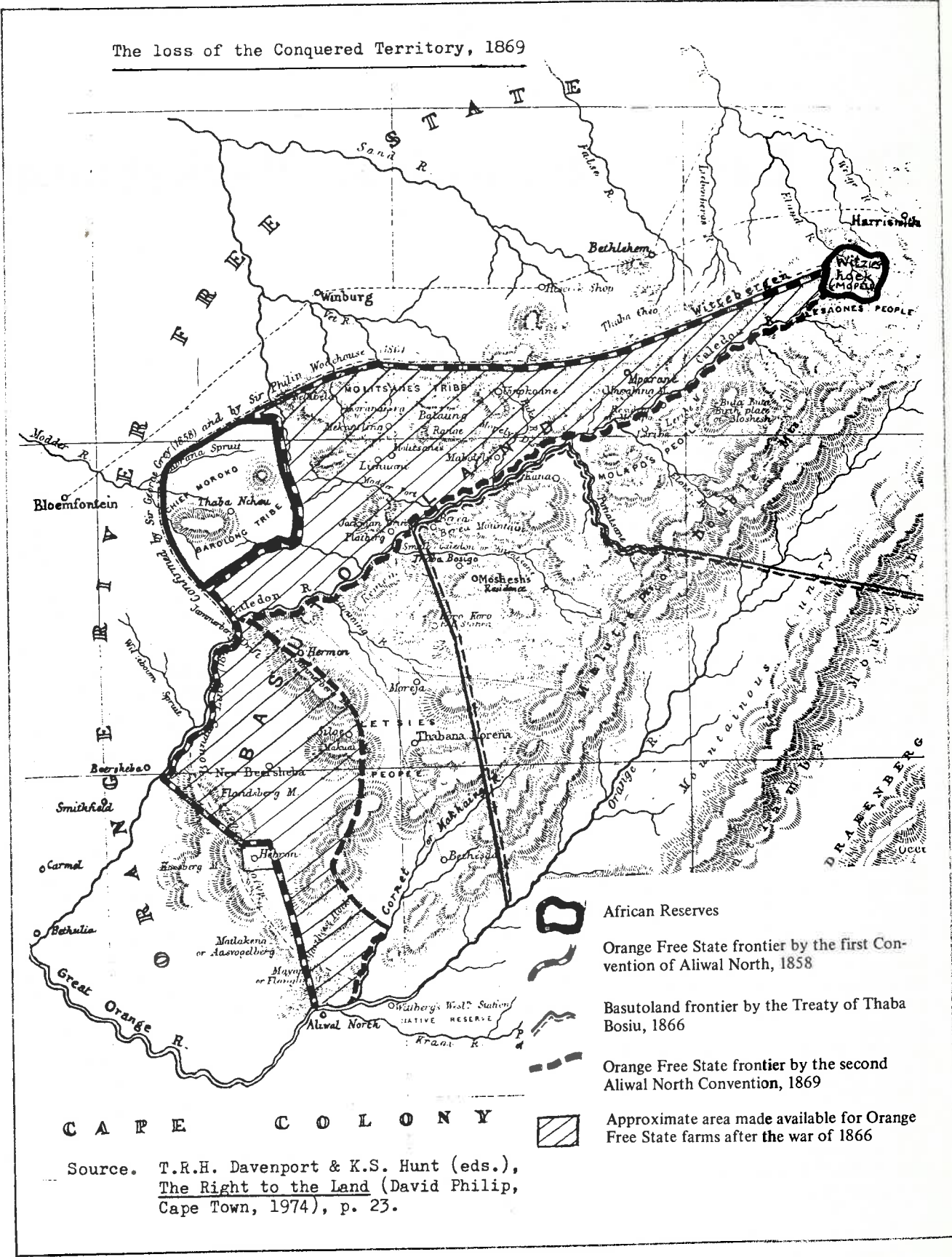
In terms of the sheer numbers of people involved, the process of relocation has sharply intensified in the 1970s. Nevertheless, it has long historical roots which may be traced from the bitter and protracted struggle for land that took place in the mid-nineteenth century between the Basotho of Moshoe-shoe and the Boer immigrants in this part of the highveld. As a result of the second Sotho-Boer war of 1865-6, the Basotho lost a great sweep of territory in what is now the eastern Free State. It is often referred to as the Conquered Territory and includes the present districts of Zastron, Wepener, Ladybrand, Clocolan, Ficksburg, Fouriesburg and much of Excelsior and Marquard (Map 1). This area is shown shaded in a contemporary sketch by the French missionary Daumas (Map 2) which, though inaccurate in important details, was included in a House of Commons command paper of 1869. Comparison of Maps 1 and 2 shows, firstly, that the areas of present concentration - Qwaqwa and Thaba 'Nchu - are clearly identifiable in the sketch map of 1868, respectively as Witziesshoek and the territory of Chief Moroka's Barolong; but also, secondly, that the amount of land available to africans in the OFS is absolutely smaller today, not merely relative to the needs of a much larger population, than it was even after the loss of the Conquered Territory. More importantly, perhaps, changing relations of production - the prohibition of share-cropping by african entrepreneurs on white-owned land - gave a decisive twist to the spiral of inequality.

The following account of relocation in the OFS is presented in three sections: a summary outline of the facts relating to the recent emergence of Qwaqwa and part of Bophuthatswana from the fragments of land in the OFS set aside as african reserves in the nineteenth century; a thematic and necessarily selective overview of diverse episodes in the historical record of relocation in the province, with emphasis on what has happened in the 1970s; and a case-study of Onverwacht, where 93 household interviews were conducted on behalf of SPP in 1981. The story as a whole illustrates three major themes in the



political economy of 'separate development' in South Africa: firstly, the processes of dispossession by which africans were initially deprived of their own land, then deprived of independent productive opportunities on white-owned land, and finally concentrated without any effective economic base at all in impoverished, eroded and over-crowded reserves; secondly, the vicious conflicts engendered within the framework of the bantustan strategy by which black South Africans have been forced to commit themselves to membership of one or other 'ethno-national unit', with the ultimate corollary of their loss of South African citizenship; and, thirdly, the compulsory and possibly permanent marginalisation of very large numbers of people in respect of their access to the South African labour market, through the choking bureaucratic controls applied by the labour bureaux and the bantustan administrations.

Map 2



# OFS

## PART 2

### The Land : Historical Background

#### 2.1 WITZIESHOEK/QWAQWA

After the Difaqane, Witziesshoek was occupied by Chief Oetsi and his Kholokoe followers. But the encroaching Boers complained of frequent cattle-raiding by Oetsi's people, and the Kholokoe were driven out by a commando under J M Orpen in 1856. In 1857 Moshoeshoe's half-brother, Mopeli, was given permission by the Volksraad to settle there with his Kwena followers, as part of the initial peace dispositions of the second Sotho-Boer war. In 1873 a section of the Tlokwa under Koos Mota were also allowed to settle, in the eastern part of the reserve.

The Witziesshoek reserve remains the same size today as it was when originally demarcated in 1867. It was "generally accepted" for a long time to be 50 000 morgen in extent, (1) but official sources now indicate 48 234 hectares (1 morgen = 0,857 ha). (2) The discrepancy probably reflects the difficulty of accurately surveying the extremely rough and steep terrain which makes up much of the reserve. An adjoining farm, Eerstezendig, on the edge of the long mountain spur which forms the north-western boundary of the reserve, was granted in 1888 by the OFS government to the NGK, which first supplied a missionary to Paulus Mopeli's community, (3) but this farm - 500 morgen in extent - is not included within the boundaries of Qwaqwa today. According to the 'final' consolidation proposals approved in 1975, the area of Qwaqwa will be enlarged by 13 766 ha to form one block of 62 000 ha, through the compulsory purchase of adjoining white farms to the north-east. (4) But little progress has yet been made towards even this very limited objective.

Consistently with the original territorial demarcation and with the policy of the Nationalist government, two Tribal Authorities were constituted in 1953, for the Kwena and Tlokwa tribes respectively, under the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951. A Territorial Authority was constituted in 1969 and a Legislative Assembly in 1971, and Qwaqwa was given limited powers of self-government in 1974. (5) Elections were held in 1975 and 1980: in each case the Dikwankwetla party under Kenneth Mopeli won an overwhelming victory. But only 20 of the 60 members of the legislative assembly are elected in this way. The other 40 members are nominated by the two tribal authorities, 26 by the Kwena and 14 by the Tlokwa. Constitutionally the cabinet must include both tribal chiefs. The Chief Minister himself is rangoane (father's younger brother) to the present Kwena tribal chief, Motebang Mopeli, who is also Minister of Health,

so that the internal politics of Qwaqwa are dominated by the ruling Mopeli family. The elections of March 1980 were characterised by an overwhelming absence of participation throughout the single 20-member constituency which represents the 'South Sotho national unit', and by subsequent allegations of corruption against the Dikwankwetla party. (6)

#### 2.2 THABA 'NCHU

Chief Moroka and several thousand Barolong followers, accompanied by their Wesleyan missionaries, settled below the mountain of Thaba 'Nchu in 1833 after negotiations with Chief Moshoeshoe of the Basotho. There are conflicting interpretations of the transaction that took place: the Wesleyans thought they had bought the land outright, "for the price of Seven Young Oxen, One Heifer, Two Sheep and One Goat"; (7) whereas Moshoeshoe understood that the Barolong had been granted a place to live in return for their acknowledgement of his political sovereignty. (8) But they were not of course the only players on the stage: a monument at Morokashoek, on the western shoulder of Thaba 'Nchu itself, records the arrival of Potgieter's Voortrekkers in 1836, many of them rather the worse for wear after a confrontation with Mzilikazi's Matebele. Moroka gave substantial assistance to the Voortrekkers first against Mzilikazi and then against Moshoeshoe; and he achieved effective political independence on the collapse of the Orange River Sovereignty in 1854.

As a result of a bitter dispute over the succession to Moroka, however, his territory was annexed by President Brand of the OFS in 1884. In the following year the Gregorowski Commission confirmed the 95 land grants made by Chief Tshipinare to senior Barolong and appropriated the rest of the territory for the Free State government. Some titles were also registered in the names of individual whites. Two separate areas were set aside for occupation by africans not otherwise accommodated: these became known as the Seliba location in the north of Moroka ward, consisting of seven farms; and the Thaba 'Nchu location, around the white village (see Map 3). Gregorowski recommended that the right of settlement in these locations be confined to bona fide members of the Barolong tribe. In the following 20 years many of the Barolong land titles were alienated to whites, through the foreclosure of mortgages taken out by the farm owners. Moroka's territory, annexed as an integral entity in 1884, was effectively dismembered, and the distribution of land in the Moroka ward in 1900 was approximately as follows: (9)

