



SD, 28/1/87 (20)

# Minister tells of influx

CAPE TOWN — A report in a newspaper here quotes the Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, as saying that a million black people could now be resident in the Cape Town area

This is the highest-ever semi-official estimate of the black population in the Cape Town area

In May last year, the former acting chief director of the now-defunct Western Cape Development Board, Mr J J Olivier, told a parliamentary committee that the estimated black

population of the Peninsula was "about 750 000 to 800 000"

Mr Olivier's estimates were way above all previous estimates of the black population of the Cape Peninsula, and only months before the former liaison officer of the Western Cape Development, Mr Sampie Steenkamp, said a "conservative" estimate was 350 000 but it could have been as high as 500 000

This week, however, Dr Van Niekerk, who was addressing the fifth National Congress of Psychiatry in Cape Town, said there had been "a huge influx of

blacks from Transkei, Ciskei and other rural areas"

"The number of blacks resident in greater Cape Town is certainly in excess of 700 000 — perhaps even one million," Dr Van Niekerk said

He said one of the largest current problems the Department of National Health and Population Development had to deal with was the influx of the large number of people to the cities.

This influx threw a huge strain on health services, Dr Van Niekerk said — DDC

CARL Timpf

58/2/87

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## Wife acquitted on charge after visit to husband

Staff Reporter

A WOMAN charged with trespassing while visiting her husband in a Malmesbury municipal compound was yesterday acquitted in the town's Magistrate's Court.

The State alleged that Mrs Sindiswa Miso, 34, entered the compound on February 23 this year without the permission of the supervisor or the owner.

A State witness, Mr Marius Roelefse, told the court that no women or children were allowed in the compound and males had to obtain written permission to visit.

Another State witness, Mr Johnson Pietie, who is a watchman at the compound, said he saw Mrs Miso going into the compound with another wom-

an Mr Roelefse called the other woman and asked her whether her husband was staying in the compound. "She said yes and Mr Roelefse let her go," Mr Pietie said.

Mr Roelefse then called Mrs Miso and when she refused to go to him he arrested her, the court heard.

After Mrs Miso had been acquitted, 13 other people who had been charged with a similar offence were also acquitted.

They are Miss Nuselle Polo, 23, Mrs Ntobile Bathla, 30, Ms Nkipsolo Miso, 19, Mr Eric Gameni, 24, Mr Sam Tyhimi, 18, Mr Petres Bothla, 45, Mr Johnny Mkhabela, 32, a 14-year-old youth, Mr Dobet Gagwa, 18, Mr Allem Nkatayo, 19, Mr Jeffrey Mzo, 18, Mr Moses Bola Wioy, 26, Mr Annox Nayalban, 20.

# Council states govt urbanization policy

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE government's new urbanization strategies could lead to a disrupted labour force in Cape Town and increasing unemployment, leading to human hardship and local political unrest, Cape Town City Council warned yesterday.

Commenting on the government's White Paper on Urbanization, it also said that over 95% of all black people in the Western Cape were by definition citizens of Ciskei or Transkei and two-thirds were likely to remain "technical aliens, unable

to work freely or demand access to the benefits of citizenship".

"The implications for the city's economic, social and political future are critical," the council said.

The council's assessment, which was signed by the City Planner, Mr D S Jack, and prepared in conjunction with its corporate management team, concluded that the labour force in Cape Town would increase by 176 000 between 1985 and 1990 and this meant that 133 new job opportunities were needed in Greater Cape Town every day. The anticipated increase in the

labour force excluded the current number of unemployed people.

"Provision of housing must be almost double the existing supply by the year 2000 if squatting and overcrowding are to be overcome and new people to be accommodated," said the council.

But without the prospect of significant commercial and industrial development, "Cape Town's long-term financial viability is at great risk. Already, substantial cutbacks have been forced in the city's current annual budget".

However, the government's strat-

egies in the White Paper aimed to constrain development in metropolitan areas, including Cape Town, and foster expensive and inefficient decentralized development.

The White Paper stated that the legislation which controlled the entry, residence, employment and removal of foreigners should be strictly applied.

At present "over 95%" of all blacks in the Western Cape were citizens of Ciskei or Transkei but 65%, two out of every three blacks in Cape Town, were by definition "illegal aliens with no right to be in the Republic".

"Their employment is illegal unless the employer can show that no South African citizen is available to fulfil the job, making employers liable for substantial fines and standard work conditions.

"If the government actually implements its new legislation, the impact on Greater Cape Town — its people, employers and economy — could be significant in terms of a disrupted labour force and increased unemployment leading to human hardship and local political unrest," the council said.

(Report by Barry Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

CAPE TIMES 22/4/87

# Eleven acquitted in 'hostel case'

20 Staff Reporter

ELEVEN married women arrested on charges "of being in a development area without a permit or permission" following a raid on Mfuleni Hostel near Stellenbosch in October last year, have been acquitted by a Kuils River magistrate

Fourteen women and one man were found staying in the single-sex quarters at Mfuleni on October 14 and all pleaded not guilty to the charge.

Eleven of the married women were acquitted last Tuesday. The magistrate, Mr E Kleinhans, found the 11 women had been given permission to stay temporarily in the hostel by an official from the Mfuleni local authority

However judgment on three women and the man — Ms Hester Makwati, Ms Nonkose Makwati, Ms Liziwe Madiko and Mr Tembinkosi Sokhetye — is expected in the Kuils River Magistrate's Court today

Two are sisters who were visiting their father, and the others are the daughter and brother of two hostel inmates. Their attorney, Mr Jan van Gend, has argued that the four were at the hostel "out of necessity"

Mr L H Jordaan prosecuted

# Punch-ups in Cape Flats 'casino'

By ANTON FISHER

TENSION is mounting between migrant workers and the Casino Club which operates a card-playing den in a recreational hall at a single-sex hostel in Langa

There have already been punch-ups between hostel-dwellers and Casino Club members and things have been "uneasy" for several months, according to Mr Willard Nodlela, a spokesman for the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association

Numerous meetings between the workers and representatives of the club have failed to resolve the dispute

Mr Nodlela says the dispute at F Block hostel is about the unlawful seizure by the Casino

Club of the control of the workers' facilities

There are three communal rooms at F Block for use by the workers, but the largest is kept locked and out of bounds by the hostel superintendent and the authorities

The second room is very small and can comfortably seat only six people. The other communal room is about 10 by five metres and is the one being monopolised by the Casino Club, Mr Nodlela says

The Casino Club, consisting of about 200 members - though only six are hostel-dwellers, has for many-years been using the F Block hall on Sundays from 7am to noon

However, in 1985 the then housing superintendent of the Office for Community Services,

Mr L V Roxo, took the keys to the hall from the migrant workers and told them they would have to approach the Casino Club about the use of the hall

After this the club's use of the hall increased dramatically and they started using the hall the whole day on Saturdays and Sundays

"There are further occasions on which fighting breaks out and alcohol is abused," Mr Nodlela says

A spokesman for the Office of Community Services, Mr Sampie Steenkamp, refused to comment on the dispute

Mr Roland Njoli, the mayor of the Cape Town Town Committee which controls the hostels, also would not comment

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South 29/4-5/5/87

# 500 000 'aliens' in Peninsula

*Cape Times 20/6/87*

Staff Reporter

IN THE Peninsula alone, it is estimated there are half a million people classified as "aliens", living without any certainty that they will continue to be allowed to live and work here

Mr L Hartmann of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce quoted this figure at the regional congress of the Association of Chambers of Commerce in Ceres yesterday

He was introducing a motion calling on the government to confirm that all citizens of the "TBVC countries" (independent homelands) will have the right to live and work in South Africa permanently

The motion was carried unanimously. Mr Hartmann said the offence of employing or even harbouring an "alien" who did not possess the proper documentation carried a fine of R5 000 or two years imprisonment

Although all TBVC citizens in the Peninsula enjoyed a special exemption from the strictures of the Aliens Act at present, this could be withdrawn at any time, he said

"It is clear that the citizens of the Transkei, Ciskei, etc, have been deprived not only of their nationality but also of their citizenship. An alien is defined as anyone who is not a South African citizen"

By a simple administrative act, they could be classified as aliens again, he said. There were fears that this was going to happen, even though those who would be affected were permitted to acquire property in the Peninsula area

Citizens of Transkei and Ciskei had acquired 20 000 sites at Khayelitsha, he said

Yet the Director-General of Home Affairs, Mr G B van Zyl, had stated that "at some time actions will have to be taken", and he had said in a circular that TBVC people were aliens

Although the potential problem could be resolved by the agreement of the Transkei and Ciskei to dual citizenship for their peoples, "there is no sign of this happening", according to Assocom's background information document

□ To employ a black alien, an employer must first satisfy the Department of Manpower that no other local person is available for the position, then apply to Home Affairs for a work permit. This is the same procedure as under the old Coloured Labour Preference Policy and influx control system, except that the Development Boards have been replaced by Home Affairs, which is at present very lenient towards TBVC people

# Africans in Cape Town *Cape Town 24/10/7*

MORE THAN 620 000 Africans were estimated to be living in the Greater Cape Town area in September last year, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, told Parliament yesterday

Replying to a question from Mr Colin Eglar (PFP Sea Point), Mr Heunis gave the following estimated total of African residents for townships in the area

Guguletu 249 135, Khayelitsha 96 909, Site 'C' 38 868, Old Crossroads 90 000, New Crossroads 17 310, Langa 72 533, Nyanga 35 710, KTC 20 000

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ARGUS 14/8/87

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# Heunis 'broke word' on family accommodation



Picture WILLIE DE KLERK, The  
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at Perivale Primary Scho  
Grassy Park were among  
sands of scholars and stu  
who planted trees in celeb  
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principal Mr Frank Goliath  
on hand to keep an eye o  
young planters

Labour Reporter

RESIDENTS of Lwandle hostel near Somerset West allege that Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, has broken an undertaking to consider representations about providing family accommodation there.

A spokesman for the Lwandle Residents' Committee said Mr Heunis gave the undertaking during a meeting in his office on August 1, but this week, before they had time to prepare representations, he said in reply to a question in Parliament that family accommodation would not be provided.

His statement was attacked by Mr Ken Andrew, Progressive Federal Party MP Gardens, as "madness" and flying in the face of the Government's claimed policy of orderly urbanisation.

The decision has been condemned by the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association.

Mr Heunis said yesterday that he gave the residents no commitment that he would not answer questions in Parliament.

Lwandle, built as a single men's hostel, houses about 5 000 people, many of them women and children.

Earlier this month the Cape Provincial Administration announced plans for a R3,78-million upgrade of the hostel for about 1 600 single workers from Somerset West, the Strand and surrounding areas.

Mr Johnson Mpukumpa, Press secretary of the Hostel Dwellers' Association, said it was a waste of money to build hostels for single men.

"It is a God-given right for people to live as families, but the Government maintains the apartheid system of forcing families to live apart," he said.

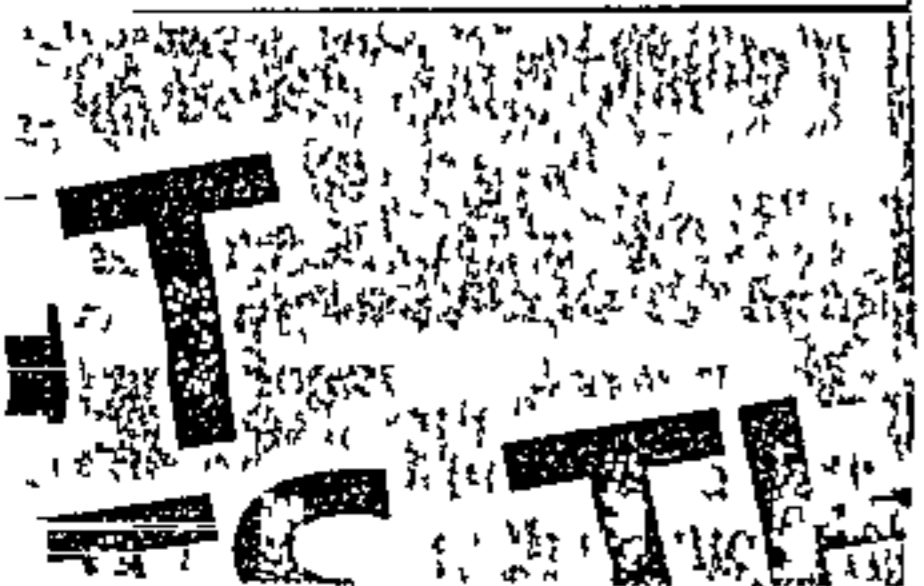
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CAM Times 12/8/87

Parliament

# 'Madness' not to provide black family housing

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

IT was "madness" for the government to provide only single-quarter accommodation in townships serving the Strand, Somerset West and Gordon's Bay, Mr Ken Andrew (PFP Gardens) said last night

Responding to the government's decision not to provide family housing at Lwandle township near Strand, Mr Andrew said, "this flies in the face of the government's claimed policy of orderly urbanization"

As a result of the decision, confirmed in Parliament yesterday, the nearest black family housing, "if available", was many kilometres away at Khayelitsha or Mfuleni, Kuils River, Mr Andrew said

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said in reply to a question yesterday that upgrading of the hos-

tels, announced by the administrator last month, would begin "as soon as the contract documents are ready and tenders have been approved"

The upgrading involves the conversion of the existing 124 dormitories into 248 flats, each consisting of three bedrooms (for six persons), a store-room, a shower and washbasins

Mr Heunis said the municipality of Somerset West was in favour of the provision of family housing at Lwandle, but that the municipalities of Gordon's Bay and Strand, as well as the Divisional Council of Stellenbosch, were against this

Mr Andrew said later "The government never seems to learn, or perhaps it doesn't want to. This decision has caused considerable anger and was taken without even consulting the people most concerned"

"Family housing is a prerequisite for a stable community and I call on Mr Heunis to reverse the decision without delay"

CAM Times 12/8/87

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Ezithendeni, a village in the Ixopo valley, home to some of the workers on the Sapekoe estate near Richmond in Natal

# Battle on for migrants' rights

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By VUYO BAVUMA

THE Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association (WCHDA) plans to extend its battle to eradicate the "cancer" of migrant labour

The 25 000-strong WCHDA, which fights for the rights of migrant labourers, has members in Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu, Lwandle (Strand), Mfuleni and Khayamandi (Stellenbosch).

It decided at its recent regional conference to organise migrant workers in other parts of the country.

## Positive

"We have put out feelers in many parts of the country and the response has been positive," said the WCHDA's publicity secretary, Mr Monde Johnson Mpukumpa, of Nyanga hostels.

"We shall continue to fight for the rights of migrant labourers. It is inhuman that families should be separated because of an ideology. Our wives and children should be allowed to stay at the hostels."

WCHDA is an affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). It runs health and advice projects aimed at alleviating the hardships of migrant workers.

The advice office explains issues such as UIF benefits and rental payments.

"We also assist women who get arrested for trespassing at the hostels. Last year we successfully opposed the prosecution of women at Mfuleni and Lwandle hostels," Mpukumpa said.

"We also have a mobile clinic unit which offers food to malnourished



Mr Monde Johnson Mpukumpa, publicity secretary of the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association

Sephr

children. Its staff of three also attends to sick children who are mostly neglected and visits our members twice a week."

WCHDA is also involved in upgrading the hostels and is negotiating for land to build houses for its members.

The association was born out of worker frustration due to appalling conditions in the hostels.

In 1984 a nine-member committee was formed in Nyanga hostels but it later developed into a regional structure

Mpukumpa is a former national president of the General Workers' Union

He was born in Transkei in 1941 and left home at an early age to work in East London where he also studied part-time. In 1960 he came to work in Cape Town.

