

OVERVIEW OF RELOCATION IN THE TRANSVAAL

The resettlement sub-committee of the Transvaal region has met regularly throughout the year to monitor events in the six "homelands" scattered throughout the province, as well as the rest of the country. Much of our information has come from newspaper reports, and the reports of SACC field workers. Members of our committee have also undertaken several visits, particularly to communities under threat of removal.

This rather unstructured paper has been compiled by members of the committee and represents a pooling of our knowledge and experiences during the past year. We are very conscious of the fact that there are large gaps in our knowledge, particularly in the remoter regions of the Transvaal.

Certain important trends have become apparent. We have reason to believe numerous removals are taking place in strategic areas on the N E borders. While the Government grants a reprieve to communities such as the Barlokwa, with the full glare of press publicity focused on it, small-scale removals are taking place quietly along the SA/Zimbabwe or SA/Mocambique borders. Political issues are also involved in those parts of the province where the Government is engaged in a trial of strength with the CP. A recent delegation of the SA Agricultural Union was given an assurance by the Prime Minister that their interests would be safeguarded and that removal of black spots would continue without delay.

The non-independent Bantustans continue to be punished for their refusal to accept independence, not only in the trading of large parcels of land (eg Lebowa-KwaNdebele) but in gross discrepancies in financial aid from Pretoria. Development aid to Gazankulu has actually been reduced, while neighbouring Venda with half the population, receives twice the amount of financial aid. The tragic outbreak of polio last year can largely be attributed to hopelessly inadequate health facilities. There simply was not sufficient vaccine, or adequate refrigeration facilities for the vaccine that was supplied.

One final point should be noted by all regions dealing with resettlement. Dr Koornhof stated in Parliament on 13 April 1982, and has repeatedly hinted as it subsequently, that all future removals would be dealt with on a confidential basis and would be discussed only with the homeland concerned. It seems that this may become yet another subject which may not be published as it is "not in the public interest".

BOPHUTHATSWANA

Current areas of interest involving Bophuthatswana include the following: firstly, non-Tswana inhabitants of Bophuthatswana have been raided daily by police of the Bafokeng tribe. These non-Tswanas are usually the wives of the local mineworkers who are visiting their husbands. A fine of R70 or 60 days in jail is usually given to those arrested. Within a fortnight 1 100 non-Tswanas were arrested (RDM 1.2.82).

The non-Tswana residents of Winterveld are still suffering continued and sustained harassment and we now have evidence

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that even the Tswana residents are being harassed. A recent meeting with representatives of the Winterveld Landowners Association (who are Tswanas) revealed that they were threatened with arrest for protesting against the calling of an unauthorised snap election of a new Winterveld council. Armed Bophuthatswana police were present at a meeting where the published agenda was completely ignored and an attempt was made to push through an election immediately. They also stated that bulldozers demolish homes and other property for road-building, the occupants simply being told to vacate at a certain time and keep out of the way of the bulldozers. No agreement is ever reached about compensation.

Winterveld squatters have reacted angrily to allegations that they have been taking advantage of their landlords' generosity. Countering this was their accusation that the plot owners exploited squatters who came to Winterveld looking for accommodation when they were removed by the government from places like Pretoria. (Sowetan 22.1.82) The Winterveld land has been divided into five zones, four of which will be utilised for better homes, and one which will be set aside for agricultural purposes (Sowetan 15.6.82). Most recently, however, the Department of Co-operation and Development denied responsibility for building 3 000 houses for thousands of squatters in Winterveld (Sowetan 20.1.82).

Recent drought has caused a serious water shortage for African villagers living north of Pretoria. Eight thousand lack water supply and must buy water at R2,50 per drum from landowners. Daily fighting has occurred as desperate residents scramble to get to the head of the queue for water.

The majority of Bophuthatswana citizens (72%) who are residing in Johannesburg or Soweto have boycotted the recent general election in Bophuthatswana, and thus are asserting their identity as South African citizens (RDM 21.10.82). Mangope appears to condone this action (RDM 14.10.82).