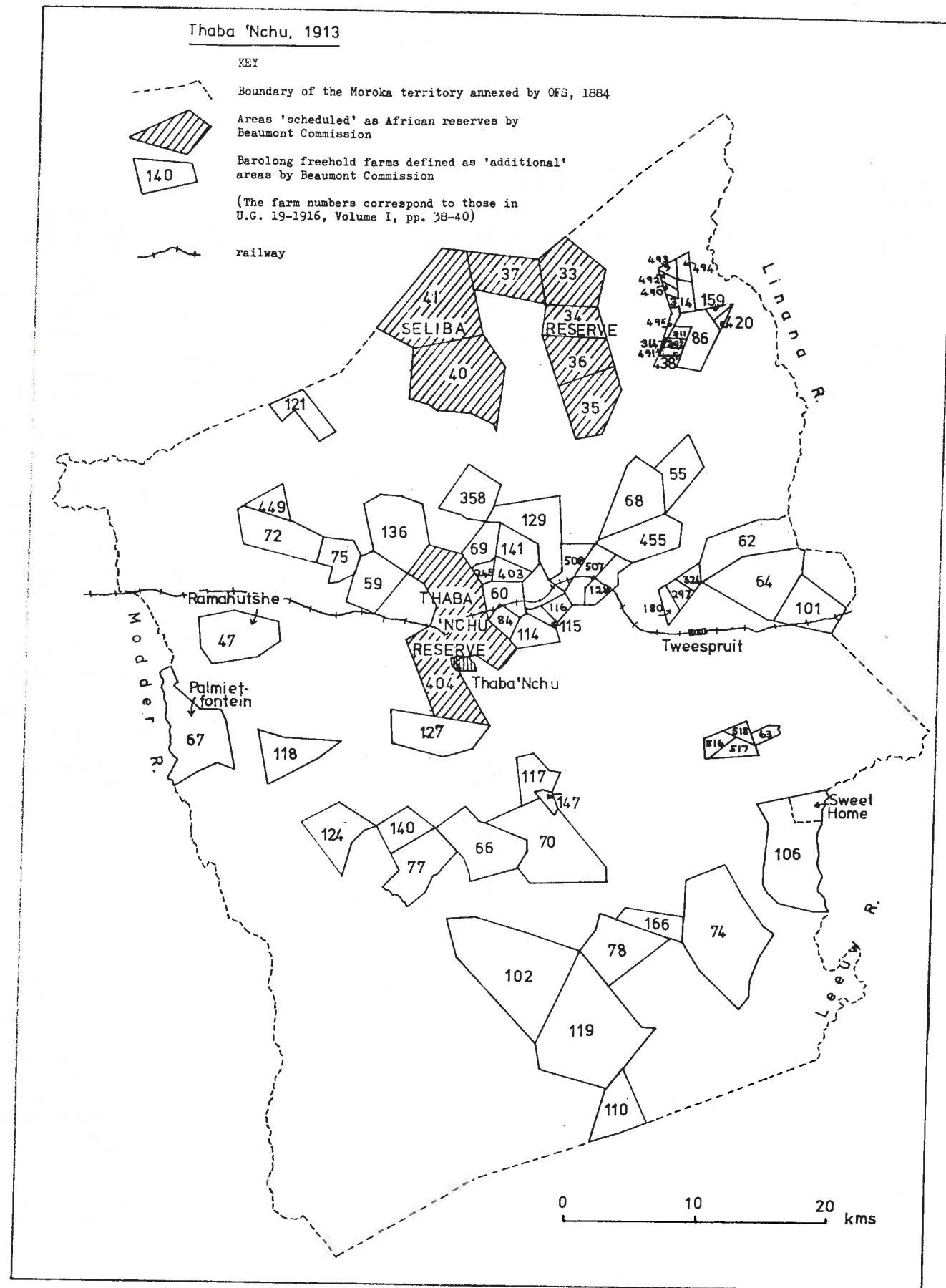
54 Barolong farms	92 000 morgen
2 'native locations'	24 290
95 'European farms'	138 513
29 government farms	58 686

Thus the Beaumont Commission of 1916 'scheduled' three Native Reserves within the OFS - Witziesshoek in the Harrismith district, and Seliba and Thaba 'Nchu in the Thaba 'Nchu district. Together they comprised 74 290 morgen, less than half of 1% of the province. Beaumont also identified 19 other fragments of land as 'additional' areas to be released in due course for african occupation, amounting to 148 316 morgen. The 'additional' areas comprised, on the one hand, mission land and mission reserves in the districts of Bethulie, Edenburg, Fauresmith, Heilbron and Ladybrand; and, on the other hand, african-owned farms in the Thaba 'Nchu district and farms owned by coloured persons in the Hoopstad, Senekal, Kroonstad and Fauresmith and Jacobsdal districts. (10) The 'scheduled' and 'additional' areas in the Thaba 'Nchu district - a bizarre patchwork - are shown in Map 3.

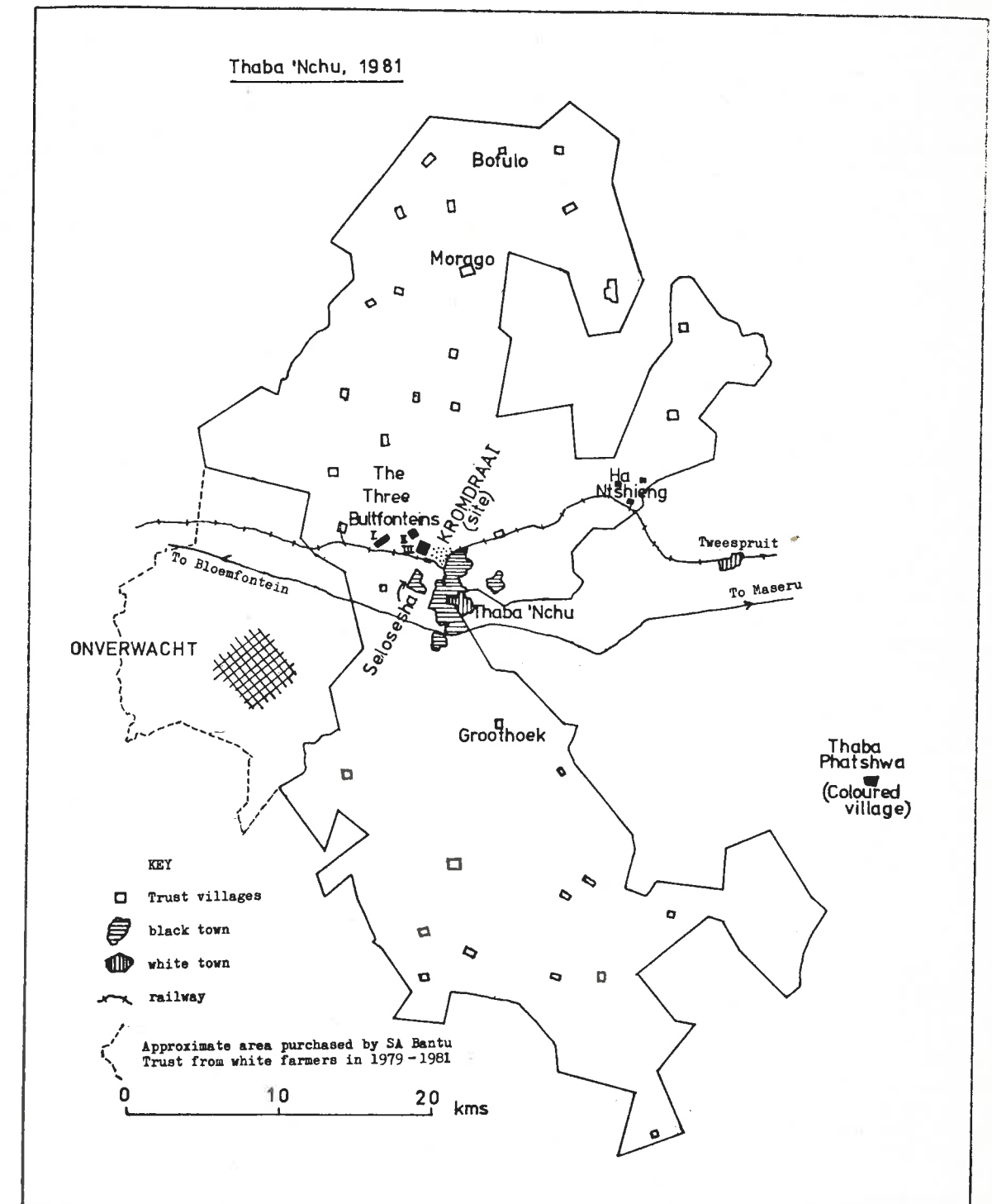
Beaumont's recommendations for release of the 'additional' areas were never implemented. They were superseded by those of the OFS Local Land Committee



Map 3



Map 4



of 1918, which excised Beaumont's 'additional' areas from every district of the OFS except Harrismith, containing the Witziesshoek reserve, and Thaba 'Nchu, containing the Seliba and Thaba 'Nchu reserves. In this way the Land Committee cut the total area to be released from 148 316 morgen to approximately 79 000 morgen.(11) In the Harrismith district, the Committee did not "feel justified" in recommending that the Witziesshoek reserve be enlarged, despite their acknowledgement that "the feelings of all the Natives ... without exception are that the area is overcrowded".(12) In Thaba 'Nchu the Land Committee's recommendations were that the area available to africans should be partly consolidated through the purchase of land between certain of Beaumont's existing 'additional' fragments, and through the excision of other 'additional' fragments. The Committee acknowledged that the Seliba reserve (17 660 morgen, 8 700 people) and the Thaba 'Nchu reserve (6 631 morgen, 6 250 people) were the most densely populated of all the 'scheduled' areas throughout the Union of South Africa. But the Committee's solution was to recommend the purchase by the government of many of the white-owned and african-owned farms within specified boundaries, which could then be "thrown open for communal occupation" and thus partially relieve the acute congestion in the reserves.

The legislative framework for implementing these recommendations was the 1936 Land and Trust Act. Since that date the following steps have been taken with respect to revising the boundaries of land available for african occupation in the OFS and the conditions under which it is occupied. In the first place, the State has nearly eliminated all the 'black spots' in the OFS - that is, african-owned land that was not immediately contiguous with or very close to existing reserves and that fell outside the limits of the 'released' areas defined in the first schedule to the 1936 Land Act. Four 'black spots' totalling 7 787 morgen remained to be eliminated at that time (see Section 3.3 below).(13)

In the second place, the 'released' areas have been gradually purchased by the South African Bantu Trust, partly from white owners and partly from black owners, and slowly consolidated with the two existing reserve areas of Seliba and Thaba 'Nchu. The total area of the Thaba 'Nchu 'Bantu Area' is given as follows in a Stellenbosch thesis which presumably relates to the mid-1960s:

Non-quota land already in Trust	20 229 hectares	
Trust acquisitions since 1936	63 438	
Quota land bought by africans in released areas since 1936	2 449	
Non-quota land privately owned by africans before 1936	27 028	
<hr/>		
TOTAL	113 144 hectares	(14)

This newly consolidated territory was incorporated as one of the seven separate fragments of Bophuthatswana on the attainment of its 'independence' on 6 December 1977, under President Lucas Mangope. All its inhabitants, whether they live in the reserve areas, the remaining freehold farms, the Trust villages, the old 'locations', the township of Selosesho or new close settlements such as the Bultfonteins, are politically subordinate to the Barolong Tribal Authority which was constituted in the 1950s under the terms of the Bantu Authorities Act. They are subject to the administrative and judicial authority of the new magisterial district of Thaba 'Nchu within Bophuthatswana.

In the third place, since Bophuthatswana became 'independent' in 1977, the SA Bantu Trust (now SA Development Trust) has purchased many white-owned farms in a block immediately to the west of the Thaba 'Nchu Area' (see Map 4). The block was planned to consist of 25 000 hectares: 15 000 ha was for the enlargement of the Thaba 'Nchu enclave of Bophuthatswana (as part of a swap for land excised from other districts of Bophuthatswana); and the remaining 10 000 ha was to be made available for a new South Sotho 'city' which would service Bloemfontein from a distance convenient to the planners of 'separate development' and which would in due course be taken over by the Qwaqwa government.(15)

The circumstances of this recent purchase are examined in detail below (see Section 3.9): it is the site of the huge rural slum of Onverwacht. Approximately 21 000 ha of land were purchased by the Trust from individual white owners in the period from the second half of 1979 to the end of 1981, the bulk of the formal transfers taking place in September 1979.(16)



# OFS

## PART 3

### Relocation in the OFS

#### A Regional Overview

#### 3.1 ANGLO-BOER WAR REFUGEES

One major episode that should be mentioned in this regional overview is the massive dislocation caused by the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. During 1901, as a result of Kitchener's scorched earth campaign in the two Boer Republics, 31 concentration camps were established in the Orange River Colony to accommodate blacks uprooted from the land.