"I worked at a Bellville

glass factory where conditions were terrible. We did not have protective clothing and our wages were low," he said

In the early 1970s Mpukumpa joined the GWU and was elected an organiser in 1979. In 1983 he went to the International Transport Federation in London to raise funds for the railway workers involved in a strike at Port Elizabeth and Durban

## Factory

"Towards the end of the year I took part in talks aimed at forming a federation of workers," Mpukumpa said.

"There were many conflicting ideas but eventually nine union members supported the idea, thus paving the way for the birth of Cosatu."

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Parliament and Politics

# Conversion of 'single' hostels is 'still policy'

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE government's policy of phasing out single-sex hostels and turning them into family housing units had not changed, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday

He also said that none of the single-quarter hostels in Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu in Cape Town had been converted into family units since last year because funds were "not available"

Mr Heunis, who was replying to a question tabled in Parliament by Mr Peter Soal (PFP, Johannesburg North), was asked whether the policy of his department regarding the construction and utilization of single-quarter hostel accommodation had changed since May 6 last year

He replied "No — but the government is prepared to consider well-motivated applications on merit"

On May 6 last year, Mr Heunis said

his department did "not consider conditions in the single-quarter accommodation to be satisfactory

"As a result of the impending repeal of the influx control system it is envisaged that all single quarters in the townships will eventually be altered into family units and that employers who insist on housing employees in single quarters will be requested to erect hostels themselves"

However, the Cape Provincial Administration recently announced that the single-sex hostels at Lwandle, near Somerset West and Strand, would be upgraded at a cost of R3,78 million and that families at Lwandle would be rehoused at Khayelitsha and Mfuleni

Mr Heunis yesterday said the hostels at Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga would be converted into family units "as soon as funds can be made available"

At present 650 single-quarter hostel units were being used in these townships, Mr Heunis said

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## Talks ease tension over 'evictions' at hostel

Political Staff

TENSION over the 3am removal of Langa hostel-dwellers this week has eased after Community Services officials and the town committee agreed to consult the Hostel Dwellers' Association in future.

Association vice-chairman Mr. Welcome Zenzile said his association was satisfied there would be no further evictions and that an upgrading project it had proposed would be investigated by Community Services.

Independent MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck was asked by the hostel-dwellers to intervene after people were moved at 3am from a hostel in Zone 17.

This year control of hostels in Cape Town's black townships was transferred from Community Services to town committees.

### "REALLOCATIONS"

Mr Zenzile said that because the town committees was not recognised as representative of the people, the association would negotiate directly only with provincial authorities.

Mr J.G. Mafunga, town committee secretary for Nyanga, Langa, Guguletu and Khayelitsha, said he was satisfied with the outcome of the meetings.

He said the Langa moves were not evictions but "reallocations of accommodation" and people had been moved at 3am because "people sleep all over the show" and attempts to "negotiate" with them over the past two months had not been successful.

Mr Mafunga said he would put the association's upgrading proposals to his committee.

# Langa hostel eviction order delayed

*News 19/08/71*  
Political Staff

INTERVENTION by the township Hostel Dwellers' Association and by Mr Jan van Eck, independent MP for Claremont, has secured a temporary stay for about 40 hostel occupants in Langa who are threatened with eviction.

Mr van Eck and the association asked for an urgent meeting with officials of the Provincial Administration Community Services following a report that eight men and their families occupying single quarters in Zone 17, Langa had been moved early on Monday.

Other families on the premises, totalling about 40 people, were told they would be also be moved, Mr Clarence Mahamba, president of the association, said.

The residents had no idea why



Mr Jan van Eck

they had been moved but there was talk that the block was to be "upgraded" into family quarters, he said.

The same residents had previously been told to move to "new flats" in Langa where there was "a lot of space". On arrival, however, they found no beds available.

Mr van Eck got in touch with Community Services and was told that the hostels now fell under the authority of the town committees.

"I emphasised the problem that the community does not view these town committees as representative because they are not elected by the people," Mr van Eck said.

Community Services arranged an urgent meeting yesterday with the association and the secretary of the town committee, Mr B J Mafunga, and it was agreed to delay all evictions until the problem had been discussed at a further meeting to be held tonight.

# MIGRANT, LABOUR, SA - CAPE

1988 - 1992



# Police brutality claims: Vlok hits out at Van Eck

Political Staff

THE Independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, had used the privilege of Parliament to propagate untested, biased and exaggerated allegations against the police in a speech about a crime-prevention operation in Stellenbosch, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

"A wrongful impression has been created by a Member of Parliament and I feel obliged to put the record straight," Mr Vlok said in a statement.

Mr Van Eck had claimed that heavily armed police and defence force members with dogs had barged into homes and arrested residents, including women dressed in flimsy nightclothes, for not having so-called "bed cards".

He had also claimed that a number of babies, including a five-day-old, were kept in jail without food or water. They were expected to drink toilet water.

Some babies had fainted, Mr Van Eck had said.

Mr Vlok said he regarded these

allegations in an extremely serious light and he had asked for a detailed report which he had now received.

Mr Vlok said that before the operation, police received numerous complaints of serious crimes in Kaya Mandi, including murders, serious assaults, robbery, theft, drug abuse, prostitution and the possession of firearms and dangerous weapons.

"The situation had become unbearable for law-abiding residents and on one occasion police had even been fired upon while attending to a complaint

"As a result, a crime-prevention operation drive was launched and more than 400 people were arrested.

"All were allowed to clothe themselves decently and were taken to the Stellenbosch police station where all but 12 people were released after paying admission-of-guilt fines"

Some of those held had been sought in connection with offences including drunken driving, possession of stolen property and stolen firearms.

"At no time were those arrested held in a prison. They were not denied food or water.

"Running water was available to them at all times, and mothers with babies were given food and were the first to be released after paying admission-of-guilt fines."

Mr Van Eck said last night that he stood by his allegation that men, women and children, including a five-day-old baby, were terrorized by heavily armed members of both the police and defence force when the hostels in Kaya Mandi were raided between three and four morning in the morning of March 26.

"I reject his statement that this was a crime-prevention operation, in view of the fact that 443 of the 449 people arrested that night were only charged with the 'crime' of illegally sleeping in the single-sex hostels, including women who were sleeping with their husbands.

"To use the South African Police and the South African Defence Force's so-called 'Dad's Army' for this kind of operation is contemptible and an act of provocation."



Mr Jan van Eck



Mr Adriaan Vlok



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*Cape Times 18/5/88*  
**Facing removal**

ABOUT 17 Villiersdorp co-op workers and their families face forced removal today because there is neither land nor facilities for black housing in the area, the PFP's Unrest Monitoring and Action Committee (UMAC) said yesterday.

The families have been given until 5pm to break down their houses and leave the area, UMAC chairman Mr Jasper Walsh said.

Mr Walsh said that for years the only housing for blacks were hostels for single men.

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# Fear of 'forced'

By ROBERT HOUWING  
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE irony facing black work-seekers freed of influx control yet hamstrung by the Western Cape's acute housing shortage has come to the fore once again, this time in Villiersdorp

Workers at Villiersdorp Co-op, the town's agricultural co-operative and winery, have been pressured by authorities to dismantle structures they have erected for families alongside their single-quarter barracks and persuade them to leave town

There is no proclaimed black township in the area and the nearest, Zwelethemba, near Worcester, almost 50km away, already has a severe housing backlog

In addition it is believed the white population in the area rejected the idea of building a new black township

About 18 families, mostly from the Transkei, are living in corrugated-iron or wooden shacks next to the men's barracks at the Co-op. They started making their way to the Western Cape after influx control was abolished in 1986.

## Hot potato

The women and children were given until last Saturday by the Co-op and Villiersdorp municipality to leave the premises — but they stayed

Mr Jasper Walsh, Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinelands and chairman of the party's Unrest Monitoring and Action Committee (Umac), sees the matter as a "political hot potato," given that most farmers in the region are fruit exporters and susceptible to threats of stricter sanctions

"Due to historical labour practices in the area, specifically coloured labour preference and the use of black migrant labour no provision has been made for the housing of black families," said Mr Walsh

"As a result of lifting influx control wives and children have naturally wanted to join their husbands

"It would be totally inhumane to forcibly remove these people and send them packing back to the Transkei"

## Utmost priority

Mr Walsh said the broader issue of black housing had to be addressed as an "utmost priority" at Government level.

"People will no longer accept being forced to move in terms of apartheid dictates"

The issue was "very sensitive", said Mr Janne Raubenheimer, manager of the Co-Op

Mr Raubenheimer said the first families to set up home in the single-quarter enclosure ar-

rived in January. The numbers had gradually increased and on inquiry he had been told there was no housing available for the families at Zwelethemba

"The hostels are on ground belonging to the municipality and they have applied some pressure over this problem," said Mr Raubenheimer.

## Denied

But when Weekend Argus accompanied Umac representative Mrs Val Rose-Christie to an interview with Town Clerk Mr J L Serfontein, he denied that the ground was municipal property

"It is private land under the jurisdiction of the company, although it falls within the municipal area

"We have investigated this matter because it involves illegal squatting"

Asked whether the municipality was in a position to break down the structures, he said "I would rather not comment on that"

Mr Serfontein acknowledged that there was no black township in the area

## Attorneys

"Our town planners have been looking at all aspects of housing in Villiersdorp for the past six months," he said "No report has come forward yet but it should be a broad plan in everybody's interests"

The Grabouw secretary of the Food and Allied Workers' Union, Ursula MacDonald, said the union had referred the Co-op matter to its attorneys

The Villiersdorp dispute is the third of its kind in the Western Cape in recent months

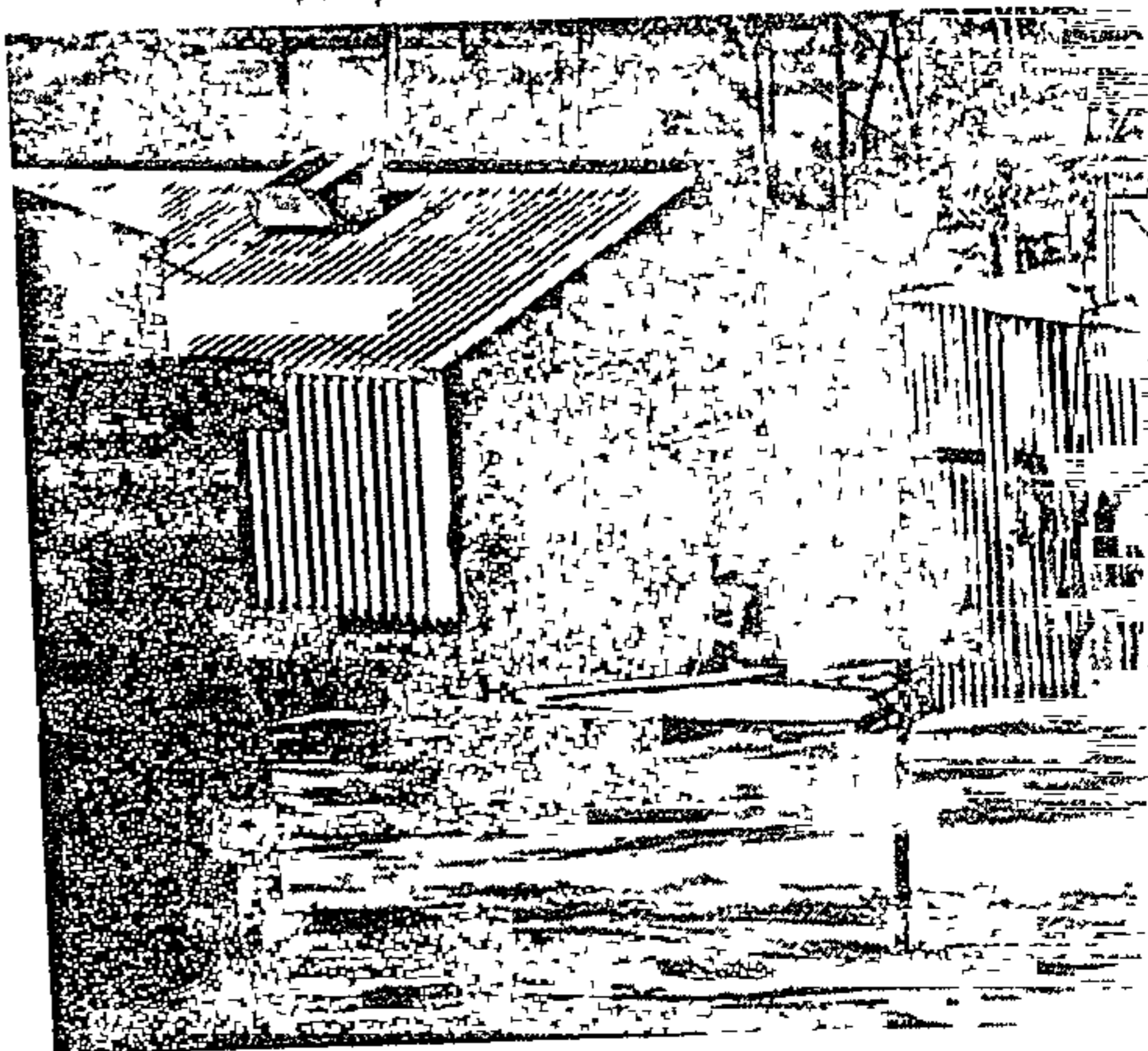
Last October a community of black workers in Grabouw, following a visit by independent MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck, called for the establishment of a black township in the area where they could live "like human beings" with their families

Some of the men had lived in single quarters for about 30 years.

## Arrests

More recently security forces made more than 400 arrests — mostly women — in a dawn raid on the Kaya Mandi single quarters near Stellenbosch. The women were charged with trespassing

● The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said in a recent statement that an amendment to the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act was due soon. It would "considerably improve the present ineffective management of the phenomenon of squatting"



The single-quarter barracks at Villiersdorp Co-op who have trekked from the Transkei to be w

# Little Village Tin destruction — the

by MARK STANSFIELD  
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE Groenewalds of Buffelsjags Bay are under threat of removal and face the destruction of their village, which has stood on the seashore for almost a century.

This unique, extended family of 13 houses has lived at the isolated bay since about 1893. Their nearest neighbours are about 50km away. They were a clan of fishermen almost forgotten by time.

Now, in the name of progress, the 20th century has caught up with the Village Time Forgot.

The families have been told they must move about 5km up the coast. No reason has been given.

## Dull homes

Their little thatched, ramshackle wooden houses and the generations of memories they contain are likely to be torn down. The village people are to be moved to a "new" village about 5km away.

Their new village is likely to be a dull, unimaginative collection of cinderblock homes, but with modern conveniences they have never had: running water, electricity and toilets

However, the Groenewalds



Mr Petrus Groenewald is at community has been order that has been home to

were not consulted. Nor were they told why the village was built so far from their present homes. Predictably, they are angry and heartsore.

The spokesman for Buffelsjags Bay's residents, Mr Petrus Groenewald, stood on an empty piece of land and asked: "Why must it be here?"

"Why can't they just build new houses a few metres away from where our fathers and our grandfathers lived all these years?"