We have been involved in supporting two particular communities. One is Mathopiestad, under threat of removal (details in a later section). The other is the small community of Rooigrond, now in their twelfth year in "temporary" shelters. They are stubbornly resisting all efforts on the part of both SA and Bophuthatswana officials to move them to Bodibe, a desolate, disused lime quarry, and are insisting on returning to Madiwiestad where their ancestors are buried. A search is presently being made through the historical records of the old S A Republic to see whether their claim can be legally and historically supported.

The mortality rate has reached alarming proportions in resettlement areas and lastly, squatters' camps at Onverwacht near Thaba Nchu in OFS. The former Minister of Health, Dr Munnik, when questioned in Parliament, stated that the health services there are as good as they are in Houghton! Mrs Suzman and Peter Soal visited Onverwacht in December 1982. Helen's comment was: This is Houghton!

KWANDEBELE

On 19 February 1983 Dr Koornhof announced the consolidation proposals for KwaNdebele, which would increase its size almost seven times, from its present 51 000 ha to 341 000 ha. He also made the announcement that KwaNdebele is to become the fifth "independent national state" in 1984.

The following evening, 20 February, in News Review, we were treated to a TV spectacular on this newest addition to our constellation. We saw a rural paradise of rolling green fields, picturesque huts and smiling beaded women and children.

The reality as we know it is very different. For the last four to five years, hundreds of thousands of people have been resettled in stony wastes, principally in eight major and four smaller re-settlement areas. These are pegged out like graveyards, with their toilets and ramshackle corrugated iron shanties. Families arrive at a rate of 20 per day and are dumped on freshly pegged plots for which they pay R40. There are no reliable census statistics, but the present population is thought to be in the region of 500 000. In all there are approximately three quarter million people - Ndebeles - about to lose their SA citizenship.

KwaNdebele is the second smallest of the Bantustans, and a newcomer on the scene, having originally been overlooked in Dr Verwoerd's grand apartheid scheme. A belated attempt to provide for this ethnic group led to a small section of central Transvaal being carved out for them. Certainly from the historic or economic point of view there is no real reason for its existence. It is in fact so underdeveloped and impoverished that when independence was first mooted in May 1982, Chief Minister Skosana admitted it would take at least five years to develop the necessary infrastructure to make it economically viable.

There is only one tarred road with another under construction. There are a few clinics and others under construction but there is not one resident doctor in KwaNdebele. Two doctors from the nearby Philadelphia Hospital visit the area regularly. Water is a precious commodity. In the few areas which have piped water, such as Siyabuswa, the capital, the taps frequently run dry. In another area there are only two taps per 1 000 families. Water is brought in by trucks and sold, one "water shebeen owner" stating that he charges 90c a drum or 30c per 20 litre tin. Boreholes have so far yielded nothing, and there is no water for irrigation, hence no crops. The Minister of Agriculture is on record as saying that agriculture is still "in the planning stage".

To the east are 11 Nebo trust farms also excised some time ago from Lebowa. There are settled by Pedi people moved originally from the prime agricultural area of Middelburg. They have just succeeded in re-establishing themselves and are very bitter at the prospect of another move. Also part of the package deal is a large block of Bophuthatswana, north-west of present KwaNdebele, and another large tract of land in the south.

But by far the most attractive rewards for this tragi-comic "independence" are the proposed Holiday Inns casino resort and the

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large injection of capital certain to flow from Pretoria.

Sums of between R150 million and R200 million have been mentioned as the price of this consolidation plan. It should be stressed that this sum is earmarked not for KwaNdebele development, but for compensation to white farmers whose land will have to be expropriated. This should go some way to softening the anger and indignation they are reported to be feeling.

LEBOWA

<u>POPULATION:</u>	1,7m mainly N Sotho
<u>SIZE:</u>	8 land blocks 2 248 008 ha
<u>TOTAL POPULATION ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE:</u>	230 380
<u>COMMUTERS:</u>	72 200
<u>MIGRANT WORKERS:</u>	186 000
<u>1980 BLACK EARNINGS:</u>	About R1,5m had no measurable income. More than 44 200 earned less than R300 p a. Only 100 earned more than R18 000 a.
<u>G D P:</u>	R221,6m - Agriculture - a major contributor

LEBOWA

In the debate in Parliament on 11.2.83, Dr Koornhof announced that people from the Ramagoep/Matok area numbering some 80 000 to 100 000 people and the people from the Khutama and Sentimule area numbering 35 000 - 45 000, who were scheduled for removal, would now not be moved. It is felt that one of the reasons for the reprieve is that there was so much adverse publicity and resistance from the people concerned that the move was stopped.