Most of the refugees came from Boer farms where they had resided as labour tenants or share-croppers, but as the guerrilla war dragged on Africans from locations and even mission stations were also compelled to seek refuge in the camps. (17)

There was an appalling death rate, reaching 436 per thousand per annum in the ORC camps in December 1901. The largest camps were quickly broken up after the war but many refugees were stranded in desperate poverty in the following years. The process of repatriation was slow. For example, the Native Commissioners' Department reported the following figures of Africans repatriated during the year ending June 1904: 893 families (5 187 persons) from Thaba 'Nchu; 297 families (1 198 persons) from Bloemfontein; 226 families (1 147 persons) from Kroonstad. Most of these people were 'distributed' to farms in various districts of the ORC. (18)

#### 3.2 FARM EVICTIONS

The history of movement off the land in the OFS is a long and complex one, and the evidence is both confusing and inadequate. Over the years very many black people have been evicted from white farms; many others have deserted due to acute insecurity and coercive labour practices; and many have been induced to leave white farms by better working conditions in the towns, despite the legal barriers to movement and the pattern of indebtedness which often ties a farm worker to his employer. But these are not mutually exclusive sets of circumstances. And it is not necessarily sensible to draw a clear distinction of principle between an obvious and arbitrary act of coercion such as eviction at 24 hours' notice, on the one hand, and longer-term structural

pressures, on the other hand, which induce 'voluntary' removal from a farm. Accordingly, what follows in this section is brief reference to diverse episodes, closer to the 'compulsory' than to the 'voluntary' end of the continuum, in the long history of black movement off the land in the OFS. A proper investigation of the complexity of the phenomenon remains to be carried out.

Some early evidence of farm evictions relates to the Thaba 'Nchu district. Two of the conditions attached to the original registration of land titles in the names of individual Barolong were that these farms could not be alienated for a period of 15 years from 1885, and then only to whites; and that existing 'locations' should be preserved, i.e. people already resident on those farms should be allowed to remain on them. The first condition was rapidly undermined as Richard and Michael Moroka, two of the largest landowners, were granted permission by the Volksraad to sell their farms in 1887. Others quickly followed suit. The second condition conflicted with severe anti-squatting legislation such as the notorious Law No 4 of 1895 which was designed to prevent more than five black families from 'squatting' (i.e. paying rent in cash or labour for use of land) on white farms. As the Barolong farms were alienated to whites, therefore, many black residents were evicted. Moroka's biographer Silas Molema records that

almost ten thousand - that is, half the population of the Moroka district of Thaba 'Nchu - went to live in Government and municipal locations in the various towns of the Orange Free State and elsewhere, and thus swelled the African urban population, which seems to be the problem of the Twentieth mid-century in South Africa. (19)

It is clear that such movement was taking place well before the end of the century. It is not clear from the context whether Molema included in this estimate of the numbers of dispossessed all those who were later evicted from white farms as a direct result of the 1913 Land Act. The Act prohibited sharecropping by black entrepreneurs on white farms, and its immediate and tragic consequences were graphically described by Sol Plaatje in *Native Life in South Africa*. (20) There are no accurate estimates of the number of people affected in the OFS as a whole. The magistrate of Thaba 'Nchu reported to the Local OFS Land Committee that 1 050 households were driven off farms belonging to Europeans in his district. (21) On the basis of Beaumont's estimates (derived from the 1911 census) of the African population in the Thaba 'Nchu district - 12 500 people in the 'Native locations', 4 150 on the Barolong farms, and 10 500 on white farms (22) - the magistrate's figure would suggest that as many as half of the total black population resident on white farms were displaced as a direct result of the 1913 Land Act. More generally, however, the Committee reported very wide variation in the estimates submitted by other magistrates of the numbers of people whose rights to land were 'prejudiced' by the Act. It was reluctant to accept as valid a total estimate which emerged of about 5 000 families affected in this way - about 25 000 to 30 000 people altogether out of a 'Native Population' resident on white farms in the OFS of 278 346. (23)

Alienation of black freehold titles in Thaba 'Nchu continued. F A W Lucas, in his lengthy Addendum to the NEC report of 1932, observed that 43 farms were leased by whites from blacks at that time; no additional land had been set aside for the Barolong; many Africans had been evicted from farms as they were alienated to whites; the two reserve areas were grossly overcrowded and overstocked, vegetation was scanty, and land erosion very bad; "large numbers of Basuto and amaXosa have drifted into the district from time to time and have remained working on the farms"; and the Barolong tribal system was breaking down. (24)

The 1930s also saw a sustained exodus of whites from the land, a movement which gave rise to the 'poor white' problem in urban areas and, later, to acute political anxiety over the decline in the white population relative to the black population in the white farming areas. The Du Toit Commission, which was appointed in 1959 to investigate the *beswarking* (blackening) of the platteland, included in its report two maps which clearly demonstrated the extent of the 'problem' in the southern districts of the OFS and in the OFS/Natal border region. In both areas many white-owned farms were either solely





Tseki, Qwaqwa: typical new settlement, from 1974; mainly ex- farm labourers and families  
1980



Qwaqwa: queue at the Phuthaditjhaba labour office, 1981





Qwaqwa: men waiting for work opposite the Phuthaditjhaba labour office, 1981

Thaba 'Nchu: erecting a game fence for the new casino complex on the site of two relocated villages (Groothoek and Moroka's Hoek), September, 1982



extremely complex history of subdivision and was only finally alienated in the 1960s. Sweet Home, east of Thaba Phatshwa, in the present district of Ladybrand, used to belong to the well-known Masisi family. They were forced to sell it to the Trust in 1977, and 161 people were moved from there in 1979. (30)

### 3.4 THABA PHATSHWA A coloured village

A portion of the farm Bofulo within the Seliba reserve (Map 3, No 37) was set aside in 1895 for the occupation of the descendants of the Chief Carolus Baatje and his Newlander ('Bastard') followers. The Natives Land Commissioners visited the farm in 1913 and recommended that "the division already made between the Barolongs and the Bastards should be considered as a final settlement". (31) However, these people, who speak Afrikaans and are classified as coloured, were eventually removed from Bofulo to a remote and depressed settlement at Thaba Phatshwa, next to the farm Sweet Home on the edge of the Leeuwrivier dam (Map 4). Remnants of many other communities also appear to be represented there, including some coloured refugees from the Transkei. There are no local employment opportunities.

### 3.5 TRUST VILLAGES

By the late 1960s between 30 and 40 villages had been replanned in Thaba 'Nchu, varying in size from 50 to 200 families, with nominal provision of six acres of arable land and grazing for ten head of cattle per family. Today the Trust villages are interspersed between the scattered freehold farms that still survive (Map 4). People were forced to move, as the only way of keeping some arable land and grazing rights, but they complained that they lost land in the process. Cosmas Desmond summarised the popular response on his visit in 1969:

Objections to the resettlement in Trust villages have been both strong and vocal. Most people, however, eventually resigned themselves to their fate and moved peacefully, some being encouraged by having their houses knocked down for them by the Government. (32)

He wrote of particular resistance at Morago in the north, one of the original farms comprising the Seliba reserve (Map 3, No 40). The residents of the old village had refused to move: 20 men, three of whom were blind, were arrested on 5 December 1968 for still living there. They lost the subsequent court case on 11 March 1969. None of the Morago people who had moved to Trust villages had been allocated any land. Thus it appears that some of the supposed beneficiaries of 'betterment' may never have had land for arable or grazing purposes. Certainly the refugees in Onverwacht who have left Trust villages are not confined to recent immigrants.

The inhabitants of two Trust villages have recently been uprooted once again. At the end of 1981 the Bophuthatswana government converted 2 000 ha of land around the Groothoek dam, south of Thaba 'Nchu mountain, into a game reserve which will entertain tourists at the proposed Southern Suns casino to be built near this site. Two communities - Groothoek and Moroka's Hoek (Map 4) - have been destroyed. About 90 families had to disperse in January 1982 to establish new homes in existing Trust villages such as Yoxford, Gladstone, Tweefontein and Commissiedrift. It was reported at the time that the Bophuthatswana government would move their window frames, roofing and furniture, but that people would have to dismantle their homes and move the bricks or other materials themselves. (33)



## 3.6 THE BULTFONTEINS

Desmond also described the scattered tents and shacks of mud and corrugated iron sheeting which in May 1969 made up Bultfontein I, about six miles north-west of Thaba 'Nchu town to the left of the road past the station, and the beginnings of Bultfontein II, on the other side of the road (Map 4). About 70 families had arrived in the first settlement.

Some of these were previously living in the Reserve but for some reason did not qualify to be resettled in a Trust village. Others had been evicted from White farms; some had been endorsed out of towns like Welkom, and at least one from Johannesburg; a few were from the locations at Thaba 'Nchu and there were about six families from Morago. (34)

Today Bultfontein III, too, is full of the refugees of the 1970s. Its south-eastern boundary adjoined the illegal squatter camp of Kromdraai (see Section 3.9 below) until the latter was razed to the ground in December 1979. The three Bultfonteins appear on aerial photographs of 1975 as discrete dense squares of residential plots: none of the inhabitants has access to any other land. The distinctive place of the Bultfonteins in recent years appears to have been to serve as staging posts for the transfer of relatively disadvantaged immigrants to Onverwacht from the small towns and white farms all over the OFS. As fast as some people have moved out, others have moved in.

## 3.7 INFLUX CONTROL & URBAN RELOCATION

The movement of africans into towns has always been controlled with particular harshness in the Orange Free State. Until the Land Act was passed in 1913, the OFS was the only province which specifically prohibited africans from acquiring freehold land in towns, despite the prevailing stereotype that they were 'temporary sojourners' only in white urban areas. Again, at the turn of the century the OFS was unique in requiring women to carry passes as well as men: Bloemfontein passed its first municipal regulations for its black locations in 1893, which applied equally to men and women. According to Sol Plaatje, these measures of the old Republic were applied with much greater rigour under the Union:

no native woman in the Province of the Orange 'Free' State can reside within a municipality (whether with or without her parents, or her husband) unless she can produce a permit showing that she is a servant in the employ of a white person, this permit being signed by the Town Clerk. (35)

A determined campaign of passive resistance to passes was mounted by women throughout the OFS in 1913, of which records relating to Bloemfontein, Winburg and Jagersfontein have recently been explored. (36) The pressure on municipal and provincial authorities was sufficient, in the end, to force the suspension of passes for women for 30 years from the passage of the 1923 Urban Areas Act. Julie Wells concludes:

Legislators in 1923 were convinced, largely from the Free State example, that passes for women was too dangerous and volatile an issue to push. Consequently changes were made to guarantee women's freedom from passes in the 1923 Urban Areas Act. This freedom remained in effect until 1956 when the Nationalist government began issuing passes for women. (37)

The immediate response - an angry mass demonstration by women in Pretoria - showed how dangerous and volatile the issue remained a generation later, although this time the women were not successful.

The pass laws have been repeatedly amended since 1923, particularly under the Nationalist government since 1948, with a view to enforcing more and more rigorous control of the movement of black people into towns. Pass law contraventions nationally had soared to well over half a million per annum by the late 1960s. (38) But it is impossible to assess from the available official statistics how many people are forcibly relocated from the urban areas of South Africa. This is partly because of the confusion and overlap between different pieces of discriminatory legislation; partly because the number of pass law contraventions does not coincide with the number of people affected in these different ways; and partly because there is such a wide variety of forms of harassment available to the State: arrest and conviction under the 72-hour rule; 'endorsement out' of people who fail to qualify under Section 10 of the Black (Urban Areas) Act as amended, for one reason or another; eviction of families from municipal accommodation when they are late in paying the rent or when the male breadwinner dies; official refusal to register dependants; and, quite simply, the indirect but deliberate pressure of acute shortage of housing. For what they are worth, Table 1 shows the number of arrests reported in Bloemfontein in recent years by the South African police and administration board officials for offences relating to reference books and influx control. (39)

Table 1 ARRESTS IN BLOEMFONTEIN RELATING TO THE PASS LAWS, 1978-1981

Year	By S A police		By Admin Board		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1978	2 019	668			
1979	331	132	2 308	482	3 223
1980	1 551	989	1 419	405	4 364
1981*	507	80	669	284	1 540

\* first six months only

Apart from these forms of pressure, however, the old townships attached to a number of white towns in the OFS have been deproclaimed and razed to the ground, in the course of which many of their inhabitants have been relocated to Qwaqwa and Thaba 'Nchu. The elderly and unemployed are disproportionately represented in this category of removals, and the repercussions on their lives are often tragic. One story that achieved publicity is merely the tip of an iceberg. (40) Towards the end of 1979, Mrs Emily Modise, aged 70, was evicted by the East Rand Administration Board from a 'squatter' camp outside Springs in the Transvaal. She had a resident's permit to live in the area but had to stay in the camp because of a chronic shortage of housing in KwaThema, the Springs black township. She was dumped in Qwaqwa with a very young grandchild, with hardly any money and no place to go to, but built a shack in Namahadi Rakopane where she was joined in due course by two daughters and two other grandchildren. Soon after her arrival in Qwaqwa she made three separate journeys without success to collect her pension at Nigel, where officials told her she would be paid in Qwaqwa. Qwaqwa officials repeatedly referred her back to the Transvaal. Meanwhile she and her family were starving. Minister Koornhof, under pressure of adverse publicity, promised a departmental investigation. But thousands and thousands of similar cases receive no publicity, no pension and no justice.