"I was born in Buffelsjags 46 years ago. My family and I wish to remain as close to that

# of forced removal

The numbers increased and on been told there available for Zwelethemba are on ground the municipality applied some this problem,"

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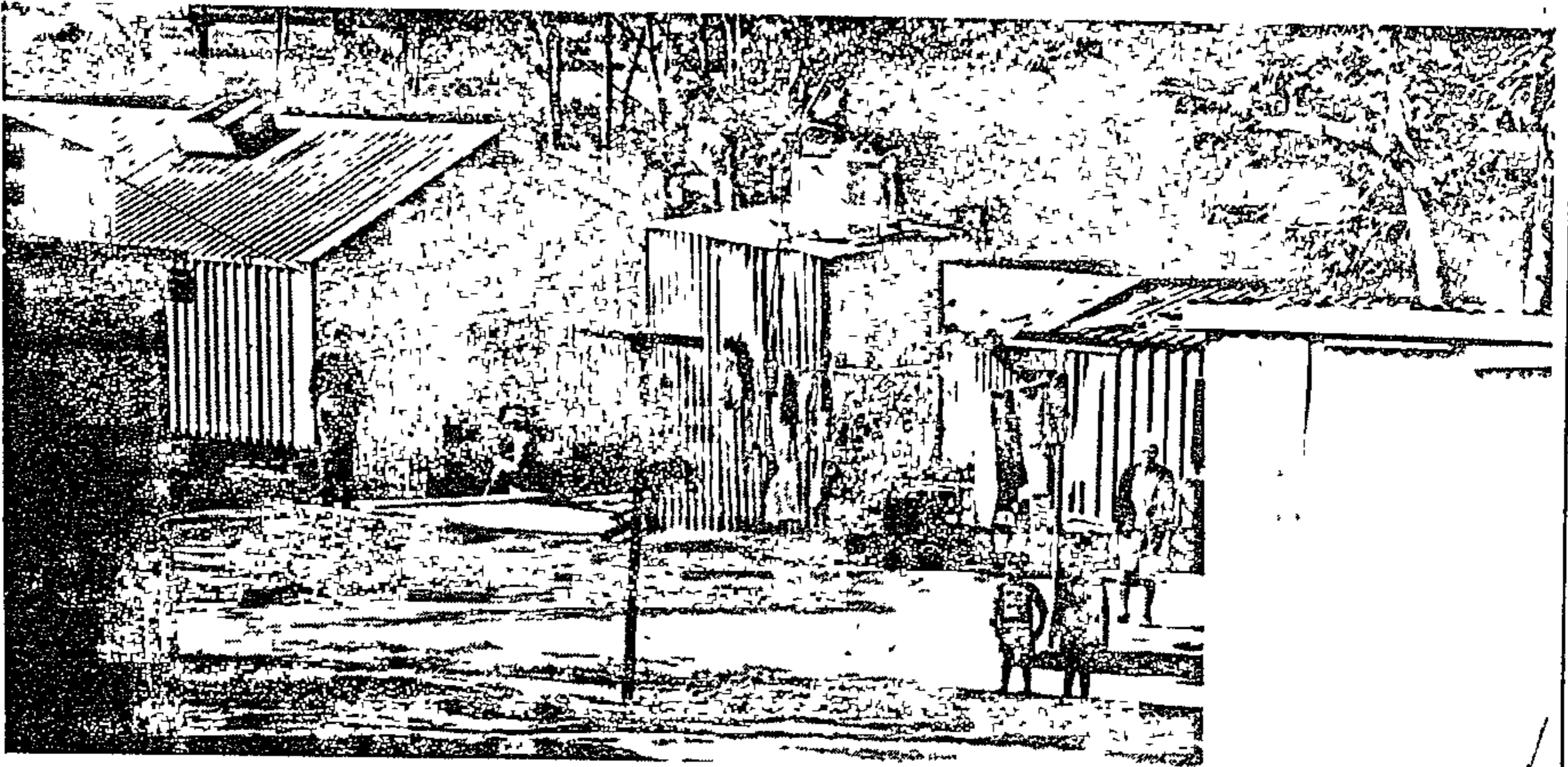
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Pictures: DANA le ROUX, Weekend Argus

The single-quarter barracks at Villiersdorp Co-op and surrounding shacks. Women and children who have trekked from the Transkei to be with their husbands may be forced to move.

## Little Village Time Forgot faces destruction — the fisherfolk must go

by MARK STANSFIELD  
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE Groenewalds of Buffelsjags Bay are under threat of removal and face the destruction of their village, which has stood on the seashore for almost a century.

This unique, extended family of 13 houses has lived at the isolated bay since about 1893. Their nearest neighbours are about 50km away. They were a clan of fishermen almost forgotten by time.

Now, in the name of progress, the 20th century has caught up with the Village Time Forgot.

The families have been told they must move about 5km up the coast. No reason has been given.

### Dull homes

Their little thatched, ramshackle wooden houses and the generations of memories they contain are likely to be torn down. The village people are to be moved to a "new" village about 5km away.

Their new village is likely to be a dull, unimaginative collection of cinderblock homes, but with modern conveniences they have never had: running water, electricity and toilets.

However, the Groenewalds



Mr Petrus Groenewald is at a loss to explain why his community has been ordered to move from a village that has been home to their families since 1893.

were not consulted. Nor were they told why the village was built so far from their present homes. Predictably, they are angry and heartsore.

The spokesman for Buffelsjags Bay's residents, Mr Petrus Groenewald, stood on an empty piece of land and asked: "Why must it be here?"

"Why can't they just build new houses a few metres away from where our fathers and our grandfathers lived all these years?"

"I was born in Buffelsjags 46 years ago. My family and I wish to remain as close to that

spot as possible. All our memories are there.

"If the Government could give us an acceptable reason why we must move farther away from where we launch our boats we could understand.

"But all they ever say is: 'You must move'. They have never given us a reason for wanting to do it."

He claimed that the villagers' MP, Mr Neville Padiachy, a member of the House of Representatives, said: "This land is for rich people ... you have to move."

Mr Padiachy, who has been

negotiating with the people of Buffelsjags over the resettlement, yesterday denied he had said the people must move because the area was for the rich.

"I have been visiting the Buffelsjags community regularly and have explained that their new homes will have running water, toilets and electricity — things they've never had.

"They are adamant that they won't go, so I have written to the secretary of the Bredasdorp Regional Services Council and have instructed him to commence building the new village as soon as possible. Those people will eventually have to move whether they like it or not."

### No reason

Mr Padiachy could give no explicit reason why Buffelsjags was to be located about 5km away from its present spot.

The secretary of the Bredasdorp Regional Services Council, Mr A Vorster, said he was unable to comment because Buffelsjags Bay was not on RSC ground "We have no control over it," he added.

Yet receipts for the annual levies paid by Buffelsjags residents are issued by his department.

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# Farm families face eviction

Staff Reporter

WORKERS at the Villiersdorp agricultural co-operative and winery are looking for housing for their wives and children after being told to move them off the premises where they have been living in temporary structures.

They were given until 5pm on Monday to dismantle the structures or lose their jobs

There is no black township in the area and the co-op provides only single quarters for their workers.

Mr Jannie Raubenheimer, director of the co-op, said he was aware that the workers ignored the deadline and their families were still there.

"Earlier this month we called a disciplinary meeting with the workers and their union

"We warned them that they were in danger of losing their jobs if they did not move their families," Mr Raubenheimer said.

"If they do not dismantle their shacks soon, we will call another disciplinary meeting and give the workers a second warning"

"I am still hoping that we can find a solution to this problem," Mr Raubenheimer said

"It is impossible for us to allow the workers' families to stay here. The company does not want to contravene any laws"

About 18 families, mostly from Transkei, are living in the

corrugated-iron and wooden shacks next to the men's barracks

The nearest township is Zwelethemba, 50km away near Worcester, which has a severe housing backlog

Miss Ursula MacDonald, the Grabouw secretary of the Food and Allied Workers' Union, said the union had a meeting with co-op workers this week

"The workers are resigned to the fact that they cannot live with their wives and children," Miss MacDonald said.

"We decided to ask management for an extension of the deadline, to give the workers an opportunity to dismantle the structures

Miss MacDonald said this would probably take place tomorrow, when the workers had time off and could assist their wives

"The workers are prepared to comply with management's request. All they ask now is a little time to find alternative accommodation for their families"

Miss MacDonald said the union and the Progressive Federal Party's unrest monitoring and action committee were looking for accommodation for the women and children.

"Some of them have relatives in Zwelethemba and Cape Town who we will approach to ask for temporary housing," she said.

Miss MacDonald said the union would continue to pressure the authorities for a black township in Villiersdorp.

Mr Jasper Walsh, PFP MP for Pinelands and chairman of the monitoring committee called on the co-op management and the municipality to consider alternatives

"No black housing, or even land, is available in Villiersdorp for these people," Mr Walsh said

"For many years the coloured labour preference policy, enforced by influx control, meant that the only housing for blacks was hostels for single men

"But surely now something can be done for these people?"

## Fascinating study of life in the 'man's world' of Cape's black hostels



A man, his wife and two children share a bed in Langa.



Home for this toddler is a crowded bachelor quarter.

# Power and survival

WITH an average of almost three people to a bed, relationships between men and women in the "man's world" of the Western Cape's black hostels seldom have much to do with love — and everything to do with power and survival

This is argued by two University of Cape Town academics, Dr Mamphela Ramphele and Emile Boonzaier, in a myth-busting new book, *South African Keywords: The Uses And Abuses Of Political Concepts*, published this week

Their chapter, *Gender And Race*, provides a fascinating glimpse of the lives of thousands of ordinary men and women in the Western Cape, how some women hop from bed to bed to survive and how South Africa's social and political order affects working-class black men "in a way that brings out the worst kinds of chauvinism in them."

They focus on a study of relationships in local hostels where, according to a survey conducted

within the past two years, there is an average bed occupancy of 2.8 people, a person to working toilet ratio of 133 to one and a person to tap ratio of 117 to one.

"By definition, all the bed-holders are adult males. They therefore find themselves in the enormously powerful position of controlling the only viable source of urban accommodation available to dependants — mostly female

"The majority of female residents (51 percent) are wives of bed-holders"

Many of the wives came to the hostels as "a desperate measure to save their families from disintegration, starvation or both". Some marriages continued to function well, in spite of the odds

"But for many wives the move to town involves entering a cold, indifferent and sometimes openly hostile environment where they are seen as intruders by their husbands"

These unstable marriages were usually marked by the husbands' failure to send money to

the wife and were often associated with unemployment, loss of responsibility for the family at "home", alcohol abuse and extramarital relationships with "girlfriends" in town

Most of the unmarried women were mothers and came to Cape Town to search for a source of income to support their families

Their relationships with men were motivated "primarily by the need for accommodation, although other considerations, such as financial support and occasionally affection, also play a part. They literally jump from bed to bed to survive."

According to one unmarried woman interviewed: "People have boyfriends mainly because they need a place to stay. Some do it for the sake of being supported by these men, but they are a minority. Most people hate the system of living together (yukuhlalansana), but they have no choice because of accommodation problems."

### By JEREMY DOWSON, Staff Reporter

Women's dependence on bed-holders placed men in an "enormously powerful position over women, making the hostels truly a 'man's world'."

Some men went as far as to prohibit their wives from using contraceptives in order to control their sexual activities — irrespective of their own behaviour

Commented one man "One has to remove the licence to loose life to avoid one's name being disgraced in the village during one's absence"

Unmarried women were in a particularly difficult position

"For men the benefit is mainly that of having a 'domestic slave' to attend to their laundry, cooking and cleaning as well as a sexual partner."

Relationships between women were in turn marked by "intense competition" and fights regularly broke out, sometimes ending in death

"Physical attractiveness be-

comes a matter of survival. One of the unfortunate consequences of this is the widespread use of skin-lightening creams. Failure to use such preparations is seen as suicidal

"Said one woman 'You are regarded as a woman who doesn't care about her appearance and you are dumped in favour of those women who are nice and pink...'"

A typical reply to questions about long-term skin damage was "Let that day come when it comes I can't stop and take the risk of losing out"

The authors said the hostels provided "a good illustration of how 'tradition' — a reconstruction of the past that is unchallengeable — is used to support the system of male dominance"

They added "Even the 'traditional' practice of harring women from the cattle kraal in deference to the departed who might be buried there has been transplanted to the urban environment

"In one hostel in Guguletu women were barred from the common room during certain pe-

riods on the grounds that it was *ebuhlanh* (the kraal) which men used for discussions and meetings"

Summing up, the authors said black women represented their men's "only cushion against their complete powerlessness". Any suggestion of equality between the sexes was "a real threat to their egos"

They argued that the general oppression endured by the men "acts as a paradigm for their domination of women, which is reinforced by an appeal to 'tradition' to justify practices said to be central to 'African culture'."

Their final sober note? Male domination is "unlikely to disappear naturally" with the removal of racial and other forms of discrimination

● Dr Ramphele is a senior research officer in UCT's anthropology and paediatrics departments. Emile Boonzaier is a lecturer in the anthropology department. The book, published by David Philip, contains contributions by eight other academ-



All they can do is wait Dismissed workers sit in the veld in Bo-Hermon, uncertain what the future holds

Story CHIARA CARTER  
Pics NATALIE GOLDSMITH

**F**IFTY rural labourers fearing for their lives say they took refuge for five days in an open field to escape bosses threatening to assault them with axes and guns

The workers say they slept in a field near Riebeeck-Kasteel outside Wellington after being fired from a factory in the nearby hamlet of Bo-Hermon - and then barred from their hostel dwellings on a farm 20 kms away.

Several workers interviewed this week also alleged that:

- "Kaffir" slurs were made against their union,
- The dog of an "agitator" was shot dead,
- The dog was then roasted on a fire,
- Belongings of some workers were set on fire,
- Axes and guns were used to smash some workers belongings of some workers with axes,

The workers, mostly contract labourers from the Transkei, claim they were dismissed from their jobs at Wistaal Verspreiders, a galvanised-wire factory, for joining the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu)

Owner-manager Evert Kotze said the workers had been reinstated. He would not comment at first on the allegations

# Beaten over 'kaffir' union

Contacted a second time he again refused to comment.

