

the resettlement.

Nevertheless, the circumstances of the removal of the Tsitsikama people and their present plight have erupted into a major embarrassment for the government and, at the very least, this is going to make them more circumspect in future. This may just amount to saying that officials will be more careful about procedure, not that plans are likely to be scrapped or conditions at the new site made more viable. The removal of the Alsatia community to Frankfort in June 1982 was very neatly done. The agreement was sealed beforehand, the removal squad used no overt force, compensation was paid. Yet those 26 families have lost as much as the Tsitsikama people did, now that they have no subsistence base and have been uprooted from their home. They are dislocated, have no local work for income, must join the crowds competing for jobs at the Zwelitsha labour bureau, and will be under still greater strain as other families are moved into the area.

2.6.3 Township removals

Some uncertainty surrounds the policy of deproclaiming and removing townships close to the Ciskei. At present it seems the State will not try relocating all such townships in the Ciskei. Grahamstown's Fingo Village has had a reprieve, which is particularly valuable because this area contains freehold land. Hillside location at Fort Beaufort survived a threat of removal in 1979 and is still there. The plan for a massive R26 million township at Glenmore on the western border of the Ciskei has been scrapped, which suggests at least that there are no actual plans to move any townships west of the Ciskei into the bantustan itself. In the Corridor things are less certain. Duncan Village is to be cleared and perhaps a few of the smaller locations, yet there does not seem to be any comprehensive plan.

Even the declared plans may change, of course. ECAB announced a R542 million plan in February 1981 to upgrade and develop the townships of the Eastern Cape, concentrating on what they described as 8 crisis points: Zwide housing which Walmer residents in Port Elizabeth would be forced to occupy; Mdantsane housing for Duncan Villagers; Mlungisi township in Queenstown being upgraded for africans who would not after all have to move out for 'coloureds'; Fingo Village in Grahamstown; the main township in Fort Beaufort; a new township for africans in Seymour; Ginsberg township in King William's Town; and Mlungisi township at Stutterheim. Zwide housing has been delayed, and the Walmer families may have a slight reprieve. In fact they may end up fighting removal to Motherwell instead. Duncan Village will certainly not be cleared by the end of 1982 as was originally said (EPH, 6.02.81). Seymour is now scheduled for the Ciskei by the end of 1982. A mere R155 has been spent in Ginsberg, and nothing in Stutterheim. (Rand Daily Mail, 3.06.82) We understand that part of Mlungisi township in Queenstown is the scene of removals after all, with africans being replaced by 'coloureds'. There are therefore some apparent shifts in policy, or at least in carrying out policy. Some temporary upgrading in Walmer and Duncan Village, however, should not be taken as a sign that those communities are now free to stay.

These eight crisis points were so-called by ECAB after the Linde report to describe areas felt to be in such bad condition as to lead to violence, strikes and disruptions, and the motive in the plan seemed to be to remove or settle 'problems'. ECAB have also committed themselves to moving some townships that would not come under this heading: Riebeek East to Alicedale; Bathurst to Port Alfred; Kenton, Bushman's River and Cannon Rocks to a new township at Kenton. The reason they give is usually that it simplifies administration. This whole subject needs to be closely watched and analysed. Meanwhile, as far as removals to the Ciskei are concerned, these relocations that ECAB have planned suggest an easing up on urban clearances to the Ciskei - at least for some groups of people.

DUNCAN VILLAGE

Removals from Duncan Village to Mdantsane have been going on steadily since 1964. Up to 1982 an official 80 000 people have been moved (though the SAIRR in East London puts it at more like 110 000).

Pretoria's policy is to clear Duncan Village completely of africans and then in the name of Group Areas turn the place over to coloureds and indians. The clearance is being done by sections. Dr Morrison for the Dept of Co-operation and Development had said it would be done by early 1983, but in fact the population is far too great for that to happen. The official figure in February 1982 was between 37 000 and 40 000 (unofficial estimates vary between 60 000 and 90 000). The SA Development Trust would have to build another 7 000 to 8 000 housing units to accommodate them in Mdantsane, Morrison said, (DD, 27.02.82) adding:

Depending on the availability of funds, the removal is expected to be completed within the foreseeable future.