The overall strategy of urban relocation for the OFS was spelt out in May 1979 in a sinister report of the development of Onverwacht outside Thaba 'Nchu (Map 4). According to the Bloemfontein Friend, a spokesman for the Southern Free State Administration Board

stressed that people would not be forced to leave their homes in Bloemfontein, the surrounding smallholdings and other Free State towns, but would move of their own free will.... Mr Spies estimates that 30 000 people will be resettled from Bloemfontein, the smallholdings and country towns over a long term.... In Bloemfontein



alone - where the housing backlog is currently 5 000 - he expects more than 13 000 people to qualify for resettlement. These figures are made up of 2 000 families who are mainly boarders and 717 families who must be rehoused because of poor housing. At an average of five a family, this means 13 585 people. The city's South Sotho population currently stands at about 37 000. There are about 40 000 South Sothos on the surrounding smallholdings. Of these the Administration Board estimates 3 000 families or 15 000 people qualify for resettlement. There are another 372 South Sotho families or 1 860 people in the Southern Free State who are unemployed. Mr Spies did not foresee problems with job opportunities. Bloemfontein would be an important source, he said. The Free State goldfields would provide employment and the existence of a new city (Onverwacht) would create job opportunities. There was also the possibility of industrial development. He did not think transport for commuters between the new city and Bloemfontein would be a problem either. (41)

The criteria of 'qualification for resettlement' were not elaborated. The transport problem would be solved by the building of a double electrified, high-speed railway line from Bloemfontein to Onverwacht, Selosesha and Thaba 'Nchu, which was announced in June 1981. (42) The problem of employment is elaborated below (Section 4.5).

### 3.8 QWAQWA 'City-State' or rural slum?

The africans who gave evidence to the Beaumont Commission in November 1913 complained that there was an acute shortage of arable land within the Witziesshoek reserve, and that many men and their families had been turned off white-owned land in the adjoining districts as a result of the 1913 Land Act, which prohibited farming-on-the-half. The white farmers who gave evidence - some of whom had been involved in share-cropping, others not - were uniformly opposed to the creation of another 'Native Location' in or near the Harrismith district; they felt strongly that africans should not be allowed to buy land; and they did not feel that the Witziesshoek reserve was already overcrowded. The empirical criterion by which they reached this judgement was invariably their own experience of shortage of labour rather than the ability of africans to make a living for themselves off the land in Witziesshoek. For example, farmer Paul de Villiers pointed out:

There is much room still for natives in Witziesshoek to farm. They are having a good time there. It is only the rich native who has been farming on shares who finds it difficult to accommodate himself under this new Act, and those natives are beginning to trek. If they are not too rich in stock they can find room on farms in the district. (43)

The white farmers were, above all, preoccupied with obtaining sufficient labour. The necessary condition of this was to stop africans producing for themselves, either in the reserve or on white farms.

F A W Lucas, in his Addendum to the report of the NEC in 1932, pointed out that there was very considerable poverty and "a good deal of erosion" in Witziesshoek; and "the general economic condition of the Reserve has gone back immensely in the past 40 years. The economic retrogression can be attributed to the fact that 30 years ago they were not so congested as they are today...." (44) Witziesshoek was proclaimed a Betterment Area in 1939, and various measures were put into effect such as the fencing of arable and grazing areas and the culling of livestock. Strong popular resistance to these measures throughout the 1940s culminated in the 1950 Witziesshoek Rebellion and violent retaliation by the State. Part of the terms of reference of the Commission of Enquiry into these events was to determine "whether the Reserve ... is over-populated and overstocked and, if so, what steps should be taken to remedy this". On the basis of its philosophy that the Reserve should become a "self-supporting unit as soon as possible", the Commission reported that "there is a considerable number of families in the Hoek who possess no lands";

that average production of grain in the 1940s was 3 bags per morgen; and that, even under the most favourable conditions, a possible production level of 10 bags per morgen would not meet the requirements of residents. The Commission argued that 'detrified Natives' who had left the reserve should not have later access to it, in other words that proper provision should be made in the white urban areas for large numbers of africans who were no longer attached to Witziesshoek. The Commission concluded that

even if provision is made for the abrogation of the rights of the detrified Native and for the limitation of the population, with its natural increases, to those who reside in the Hoek or who do not remain absent from the Hoek for periods in excess of two years, the available agricultural land in Witziesshoek is not sufficient to ensure a decent livelihood to the Natives of the Hoek. If the position is left as it is at present, the number of able-bodied men leaving the Hoek to make a living elsewhere will increase from year to year, and only the aged, women and children, and those retiring on pension, or otherwise, will remain in the Hoek, and the position will deteriorate to such an extent that it will not be possible to rehabilitate the Reserve. (45)

This record of decline must be interpreted against the background of the population figures, tenuous as they are in many respects, relating to Witziesshoek reserve at different points of time: 4 700 in 1911, 10 000 in 1932, 12 000 in 1950 and 24 000 in 1970. (46) It may be inferred that the situation in 1950, already very serious, was sharply exacerbated through the increase recorded in the following 20 years. Since 1970 Qwaqwa has experienced an influx on a staggering scale. Its de facto population was estimated by official sources to be 200 000 in 1978 and 300 000 in 1980. (47) If this latest estimate is reasonably accurate, mean population density is now at least 1 613 persons per square mile or 622 persons per square kilometre, compared with 54 persons per square kilometre in 1970. (48) In fact, the population density in the settled areas is much higher than this, since many parts of Qwaqwa are too steep for grazing let alone for human habitation. Residents describe the place as "one big location". It is rural only in the sense that, with the exception of the capital Phuthaditjhaba, it lacks urban infrastructure. With some degree of understatement, Benbo observed in 1978 that

the country is over-populated in relation to available employment opportunities, is poorly situated with regard to the industrial areas and markets of Southern Africa, has no notable mineral or agricultural riches, while a lack of capital and a topography which makes the development of infrastructure exceptionally costly and difficult are some of the most important factors retarding economic development. In spite of a limited tourism potential, the only possibilities to escape from economic stagnation, if resettlement continues, are development as a city-state or a considerable extension of the land area. (49)

The latter option has been politically excluded. The former option, whatever it means, is entirely unrealistic: Benbo acknowledged this also, implicitly, in observing that the 'city-state' was likely to become a "haven for the wives of migrant workers, unemployed men, children and the aged".

There are no reliable figures to indicate where the immigrants into Qwaqwa have come from. Perhaps 60% have come off white farms, particularly in the northern, eastern and north-western districts of the OFS; and the remaining 40% from the towns within an arc approximately described by Harrismith, Vereeniging, Klerksdorp, Wesselsbron and Bloemfontein (Map 1). By 30 June 1976 the Department of Bantu Administration and Development had "assisted in resettling" 56 229 South Sotho in Qwaqwa; (50) and, presumably, many more since then. Otherwise, probably the majority of people have moved voluntarily in the sense that they were not physically removed by GG (South African government) vehicles but made their own way to Qwaqwa. A shack in Qwaqwa, put together with corrugated sheeting at high second-hand prices, no employment and minimal social services (except schools, which are many and attract boarders from Kroonstad, Welkom and other OFS towns), represents the first and only



secure home that most immigrant families have experienced. But the only security that Qwaqwa offers is "a place to die in".(51)

Immigrants were also responding to a sustained campaign to encourage South Sotho to come 'home'. This was initiated in the early and middle 1970s by the Qwaqwa government together with Chieftainess 'MaMpoi, mother of Chief Motebang Mopeli. Since immigrants are directly incorporated into the existing tribal hierarchy and immediately subject to a network of bureaucratic controls connected with access to residential sites, to local jobs and services and to the labour bureau, the effect of this campaign has been to establish hegemony over a political constituency which would otherwise have remained dispersed and fragmented and wholly out of reach of the Dikwankwetla party machine.

In 1978 Mopeli rejected the option of 'independence', but said that it might be considered if the size of the bantustan were increased to half of the OFS. (52) He had earlier been quoted as saying that the ultimate aim of Qwaqwa was to "form a union with Lesotho which will include the South Sotho living in the Transkei and Eastern Free State".(53) This aspiration is taken seriously neither by the South African government nor by the Lesotho government. Pending satisfactory settlement of its own claims to the Conquered Territory, which is quite unlikely at present, Lesotho will not find it attractive to absorb another 48 000 hectares, Qwaqwa's present land area, together with its resident population of more than a quarter of a million people, since Lesotho already faces its own crisis of structural unemployment.(54) Having substantially failed in his bid for extra land in the OFS, Mopeli's strategy has been to articulate the grievances of South Sotho minorities in other bantustans. For example, the Qwaqwa cabinet declared Transkei Independence Day, 26 October 1976, as a day of mourning for many thousands of South Sotho of the Herschel and Maluti districts who were not consulted about their future status and who felt directly threatened by the Matanzima regime.(55) Otherwise, Mopeli has taken a particular interest in the predicament of South Sotho immigrants into Thaba 'Nchu.

### 3.9 KROMDRAAI The railway squatters

The 1970 census recorded an ethnically mixed population in the Thaba 'Nchu reserve: 24 300 Tswana, 12 000 South Sotho and 3 600 Xhosa in a total population of 42 000.(56) In the following years many more Basotho left white farms, the smallholdings round Bloemfontein and the small towns all over the OFS, and drifted in to the existing Thaba 'Nchu 'locations' - Morolong, Mokwena, Moroka, Ratlou, Ratau, Motlatla; to the Bultfonteins (see Section 3.6 above); and to the remaining Barolong freehold farms and Trust villages. A large concentration of illegal squatters developed in the bend of the railway east of Thaba 'Nchu station in an area which became known as Kromdraai (Map 4). It had been demarcated as grazing land, but thousands of people moved there apparently because plots had been fraudulently sold to them or because they had been led to believe that stands would be allocated to them. According to a press report,

It is the rejected who come to Kromdraai - those who can no longer work, those who cannot 'fix up their passes' - from the small dorps and farms all over the Free State. The authorities of Thaba 'Nchu (in Bophuthatswana) do not want them and say they must go to their own place - Qwaqwa. But Qwaqwa is far away and over-crowded already.(57)

Initially, an attempt was made to deport the squatters to Qwaqwa. In 1974, for example, Mangope was reported to have made Bophuthatswana government vehicles available for this purpose.(58) A reader of the Friend commented on this in 1976:

When approaching Thaba 'Nchu by rail one is alarmed to notice the uncontrolled development of the squatter town now generally known as Kromdraai. For those who have the welfare of the Black people at heart, it was a great relief to see Government vehicles transporting these squatters to Witzieshoek. Black leaders in Thaba 'Nchu were happy to see one of their major problems so easily solved.... It is only hoped that the (Sotho) politicians using these squatters for their own political gains will realize what hardships they have caused and are still causing to innocent people and that they will have the courage to accept responsibility for the problems they are creating.(59)