Police in Riebeeck-Kasteel said they heard what had happened but could not act until charges were laid

Workers interviewed said Kotze apparently overheard two workers talking about the union during shift changes on Wednesday evening

One of the workers, Simmi Dimayo, was accused of being an agitator and assaulted

They said Kotze then told their shift and the shift which was about to fall in that they were fired for joining a "kaffir union" without notifying him

They then walked from the factory to their hostel on one of Kotze's farms about 20 kilometres away

The next day, a delegation went to the Saawu offices in Cape Town and the union contacted the owner

A Saawu official said Kotze told him he did not want to waste his time talking to "kaffirs"

Kotze, he said, told him the workers had been dismissed for going on strike and possessing political pamphlets. He was, however, prepared to reinstate them after six days

Back at the farm, most workers left the hostel and hid in the fields. Two men, Zwelenkosi Maqathuha and Gconbasi Mboniswa, remained on the premises

They say that at about 9 am Kotze, his partners, Willem and Naylor Serdyn, and their three foremen came to the hostel armed with axes and guns. They broke down the doors and damaged workers' property

Kotze came into my room and asked where the others were," Maqathuha said

We were ordered into his bakker. He and the other men then went to Simmi's room. We could hear things being smashed. A big fire was made and some of our clothes, blankets and other possessions thrown onto the fire

## Hid in field

They shot Simmi's dog and roasted it over the fire. The dog had not tried to bite them. They said to us that Simmi and another worker would be "dead men"

"The two of us then escaped to where the others were hiding in the fields

"Later, we managed to save some clothes and blankets"

Workers say their identity documents and bank books had disappeared. And they cannot draw money to buy food

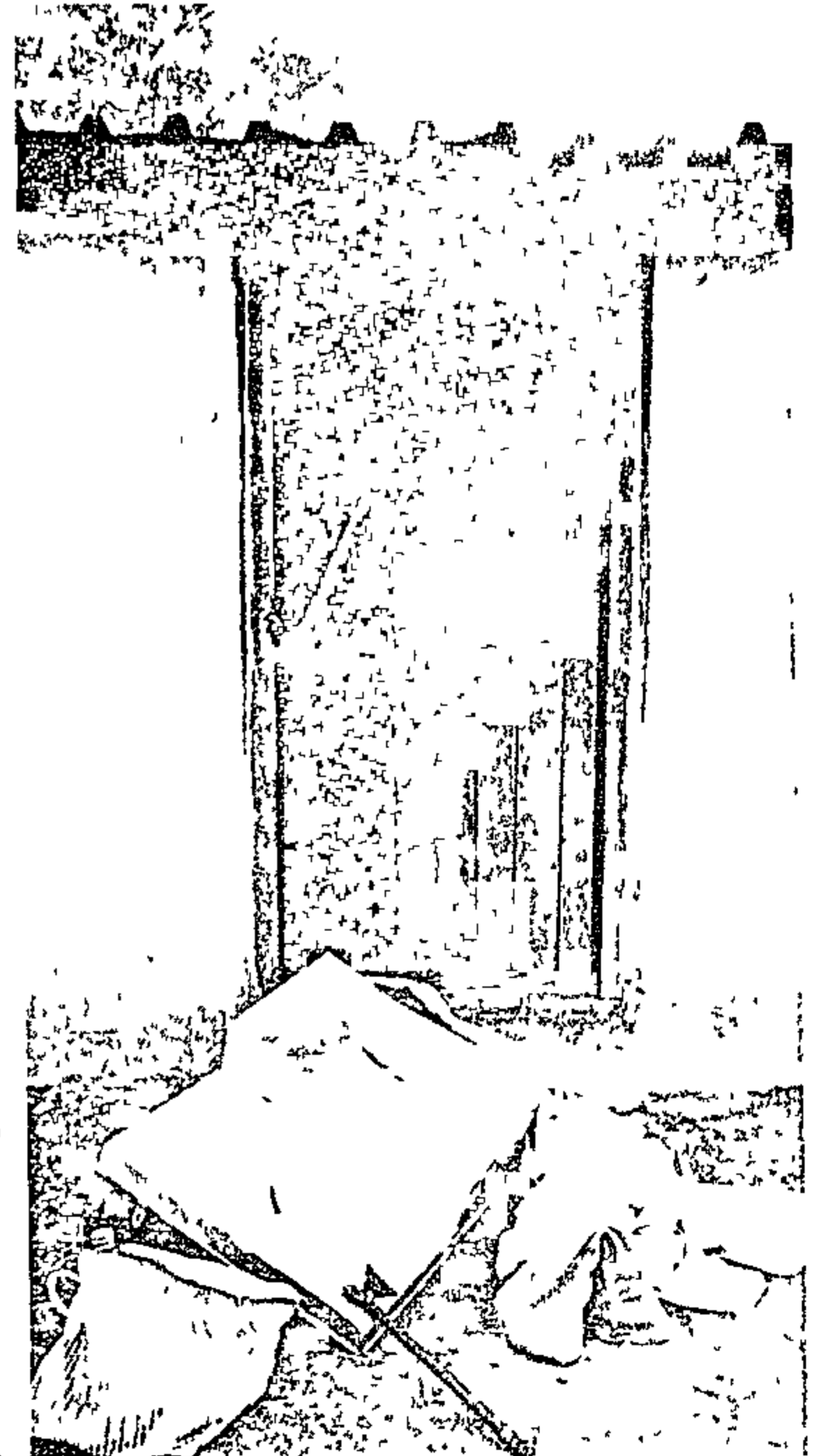
They joined Saawu in a bid to improve wages and working conditions. They say they were paid R60 a week and worked 12 hour shifts

They claim that they worked overtime for which they were not paid but were afraid to object since both Kotze and one of his foremen, Mr Gert Eybers, carried guns

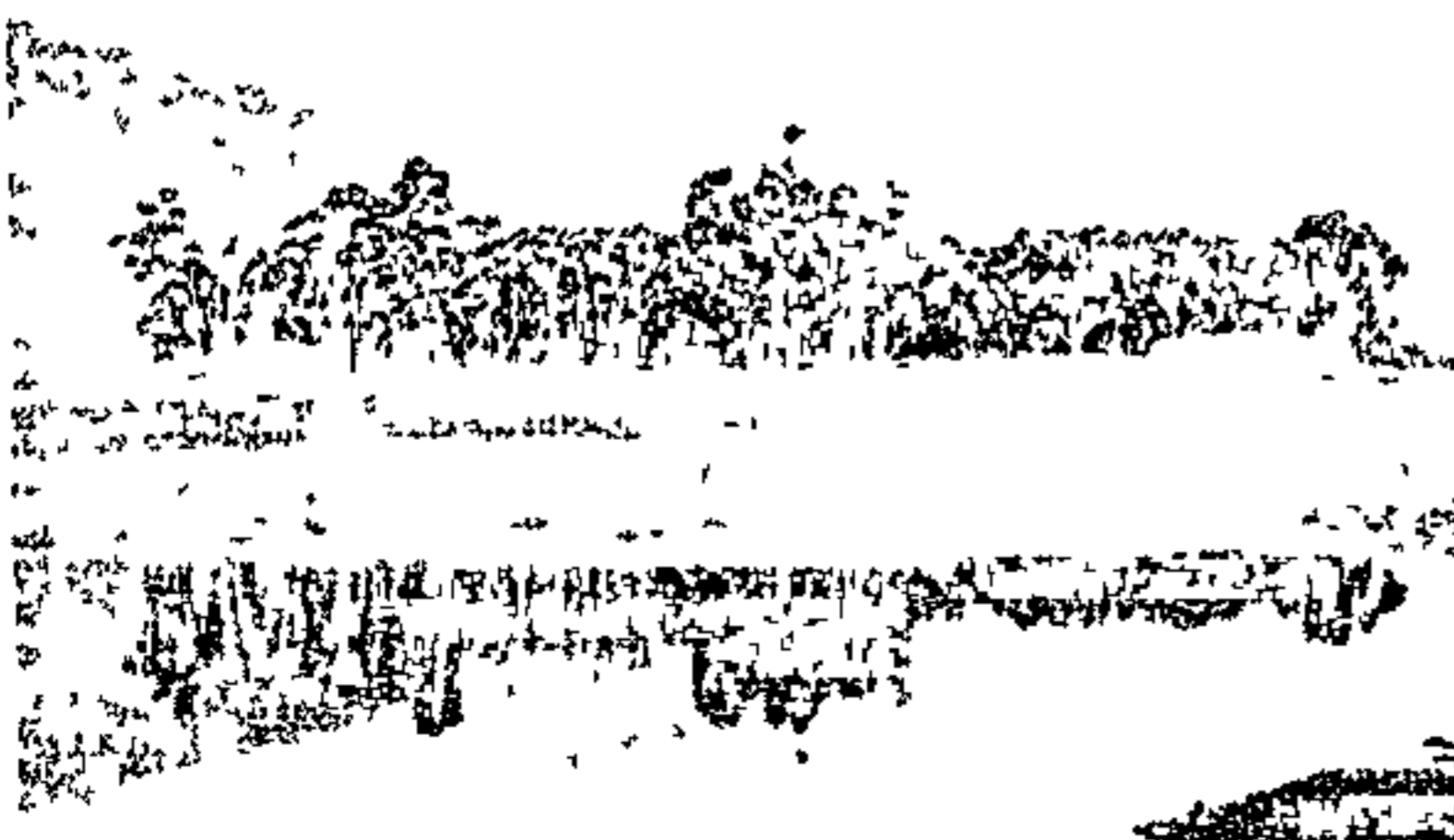
The hostel they lived in was filthy and they used water from the river because there was no tap

Mr Kotze declined to comment but has since agreed to reinstate the workers.

Saawu is seeking legal advice about the damage done to workers' property



A broken door and scattered possessions bear testimony to the destruction



The scenic beauty belies horrific conditions. This is the hostel dwellers' only source of water

# Haunted by a woman's photo

## ID NIGHTMARE

A PRETORIA man who applied for a new identity document in May last year has lost hope of ever getting it.

He applied twice and each time he received and opened the envelope he found a photograph of a woman — the same woman — staring at him

"I really don't know what to do I am going about without an ID," lamented Mr Samuel Masindi, an employee at the Bophuthatswana Transport Holdings depot in Waltloo, Pretoria

Masindi is among the scores of blacks who

By  
**MONK NKOMO**

have been issued with incorrect identity documents by the Department of Home Affairs — a move which

is expected to cost millions of rands to reissue correct ones

Mr Masindi said he applied for the new ID in May last year and he went to fetch it at the Commissioner's offices in Von Weigh Street in September

When he opened the envelope, the date of birth was incorrectly stated and the picture attached to the document had transformed him into a woman "The officials there told me it was a mistake and I applied again", said Mr

Masindi

He went to fetch the second ID on August 30 this year "I got another shock Everything was correct except the picture It was of the same woman I really don't know what to do next." Mr Masindi said

**A-G will  
decide  
on Tutu**

THE Attorney-General will decide whether to prosecute Archbishop Desmond Tutu in terms of the emergency regulations after he called on people not to vote in the October 26 municipal elections recently, Brigadier Leon Mellet, Press secretary to Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday

Brigadier Mellet rejected

Conservative Party allegations that police were too scared to prosecute Archbishop Tutu and said police were conducting intensive investigations into the matter.

"When the docket is completed it will be handed to the Attorney-General for his decision," said Brigadier Mellet

# Charge me - farmer

A BOLAND farmer accused of destroying workers' property because they belonged to a "kaffir union" has challenged the workers to lay charges against him.

Mr Evert Kotze, manager and co-owner of Witstaal Verspreiders in Hermon, has denied allegations made by about 50 workers who left his employ two weeks ago

The workers claimed they were fired after Kotze discovered they had joined the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) and were planning a meeting

They said they joined the union to improve their living and working conditions.

They alleged that after they were dismissed, Kotze,



Sacked workers prepare for 'bed'

his two business partners and the factory foremen came to the hostel where they were living. Possessions were destroyed, two workers threatened with a gun and a dog belonging to one of the workers killed

Kotze, who last week re-

fused to comment when approached by SOUTH, this week said the workers had not been fired but had "mysteriously disappeared" He had no idea why they had left

He denied any knowledge of assaults, destruction of

possessions, or the disappearance of workers' identity documents, bank books and money

He said he had nothing to do with the hostel which belonged to his partners

Asked about the alleged

shooting and roasting of the dog, Happies, he said he had heard the dog was shot because it had bitten sheep

"In any event workers are not allowed to keep pets," he said

Neither he nor his foremen carried guns or other weapons since there was no need for this "Hermon is a peaceful place," he said

"Workers are free to approach me on any of the allegations and are welcome to lay charges against me"

Kotze told South last week that the workers had been reinstated. This week he said he had no intention of reinstating them and had employed other people in their place

"Work is carrying on as normal," he said

The workers are now living in the Saawu offices in Cape Town



# Workers trek to Cape Town after walk-out

Cape Times 3/2/87

Staff Reporter 201 until later

A TRANSKEI worker told yesterday of his long walk from Piketberg to Cape Town after he and 46 others left a potato farm where they believe they had been unfairly treated and 27 of them headed for Cape Town

Mr Ntuthuzelo Maratsha, of Thabankulu, said he and 63 other men had been recruited as contract labourers on January 20 and brought to the Piketberg farm of Mr Gideon "Cowboy" Carstens

Speaking through an interpreter, he said the workers had been dissatisfied with the quantity of food they had been given, with their living quarters, their working conditions and the treatment meted out to them at work.

They had understood they would be paid R7 a day but after a week they had been given only R15 each. The farmer had said via an assistant that he would keep the rest of their wages

A supervisor had been very angry when the dissatisfied workers approached him. He had had a gun with him when he spoke to them and told them they could walk back to Transkei if they wished, Mr Maratsha said.

The workers had held a meeting on Sunday night and decided to go to the police. The Piketberg police had told them they were unable to interfere.

"So we decided to come to Cape Town on foot," said Mr Maratsha. "Forty-six of us left the farm but only 27 walked to Cape Town."

Mr Carstens could not be reached for comment yesterday but his wife Sally confirmed that a group of dissatisfied workers had recently left the farm. It was not the first time this had happened, she said.

The workers were under contract and the arrangement was that they get the rest of their wages "when they go home", she said.

# Violence and want cause African migration

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Business Day Reporter

VIOLENCE and want are altering the face of migration within the African continent, says a report from the International Labour Office

As a result, one out of every five African migrants today is a refugee, and one refugee out of every two in the world is African, the report says

Most migration in sub-Saharan Africa is no longer a matter of individual choice but is driven by fear of the armed conflicts and by the spectre of hunger that hovers over an increasing number of periodically drought-stricken countries

Africa is torn between ideology and reality. The ideal is unity, fraternity, sharing. It is reflected in the 17 inter-governmental groups that have been formed in recent times. But the day-to-day reality is reflected in the mass expulsions of migrants by these countries. In the past 20 years five-million people have been forced to leave their new-found homes

Tracing the history of deportation in Africa, the study measures the impact and analyses the legal basis of governments' decisions to expel

One prime example is Ghana. Between 1.2-million and 1.5-million Ghanaians were forced to leave Nigeria in 1983 and another 150 000 in 1985. Ghana was already struggling with a deteriorating economy, which almost collapsed under the weight of the returning migrants

An estimated 35-million Africans live outside their own country

Of all the forms of migration, perhaps the most typically African is border migration, where hundreds of thousands of people cross international borders every day without going through any formalities

The political borders in Africa, set up arbitrarily by the colonial powers

in 1885, cut across the territories of homogeneous populations with the result that every country in Africa shares at least one ethnic group with a neighbouring country.

Another category is organised migration. This basically refers to the movements of low-skilled workers intended to offset a temporary or long-term labour shortage. The flow of workers to SA from neighbouring states is organised migration.

While many migrants, both legal and illegal, cross national borders in Africa seeking a better life than their home countries can offer, the burgeoning refugee movements are the most alarming for African governments and international aid agencies

The study cites UN statistics that put the number of African refugees at approximately five-million in 1988 — up from 300 000 in 1960. Moreover, between 1971 and 1986 the refugee population more than quadrupled.



# Living conditions at Sats hostel 'disgusting'

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE  
Staff Reporter

CONDITIONS are "disgusting" at the South African Transport Services hostel in Langa, according to black employees

But Sats say the facilities offered are more than adequate considering the price of full board and lodging ranges from R63 to R87 a month

The workers, mostly migrants, are inmates of Ikwezi Hostel, a Sats-owned single-sex hostel next to the railway line in Langa township

Some who wrote to The Argus said they had been living at the hostel for years. They insisted on remaining anonymous "for fear of victimisation"

They claimed

- There was no hot water at the hostel — a "terrible inconvenience" in winter

- A "substantial amount" was deducted from their wages for food, which they said was bad, and they felt the deduction was a "rip-off"

- This deduction was compulsory and workers not willing to live at the hostel had no choice

- Sleeping facilities were "appalling" A thin mattress, provided when the worker joined SATS, was never replaced

- Admission of visitors was at the whim of security guards who often turned them away

However, Mr Brian Lotter, Sats regional public relations officer, said he had received no complaints from residents. The three-storey hostel houses about 375 employees

He said the hostel was being upgraded, and each floor now had its own recreational area

which included a TV set and "so on"

"Apart from his bed, each resident has a mattress and a side cabinet for his personal belongings. The allegation that there is no hot water is totally unfounded," Mr Lotter said

He added residents were given three meals a day. If it was not possible for them to return for lunch, food was "given to them in the morning to take with them to their workplace"

He said the dining and kitchen facilities were "regularly inspected."