But the time lag does not mean a change of government plan. In fact Morrison's comments were made in reply to the East London city council's sudden plea that the africans in Duncan Village should be allowed to stay. Meanwhile nearly 2 000 'coloured' families are on the waiting list for houses in the area (EPH, 23.12.81) and are being moved in as sections are cleared. It should be recorded here that some coloured opinion is strongly against the scheme:

We are entirely against the removal. The blacks are our brothers. We have lived with them, played with them. We grew up with them and now the Government wants to separate us. We won't move into their houses if they are moved. (EPH, 23.12.81)

The removals have actually made very little headway all these years in reducing the population of Duncan Village:

- 1 The seepage back from Mdantsane is sizeable. With no work in Mdantsane, people there seek jobs in East London - and stay in Duncan Village nearby in order to avoid the high Mdantsane bus fares. Whether people get jobs or not, it is far easier and cheaper to settle down in Duncan Village;
- 2 Natural increase in Duncan Village has in itself replaced a whole generation since the removals began in 1964; and
- 3 Ndende Street in the Village is in a terrible slum state. Although this drives away families with higher incomes who leave voluntarily to get a decent house in Mdantsane, it also draws in the more numerous poor.

The only africans legally in Duncan Village are the Section Tenners. There are many of them, lots of them now squatters. So many houses have been pulled down, and natural increase has raised the numbers so high, that people cannot be housed formally. For 19 years the houses have declined. Planning permission has been refused for any extensions or improvements, and illegal work on houses is not included in the compensation value when people leave and so most houses are left to degenerate. In the general areas living conditions are very bad, and some Mdantsane people have said it is dangerous to live in the Village. People are cramped together. Ndende Street is very unhealthy, with water and toilet facilities quite inadequate for the needs of this dense area. Yet many people still choose this dangerous, filthy place because it is cheap, close to East London, and above all, outside the Ciskei.

Before Ciskeian 'independence' people had tended to hope that Sebe would object to this endless stream of people being foisted on Mdantsane once it became technically foreign soil on 4 December 1981. Their hopes have faded now, since it is clear that Sebe and the Republic have sealed their agreement to the move, on the basis of the Republic providing 10 000 dwelling units in Mdantsane for the inhabitants of Duncan Village. (Government Gazette No 8204 of 14.05.82, p 12) This is what the authorities wanted. Pretoria wants to get rid of africans

from Duncan Village, and Sebe will be happy when the place has gone, since it will mean one less base for opposition - notably trade unionists - on the edge of the Ciskei. Mdantsane is being curbed at present as far as the powers of R252 can be made to work. Ultimately, though, and perhaps quite soon, the rising anger and solidarity there must burst forth beyond Ciskei's control. Sebe has good reason to want the East London workers bound under his regime as soon as possible before they mature any more, and to keep them as isolated as he can.

There is one group in Duncan Village that Sebe certainly does not like to accept: the Transkeians. Several hundred of them live in the migrant worker hostels, and there are many more besides. It is said that as much as 60% of the african population of the Village are Transkeians. The Transkei regime have vociferated very loudly in 1982 against the removal of Transkeians to Mdantsane. As their Foreign Affairs Minister said:

People working in another state on contract cannot be compelled to stay in a third state. In this case our nationals are the responsibility of South Africa.... We object most strongly to our nationals being forced to live in another state either by compulsion or implication and we will take the strongest possible action if this was to happen.

(DD, 4.03.82)

Sebe would gladly see all the Transkeians sent 'home', and their jobs going to Ciskeians instead. Local management may be playing the two groups off against each other.

Duncan Villagers have been lulled off resistance somewhat, through a false sense of security because they have escaped final removal for so long. What alertness there is, is encouraged through public meetings and good press coverage. The people face a very determined policy: R11 500 000 has already been spent on resettling Duncan Village, and a further R5 800 000 has been budgeted for it in 1982. (Rand Daily Mail, 3.06.82) (See Stop Press section in Part 4 below.)