But mass immigration continued, and the issue developed into a confrontation between politicians of Bophuthatswana and Qwaqwa, respectively. A Qwaqwa cabinet minister complained that South Sotho in Thaba 'Nchu were discriminated against in respect of work permits, residence rights and language of instruction in the schools. In turn, he was accused of interfering in the domestic affairs of Bophuthatswana.(60) In 1978, the population of Kromdraai was estimated to be 38 000 people. They were living in poverty and squalor, in shacks roughly constructed from mud-bricks and corrugated sheeting.(61) They were regularly harassed by the Bophuthatswana police as 'illegal foreigners' and this pressure was intensified shortly after 'independence'. Several massive raids took place in 1978. On 24 April, for example, 301 people were arbitrarily arrested, their children intimidated, their livestock dispersed and impounded; some were shot, others were raped. Those charged and convicted for squatting were fined R40 or imprisoned for 40 days in Bloemfontein gaol, by arrangement with South Africa. Another big raid on 21 December 1978 led to R60 fines or 60 days' imprisonment. The practice became lucrative for the Bophuthatswana authorities. On several occasions, indeed, the South African police intervened to persuade the Bophuthatswana police to behave more moderately. Basotho tenants in the Thaba 'Nchu 'locations' also complained of exploitation and harassment by Barolong landlords. In May 1978, Mopeli appealed to Mangope to leave South Sotho in Thaba 'Nchu alone until they could be resettled.(62)

During 1977 and 1978 negotiations took place between Bophuthatswana and Qwaqwa and the South African government over the provision of land for the relocation of Basotho from Thaba 'Nchu.(63) Removal of the Kromdraai squatters to the area known as Onverwacht (Map 4) began in late May 1979 - in winter - and was completed by December of the same year. Kromdraai itself reverted to bare hillside, scrub and grazing. Only the graveyard remains, and rusting upturned vehicles are scattered across the veld. Basotho were also removed from the Bultfonteins; from the old 'locations' in Thaba 'Nchu; from freehold farms such as Ha Ntshieng near Waghorn station in the east of the reserve; and from Trust villages such as Paradys in the north and Dipudungwana in the south. People are still pouring into Onverwacht from elsewhere in the OFS, courtesy of GG. Many others are using Thaba 'Nchu as a staging post for being transferred to Onverwacht, so that the areas in the reserve from which Basotho have already been removed have rapidly filled up again. They qualify for residential stands in Onverwacht by producing a Qwaqwa citizenship card, a valid reference book and a marriage certificate, and by paying R1 for the allocation. Chief Minister Mopeli, however, is acknowledged as not insisting on Sotho identity as a criterion of Qwaqwa citizenship, with the result that there is a significant minority in Onverwacht who are identified as members of the Xhosa ethnic group but as citizens of Qwaqwa.

### 3.10 REDISTRIBUTION OF THE 'SOUTH SOTHO NATIONAL UNIT'

The majority of the inhabitants of the OFS would identify themselves as descendants of the various Sotho-speaking clans loosely aggregated as a nation under



Moshoeshoe I in the aftermath of the Difaqane wars. They are identified by the South African government as members of the 'South Sotho national unit' whose official 'homeland' is Qwaqwa. However, according to the revised census figures showing the de facto distribution of the 1,44 million people comprising the 'South Sotho national unit' (Table 2), less than 2% were at that time resident in Qwaqwa.

Table 2 DE FACTO DISTRIBUTION OF THE 'SOUTH SOTHO NATIONAL UNIT', 1970

Area	No.s ('000s)	%
Qwaqwa	25,2	1,8
Transkei	76,6	5,3
Bophuthatswana	25,6	1,8
Other bantustans	21,6	1,5
'White' South Africa	1 290,0	89,6
TOTAL	1 439,0	100,0

Source: Statistical survey of black development, Benbo, Pretoria, 1979, Table 6

Substantial minorities of South Sotho were found in two other bantustans - the Transkei and Bophuthatswana - than the one with which they are officially associated. No fewer than 90% were in 'white' South Africa, two-thirds of these in the OFS, one-third in the Southern Transvaal.(64) Whatever the deficiencies of the 1970 census itself, statistical projections for later years which are based on the above distribution and which appear in official sources are quite unreliable, for they grossly understate the mass population movements which have taken place during the 1970s. For example, in one source Benbo acknowledges the de facto population of Qwaqwa to be about 200 000 in 1977.(65) In another source it estimates the de facto South Sotho population of Qwaqwa in 1978 to be 94 400.(66) The 1980 census results must be similarly suspect.

What follows here is an attempt to outline the most important of these mass population movements, with specific reference to the contradictions that have arisen out of the official identification of the 'South Sotho national unit' with Qwaqwa.

Firstly, the de facto population of Qwaqwa has increased at least ten-fold since 1970. Approximately a quarter of a million immigrants have poured into the already overcrowded and badly eroded territory, mainly from white urban and rural areas in the OFS. Many of them were evicted by white farmers or by municipal authorities. Many others came, apparently of their own accord, in a desperate search for security. Qwaqwa today is a rural slum, a dumping ground for South Africa's relative surplus population in the OFS: there is absolutely no prospect that jobs will be created for these people either locally or at a distance.

Secondly, perhaps 100 000 people, mainly but not exclusively Southern Sotho, came into Thaba 'Nchu during the 1970s, creating an intolerable strain on resources within this small reserve. Vicious conflicts developed along ethnic lines as a result of the South African government's insistence that people identify themselves either as Barolong and as 'citizens' of Bophuthatswana, in which case they had a right to reside in Thaba 'Nchu, simultaneously renouncing their South African citizenship; or as Basotho and as 'citizens' of Qwaqwa, in which case they had no rights in Thaba 'Nchu. By the middle 1970s the Basotho within Thaba 'Nchu vastly outnumbered the Barolong, by contrast with the distribution revealed in the 1970 census; and in due course the pressure was relieved by the relocation of the Basotho from Thaba 'Nchu to Onverwacht,

which also became a repository for people expelled from towns and white farms in the western and eastern districts of the OFS.

Thirdly, the figure for South Sotho resident in Transkei in 1970 cited in Table 2 is a highly artificial one. It includes the populations of Glen Grey and Herschel districts (Map 1) which were not part of the Transkei in 1970 but were ceded by the Ciskei to the Transkei in 1976, despite the results of a referendum earlier that year which showed clearly that these people did not want to be ruled by Matanzima. The 'Sotho' population of Herschel was 17 870 in 1970, according to a government ethnologist's survey.(67) With 'independence' for the Transkei imminent in October 1976, Chief Malefane and his Sotho followers fled from the Herschel district as part of a group of about 15 000 refugees from Matanzima's rule. Drawn by Chief Minister Lennox Sebe's promises of land and jobs, they went to the Ciskei, together with refugees from Glen Grey and other areas of the Transkei. The promises turned out to be false, and most of these refugees - about 50 000 people altogether - still live in terrible conditions at various close settlements in the Hewu district of the Ciskei.(68)

Fourthly, following Transkei 'independence', particularly in 1978, there were rumblings of discontent amongst Sotho resident in the Maluti district - formerly Matatiele and Mount Fletcher districts (Map 4). This reflected their resentment of Xhosa domination in terms of the policy of 'ethnic nationalism', but attempts to give political expression to their secessionist impulse have been harshly suppressed. A number of prominent people have fled as political refugees from Maluti district to Qwaqwa.(69)

# OFS

## PART 4

### Onverwacht : A Case Study

#### 4.1 CONDITIONS

The area known as Onverwacht or Botshabelo (Place of Refuge) was barren veld in May 1979. Today it is a sprawling slum. It is extremely difficult to estimate how many people live there now. All the Kromdraai people, numbering some 38 000 people, were moved there between the end of May and December 1979. The Department of Co-operation and Development only admitted that 6 000 families had been moved to Onverwacht by the end of January 1980; but a year after the settlement's foundation, in June 1980, church workers informally estimated there were 100 000 people, and newcomers were arriving steadily. Thus official and unofficial estimates diverge considerably. A press report of March 1981 noted, "At present the official population of Onverwacht is 54 000, but the actual figure is closer to 100 000".(70) The Onverwacht Anglican Care Committee estimated the population at 80 000 in July 1981.(71) It is probable that the actual population in 1982 is well over the earlier figures, between about 160 000 and 200 000. Eight sections of closer settlement are planned, eventually comprising about 50 000 residential stands.

People were allocated stands 30 m x 15 m in size, each consisting of a patch of bare ground with a tin prefabricated toilet whose number - painted on the toilet door - was the new address. They were provided with tents temporarily and told to build their own shacks. The price of second-hand corrugated sheeting immediately rocketed in response to the heavy demand, so that many families had the greatest difficulty in providing themselves with alternative accommodation. The tents, meanwhile, were bitterly cold, far too small and a dangerous fire hazard. Possessions could not be protected from theft or damage. Some of the sites had large boulders on them, others were subject to flooding in the rains. The bucket toilet removal system was thoroughly inadequate, and there was an outbreak of typhoid early in 1980, denied by officials in Bloemfontein and Pretoria. Despite the provision of piping and tap outlets there was a severe shortage of water in most sections of Onverwacht throughout 1980 and 1981. By 9 July 1980 there were 258 'adult' graves and 269 'children's' graves in the cemetery: a stark indication of high infant mortality. Despite all the difficulties, many people have shown remarkable ingenuity in building, improvising, furnishing and decorating their tin shacks, which are uncomfortably hot in summer and very cold in winter.

Facilities are grossly inadequate for such a large concentration of people. One visitor at the end of 1981 observed one clinic, one police station and one supermarket, no post office and no electricity. There were 19 schools, with nearly 20 000 pupils operating a double-shift system - which gives rise to acute anxieties for parents as young children return home in the dark. It was proving impossible to find qualified teachers to staff the two secondary schools.(72) Some building of brick houses took place in 1981, but these are available at a price of R3 000 or R4 000 which, even spread over 20 years, very few people at Onverwacht can afford.

Onverwacht is administered by the Black Affairs Commissioner, Bloemfontein, on behalf of the SA Development Trust. Representatives of Dikwankwetla, the Qwaqwa ruling party, have an informal advisory function in the slum and they purport to 'represent' the South Sotho political constituency in its dealings with the South African authorities. For a short time it appeared that Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli of Qwaqwa had gained a considerable amount of political credit, particularly amongst the people of Kromdraai, for having led his people, as some of them expressed it, "from out of the land of Egypt into the land of Canaan", so that they were relieved from immediate harassment by the Bophuthatswana authorities. But Mopeli's promises of land and jobs swiftly proved false, and support for the Dikwankwetla party, which seemed solid at least in the 'Singles' section in early 1980, at the time of the Qwaqwa election, has probably correspondingly evaporated. On 14 September 1980, two men were arrested by Bophuthatswana security police while Mopeli was addressing a crowd of 20 000 at Onverwacht, after rumours of a possible assassination attempt against him.(73) It is not clear why Bophuthatswana police should have been involved....

Frustration and anger have intensified during the three years of Onverwacht's existence. Unemployment is certainly very high, although it is impossible to quantify since the total population is unknown and since so many people experience difficulty in registering as workseekers. Even if they do obtain the soekwerk stamp in their reference books this does not allow them to seek work but merely to compete with others on the few occasions when employers come to Onverwacht for cheap unskilled labour. Particular focal points of frustration and anger are the forced auctions of livestock which have taken place; and the schools, which are overcrowded and where facilities are utterly inadequate: 600 students stormed the police station at Onverwacht on 11 July 1980.(74) People also complain bitterly of the restrictions placed on informal sector activities: petty traders without licences are constantly harassed, yet this is one of the very few activities open to someone with enterprise who must find a local source of income in order simultaneously to look after a young family at Onverwacht.

The boundary between the black slum of Onverwacht and the black reserve of Thaba 'Nchu (see Map 4), the areas respectively associated with Basotho and Barolong, is subject to continuing dispute, as is the boundary between black slum and white farming areas. Examples of both sorts of dispute recur in recent press reports. In March 1981 Napoleon Khomo, national organiser of Dikwankwetla, warned of a 'bloody confrontation' if the Bophuthatswana police did not stop impounding the livestock of Onverwacht people and auctioning them off without informing the owners.(75) At about the same time, Dewetsdorp farmers vigorously complained of escalating stock theft in the Onverwacht area, attributed to the prevalence of unemployment there and the large number of "hungry Onverwacht dogs".(76) Onverwacht inhabitants had nowhere to graze the few animals they had been able to bring with them, partly because, despite compulsory purchase of other lands than those on which the settlement itself is concentrated, several farms which had been bought by the Trust - namely Labora, Kromdraai and Vaalkraal - had been leased to white farmers.(77)

In the following three sections (4.2, 4.3 and 4.4) is presented some of the material drawn from 93 household questionnaires administered in Onverwacht on behalf of SPP in 1981. Tables 3 to 8 relate to these households.