Those earning up to R8 490 per annum paid R63 a month and those earning from R8 491 to R12 600 paid R75 and those earning more than R12 601 paid R87 for full board and lodging

He subsequently invited The Argus to tour the hostel, which has three blocks, each with three storeys

## Tour findings

The tour revealed that one of the blocks, with eight men in a room, had been recently repainted and there were new lockers, three thin mats per bed, a light switch nearby and a TV room on each floor. Hot water facilities had also been installed

The ground floor had been completed in the second residential block

The manager Mr G Coleman, said the third block had been turned into a "store room". He said he did not have the keys for it

The kitchen, in a separate building, was tidy. Meals were served in the adjoining hall

There was a bar in this dining room and the area also serves as a "cinema" for weekly film shows

AR6w 9/10/89

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# Worker wins arrest review

By LINDA GALLOWAY  
Supreme Court Reporter

ARCS 18/1/90  
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THE magistrate of Stellenbosch has 30 days to show cause why the arrest, conviction and sentence for trespassing of a young hotel worker after a dawn raid by police on a Kaya, Mandi hostel in Somerset West should not be set aside.

Mr Justice J Fagan yesterday granted an application by Mr Hambasile Matshikiza to this effect.

Mr Matshikiza said that after the raid, on March 26 1988, he had not been allowed to get his bed card, which his sister had for safekeeping.

He and other arrestees were kept at a police station for about 12 hours without food or water and, when his sister brought his card, a policeman refused to accept it.

He was told he would only be released if he paid R30, but it was not explained that this was an admission of guilt for trespassing.

# Fleeing workers left destitute

South 22/3 - 28/3/90

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By CHIARA CARTER

ABOUT 30 destitute migrant workers who fled from a Philippi precast concrete factory are desperately trying to find money to return to their homes in Venda.

The workers, who were recruited at Louis Trichardt in mid-February, walked out of East Rand Walling after a week in protest against working conditions and wages.

Spokesperson for the workers, Mr Moses Manyekwane, said they had been promised R15 a day and free food and accommodation.

But when they began work at the factory they were told by the company manager, Mr Piet Barnard, they would only be paid R13 a day and had to buy their own food.

Manyekwane said the workers had been unhappy about their accommodation which was a warehouse without any privacy.

He said they had not been provided with

overalls or safety clothing and that ablution facilities were inadequate.

There were no showers and workers had to wash under a hose in the yard.

Manyekwane said there was only one toilet which male and female staff had to share.

Manyekwane claimed several workers had been assaulted by the owner after they complained about conditions. They then walked out of the factory.

The workers returned after officials from the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) negotiated, but they walked out again on the same day.

Manyekwane alleged that the manager and his son had adopted a "threatening attitude" towards them.

"He said he would get the ringleaders. We feared for our lives," Manyekwane said.

The workers have been living at the Zolani Centre in Nyanga for more than three weeks.

He claimed that Mr Piet Barnard, accompanied by a municipal policeman, had followed them to the centre to fetch five workers.

This was confirmed by officials from St John Ambulance which operates from the centre.

St John Ambulance, Shawco, the Red Cross and local businessmen in Nyanga have been assisting the workers.

The Venda embassy has said it is unable to help the group return to Venda, because they were not recruited inside the homeland.

East Rand owner, Mr Fred Barnard, denied all the workers' allegations.

Barnard said that nine of the workers had been recruited at Louis Trichardt were still working for the company and were "quite happy".

Barnard said that he had a workforce of 61 men who had not protested about work conditions.

"My own boys are quite happy at work," Barnard said.

"It's just four instigators who caused this trouble."

He said that he had offered to feed workers and deduct the cost from the fortnightly wage packet but they had been "fussy" about food.

He said he had from the start offered R15 a day to the workers and had a tape-recording to prove this.

"They are just lazy. I told them that if they can't carry more than 60 kilos then I might as well employ women," Barnard said.

He described allegations about beatings as "nonsense".

In 1987 SOUTH published a story about workers at the same factory who claimed they had been assaulted when they protested against working conditions and low wages.

Mr Barnard also denied all the claims.

Opinion

By W A MGOOI  
(A Concerned Citizen)

I ADD my voice to the call made by Anthony Johnson in your opinion column of April 11, headed "Cape must get its fair share of government's R3 bn upliftment fund"

It made one reflect on the deplorable conditions to which our fellowmen, families of migrants are subjected, even four years after the abolition of the influx control laws

The obnoxious influx control laws were repealed in 1986. These forced married men with families here or in the homelands to lead lives of single men, while their wives and children above the age of 16 were hounded for not having a permit to be in an urban area for longer than 72 hours

After the abolition of these laws, one would have expected, in the normal course of events, that those who had been the hardest hit by these oppressive and exploitative laws would have been on top of the list in a programme for reparation.

Into oblivion

Alas! Their lot, has not only remained static, but has worsened to the extent that nothing has been done to provide accommodation for their families who had hitherto been precluded by law to join them

The very employers who had been enjoined to provide them with accommodation have now turned their backs on their moral and/or legal duty by evicting them from premises built by them, preferring to sell these to private property developers who are only too keen to purchase and upgrade these for sale to urban blacks who can afford to pay higher rentals

Those who had been at the bottom of the pile continue to receive a raw deal with no one to advocate their cause. They have been thrown into oblivion, as it were

The struggle for the abolition of the influx control system has to be given some meaning or content and the starting point for that process has to be the improvement of the living conditions created by that abominable system

Otherwise it remains a hollow victory now for the thousands of

# Let not the victory on influx laws be hollow

Cape Times 24/4/90

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men, women and children who continue to live under the most degrading inhuman and uninhabitable conditions prevailing in the hostels all over the Western Cape.

We need to tour the townships of Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu, Mfuleni up to Hermanus to appreciate the shame which hangs over the city of Cape Town, a city which has the reputation of a "mother" city

The words of Anthony Johnson deserve repetition when he says "whatever the history of apartheid — depriving black communities of vital resources in the past, the Cape Provincial authorities should move with all speed to ensure that this province gets its fair share of the new upliftment fund"

I want to go further and say that one of the priority areas should be to eradicate the scourge left by the migrant labour system on black family life.

Judge Jan Steyn

Fortunately, solid and praiseworthy groundwork has been done by the West Cape Hostel Dwellers Association and Hostel Dwellers Trust by way of investigating possibilities of converting the existing hostels into family accommodation

What they require most is fund-

ing of this imaginative and creative work to improve the lot of their fellowmen

One would hope that those who are responsible for the administration of the much-needed resources will be touched by the plight of one of the primary victims of the apartheid laws, the migrants and their families

Happily, Judge Jan Steyn, one of those who took up the cudgels against this system, is best placed to appreciate the need. It now remains only to give content to that victory, lest it remains a paper victory, never touching the lives, in any material terms, of those for whom the change was intended

Any system of government is judged not so much in terms of how it regulates relations between powerful groups in society — but in terms of what it does to protect the rights and interests of those who are vulnerable to exploitation and social injustice. This is the acid test facing local government now, today

Democratising the local government structures is a separate matter certainly on the national agenda, but the crying need now is to improve the physical conditions under which direct victims of the migratory labour system toiled and continue to toil

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# MIGRANT LABOUR

South 22-29/3/89.

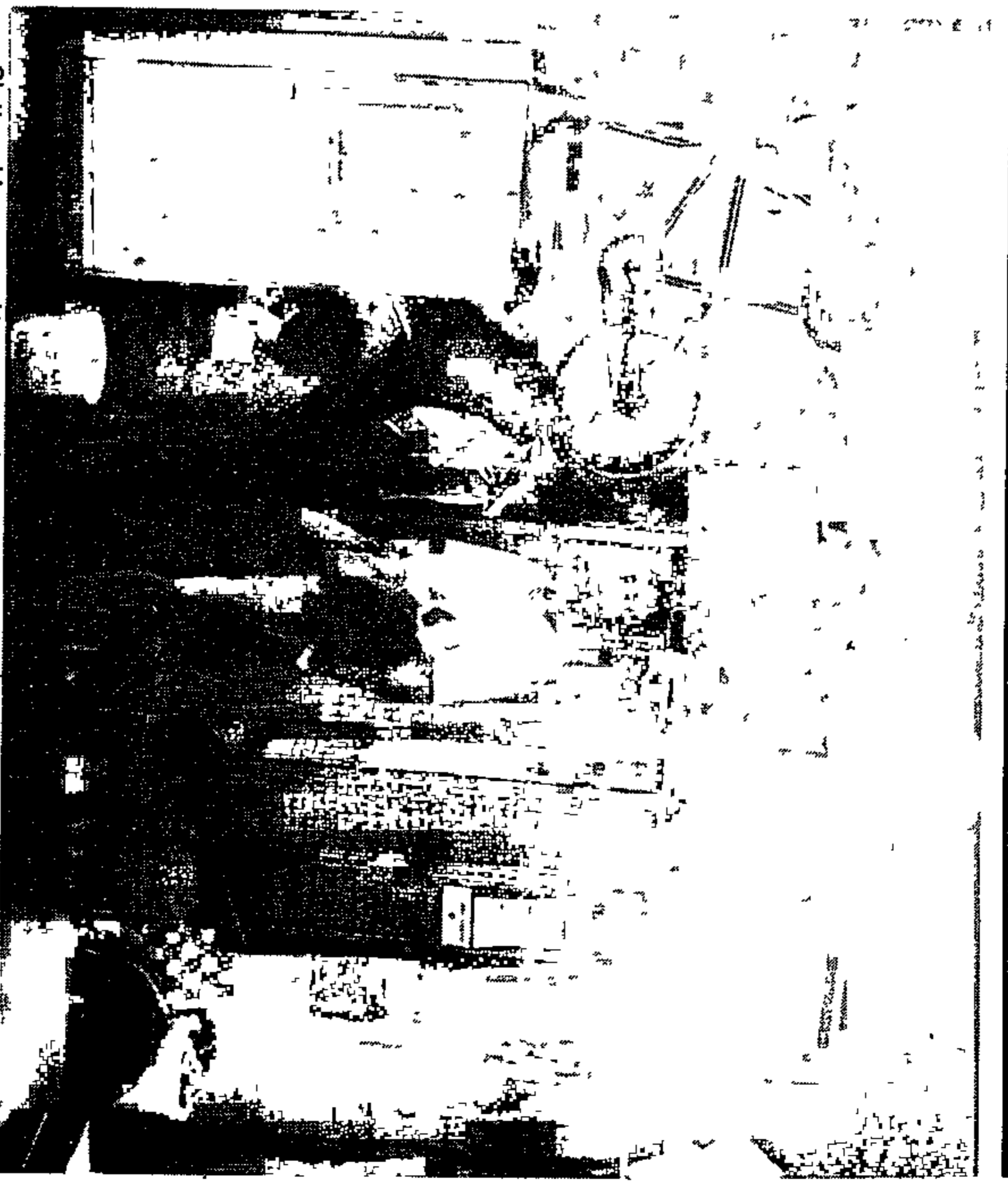
SOUTH



A hard day's night A weary Sats labourer takes refuge from the poverty around him by curling up on his single bed



Hundreds of workers use just a few showers



Cluttered living conditions are a feature of hostel life The lockers are full so an old fridge is commandeered to serve as storage space

# Nothing's changed here!

**The shocking conditions in which migrant workers live has often been the subject of newspaper exposés. But the last 20 years have seen little improvement**  
**DOCTORSON**  
**TSHABALALA reports.**

REFORM and upgrading are foreign concepts to the workers at the South African Transport Services hostel in Langa.

While the railways bosses claim to be upgrading the hostel, workers have not seen much change since the hostels were built 15 years ago.

Other concepts alien to the workers include privacy and living with their families — something these men have had little experience of.

Women are not allowed to enter the hostel, where up to 20 men sleep on single beds in one room.

The hostel's inmates come from all over the country, including the "homelands" and are employed by SATS in different categories, from labourers to electricians.

Conditions in the hostel were unhealthy, claimed the workers, and not worth the R52,20 deducted from their pay packets every month for accommodation and meals.

Another R1 20 is paid into a medical fund which they said "never existed." Some earn as little as R240 a month.

There are no carpets in the hostel, nor do the rooms have running water. Walls are filthy, windows are broken and pieces of wire serve as a handles for many of the doors.

Workers interviewed placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the "indunas" (foremen).

They were supposed to be a link between the inmates and the authorities, but appeared "to be content" and apparently never spoke up, said the workers.

The hostel manager, who declined to give his name, accused SOUTH of "spassing."

"We are upgrading the place," he said, refusing to comment further. A young worker said the conditions



These men say their environment isn't fit for horses. Even the camaradene born from living with hundreds of others cannot compensate for the bleakness of hostel life.

at the hostel were no better than stables.

"We live like animals," he said. Another worker, pointing to his bowl of "umngusho" (samp) said "I do not think a dog would eat this."

They were allowed only two meals a day, in the morning and afternoon.

Their breakfast was made of two slices of stale brown bread and, sometimes, soup, they said. Supper was either porridge or samp.

"We prefer to buy food from nearby shops," said one worker.

Besides playing football after work and at weekends, their only other entertainment is a film shown once a week in a "hall" which also serves as their laundry room.

"We only watch the movie because we do not have a choice," said the young worker.

"We are shown kiddies' stuff, Mickey Mouse and his companions. We are bored with this."

The workers use outside toilets and showers. There is no separation or partitions between the showers.

PIC FANIE JASON

The toilets and showers were dirty most of the time, said the workers. Pillow cases and newspapers were stuffed into holes in the windows to prevent the wind from coming in.

In winter they had to buy pressure stoves to keep warm, they said. Sats public relations officer Brian Lotter said the conditions would be changed in two months following "improvements" which he claimed were taking place at the moment.

"Then we will be able to invite the press for a tour and to take photographs of the hostels."

**Women barred**

All their buildings, he said, were being repainted after a period of five, six to seven years, depending on the type of the structure.

Broken windows and doors were also repaired on a regular basis. "But you can imagine what would happen if one had to do this all the time. Sometimes you repair a window or a door and the next day another one is broken."

Commenting on the dirty condition of the rooms, he said this was primarily caused by the inmates themselves.

"They bring with them possessions which they throw under the beds and everywhere. This prevents the cleaners from getting into the rooms on their routine."

The workers received meals on a ration system because, said Lotter, "it is almost impossible to control such a big number of people."

He could not say exactly how many people lived in the hostel.

Lotter admitted the kitchen staff were occasionally "rude" because "shift workers" did not abide by the rule that they leave their eating utensils out so that their rations could be served if they missed mealtimes.

He said workers had a common place where they met their visitors. But women were not allowed there, as "this would cause a lot of friction among our men."



# Gant fires 420 workers at farm

By MICHAEL DOMAN  
False Bay Bureau

LEADING Democratic Party member and losing candidate in Helderberg last year Mr Dave Gant said he had regrettably fired about 420 workers on his family farm, Lourensford, near Somerset West after they went on strike and intimidated the farm's 2 000 employees

The black male workers on the 4 500-hectare farm were bused home, mostly to the Transkei, from their hostels on May 2. Some live in Khayelitsha

Mr Gant said that labour problems began on April 27 when 23 workers met the general manager to discuss issues, including wages

## Protest march

One demand was that managing director, Mr Gant, respond personally to their demands, failing which they would march in protest

Mr Gant, chairman of the DP's national council, said he told the 420 labourers at their hostel on April 30 that he could not have a detailed meeting with such a large group

"I said we were more than prepared to discuss various issues. If they weren't happy with the existing workers' committee, departmental elections for new representative committees could be held. I said we would also discuss wage increases, even though this is normally done in October"

Mr Gant said the workers refused to go through the election process and went on strike, with a small group preventing others from returning to work

Mr Gant said general labour laws did not yet apply to agricultural workers, but he welcomed the fact that these would eventually be extended to farms

He had discussed the "unfortunate incident" with the Food and Allied Workers' Union, although the union had no members on the farm

By MUSA NDWANDWE

**CONDITIONS** at men's hostels have changed dramatically since the early 70s. They have become sprawling communities of men, women, children and grandchildren.

To most male migrant labourers in the Western Cape's single-sex hostels, the unofficial conversion of hostel rooms into makeshift family units is regarded as a victory.