MLUNGISI (QUEENSTOWN)

Residents here have had a long running battle to stay in Mlungisi. There seems to have been a definite plan to move everyone out to eZibeleni, 10 km east of Queenstown. Some people were actually moved there against their will, but then it passed into the hands of the Transkei because it lay just within the borders of Glen Grey, and so the scheme had to be scrapped. There was also the idea of moving the Mlungisi people to Shiloh commonage outside Whittlesea, and with this in mind the Whittlesea magistrate insisted that the Glen Grey people who were already camped there should move on to Oxton. That was in late 1977.

The Mlungisi people were in a tricky position because they were fighting removal and resisting rent rises at the same time. In one single press report (DD, 22.12.79), the community council were appealing to the Minister of Co-operation and Development not to disestablish the township, and also finding out that ECAB planned to serve 900 summonses for non-payment of the higher rents.

The whole scene was further complicated by the fact that the Mlungisi residents' representative committee accused ECAB of foisting a community council on the township against the wishes of the people, who regarded the councillors as stooges. (DD, 6.06.79)

Mlungisi was faced with a plan to relocate the african residents and move coloureds into the area instead. The split in the community - for and against the council - has made solidarity difficult even though there is a strong general wish to fight removal. The council turned to the Queenstown town council for its support in December 1979, only to learn that the whites were actually asking for the africans to be moved and replaced by 'coloureds'. (DD, 22.12.79)

The next stage reversed everything: the african residents were to stay, the government said

and not only that, but a further 300 ha would be set aside for any former residents who had been moved to eZibeleni and who wished to return. They would be able to build on this land under a site and service scheme. The old township, which had been proclaimed a 'coloured' area, would not only be reinstated for africans, but houses would be repaired and upgraded as far as possible, so the statement went. (DD, 6.02.81)

The reversal happened because Mlungisi had been defined as one of the so-called crisis points to be contained in the Eastern Cape. The planning was on a big scale - the site and service area alone was to cost about R4,5 million. Yet this huge emergency programme does not seem to have borne much fruit. A mere R3 876 was spent in the first year on 'general planning', and in the present financial year, 1982/3, R57 000 has been set aside for buying land.

Lack of funds may be the reason. There may be another change of plan again, though. We have heard that coloureds have started being moved into the Bede area, a section of Mlungisi which had been very well established. Africans are said to be very bitter here, being pushed out family by family. They had hoped they were safe, having survived the 'slum clearance' of the early 1970s when the old section called Stidiki was deliberately emptied. (These were the people, perhaps 5 000, who had to go to eZibeleni.)

Another section is also earmarked for coloureds, according to this account - the part called White City, a lunatic name which may derive from the fact that this is the 'posh' area. Over the road from here is the main 'coloured' community, the source of those who are apparently moving in now.

Mlungisi contains many thousands of people. Some estimates are around 15 000. How many are really threatened with removal we do not know. Nor do we know where evicted families are going. One guess is that some might after all be pushed to the Shiloh commonage, to the new Whittlesea North site.

MLUNGISI etc (STUTTERHEIM)

Policy has switched a few times on the Stutterheim Mlungisi township from 1979. Compared with the earlier plans, it now threatens relatively few people with removal. It is not necessarily in its final form.

This old township (population c 5 200*) has been in a very bad state for years. In 1979 there were just 636 houses and only 24 taps in the place. ECAB's idea was to scrap the site and move everyone to Glenhaven 5 km outside Stutterheim. But Glenhaven turned out to be good arable land - not to be squandered on african relocation, in other words - and then Frankfort near King William's Town was suggested for the site instead.

Whose idea was Frankfort? Sebe said it was being imposed on the Ciskei (DD, 23.05.80), and Morrison for Co-operation and Development said the Ciskei had suggested it (DD, 6.02.81). The clash of statement is trivial in the sense that Ciskei exists by virtue of Pretoria policy and will presumably always oblige it. We mention it just for the record. No doubt Frankfort was in line with the general plan of removing 'surplus' africans and pushing the labour supplies just over the bantustan border.