The Minister pointed out that consolidation brings sacrifices for whites as well as blacks and that from 1976 - January 1983, approximately 25 000 whites were moved as against 34 000 blacks. He also said that in 1980 there were no removals.

The KwaNdebele/Lebowa conflict of the Moutse/Nebo is dealt with in the KwaNdebele section of this fact paper.

The problems with the people who have been moved from Doornkop which is a Black Spot Removal in the Middelburg district to Motetema Hlogotlou have not been resolved. In Doornkop where the Pedies and Ndebeles and Swazis lived very happily side by side, the Government policy based on ethnicity has separated them, and they are now in conflict. Some of the Ndebeles were moved to Siyabuswa and some to Motetema Hlogotlou in Lebowa, and then the Ndebeles were once again moved from Lebowa to KwaNdebele.

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One of the areas of conflict near Tzaneen, bordering on Gazankulu, is the Douglas Smit Hospital, where the Bakgaka tribe are boycotting the hospital, and it is reported that there is ill-treatment of the Bakgaka people by the Shangaan/Tsonga nurses and doctors. It is also reported that patients fled the hospital and ran into the veld at Lenyenye. Some of the patients still had drips attached to them. They also claim that the Tsongas had removed sign posts and boards in the disputed land. There are a growing number of Bakgaka children whose lives are jeopardised by the lack of adequate health provisions.

There is also a dispute over irrigation schemes affecting the York, Wynnik and Kingston farms by the Tsongas and Bakgakas. These farms are being held under trust and were also disputed by both groups.

The Evangelical Presbyterian Church is considered to have taken advantage of the Bakgaka, and as a result the farm Seban was granted to the Tsongas (Shangaan). Ethnic and tribal divisions were exploited by the Central Government, and the Chief Mhlaba (Shangaan) drifted away in the process with substantial land gains, which were achieved at the expense of the N Sothos and it was seen as an island within Sotho land.

VENDA

Venda constitutes an area of 618 156 ha and a total population of 315 545 predominantly Vhavenda. The number of Venda citizens who are economically active is 59 500 or 19% of the people. Within that group 5 700 are commuters and 41 000 are migrant workers. The average annual income for a Venda citizen is R470.

This last statistic brings up an issue which got quite a lot of press throughout 1982 - the vast discrepancy in salaries between Venda's political leaders and the homeland's workers. President Mphophu lives in a R750 000 palatial residence and has increased his salary 120% since December of 1980 so that the leader now exists on R48 700 a year. Similarly, his Cabinet Ministers have profited from a 90% raise since 1980 and now thrive on R36 500 a year. Furthermore, the salaries are supplemented by two cars (one for official or ceremonial occasions and another for everyday use). This cost the Venda some R250 000 in 1982. The Chairman of the opposition Venda Independent Party (VIP) Mr Gilbert Bakane pointed out that these increases are clearly at the expense of badly needed agricultural projects. "One cannot understand the reasoning of these people", Mr Bakane told the Rand Daily Mail, "in one breath they make huge increases, in another they have no money for development". (RDM 9-25-83).

Mr Bakane has recently decided to use next year's election as a means of determining whether his opposition party is worth the effort. His party won the majority of seats in the elections of 1973 and 1978 but was never granted the power it deserved because its most popular candidates were detained and the nominated Vhavenda chiefs and headmen were persuaded to support the Venda National Party. Nonetheless the VIP occupies 25% of the 42 elected seats and is the most significant opposition party in all the homelands (RDM 4-2-83)

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Along with the internal tensions between its political parties, this homeland is at odds with the South African Government over the consolidation plans for the area of Venda. On 7 July 1982 the Minister of Manpower, Fanie Botha, announced that the final border agreements had been reached. Immediately President Mphedu accused the Minister of trying to placate white South Africans who were living near the Venda border. On 10 July, President Mphedu, after announcing that the towns of Messina and Louis Trichardt should become part of Venda, said, "The unilateral announcement of political borders of a friendly independent state at a political rally intended, perhaps, to pacify the feelings of voters, cannot internationally be regarded as anything else but the undermining of that state's integrity and sovereignty".