But for the large number of women who have made men's hostels their homes, the initial joy of being close to their husbands, free from the harassment by authorities, has given way to unold misery and frustrations.

According to Mr Welcome Zenzile, an organiser of the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association, almost every room in every hostel has a woman residing permanently.

Over the years, conditions in hostels have deteriorated, women have been the worst affected.

**Privacy**

A lack of privacy — up to five couples share a tiny room and children sleep on the floor — is high on a list of concerns shared by women in the hostels.

These circumstances pose a problem for the women. Other concerns are the general lack of proper facilities. Hostels are homes without kitchens, dining rooms, bathrooms, electricity and proper ablution.

Mrs Nosimo Mxhalsi, a young wife from Transkei, and her husband share a room with four other couples from their Idutshwa hometown.

# Still no joy for hostel women

South 18/10 - 24/10/90

Mxhalsi, a mother of an eight-month-old baby, says she has no choice but to bath in the presence of others.

A small number of women are willing to tell of the difficult living conditions in hostels. Many others are silent.

The few who dare talk, speak about their longing for the intimacy denied them by the lack of privacy.

Another big problem is harassment by unemployed males who are always in close proximity while husbands are at work.

Records of divorce cases involving hostel dwellers also reflect a level of their despair.

Said a lawyer, who cannot be named for professional reasons "I have, in the past years, handled cases involving couples in the hostels. This was an eye-opening experience to me."

In one incident, a young wife could no longer accept the arrangement for her to be "shared" by other hostel inmates and she filed for a divorce, said the attorney.

As the husband was unemployed, one of the unwritten conditions for his and his wife's accommodation was that other

men were free to touch and abuse her.

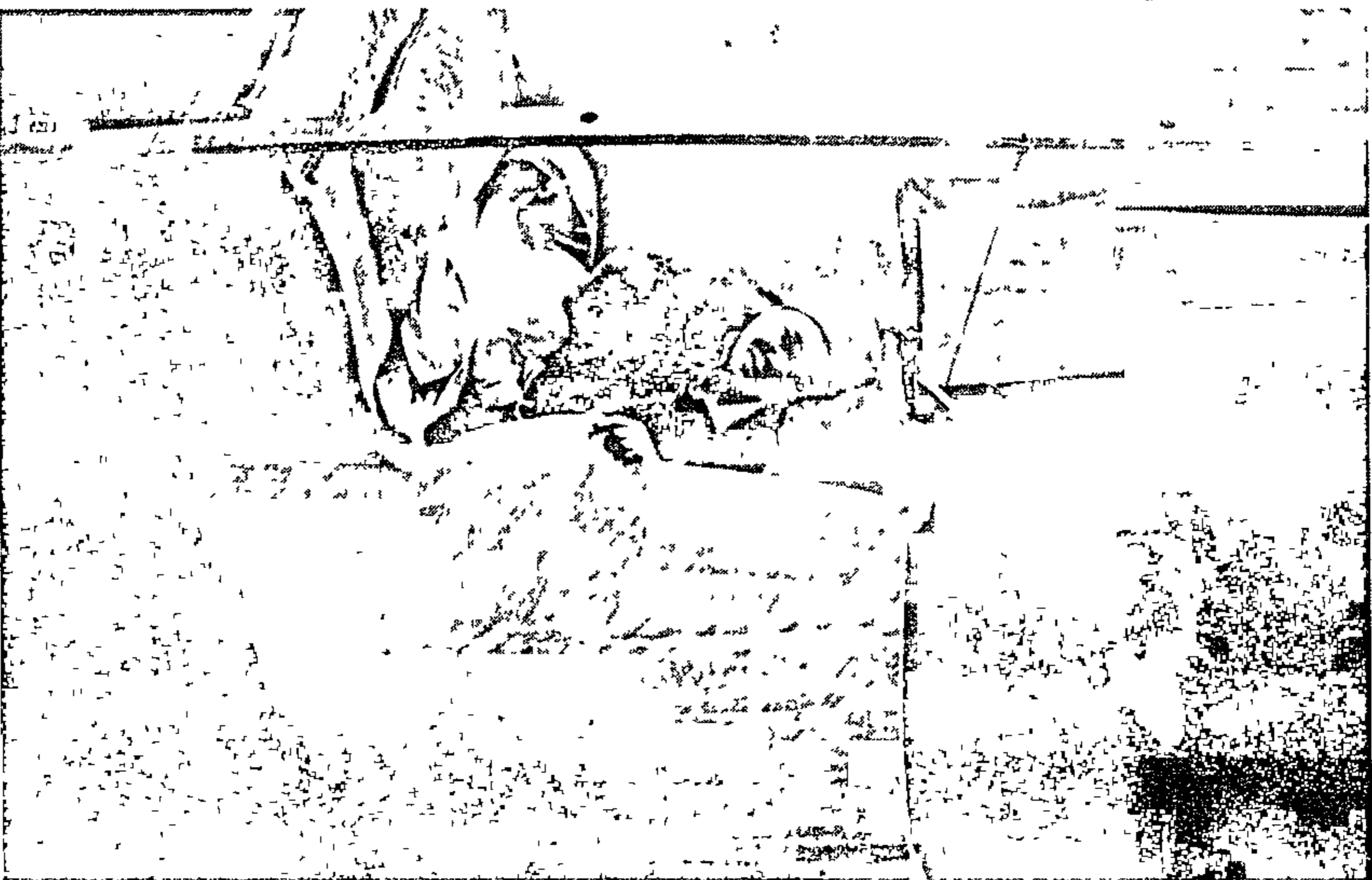
To many other women, though, life in hostels is not very different from the situation in their poverty-stricken home areas. Many find solace in being able to make a living under these conditions, enough to support their families.

**Business**

"At least here I can run my successful business," says Mrs Nondumiso Zulu. Her husband died in the hostel four years ago and she supports herself and two teenage daughters by selling red meat and chicken. "I can sell 50 chickens a day and red meat always sell very well," she says proudly.

With the soaring unemployment rate, the women have provided major economic support in the hostels. As many men idle around shebeens, hundreds of women manage meat stalls from early morning till late afternoon.

Presently, there is no organisation for the womenfolk in the male hostels, but organising work is being started, said Zenzile. "We hope to bring them together as a reinforcement in our struggle for improved living conditions in the hostels."



**INVASION OF PRIVACY:** This curtain separates Mrs Nosimo Mxhalsi and her eight month-old daughter from the other four couples who share the tiny room. PIC YUNUS MOHAMED

# Hundreds of jobless flock to Mossgas

South 17/11-23/11/91

From Makhaya Mani  
Oudtshoorn

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COMMUNITY organisations and community councillors in Mossel Bay's Kwanonqaba township have since Monday been involved in clashes over the use of a community hall in which 2 000 unemployed migrants are being housed.

Thousands of people have flocked to Mossel Bay in the hope of securing jobs at the Mossgas Project which reopened this week.

Although Mossgas has repeatedly issued pamphlets saying there are no vacancies, hundreds of unemployed people have been gathering at the project's gates.

## Upset

"After we discovered the situation was deteriorating, we asked the community councillors to open the KwaNonqaba community hall to house those who flock in front of the Mossgas plant," said Mr Terence Ndanda, chairperson of the local ANC branch.

The community councillors of KwaNonqaba soon became upset about the migrant workers using the hall

Ndanda said the community councillors gave them until 5pm on Wednesday for the hall to be emptied. The workers were consulting lawyers on the matter

Ndanda also slammed Mossgas for giving jobs to foreigners and not "people of this country".

He said they had collected food and blankets and have arranged for buses to transport the workers back to their homes

Mossgas officials refused to comment.

# 'Migrants cause of crowded schools'

CAPE TIMES  
30/11/91

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Staff Reporter

BLACK schools in the Western Cape were overcrowded because of the rapid influx of migrants to the area, the director-general of the Department of Education and Training (DET), Dr Bernhard Louw, said yesterday

Although the DET planned for a huge intake of pupils this year, the "magnitude of the migration to the Peninsula" over the holiday period resulted in more pupils seeking places at schools, said Dr Louw

As a result of the overcrowding, 45 new posts have been created at schools in the Western Cape

Furthermore, when funds become available, three new schools will be built in squatter areas in the region, during the 1991-92 financial year, Dr Louw said

Last week, the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) slammed the DET for not

budgeting for emergencies like overcrowding at urban schools, shortages of teachers, facilities and equipment

Dr Louw said it was difficult to get an actual indication of the number of pupils waiting to start school as many pupils went to several schools to register

But principals, circuit inspectors and area officials were assessing the situation.

"It is anticipated that by early next week the registration process will be complete. Stationery and books may be in short supply at certain schools," he said

Shortages of books and stationery would be tackled once all pupils had been registered

"Successful negotiation with certain of the communities concerned has also allowed the DET to use platooning as a means of relieving the pressure on the available school facilities," said Dr Louw

# Study debunks urbanisation myths

21/6 - 27/6/91  
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THERE'S a great migration of people from rural Transkei to urban Cape Town, right? Wrong, says a new study by the Urban Problems Research Unit at the University of Cape Town.

By punching holes through that assumption, UPRU's recently published survey of movement patterns among Cape Town's African population also raises important policy issues for the city's planners.

Ever since influx control was abandoned, the prevailing view has been one of a high rate of African urbanisation, backed by soaring estimates of the numbers of new migrants. Accurate figures for the African population are difficult to reach: because influx control denied African people official urban status for so long, there is no accurate baseline.

The UPRU study, by David De-war, Tevia Rosmarin and Vanessa Watson, pulls together for the first time existing research and information gleaned from interviews with township residents in an attempt to sift facts from a web of supposition.

They found no signs of a general re-location from Transkei, but instead a great movement of people back and forth. As many as 600 000 people are on the move between the two areas at any one time and they cite this as a factor hindering accurate assessments of the population.

"It happens for economically rational reasons," said Watson. "People are spreading their risks. There

A new study of migration patterns between the Transkei and Cape Town has debunked the myth of a flood of people rushing to the city — with important repercussions for urban planners.

By GAYE DAVIS

are ways of survival in rural areas which are absent in urban areas and vice versa."

The study also revealed a great deal of movement within Cape Town itself: people arriving from the Transkei first stay with family or friends before securing a temporary base; perhaps a shack in Khayelitsha. When they have established a foothold, they move to more permanent housing.

But unbreakable links with the Transkei remain. Male migrant workers leave behind their wives and children, who might come to Cape Town in time of illness or need. Conversely, children are often sent back to the Transkei by their parents for education away from boycott-ridden urban schools. Many people own land in the Transkei; many plan on retiring there at the end of their working lives, in the care of family members; regular trips are necessary to maintain these ties.

A central conclusion emerging from all of this is that planners and other decision-makers are basing policies on assumptions regarding

the size, stability and priorities of the African population — assumptions which do not hold.

The report's findings make nonsense of population estimates which assume that everyone present at the time of a census count was a permanent urban resident — and similarly of population projections based on assumed rates of natural increase.

The findings also have implications for housing policy, which focuses on site-and-service and upgrade schemes at one end of the spectrum, and home-ownership at the other.

People who are not committed to remaining in the city forever, whose investment priorities may lie elsewhere, are not likely to commit themselves to buying a home.

For the same reasons, site-and-service options and upgrade schemes also present problems. The Urban Foundation, which runs a wholesale building materials depot to assist self-helpers, has found that large quantities of materials get ferried through to the Transkei.

The report stresses the need for a more flexible approach to housing policy and also the need to reduce the amount of movement within the city itself. It is this, says the report, which militates against the sense of permanence necessary to stimulate urgently needed housing initiatives.

People should have the option of renting, rather than buying homes, while site-and-service and upgrade schemes should also be re-thought.

Movement patterns

VIVIEN HORLER  
Medical Reporter

**OVERCROWDING** in Cape Town's migrant worker hostels is appalling, with an average of 2,8 people to a bed, 117 people to a tap and 133 people to every working toilet.

These are some of the findings of a survey into the living conditions and health status at hostels by a research team led by Dr Mamphela Ramphele of the University of Cape Town's social anthropology department.

The survey was done at the suggestion of hostel dwellers, who are collecting data for a

campaign to upgrade their accommodation to family housing.

Although designed for men only, women and children have always lived in the hostels. Dr Ramphele estimated about a third of the hostel dwellers were men, the rest women and children.

Among the findings reported in a series of papers in the latest SA Medical Journal are:

● An infant mortality rate of 136 for every 1 000 live births, compared with 38 for every 1 000 black babies who live permanently in the Cape Town area.

● Higher immunisation rates for babies born in Cape Town compared with those born in the Transkei.

● Relatively low rates of high blood pressure, diabetes and syphilis among adults compared with overall figures for Cape Town.

● Although under-nutrition rates among babies were low, these rates increased as the children grew older. Children born in Cape Town tended to be better nourished than

# Grim tales of Cape hostel horrors in survey

those born in the Eastern Cape, and

● There was a high rate of tuberculosis notification among hostel dwellers, significantly higher than among township dwellers.

The continuous movement between urban and impoverished rural areas affected hostel dwellers' health, the researchers found. Immunisation cover was not good in the Eastern Cape, TB treatment in the city was not followed

up in the rural areas and children who spent more time in the city tended to be healthier and bigger.

"An enforced oscillation prevents improvements in the overall health status, which are known to accompany permanent urban settlement."

Although the survey on which the findings were based was done in 1987, Dr Mamphela told The Argus she believed the findings were still valid.

Argus 24/6/91

Argus 24/6/91

they live and the impact of that way of life on their health and well-being."

The infant mortality rate of about 136 for every 1 000 is high relative to the national average for black babies, which is 94-124/1 000, very high compared with Cape Town township babies (38/1 000), and well above the criterion set by the World Health Organisation, which is 10 to 20 deaths for every 1 000 live births in a city, and 50/1 000 for "developing" countries.

"Parents in the hostels prefer their children to be born in Cape Town where they feel assured of competent and easily accessible care should

there be a problem at delivery.

"But within the first few months after delivery women must return to their rural responsibilities. Children born in Cape Town succumb to the hazards of rural Transkei/Ciskei poverty."

The survey found 78 per cent of the children born in Cape Town had been immunised, compared with just 50 per cent of the Transkei-born.

Although immunisation in Cape Town was free, a charge was levied in the Transkei, and this was thought to be a reason immunisation rates for babies born there were relatively low.

"If anything, the situation is worse now, because those interviews were carried out just a year after the Pass Laws were abolished, when the floodgates had just opened.

"No more up-to-date information exists, and it's the first time such a comprehensive study has been done among hostel dwellers. I think it is useful for people to see the hostels not as places of violence but as places where people live, to see how

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24/6/91

# Hostel pledge of R10 million from CPA

By Sabata Ngcai

South 21/11-27/11/91  
THE Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) has promised more than R10-million to the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association to upgrade the migrant-labour hostels.

According to a source close to the Hostel Dwellers Association (HDA), "CPA has pledged to donate R10,7-million for the upgrading of hostels in Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu".

The source, who did not want to be identified, said the pledge was revealed after talks the HDA recently held with the CPA.

She said the government was much more positive with assistance than before: "Further talks with the Independent Development Trust (IDT) to get more funding are continuing."

CPA director for land affairs Mr Etienne van Rooyen could not be reached for comment.

The HDA source refused to say whether the CPA and Ikapa Town Council had agreed to cede ownership of the government-owned hostels to HDA.

The HDA-formed Western Cape Hostel Housing Development Company had asked the Ikapa Town Council and the CPA to give it ownership of the Western Cape hostels.

The HDA which had taken the initiative to plan upgrading of the hostels had proposed to start building 300 show houses in Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga.

The work was estimated to cost about R12,5-million

# Taxi clashes feared as migrant workers take the road home

By Mbuyiselo Mshketehe

Soweto 12/12 - 18/12/91

AS THE festive season approaches, Cape township dwellers fear the return of migrant workers to homelands could lead to clashes on the road between the two warring taxi associations.