## 4.2 CIRCUMSTANCES OF RELOCATION

All the 93 households had come to Onverwacht either in the second half of 1979 or in 1980. As shown in Table 3, 76 of them had been living within the Thaba 'Nchu area before removal to Onverwacht, while 17 came from elsewhere in the OFS. The term 'locations' is used in the table to refer to the areas of concentrated black settlement around the white town of Thaba 'Nchu known as Morolong, Mokwena, Moroka, Ratlou, Ratau and Motlatla. These areas are not economically dependent on the white town in the same sense that usually applies to a black township outside a white town in the 'white' areas of South Africa, simply because far more people and their dependants live there than can possibly find employment locally.

Table 3 PREVIOUS PLACE OF RESIDENCE

	No of households
Thaba 'Nchu 'locations'	53
Trust villages	4
Bultfonteins	2
Kromdraai	13
Seloshesha	1
Other	3
Rest of OFS White farms	12
Black townships	5
TOTAL	93

The above table represents the most sensible interpretation of the questionnaire responses in which, obviously, the term 'location' referred both to Morolong etc. within Thaba 'Nchu and to black townships attached to white towns elsewhere in the OFS; and in which, also, Morolong etc. were sometimes specifically identified as the place of previous residence without being classified as 'locations'. Collectively, Morolong etc. constitute a black town and are indicated as such on Map 4. Most of the Onverwacht households interviewed, as may be inferred from Table 3, had been tenants of Barolong standholders in the Thaba 'Nchu 'locations': their average period of residence there was 7½ years. The next largest category was removals from Kromdraai: their average period of residence there was 2½ years. It is apparent, then, that most of the people removed from Thaba 'Nchu to Onverwacht had been immigrants to Thaba 'Nchu in the 1970s and had therefore experienced at least their second major upheaval in a decade. The only exception to this was two households from Trust villages.

The distribution of households shown in Table 3 by place of previous residence is probably unrepresentative of the total population of Onverwacht, and reflects the fact that different sections of Onverwacht were filled up at different periods with people from different places. For example, the old B section, from which many of the interviews were drawn, contains many people from the Thaba 'Nchu 'locations', whereas the 'Singles' consists predominantly of Kromdraai people, who may have represented in 1981 perhaps one third of the population of Onverwacht as a whole. In this respect the sampling control was inadequate.

People were asked whether they had come to Onverwacht 'of their own free will' or whether they had been evicted and brought. The answers to this question are difficult to interpret and cannot be used, for the following reasons, to justify a distinction between forced (structural) and voluntary relocation. Firstly, most household respondents indicated they had come to Onverwacht 'of

their own free will'; but, at the same time, 74 households out of 93 had been brought by GG truck, which is the best single index of compulsory relocation at the initiative of the South African government. Secondly, 11 out of the 13 households removed from Kromdraai indicated that they had been 'evicted and brought' to Onverwacht; yet it is precisely the people from Kromdraai who expressed their relative satisfaction with life in Onverwacht. The conditions of their existence in Kromdraai had been so appalling (see Section 3.9 above) that they were, above all, relieved to be free from immediate harassment by the YB (Bophuthatswana) police; and, more generally, from "Tswana sarcasms". Others noted that the main difference between Onverwacht and the previous place of residence was "No huge sums of money paid to private owners". People bitterly resented the high rents charged by Barolong standholders in Morolong, Mokwena, etc., and also the frequent and excessive 'informal taxation' to which they had been subject from the Bophuthatswana authorities - for contributions, for example, to school building funds. Thus people's responses to the move itself, and their attributions of responsibility for it, reflected the range and diversity of their own experience. Accordingly, in answer to the question, 'Who told you to leave?', the central government, the Qwaqwa government, the YB (Bophuthatswana) police, the Black Commissioner, etc. were all identified as variously responsible. For these reasons, it would be extremely misleading to suggest that a high frequency of positive responses to the question, 'Did you come of your own free will?' is a reliable indication that people came of their own free will.

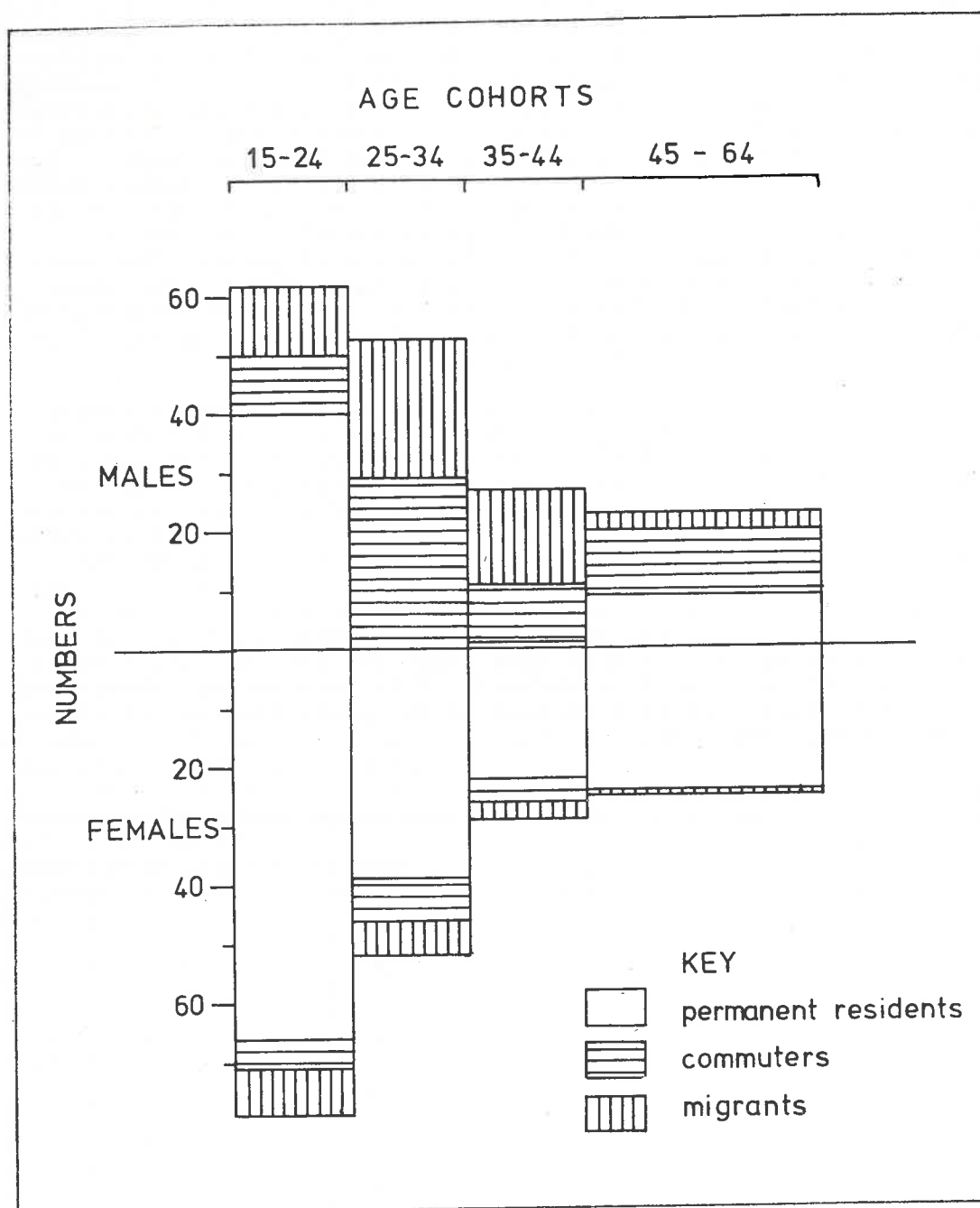
On all the questions in the survey relating to agricultural or other productive activities at the previous place of residence, there is no information from 84 or 85 of the households out of the 93, indicating the irrelevance of these questions to their circumstances. This is quite consistent with the fact that at least 74 of the 93 households came from places where, by definition, they had no access to arable or grazing land. Those evicted from white farms or Trust villages, however, lost through the move to Onverwacht any access they may have had, real or potential, directly or indirectly, to land as a productive resource. These people in particular were angry at having been forced to sell their livestock, there being no grazing land available at Onverwacht. Information was recorded on farm wages in cash and kind from 14 Onverwacht residents who had been farm workers. This information, summarised in Table 4, is of particular interest because of the prevailing dearth of reliable evidence in this area.(78)

Table 4 FARM WAGES IN CASH AND KIND PER MONTH

No	Cash R	Access to land	Mielie meal*	Tobacco	Coffee/tea	Sugar	Overalls	Milk	Meat
1	3,00	X							
2	3,00	X	X	X	X	X			
3	3,00	X	X						
4	3,00	X	X		X	X		X	X
5	3,60	X		X					
6	5,00								
7	5,00								
8	5,00	X	X	X	X	X			
9	7,00	X	X				X		
10	15,00		X	X					
11	15,00	X							
12	15,00		X						
13	18,00		X					X	
14	60,00								

\* either 1 x 90 kg bag or ½ bag or unspecified amount

Fig 1 HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS AGED 15-64, BY SEX, AGE COHORTS & RESIDENTIAL STATUS  
(N = 93 households)



There is obviously considerable variation between farms. One appalling extreme recorded here is that of a farm worker (Table 4, No 1) who had worked for 12 months a year (ploughing, wiring, harvesting, milking) for 24 years on a farm in the Reddersburg district, and was paid R3 a month in cash and nothing in kind but did have access to a small field. The other extreme recorded here (Table 4, No 14) is that of a family earning R60 a month - probably (although it is unclear from the questionnaire response) the wages of a number of full-time workers.

## 4.3 HOUSEHOLD DEMOGRAPHY

The 93 households varied in size from 2 to 14 persons, with a mean of 5.47 persons, a mode of 4 and a median of 5. They contained 361 persons classified as 'permanently resident', 74 as 'commuters' and 74 as 'migrants', distributed by sex as shown in Table 5. Very few of the permanent residents were in employment, whereas almost all the commuters and migrants were in employment (see Table 6 below). Table 5 therefore reflects, firstly, very high local unemployment in Onverwacht; and, secondly, a highly skewed distribution of available employment between the sexes.

Table 5 DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS  
BY SEX AND RESIDENT STATUS

Category	Male	Female	Total
Permanent resident	134	227	361
Commuter	58	16	74
Migrant	56	18	74
TOTAL	248	261	509

This extreme imbalance in favour of men and against women emerges more precisely from the histogram in Figure 1, which shows the distribution of 341 members in the age range 15-64 (who are potentially 'economically active' in conventional terms) by sex and resident status. The most striking feature of this distribution is the almost total absence of young and middle-aged men from the category 'permanent resident': only two men aged 25-34 and one man aged 35-44 were classified in this way.

There were 78 male and 15 female household heads, but these figures inadequately represent the onus of de facto household management assumed by women, since 50 out of the 78 male household heads were in the age range 25-44 and are therefore absent from home for most of the time.

## 4.4 EMPLOYMENT

From Table 6 below it may be seen that migrants and commuters made up 95% of all persons in employment at the time of the interviews. Women comprised 25%. No fewer than 28 out of 37 women in employment were in 'services': undoubtedly the largest category is domestic service, at rates of pay and conditions of social isolation and economic exploitation which are probably the worst in South Africa. This reflects the extremely marginal position of women in Onverwacht in respect of their access to the labour market as a whole. It is



Table 6 DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT  
BY SEX AND RESIDENT STATUS

Category	Employees		Total
	Male	Female	
Permanent resident	3	5	8
Commuter	57	15	72
Migrant	53	17	70
TOTAL	113	37	150

probable that quite a large number of households in Onverwacht depend solely on the wage-earning capacity of a female member in domestic service, and it is also probable that the majority of such women have children to look after at the same time. But the distance from Onverwacht to Bloemfontein means that women employed in domestic service even in the nearest large town cannot both earn a pittance for fulltime work and effectively look after their children.