There was a huge outcry in Mlungisi. People were appalled at hearing they were meant to be

* For this and most other details we are indebted to the town planners' report, 'Mlungisi - Stutterheim - Memorandum of motivation for outline and layout plan', P J Coetzee and Associates, Port Elizabeth, 1982. The figures are all 1982 estimates.

uprooted and sent off somewhere 32 km away from Stutterheim. White employers in the town protested too, at how the removal would damage their labour supplies (DD, 23.05.80).

Then came the Linde Commission into township development. It reported in early 1981, and its verdict was a reprieve:

It has now been decided that Mlungisi will remain as a township for black inhabitants of Stutterheim and that efforts would be made to upgrade the houses within five years. (DD, 6.02.81)

Formally, therefore, Mlungisi is not under threat of removal. It is not listed in the removals section of the Ciskei extradition agreement.

But with the Linde report the question broadens out. Originally removal had been for the sake of improving living conditions in the township (at least ostensibly), but even at the time in 1979/80 people pointed out that the existing site could be upgraded: removal was not needed at all. The truer purpose behind Frankfort was more probably to get africans out of the 'White Corridor'. The Linde report ended up by talking about removing ALL the local africans apart from the township people:

... the 15 000 people living as squatters on the (Stutterheim) commonage are to be moved.... 'As far as the squatters are concerned they will have to be resettled in other areas as soon as possible', (Dr Morrison) said. (DD, 6.02.81)

The squatters had just been fervently damned in evidence to the Van der Walt Commission. They were described as the farmers' greatest problem by Mr N McMaster, speaking on behalf of the local white farmers' committee:

He told the commission about 60 farmers wanted to move out of the area where farming had come to a standstill because of the 'thousands of squatters located within this area'. (DD, 21.01.81)

From 4 475 squatters in the Stutterheim area at the time of the 1943 'squatters' commission, he added, numbers had soared to an estimated 22 000 in 1980, half of them in the Kubusi where they crowded especially onto white-owned unoccupied farms. Theft, trespass and harassment, and an appalling dog menace, had all grown to alarming proportions. The white farmers wanted all the squatters moved. Either that, or they wanted the whole area bought out for the Ciskei.

It seems from other parts of the evidence reported in DD, 21.01.81, that this large squatter estimate probably included people in the Wartburg/Mgwali area. Although the farmers' argument extended there, we limit discussion here to the immediate Stutterheim area.

ECAB set up a planning committee into the whole Mlungisi/squatters question in August 1981. The people being discussed were not represented. The bodies invited were: Co-operation and Development; Health, Welfare and Pensions; Education and Training; ECAB itself; the Town Council of Stutterheim; and the regional CPA medical superintendent. This planning committee decided who should be allowed to stay in Mlungisi:

- those employed in Stutterheim, or
- those with Section 10 (1) (a) or (b) rights, or
- landowners.

All others were to be moved.

Professional planners then surveyed the local populations and their standing in the area. Their report finds that the 5 200 africans in the present Mlungisi should be included in the new township plan. They will stay. Another 5 200 also qualify to stay because they are employed in Stutterheim too even though they do not live in Mlungisi. Finally they found 111 african

landowners who with their families should stay. The survey gave a final total of 11 141 for the population of the new Mlungisi, which at a growth rate of 3% a year would reach a projected 20 000 by the year 2000.

Plans for the new Mlungisi appear firm although they are still being approved. The government has earmarked R3 million for it, according to the mayor of Stutterheim, Mr N James. (Mercury, 26.08.82) The proposed site is north-east of Stutterheim on about 180 ha including the present Mlungisi and Cenyu.

If the plan goes through, those 11 000 + people will just shift locally, possibly many of them willingly and for the better. But the survey put the overall local population figure for africans at 16 500. This means about 5 400 are due for removal out of the area. These people under threat are scattered about: it seem a lot are in Kubusi, some in Cenyu and Cenyu Lands, and a few perhaps from Kalogha and from Ohlsens.

According to the extradition agreement between Ciskei and South Africa, Pretoria is to move these people to the Frankfort/Braunschweig area. (Government Gazette 8204 of 14.05.82, p 12)

We have not heard what the threatened families think. Perhaps some do not even know what is afoot. A lot of field work needs doing in the Stutterheim area.