They believe the exodus could fuel the already intense rivalry between Lagunya and Webia.

Most migrants are from the Transkei and Ciskei and leave this week.

A senior Lagunya member, Mr Kidwell Magwayi, said his organisation could not guarantee there would be no clash with Webia on the road.

Residents this week said they would prefer travelling by bus to the Transkei because it would be a safer method of getting home, despite taking longer.

While the conflict continued to simmer this week, representatives of political organisations, church leaders and business leadership met to try to rescue the failing peace initiative.

In their first mediation attempt since the outbreak of the war, church leaders and congregations gathered at a rally organised by the civic organisation this weekend at the Nyanga taxi rank.

Attempts are being made by the community to unify taxi associations and the meeting was called to present a draft constitution. The announcement was postponed until both taxi associations could be consulted to approve it.

Magwayi said his organisation would

accept any deal from any organisation in the interest of its passengers and the community during the holidays.

"Throughout the conflict we have expressed willingness to go along with any peace initiatives that would find a solution to the problem."

Magwayi said his organisation maintains community and political organisation involvement to ensure "our passengers' security".

Webia could not be reached for comment.





MY PRIDE. A proud goat breeder, Mr Wilson Twala feeds some of his goats

Photo Yunus Mohamed

African men who came to the big cities for jobs have not forgotten their roots. Elements of rural life, like goat-breeding, are part and parcel of township life, as **Sabata Ngcai** discovered

**M**IGRANT WORKERS in the townships have a flourishing form of business — breeding goats for traditional practices. "Goat-breeding is the lifeblood of a Xhosa man whether he is in urban or rural areas," says Guguletu goat-breeder Mr Wilson Twala.

"When one breeds goats, one doesn't do so only for oneself but to help the community.

"When we perform our rites like Imbeleko (welcoming a new-born baby) and circumcision, a goat — not a sheep — is slaughtered."

Born in rural Ciskei, Thwala came to Cape Town and worked as a cleaner at Old Mutual.

He bought the goats soon after retirement to supplement his monthly pension.

"I retired in 1977 and at first received R150 a month as a pension. That has increased to R500 a month.

"I decided to be a goat-breeder after realising that people have difficulties when they have to send their young boys to a circumcision school.

"The circumcision rite involves the slaughtering of a goat on the

# Of goats and the life-blood of Xhosa men

South 11/4-16/4/92

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eight day of the stay of an initiate in his 'kraal'," Thwala says.

"People pay high prices to goat-breeders, who charge R300 a goat."

When he started he bought six nanny-goats at R300 each from farmers in Cape Town, Thwala says.

The stock produced 48 goats in three years as each nanny bears one or two kids twice a year.

"Having 48 goats, I realised that I had enough to sell to the people, who had long been running after me looking for goats to buy."

Thwala's goat-breeding has not been without difficulties. Neighbours have complained about the flies which they claim have been brought about by the animals.

About three years ago 24 of the goats were stolen.

After this incident, residents advised Thwala to forget about stock-breeding.

He replied "I grew up in a home where goats were bred, so I cannot abandon that tradition."

Thwala says he sold most of the remaining goats at R140 each, keeping only eight.

"The goats are producing more kids and I no longer want to keep many goats.

"While some are sold others are slaughtered for feasting at home. I cannot charge a high price as my people have no money.

"One widow, who had no money but was keen to perform our rites for her young boy at a circumcision school, came to me for help and I

*We only make use of goat droppings to smear out children's bodies if they happen to contract a rash during visits to our husbands'*

gave her a goat and asked her to bring the money after the initiation."

He says Imbeleko, the slaughtering of a goat, is performed to welcome a new-born baby.

Imbeleko refers to the skin of a goat which is dried and tenderised and later used to tie the baby to its mother's back.

A Transkei woman, Mrs Nowayinethe Bhungu, who stays with her husband at the hostels at Kick's Place, says Imbeleko is only

done by the people who are permanent residents in the townships.

"We, as wives of migrant labourers, perform the rite at marital homes — not at the hostels, where we are not permanent."

"We only make use of goat droppings to smear our children's bodies if they happen to contract a rash during visits to our husbands," Bhungu said.

Thwala says "At Kick's Place, where the migrant labourers live in Guguletu, the wives of these men frequently come to me when their babies contract rashes to ask for goat droppings, which I give them free of charge.

"The droppings are sifted, mixed with water and smeared over the body of a sick baby and the rash is cured."

A neighbour says of Thwala "He is a good Samantan, but we, as residents, have problems with the flies that have been caused by his goats. They are not supposed to stay among the people, he should have built them a kraal away from the houses.

"As a kraal is now in his backyard, the flies come in large numbers to fill our houses.

"We do not want to report the matter to our street committee as we would be seen as being jealous of him."

One young man who interjected as his parent spoke, said "Our neighbour is a kind man. When he intends to slaughter one of his goats, he would call me to assist him. After we have finished, he

would give me some meat to take home."

Municipality worker Mr James Somjovu of New Crossroads grew up at a home where goats were bred. He too sells goats.

Coming to settle in the urban areas did not deter the Transkei-born Somjovu from breeding goats in the township.

"As a Xhosa man, I felt I should have goats as I have children."

"When my child gets ill, a goat is slaughtered and the rites are performed to get the child healthy again."

"If a child does not recover, I take him to a doctor as a last resort."

"The goats are in demand during the June and December holidays when many young boys go to the initiation school."

"I sell goats for between R120 and R190 each. The money helps to supplement the low wages I get as a cleaner at Ikapa Town Council," says Somjovu.

Mr Theophilus Qole, Somjovu's neighbour who comes from rural Transkei, says the mere sight of goats reminds him of his home.

"I think it is through the frequent sight of the goats that I always think of going home."

In Langa's Zone 23 a breeder who refused to give his name says "It is contrary to the Xhosa tradition that a man should divulge secrets of his wealth."

"If you are circumcised you should know why I breed goats."

Hawkers at Langa's taxi rank complained that the goats were eating their vegetables.

"One cannot dare leave a vegetable stand alone otherwise one would return without any cabbages or spinach on the stand," says one.

"I have heard other people complaining about flies brought by the goats and I have repeatedly told them that flies come from the people who sell offal," says the hawker.

Racism has not just given rise to a black-white divide, but also to an attitude divide between urban and rural blacks. **Sabata Ngcai** reports:

South  
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## Township battles rage on the attitude front

**A**FRICAN PEOPLE coming to the cities in search of jobs are bound together by values they brought from their rural way of life. But, as they settled in the Mother City, government policies have shattered these bonds of unity.

In addition to the black-white divide, apartheid helped to separate township residents with rural attitudes (mainly migrant workers in hostels) from those with urban attitudes (the permanent residents).

"We are looked upon as less human because we come from so-called backward uncivilised rural areas," said a hostel-dweller who declined to give his name.

"It is surprising that your own brothers and sisters can dare to look up on you as a non-entity."

"Those who today claim to be Cape Town-born people originally came from the rural areas. They came to the cities in search of jobs like us."

"They also returned to the farms during the holidays but later forgot about their origins and chose to settle in Cape Town."

"The township people refer to us as 'amagoduka' (migrant labourers) and 'amaqaba' (illiterates) because we come from the impoverished rural areas," he complained.

**D**ESPITE THESE negative feelings, many young men from the townships frequently visit the hostels to join in liquor-drinking in the shebeens. But these nights out together have their dangers.

"They like to stay with us and later, when drunk, they shout abusive language and threaten to stab us to death," said hostel-dweller Mr John Sivivana.

Attitudes are also formulated on the basis of clan-origins.

"As we are Xhosas, if a man introduces himself to you, what is important is his clan-name more than the first name or the surname," said Sivivana.

"That is Xhosa tradition and we cannot run away from it."

One township resident, who also preferred to remain anonymous, confirmed the hostel-dwellers were regarded by other township residents as less human.

"Not all township residents share the same negative feelings about the hostel-dwellers. There are a large number of people who sympathise with them."

"I also sympathise with our brothers because they did not ask to be hostel-dwellers."

"They are the people who we, as a community, should sympathise with and assist in getting employment as they came to the cities in search of work to maintain their



**OBJECTS OF RIDICULE:** Hostel-dwellers in the township have to endure threats of violence and abusive language

impoverished families. "Although this negative attitude against the hostel-dwellers is found among aged township residents, it predominates among the youth."

"The cancerous virus of racism is the root cause of the problems experienced by the migrant labourers."

"In order to diffuse the tension between the migrant labourers and the township residents, the hostel system should be abolished to allow the migrant labourers to own houses and lead a normal life with their families," he said.

**A**NC WESTERN CAPE regional executive member Mr Vincent Diba said the negative attitude once adopted by the township people is falling away as "there are structures like the ANC which encompass the hostel and the township residents."

Diba said the late chairperson of the ANC Nyanga branch, Mr Lucas Mbembe, was a

*"As they are migrant labourers and regarded as people employed in the lowest category of jobs, they are considered to be the illiterates as they are regarded as people who could play no role in the community."*



**Dr Mamphela Ramphele**

hostel-dweller and was in touch with all the members of his branch.

He said negative attitudes had been previously rife because of

influx control resulting in the hostel-dwellers being separated from their wives and families.

The University of Cape Town deputy vice-chancellor and senior

researcher in anthropology, Dr Mamphela Ramphele, said "Among the reasons which led to this tension is that during the days of influx control, residential sections were introduced to settle the migrant labourers away from the township residents."

"As they are migrant labourers and regarded as people employed in the lowest category of jobs, like the garbage collectors, they are considered to be the illiterates as they are regarded as people who could play no role in the community."

"Lack of respect for migrant labourers has brought about a terrible resentment among hostel-dwellers towards township residents."

"The town life has always been associated with the better life. People who are more urbanised look down on those who are less urbanised."

"An effect of racism on our society has been to spread hate among blacks," she said.

# Ovambos 'talking

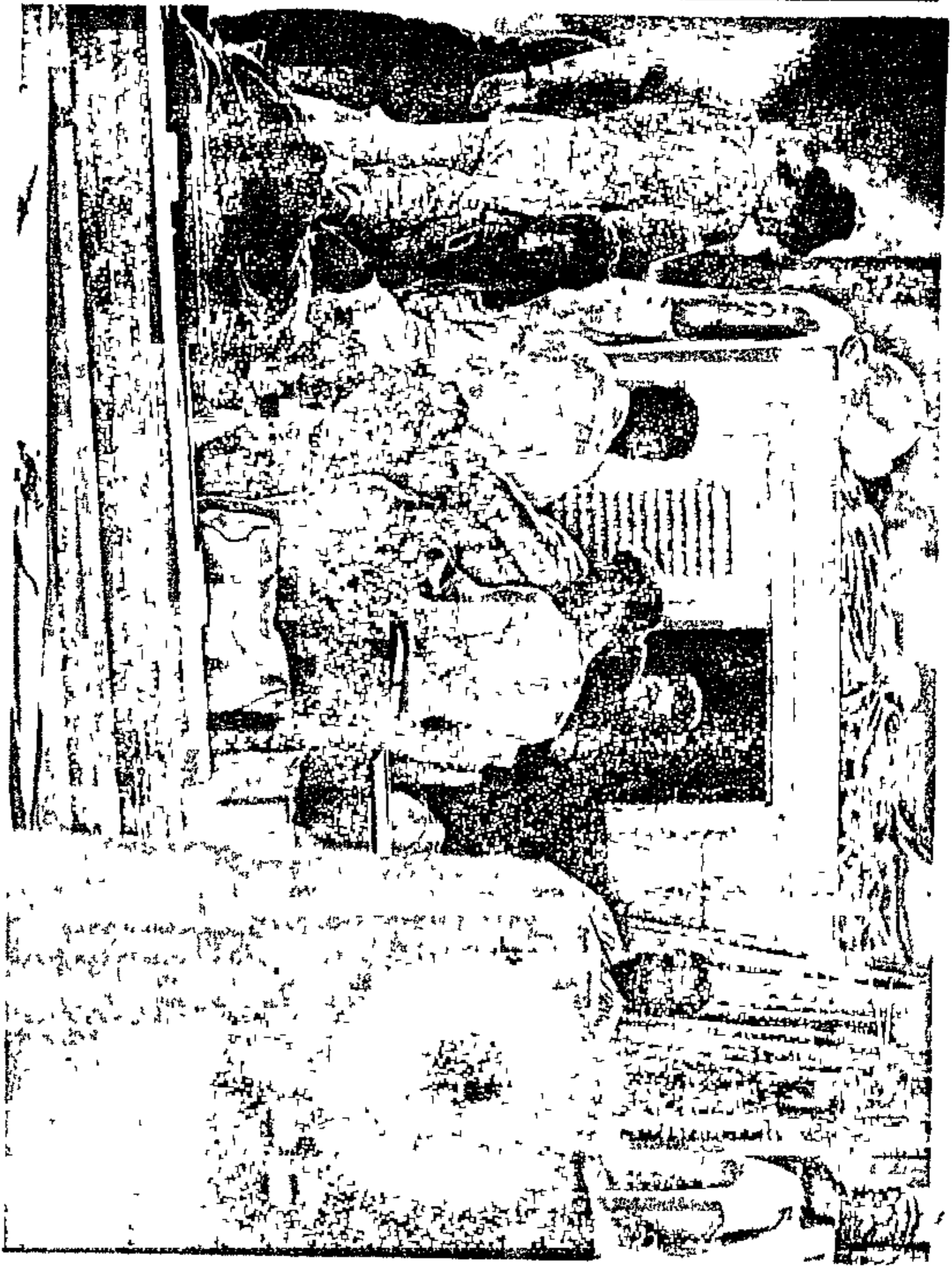
# our jobs' say local fishermen

Stimba  
Cape Metro

24/5/92



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OVAMBO CREW . Ovambo fishermen getting ready to set off on a month-long trip on a Hout Bay fishing boat  
Picture AMBROSE PETERS

ENRAGED Hout Bay fishermen claim they are being forced out of their jobs by "cheap labour" from Namibia and Southern Angola

More than 300 Ovambos have settled in the picturesque fishing village over the past three years and were being employed by private boat owners, several fishermen have claimed. "They are causing major unemployment problems for the vast majority of us," said one fisherman, Mr Norman Kapiera.

He said the Ovambos were forcing more and more fishermen out of work, because they were prepared to work for less than most other fishermen. "It is obvious that boat owners would employ them (Ovambos), because they offer cheap labour," he said. Another fisherman, Mr Mario Ja-

By JESSICA BEZIDENTHOUT

cobs, said "We are already being exploited by boat owners who underpay us, now the Ovambos still take our jobs."

One of the Ovambo workers, who did not want to be named, said they came to South Africa because "there is no work" where most of them come from. Some of the Ovambos stay in the squatter area, Imizamo Yehlu, but most stay on the boats, said another worker.

He said he worked on a boat where 17 of the 21 crew members were Ovambos. Some of the Ovambos had passports, but the majority would have to return home when their temporary passports expired after six months, he said. A private boat owner, who also did

not want to be named, said he was aware that most of the Ovambos were working illegally as they did not have work permits.

He denied that the Ovambos were being paid less than other fishermen. "They are better workers," he said. Several of the Ovambos seemed to agree that the money they were paid was "not okay."

One of them said they worked mostly for R45 a ton of fish caught, but sometimes had to be satisfied with less than R40.

Mr Richard Ball, director of Sea Freeze, one of the larger companies in Hout Bay, said fishermen were normally paid R60 a ton. He said his company did not employ Ovambos. A spokesman for the Food and Allied Workers Union (Fawu) in Hout Bay said the fishermen should join the union.

## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

THE MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
AND NATIONAL HOUSING

## QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version

For written reply

General Affairs

## Hostels in townships

201

255 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing

- (1) With reference to the replies to Question No 956 on 4 June 1986 and Question No 242 on 3 May 1991, (a) how many (i) hostels for (aa) males and (bb) females were there in each township falling directly or indirectly under his Department, and (ii) persons were accommodated in each hostel, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) how many persons was each of these hostels designed to accommodate,

- (2) whether any single-sex hostels have been converted to family housing units since 1 May 1985, if not, why not, if so, (a) how many, and (b) at what cost in respect of each such township, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available,
- (3) whether any further single-sex hostels are to be built, if so, (a) why, (b) for how many persons, (c) when, (d) at what cost, and (e) where, in each case,
- (4) whether any further single-sex hostels are to be converted to family housing units, if not, why not, if so, (a) when, (b) where, (c) how many, and (d) at what cost, in each case,
- (5) whether his Department is planning to provide improved types of bed-sitter and single-room accommodation in the future, if so, (a) when, (b) where, and (c) at what cost, in each case?

B588E

The situation in connection with hostels, as outlined in the reply to Question 242 of 3 May 1991, shows no meaningful change at this stage. A mere repetition thereof will therefore serve no useful purpose.

Regarding hostels, the Cabinet on 2 October 1991 approved a strategy in terms of which hostels in government possession will be upgraded or converted into family units. An amount of R294,6 million has been allocated for this purpose in the main budget.

The hostel strategy determines that the upgrading/conversion of hostels will take place on a basis of negotiation between the hostel inmates, the inhabitants of the adjacent towns, the owners and all other groups concerned.

The guidelines regarding hostels tabled on 1 November 1991 in the National Discussion Forum Hostels and Housing which in fact correlate with the hostel strategy have therefore been accepted by Government and are actively being pursued.

## Amounts loaned to African countries

261 Mr L F STOPBERG asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs †

- (a) What total amounts did the Republic lend to African countries in 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990 and 1991, respectively, and (b) (i) (aa) to which African countries, including the TBVC countries, did the Republic render aid in each of these years and (bb) what was the Rand value of this aid in each case and (ii) what other aid was rendered to such countries in each of these years?

B625E

## THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

All forms of aid by the South African Government to African countries for the financial years 1986/87, 1987/88, 1988/89, 1989/90, 1990/91 and 1991/92 is set out in the attached Schedules. Details of aid to other African countries is being made available to the hon member personally.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

## R11-m boost for Cape hostels

STAR 26/6/92  
Almost R11 million has been set aside by the Cape Provincial Administration for the upgrading of so-called "migrant labour hostels" in the Cape Peninsula. This emerged at a joint press conference in Cape Town yesterday held by the CPA, the Ikapa Town Council and Umzamo, a public utility company run by the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association.

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# Cape hostel upgrading plan signed

CAPE TOWN — Migrant labour hostels in the Peninsula are to be upgraded and converted into family and single units after a historic agreement signed yesterday between the authorities and a body representing hostel dwellers

The signatories were the Cape Provincial Administration, which owns the hostels, the Ikapa Town Council and Umzamo, a

public utility company run by the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association.

An initial sum of R10,7m — from a fund derived from government's sale of oil reserves — has been obtained to kickstart the process of upgrading and converting the hostels, which house about 100 000 people

Government funding is

expected to continue in later years and the involvement of the private sector will also be sought.

UCT architecture professor Julian Cook said the R10,7m would allow for the upgrade of 300 family and single units in Nyanga, Langa and Guguletu at a cost of about R20 000-R30 000 a unit

Existing accommodation would be multiplied four times by adding additional storeys to the hostels and by building new accommodation in the vicinity

Between 1 000 and 2 000 people would be catered for initially, he said

The accommodation would be rented or sold to occupants.

It would range from completely finished units to ones with just the basics

"A start will be made towards the relief of the appalling living conditions in the hostels, where whole families now occupy the bed-spaces originally intended for single men, and where the normal occupancy is four people per bed and up to 30 per room," said a statement by the signatories

"The hostels, with their rooms planned for single male workers, their barrack-like nature, their communal wash blocks and minimal ablutions, lack of proper streets and of electricity, are the direct physical legacy of the hugely destructive migrant labour system," it said.

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# Dogged hostel dwellers win the day

*S/Times (Cape Metro) 28/6/92* (201)

By KURT SWART

LONG years of difficult negotiations between politically hostile parties have borne fruit with the announcement that nearly R11 million has been made available for the upgrading of Western Cape hostels

An agreement to establish a joint co-ordinating committee to oversee the first phase of the upgrading was signed this week by representatives of the Cape Provincial Administration, the Ikapa Town Council and Umzamo, a public utility company run by the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association

The immediate task is to upgrade 300 hostels in Gqeletu, Nyanga and Langa, before tackling those in other parts of the Western Cape. The region has a vast number of hostels, accommodating about 65 000 families in severely overcrowded conditions

The R10,7 million for the first phase is from the government's sale of oil reserves. Finance for future developments is to be assessed annually

In a joint statement, the parties said negotiations had been complicated and protracted by the distrust generated by years of apartheid

Umzamo spokesman Mr Welcome Zenzile said the hostel dwellers had persisted doggedly with negotiations despite disruptive political violence and police harassment

"We introduced the Hostel Dwellers Association and started meeting the government in October 1985 to tell them our objectives. It was the start of a long road of negotiations

"We formed a board of trustees in 1987 specifically to negotiate with the government and mobilise funds"

Negotiations with an "illegitimate" structure like the Ikapa Town Council were justified pragmatically by the hostel dwellers who said they were talking to "senior technical officials" rather than councillors

"We maintained the understanding that although we suffered under the government we would continue negotiations with the provincial administration to improve our hostels"

In May last year a delegation met the then-Minister of Planning, Provincial and Land Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel, and demanded the government's commitment to upgrading the hostels

"He gave us an undertaking that he would table the proposals before the central government," said Mr Zenzile



**BLAME THE PRESS . . .** When a newspaper highlighted the shocking conditions of migrant workers, their shadowy employers immediately axed them. **By PIER FANIE JASON**

# Cape migrant workers treated 'like slaves'

CP Correspondent

23/8/92

CP press

SLAVE-LIKE living conditions greeted a group of 60 migrant labourers who recently arrived to work in Cape Town's docks. And when the local press tried to highlight their plight, workers were promptly fired and sent home.

On arrival in Cape Town the workers were forced to sleep on a concrete floor and were given one meal a day. Some of them were only 15.

Most the men and boys were recruited on contract from Mafikeng

The remainder come from Atlantis and Mitchell's Plain outside Cape Town.

"We only saw these conditions when we got here," said one of the Mafikeng workers. "And now there is no way we can go back."

A warehouse served as accommodation.

Their only protection from the

could was the blankets they brought with them. Sheets of corrugated cardboard served as mattresses. Those who do not have their own plates had to eat off sheets of cardboard

The men are employed to put maize into bags on the quayside.

They told of how they had been promised R30 a day. Some of the men said they had been loaned advance money by their employers, with which they bought sausages or eggs to supplement the mshpap.

"I've never come across work like this," said one man from Mitchell's Plain "We work 12 hours a day with no overtime or weekend rates."

Representatives of the company responsible for offloading the maize said the US firm was called Great Lakes.

When questioned they were evasive and hostile. "We brought these guys from a place where there are no jobs," said one woman who ap-

peared to be a supervisor.

When asked to confirm how much the workers were paid, she said "enough". She then called a man who told our reporter and photographer that they were trespassing.

Officials at Cape Town harbour distanced themselves from the appalling living conditions, emphasizing that the men were employed by the contractor, and not by the harbour.

When we succeeded in contacting the contractor on Monday, a man who did not identify himself said that the workers had been paid off and were to be sent home that night.

The man claimed that the labour force had been fired because the attitude of people in Cape Town towards the workers' living conditions made it impossible for the firm to operate. "I've never seen it like this in all the places I've worked in," he said

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## Police probe 'an attempt to pressure ANC'

State 17/9/92  
Reports of a high-level police investigation into past crimes involving ANC leaders were a "cynical attempt" to pressure the organisation into accepting a general amnesty, the ANC charged yesterday.

It is understood a tentative agreement between the Government and ANC on the release of remaining political

prisoners — one of three key issues delaying a summit meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk — broke down after the Government insisted on linking the releases to a blanket amnesty, which would include State officials.

The ANC is opposed to a general amnesty without the indemnified neo-

ple disclosing their crimes.

Reacting to reports yesterday that a "special unit" had been set up by the police to investigate ANC leaders, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the police probe into acts of terrorism was not aimed at the ANC "as an organisation per se". — Political Reporter

# 'Christmas cars' for govt officials

SOUTH 14/11 - 18/11/92

By Karen Williams

**T**HE HOUSE of Representatives, which plans cuts in coloured education to save money, has gone on a spending spree — buying luxury cars for officials. Their "Christmas car" splurge cost the cash-strapped department hundreds of thousands of rands, according to a source in the House of Representatives.

Most of the cars were destined for the Department of Education and Culture (DEC), which has come under fire for plans to retrench school teachers as part of a rationalisation programme. The House of Representatives (HoR) was tightlipped on the issue this week.

"It is a once in a lifetime happening that we buy cars," said Mr George Holloway, spokesperson for the HoR.

"There are no new appointees and so we have not bought any cars recently. We

will also not be buying them in the future — there is no money," Holloway said. However, a source within the HoR provided extensive information.

"Since April this year the department has bought about 10 cars," he said.

Most of the cars were top of the range BMWs, although some Mercedes Benz's were purchased, the source said. The government's Treasury gives money to the House of Representatives (HoR) which buys the cars with cash.

HoR officials with different designations are 'graded' differently, with car allowances varying accordingly. "Directors qualify for an R87 000 car, while chief directors have more, usually over R100 000," said the source. Ministers, as well as ministers' representatives qualify for the luxury car perks.

Called "Christmas cars" by government office workers, the luxury cars form part of officials' service benefits.

Every four years, top officials get new cars. Four of the 10 cars bought this year were for former Labour Party ministers who joined the National Party.

Despite exhaustive attempts to contact the DEC for comment, they did not respond by the time of going to press. The South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) slammed the department for "bad housekeeping" and "mismanagement of funds".

"We are questioning their priorities in spending. Teachers have become the first casualties of the budget cuts, not the bureaucrats," said Sadtu regional chairperson Ms Vivian Carelse. In August last year the HoR bought 13 new cars for officials.

The DEC came under fire earlier this week when it was revealed that they spent R20 760 at Club Mykonos where they held a two-day meeting to discuss teacher retrenchments.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

SOUTH 14/11 - 18/11/92  
**Men held for cell death**

TWO MEN, aged 18 and 24, have been charged with killing a man in a Mitchells Plain police cell two weeks ago.

Mr Mogamat Jessop Majiet, 45, had been arrested for being drunk and disorderly. He was found dead in his cell the next morning.

The two men will appear in the Mitchells Plain Magistrate's Court on November 20.

### Union targets Sanlam

THE PAPER, Print, Wood and Allied Workers Union (Ppwawu) is stepping up its campaign for the reinstatement of 2 000 Sappi workers retrenched in April.

The union will stage a march in the city on Saturday and will hold picket demonstrations in the coming weeks.

Ppwawu believes Sanlam is responsible for the retrenchments. Sappi is part of the Gencor-group, which in turn is owned by the insurance giant.

### Boost for hostels

WESTERN Cape hostel dwellers received a boost this week when the Cape Provincial Administration gave more than R23 million to the Hostel to Home Co-ordinating Committee (HHCC).

According to an HHCC spokesperson, Mr Welcome Zenzile, the money

### Child rape arrest

A TWO-YEAR-OLD Swellendam girl, who was allegedly raped on Saturday night, is still receiving treatment Groote Schuur hospital.

A 34-year-old man, believed to be the common-law husband of the baby's mother, will appear in court this week on charges of attempted rape and attempted murder.

Reverend Bruce Duncan, director of Safeline, said. "We have to realise that communities must be educated to prevent similar cases. How many more babies have to suffer?"

### 'We want free houses'

LANGA RESIDENTS marched to Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) offices in Goodwood last Saturday to demand the disbanding of the Ikapa Town Council.

Residents allege that the Ikapa Town Council has failed "to attend to people's needs".

The residents are demanding that houses which had been rented in the area for years be given to them free of charge. They also want a hospital and more high schools.

# Locals fight 'foreigners' over housing

South 5/12-9/12/92

(201)

By Mluleki Gantsho and Lucas Matl

Gangs of youths are threatening to evict 'migrant' pensioners in a battle for township housing

PENSIONERS living in a Langa hostel face eviction by gangs of youths who believe these elderly "migrant labourers" should make way for those born in the townships

The Cape Town-born youths, many of whom are unemployed, think that as 'Inzalelwane' (those born there) they have a

greater right to stay in the hostel than the migrant labourers

However, local residents are not impressed with the callous behaviour of the youths

Last weekend, the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) led about 200 marchers to the Langa police station and the Ikapa Town Council to demand protection for the pensioners

"We went to the police to ask for protection for the people in the hostel. The youths have already evicted several pensioners. We don't know why they targeted them. There are lots of hostels in Langa," said Mr Elliot Baraza, Sanco chairperson in Langa

The pensioners' ordeal began on November 20, when the youths allegedly launched a pre-dawn raid on a number of hostel rooms, ordering occupants to leave

Fearing for their lives, some of the pensioners moved out immediately. Others stayed on, but have moved their valuables to the homes of nearby relatives and friends

When SOUTH visited the hostels this week, most of the pensioners were reluctant to talk, saying they feared for their lives

But one of the pensioners, Mr Ntoni Mnguni, 65, who has lived in the hostel since 1957, believed that he had nothing to lose by being quoted — he was getting ready to leave for Natal

"I am not going to risk my life by resisting. I will move out as soon as I get my pension benefits from work. I will go back to Durban where I come from," Mnguni said

A 67-year-old pensioner, who has been living at the hostel for 22 years, agreed to talk on condition that his name was not published

"The youths have no respect for elders. Just because we are pensioners does not mean we are useless. They must realise we are not foreigners. We belong here," he said

One of the pensioners alleged that the youths raided the hostel a second time about 3am last Sunday

"They called us 'Amagoduka', which means migrant labourers, and said the rooms were theirs, not ours. They also

threatened to stab us if we asked questions," he said

"We will fight against any kind of discrimination because we are all South Africans. We are concerned about the violence that has taken place in other regions such as Johannesburg, where there are serious conflicts between the people in the townships and those in hostels. This has led to many deaths

"We don't want this to happen in the Western Cape, especially in Langa," said Baraza

The youth allegedly told the pensioners that they had received permission from the Ikapa Town Council to move into the hostel

But a council spokesperson denied that they had given the youths permission to do this

At the weekend, Baraza said that he was concerned that the police had not acted quickly to protect the pensioners

The action of the youths was probably prompted by the housing shortage in Langa, "but we cannot allow a situation where the rooms of people are taken away from them by force", he said

"We want the government to build more houses and we should all be working towards fighting for this, rather than occupying the homes of other people"

At first, the youths were hostile to SOUTH reporters and refused to explain why they were evicting the pensioners

But later they justified their actions by saying that "most of the time" the hostel rooms were empty and the occupants went to the homelands "forever" or were "dead"

"We were born here and are forced to share rooms with younger sisters and brothers. There is no privacy. Nothing is being done to solve our problem, we need space," said one of the youths

"We are not fighting with anyone here. We just occupied the empty rooms and we gave other occupants three days notice to move," another said

Police spokesperson Major Hendrik Opperman said police patrols of the hostels have started and the District Commissioner of Police in Athlone and the Regional Commissioner had been instructed to treat the matter with "utmost consideration"

*I am not going to risk my life by resisting. I am going to move out'*