The sectors of employment for men are shown in Table 7, by resident status. Migrants were concentrated in the mining industry (28 out of 53 = 53%), which accounted for 29% of all male employees in the sample. The opportunities for Onverwacht men that this figure implies must be interpreted in the context of shrinking levels of recruitment for the mines in recent years. Onverwacht men are recruited mainly through the TEBA office in Thaba 'Nchu, which handled 4 439 recruits in 1977, 4 743 in 1978, 3 168 in 1979, and only 1 212 in the first six months of 1980.(79) The majority of recent recruits, in any case, carry re-employment guarantee certificates, so that the mining industry is not a reliable source of future employment for the men of Onverwacht.

Table 7 SECTORS OF EMPLOYMENT, MEN, BY RESIDENT STATUS

Sector	Permanent resident	Commuter	Migrant	Total
Mining	-	5	28	33
Manufacturing	1	5	3	9
Electrical etc	-	3	-	3
Construction	-	19	9	28
Trade	1	4	1	6
Transport	-	8	6	14
Finance	-	3	-	3
Services	1	10	6	17
TOTAL	3	57	53	113

Meanwhile, more commuters from Onverwacht were employed in construction (19 out of 57 = 33%) than in any other sector. An alternative mode of classification, by category of occupation, revealed that 18 out of 113 male employees were 'professionals'; 12 were clerical workers; 14 were skilled, 11 semi-skilled and 51 (45%) were unskilled labourers. Consistently with the latter point, nearly half of all male migrants and commuters had not obtained more than primary education.

Finally, in respect of employment, Table 8 shows the places of employment of men and women from Onverwacht, by frequency of visits home. Only 19 out of 143 persons were in local employment, in Thaba 'Nchu and Onverwacht. Nearly half the total were employed in Bloemfontein; but only a minority of these were daily commuters. Welkom is the centre of the OFS goldmining industry and

Table 8 PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT, MEN & WOMEN, BY FREQUENCY OF VISIT HOME

Work place	Total	Permanent resident	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Yearly	'No more coming'
Bloemfontein	66	1	27	21	17	-	-
Welkom	37	-	-	5	26	5	1
Virginia	5	-	-	2	2	1	-
Thaba 'Nchu	12	-	11	1	-	-	-
Onverwacht	7	1	6	-	-	-	-
Rustenburg	4	-	-	-	4	-	-
Elsewhere*	12	-	-	2	5	3	2

\* 1 each Ladybrand, Kroonstad, Kimberley, Westminster, Stilfontein, Vaal, Dewetsdorp, Tweespruit, Harrismith, Carletonville, Westonaria, Kuruman

Note This table emerged from manual analysis of the questionnaires and not from the computer coding. It is not clear how one person who is employed in Bloemfontein is described as 'permanently resident' in Onverwacht (as opposed to being a daily commuter).

it appears that the majority of contract mine workers are able to come home during their contracts sufficiently often for them to respond 'monthly' rather than 'yearly'. Otherwise, people from this Onverwacht sample who found employment were distributed throughout the OFS, but only 10 out of 143 employees were working outside the OFS.

Respondents were also asked how they obtained their present job: through a labour bureau, a recruiting agent, directly with an employer, 'by themselves', or through a network of friends/family. The 'by themselves' category accounted for 38 out of 66 people employed in Bloemfontein, 11 out of 19 in Onverwacht and Thaba 'Nchu, but only 13 out of 42 in Welkom and Virginia (where 13 were recruited by an agent, presumably TEBA). This figure is surprisingly high in view of the fact that people who live in Onverwacht are not officially allowed (even with the soekwerk stamp in the reference book) to go off to seek work for themselves, but must wait for a potential employer to come to Onverwacht - which seldom happens. But perhaps it partially vindicates people's insistence that, if they were only allowed to do so, they could find work for themselves despite the high levels of structural unemployment that prevail in South Africa at the present time. The principal complaint of people at Onverwacht, repeated again and again in interviews, is the constant harassment they experience under the pass laws when they travel to Bloemfontein and other towns to seek work on their own initiative.

## 4.5 THE BUREAUCRATIC NIGHTMARE

Three particular stories, recorded in June and July 1980, may be used here to illustrate the bureaucratic vicious circles daily encountered by the Onverwacht refugees, and to explain why they see themselves as trapped with their hands behind their backs.

A man who had worked for seven years on annual contracts for Dorman Long in Vanderbijlpark, earning R42 a week in 1980, found that, once his family had been moved from a farm near Tweespruit to Onverwacht in late 1979, he could no longer afford to maintain himself in the Transvaal and send his family adequate remittances. So he left his job on 2 July 1980 and began the search for new employment nearer home. He went immediately to Bloemfontein, where he found a job, illegally, as a driver for a transport delivery company, and was also endorsed out of town under the 72-hour rule. On 9 July he was at the Onverwacht office to get a workseeker's permit, so that he could return to his

prospective employer to get registration forms, which must be filled in at Onverwacht and then returned to the 'pass' office at Bloemfontein so that he could be given a stamp permitting him to live and work in a prescribed area. This involved at least three return journeys between Onverwacht and Bloemfontein, at his own expense, and further queues and delays at every stage of the transaction. And he would be very lucky if it all worked out.

A woman who was born in Bloemfontein in 1910 had spent much of her adult life on one of the smallholdings outside the town, near Ferreira station, working on and off as a domestic servant. She moved to Onverwacht in July 1979 with some of her family who had, since 1974, rented a place to live in Kromdraai. On her arrival she applied for a pension at the Onverwacht office but was told that she was 'too young'. So she returned to the Ferreira smallholding 'where she had grown up', and enlisted the help of her daughter's employer in Bloemfontein in making a pension application there. By May 1980 they had received some papers which had to be completed at the Black Affairs Commissioner's office in Bloemfontein, and then returned to Pretoria. This involved a further indefinite period of uncertainty and delay. Meanwhile the old woman returned to the Ferreira smallholding to await the approval of her application and had to beg the present owners for permission to stay with a black family employed by them. She was still waiting there in July. If her pension came through and she was able to return to her family at Onverwacht, she would still have to travel from Onverwacht to Ferreira to receive it every two months, since an attempt to transfer payment to Onverwacht would not be worth the further trouble and delay that they knew from experience would arise. Only one member of a household of ten - one of the old woman's daughters - was in regular employment, as a domestic servant. She had to leave her husband and young children in order to stay in Bloemfontein, visiting home once a month, because she could not afford the daily bus fare from Onverwacht. Little as it is - R55 every two months at that time - a pension is a vital source of income for such families.

A man born in 1942 began his working life as a farm labourer, moving with his family from the Dewetsdorp district to farms in the Brandfort and Wesselsbron districts. At the beginning of 1974 he took a mine contract at Welkom, paying R14 a month to rent a place for his family to stay on a white farm outside the town. In addition, his wife had to work for the farmer without payment in the weeding and reaping seasons. At the end of 1975, through knowing some of the workers there, he was able to get a job with Boart Drilling for R120 a month, compared with his earnings at the mine of R70 a month at that time; and he was able to 'fix' his pass accordingly. His family remained on the farm, his children unable to go to school, until December 1979, when they were evicted by a new owner who did not want to farm his land as a labour reserve. His wife and children were arrested and fined R90. He was able to arrange for them to go and stay in Onverwacht where his brother-in-law was already established with his family. Their stand is intolerably crowded as a result, and he was anxious to register at Onverwacht so that he could be allocated a stand of their own. His wife could not do this in his absence because the office would insist on seeing her husband's reference book, and he could not risk remaining in his job at Welkom without this. So in February 1980 he gave up his job and came 'home' where he was only able to find occasional piece work. They registered for a stand in June 1980 but were told, along with everyone else resident in Onverwacht already, that they were unlikely to be given a stand until August 1981, since the priority was to remove people from oppression by the Barolong in Bophuthatswana! It was now extremely difficult for this man to find another job.

# OFS

## PART 5

### Miscellaneous

## CONCLUSION

The mass population movements of the 1970s can be explained in terms of two fundamentally interrelated processes. Firstly, the central government sharply accelerated its attempts to squeeze black South Africans into the existing reserve areas. The flood of immigrants into Qwaqwa and Thaba 'Nchu reflected the acute insecurity people experienced on white farms and in black townships throughout the OFS. Secondly, conflicts developed within the reserves along ethnic lines because of official insistence that all black South Africans should be unequivocally identified as 'citizens' of one or other exclusive 'ethno-national unit'. The mass exodus from Thaba 'Nchu to Onverwacht reflected the facts that Thaba 'Nchu was defined as the 'land of the Barolong', and that here as elsewhere the Bophuthatswana government pursued a policy of strident Tswana nationalism in respect of access to very scarce resources.

Just as the hapless victims of the YB (Bophuthatswana) police in Thaba 'Nchu - the Kromdraai squatters - were being removed to Onverwacht in late 1979, it was rumoured through a press leak that Thaba 'Nchu was excluded from the Van der Walt Commission's proposals to consolidate Bophuthatswana. The Rand Daily Mail commented,

The idea of surrendering Thaba 'Nchu is certain to bring heartache to the Bophuthatswana President, Chief Lucas Mangope, as it has been in the hands of the Tswana-speaking Barolong tribe for 150 years. (80)

Van der Walt's proposals have still not been published, presumably because they are expected to exacerbate many controversial issues of precisely this kind. (81) Mangope's prospective heartache must not be understood, however, only as a tragic irony - the boot would be on the other foot - in the aftermath of the Bophuthatswana authorities' oppression of the South Sotho majority within Thaba 'Nchu. Nor should it be interpreted by reference to some gratuitous reconstruction of Barolong tribal history - it is clear, for example, from Section 2.2 above and from comparison of Maps 3 and 4 that Moroka's territory was cynically dismembered after 1884 and only partially reconstituted in the last three decades.

Rather, Mangope's anxiety over the future of Thaba 'Nchu can only be understood by reference to the South African government's insistence that particular



'ethno-national units' belong exclusively to particular pieces of territory. The political process within which he operates is about which unit properly belongs to which piece of territory. In the first place, the question of a 'transfer' of Thaba 'Nchu to South Sotho political sovereignty would not arise outside the framework of the strategy of separate 'ethno-national' development. In the second place, by all accounts, relations between Basotho and Barolong in Thaba 'Nchu were notoriously harmonious for one hundred years, until the 1970s. A press report of 1977 commented,

There used to be a joke that the tiny dorp of Thaba 'Nchu was such a peaceful place that for many years the local police station was staffed by only one bored constable. He was eventually transferred because there was no need for him, there were certainly no 'tribal' differences between the local Tswana and the local Sotho. (82)

On the contrary, there was much intermarriage and consequently much confusion - when it began to matter - about the identity of persons of 'mixed' parentage.

There is no doubt, then, of the diagnosis of ultimate responsibility for the human misery and degradation caused by mass population removals in the OFS in the last ten years. But the compelling force of the general diagnosis should not detract attention from the particulars of each case. In respect of the victims, the variety and complexity of the phenomenon of relocation even within a relatively small area such as Thaba 'Nchu is astonishing. One lesson of this investigation must be that the experience of relocated people is not necessarily a uniform experience. The rural slums have many features in common - overcrowding, poor sanitation, high unemployment, grim poverty and widespread malnutrition. And there is a high proportion of 'marginalised' people - women, children, the elderly, the unemployed, the sick, the 'idle and undesirable'. There is considerable diversity, nevertheless, within a huge slum such as Onverwacht, and between different areas in Qwaqwa. The wide range of places of previous residence and circumstances of relocation predispose to different forms of consciousness. Materially, there is a vast difference between a household with three migrant or commuter members in long-term, relatively well-paid employment on the one hand; and a household on the other hand in which an elderly evicted farm labourer or his widow struggles simultaneously to look after young grandchildren and to establish pension rights against a wall of mindless bureaucratic obstruction.

In respect of the beneficiaries of separate 'ethno-national' development, there is a similar obligation to investigate the particulars of each case. Observations about the benefits to 'capital' need not be made, and perhaps should not be made, at a highly abstract or rhetorical level. The regional investigations undertaken by the SPP presuppose that it is possible to generalise significantly from the analysis of concrete conditions in different areas. In the OFS, for example, capital injections into the economic infrastructure of Bophuthatswana and the proximity of Onverwacht have generated a major consumer boom for the dusty little white town of Thaba 'Nchu, which reportedly declared itself in an opinion poll in March 1982 in favour of incorporation into Bophuthatswana or Qwaqwa. (83) Again, small black-owned trading enterprises have mushroomed throughout Qwaqwa, threatening the monopolies of the large white traders.

More importantly, perhaps, partly in spite of and partly because of the changes that have taken place, there is a striking continuity in the political and economic domination of the black elites within the reserves. In Thaba 'Nchu the Barolong family names listed as private landowners in 1900 (84) are the same names, by and large, that recur in the society gossip columns of the Free State Advocate in the 1930s and 1940s, (85) and that are prominently represented in the 1980s in the bureaucratic structures of the local state (Bophuthatswana) and in the management and shareholdings of its new commercial enterprises. There is a local class, in other words, whose specific interests have been well served by the political and administrative superstructure of Bantu Authorities and the economic infrastructure of 'separate development' - the tripartite business ventures, the access to Development Corporation loans, the patronage networks which dispose of jobs, pensions, residential sites and trading licences.

A similar point may be made about Qwaqwa. The Mopeli family name dominates the membership of the Qwaqwa legislative assembly and guarantees privileged access to the fruits - by no means petty - of self-government. The luxurious houses of Qwaqwa government ministers stand on a slope at Witzieshoek as offensive testimony to the chasm of aspiration, opportunity and experience that divides the bantustan leaders from the hungry refugees who are their political constituents. Qwaqwa's 'greatest asset', in Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli's view, is its human potential. He has recognised that

At present and in the distant future the people of Qwaqwa will be its main export. For that reason the quality of the article must improve so that there is a great demand for it among the industries of Southern Africa. (86)

This remark appears profoundly cynical in the light of the fact that at least nine-tenths of Qwaqwa's population have just been imported into the territory and the majority are likely to remain quite out of reach of the major employment centres of South Africa. Contrary to Mopeli's aspirations, mass removals to Qwaqwa and Onverwacht are a mechanism for the concentration of poverty and unemployment in remote and isolated rural areas. When he assumes direct responsibility for Onverwacht, Qwaqwa will consist of two entirely separate 'city-states' - in fact grotesquely overcrowded rural slums.

Mass relocation in the 1970s finally subverted - as manifestly absurd - the official pretence that the 'homelands' would ever be 'economically viable'. Accordingly, the emphasis in policy has recently shifted away from the exercise in territorial integration represented by Van der Walt and towards a new strategy of 'regional development' based on the recognition, in Prime Minister Botha's words, that

Each black nation will exercise its political responsibilities in the economic field in that broader economic region of which it constitutes a functional part. (87)

The practical implications of this statement remain obscure. The rural slums investigated here fall within the recently defined Development Region C comprising "the Orange Free State / Qwaqwa / the district of Thaba 'Nchu of Bophuthatswana". A number of industrial growth points have been identified in this region: Bloemfontein, Harrismith, Selosesha (Bophuthatswana), Phuthaditjhaba (Qwaqwa), Onverwacht and "a point near Harrismith (Qwaqwa)". (88) Meanwhile, population removals continue. As with the abortive proposal for a 'regional condominium' put forward by the Quail Commission as an alternative to Ciskei 'independence' in the Eastern Cape, there can be no prospect of improvement in the lives of South Africa's internal refugees in the OFS without a fundamental redistribution of land, repeal of the pass laws and a reversal of separate 'ethno-national' development.

# NOTES

- 1 Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the disturbances in the Witzieshoek native reserve, U.G. 26-1951, p 16
- 2 For example, Qwaqwa ekonomiese-economic revue, Benbo, Pretoria, 1978, p 18
- 3 U.G. 26-1951, p 2
- 4 Qwaqwa revue, p 19
- 5 T Malan & P S Hattingh, Black homelands in South Africa, Africa Institute, Pretoria, 1976, p 194
- 6 Friend, 12.06.80; Rand Daily Mail, 19.06.80
- 7 W G A Mears, Wesleyan Baralong mission in Trans-Orangia 1821-1884, Struik, Cape Town, 1970, p 36
- 8 P Sanders, Moshoeshoe, Chief of the Sotho, Heinemann, London, 1975, pp 63-5. See also J M Orpen, History of the Basutus of South Africa, Mazenod, 1979, originally published 1857.
- 9 Report of the Land Settlement Commission, South Africa, part II, documents, evidence, etc., HMSO, London, June 1901, Cd 627, pp 236-7, 244, 248. The administrative boundary of the ward in 1900 was almost, but not precisely, coincident with the boundary of the Moroka territory annexed in 1884.
- 10 Report of the Natives Land Commission, U.G. 19-1916, vol I, p 45
- 11 Report of the Orange Free State Local Natives Land Committee, U.G. 22-1918. For an extended discussion of the political background, see M Lacey, Working for Boroko, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1981, chap 1. It should be noted, perhaps, that the largest single 'additional' area identified by Beaumont (Area No 4) consisted of a large block of farms, 39 101 morgen in extent, belonging to 32 families - the heirs of Adam Opperman - and situated on the border of the Fauresmith and Jacobsdal districts. The OFS Local Land Committee commented: "In view, however, of the stipulation contained in the testament that no other Natives (Kleurlingen) except the usual labourers should be allowed to live on the ground, and seeing that the descendants of Adam Opperman were formerly not treated as Natives (Naturellen) or Coloured persons (Kleurlingen) in the ordinary sense of the word, but looked upon as burghers of the Free State, and exempted from the application of the laws relating to Natives (Kleurlingen), it is not clear to the Committee why these lands should be proclaimed an additional Native area. It is recommended that this area be omitted from the schedule of the proposed Act". (U.G. 22-1918, p 6)
- 12 U.G. 22-1918, p 2
- 13 Acquisition of land by the South African Native Trust and abolition of bantu property rights in land in European areas, government circular, provenance unknown, issued about 1961
- 14 Cited in P D Kempen, 'Die bantoegebied van Thaba 'Nchu', Journal of Racial Affairs, 24, 4 (October 1973), p 119
- 15 Friend, 8.02.79, 3.03.79
- 16 Information from the Deeds Office, Bloemfontein
- 17 P Warwick, 'Black people and the War' in Warwick (ed), The South African War: the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902, Longman, 1980, p 204

- 18 Further correspondence relating to affairs in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, Cd 2482, May 1905, p 37. See also G B Beak, The aftermath of war: an account of the repatriation of boers and natives in the Orange River Colony 1902-1904, Arnold, London, 1906.
- 19 S M Molema, Chief Moroka: his life, his times, his country and his people, Methodist Publishing House, Cape Town, 1951, pp 169 70
- 20 S Plaatje, Native life in South Africa, Negro Universities Press, New York, 1969, originally published 1916
- 21 U.G. 22-1918, p 4
- 22 U.G. 19-1916, appendix IV, p 8
- 23 Ibid
- 24 Report of the Natives Economic Commission 1930-32, U.G. 22-1932, pp 178-80
- 25 Report of the Commission of Enquiry into European occupancy of rural areas, Pretoria, 1960 (Du Toit Commission)
- 26 C E W Simkins, The distribution of the african population of South Africa by age, sex and region-type, 1960, 1970 and 1980, Saldru Working Paper No 32, Cape Town, 1981
- 27 U.G. 22-1918, p 7
- 28 U.G. 19-1916, vol I, p 37
- 29 Parliamentary Question 537, Hansard 1980
- 30 Ibid
- 31 U.G. 19-1916, appendix II
- 32 C Desmond, The discarded people, Penguin, 1971, p 208
- 33 Friend, 25.01.82
- 34 Desmond, p 211
- 35 Plaatje, p 91
- 36 J Wells, 'Women's resistance to passes in Bloemfontein during the inter-war period', Africa Perspective, 15 (Autumn 1980), pp 16-35
- 37 Ibid, p 30
- 38 F Wilson, Migrant labour in South Africa, SACC & Spro-Cas, Johannesburg, 1972, p 163
- 39 SAIRR, Survey 1980, 1981, p 302; Survey 1981, 1982, p 234
- 40 Sunday Express, 21.09.80; 9.11.80
- 41 Friend, 17.05.79
- 42 Friend, 18.06.81
- 43 U.G. 19-1916, vol II, pp 54-67
- 44 U.G. 22-1932, pp 176-7
- 45 U.G. 26-1951, p 19



- 46 U.G. 19-1916; U.G. 22-1918; U.G. 22-1932, p 176; U.G. 26-1951, p 17; Qwaqwa revue, p 21
- 47 Qwaqwa revue, pp 21-2; Informa, XXVI, 9 (September 1979), p 4; oral estimate from magistrate's office, Witzieshoek, March 1980.
- 48 Malan & Hattingh, p 16
- 49 Qwaqwa revue, p 9
- 50 Ibid, p 26
- 51 Sunday Express, 14.09.80
- 52 SAIRR, Survey 1978, 1979, p 295
- 53 Friend, 14.09.76
- 54 See South African Labour Bulletin, 6, 4 (November 1980)
- 55 SAIRR, Survey 1976, 1977, p 254; Survey 1979, 1980, p 318. See also B Streek & R Wicksteed, Render unto Kaiser: a Transkei dossier, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1981, pp 50-56
- 56 1970 Population census report 02-05-10
- 57 Voice, 8.04.78
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- 59 Friend, 25.09.76
- 60 See the correspondence which took place in September and October 1976 between S O Seata, representative of Thaba 'Nchu in the Bophuthatswana legislative assembly, and J R Ngake, then Qwaqwa Minister of Education. Friend, 27.09.76; 5/18/30.10.76
- 61 Voice, 8.04.78
- 62 Friend, 13.05.78
- 63 World, 22.05.77; Friend, 19.09.78
- 64 Qwaqwa revue, p 22
- 65 Ibid
- 66 Statistical survey of black development, Benso, Pretoria, 1979, Table 7
- 67 A O Jackson, The ethnic composition of the Ciskei and Transkei, Ethnological Publications 53, Government Printer, Pretoria, 1975, p 49
- 68 Control, Development Studies Group Information Publication 1, University of the Witwatersrand, February 1979, pp 94-6
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- 70 Friend, 31.03.81
- 71 Race Relations News, 43, 11 (December 1981), p 4
- 72 Ibid
- 73 Star, 18.09.80
- 74 Star, 11.7.80

- 75 Friend, 31.03.81
- 76 Friend, 20.04.81
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- 78 For useful information relating to different periods see Farm labour in the Orange Free State, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1939; and J Maree, 'Farm labour in the Dealesville district, OFS' in F Wilson, A Kooy & D Hendrie (eds), Farm labour in South Africa, David Philip, Cape Town, 1977.
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- 80 Rand Daily Mail, 27.09.79
- 81 For example, the proposal to incorporate King William's Town into the Ciskei provoked a storm of protest from its white citizens and a referendum in April 1981 which decisively rejected this as a political option.
- 82 World, 22.05.77, cited in B Rogers, Divide and rule: South Africa's bantustans, IDAF, London, revised edition, 1980, p 64
- 83 Friend, 28.02.81; 13.03.81; Rand Daily Mail, 18.03.82
- 84 Cd 627, pp 236-7
- 85 This was published as a supplement to the Maseru-based newspaper Mochochonono.
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- 87 Star, 6.09.80
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# General



District 6 - remains of houses (July 1981)



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