Of course, another cause for Venda animosity toward the SA Government is the threat of resettlement which hangs over a number of villages in the homeland. According to Ishmael Mkabela's report for the SACC Relocations Action Committee, there are about twenty white farms which have been acquired by the Venda Government for the purpose of accommodating resettled villages. Rev Lesiba E Matsaung of the NGK is stationed in the area and is working with others to provide services to several communities in distress. However, his church has suspended his salary as a means of applying pressure on him to leave Messina and abandon his aid to the resettled.

The desperate need for the efforts of men like Rev Matsaung is demonstrated by the example of Madimbo. This group of Vhavenda, under the leadership of their Chief NeMadimbo, was removed from Madimbo in August 1982. They insisted that their resettlement area be given the same name and hence there now exists an old Madimbo and a new Madimbo.

The installation of Battalion 112 of the SADF into Old Madimbo has deterred these people from resisting their resettlement. As for New Madimbo, tin toilets and shelters, most of them painted, have been lent to the people for the duration of a year. Four zinc classrooms with thatched roofs have been constructed as well. The population of New Madimbo is provided with four water taps which in turn on two small tanks. Very little ploughing or gardening had been undertaken by October 1982 because no rain had yet fallen. Such problems, it is said, did not haunt these people in Old Madimbo where people grew crops and reared stock very successfully. Among the children of New Madimbo, malnutrition is chronic and no food is supplied for students during school hours.

Ishmael Mkabela stresses that organisation around political, social and economic issues is greatly limited by the constraining presence of the Defence Force activities and Security Police harassments. Since independence in Zimbabwe, such factors have become much more pronounced and the church's efforts in Venda have been drastically hindered. The threat of resettlement is not limited to the Madimbo; other communities being put through similar trauma are Sigon de Gumbu, Tshengelani, Masisi, Duluthulu

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and Bend Mutale. Mkabela describes all these areas as lush with crops, irrigation and self-sufficiency. They are also sites for removals.

In general a sense of fear is imposed on Venda citizens. The death in detention on 12.11.81 of Isaac Tshifhiwa Muophe, a 29-year old lay preacher, is not forgotten. His wife, Lillian, was consistently harassed during the trial of the two Security Policemen involved; they were eventually acquitted. President Mphahlele has the ultimate say on all decisions in Venda including the hiring and firing of individual workers. Therefore, there is a real need for the people to refrain from criticising their blatantly corrupt leader - a need based ironically on self-preservation.

This committee has been involved throughout the year in various support activities in Mathopiestad and Driefontein. Following are summary reports on these two communities.

Mathopiestad is a settled, prosperous small community of about 2 000 people near Brons in the W Transvaal. The Bakubang tribe bought the land in 1911, having reportedly acted on the advice of Pres Kruger. They own the title deeds to the land and the mineral rights, and it is therefore classified a Black Spot. They farm maize, sorghum, sunflowers, fruit and cattle, and are certainly able to produce enough for their own needs, and frequently produce a surplus. There are solidly constructed houses, two schools, seven tractors and a general air of peace and prosperity.

They are to be moved to the closer settlement on the farm Onderstepoort near Sun City, a dry hot area unsuitable for either maize or cattle farming. They have been told they can grow vegetables for Sun City.

After visiting Mathopiestad early in 1982, Joyce Harris wrote to Dr Koornhof, at their request, protesting against the proposed move. A lengthy reply was received in July from Mr Wentzel, Dep Minister of Development and Land Affairs. This contained the usual soothing assurances that Onderstepoort was fertile land and its situation (near Sun City) would create many job opportunities. Every assistance is rendered to resettled people, they are not involved in any expenditure, they are resettled on land where they belong ethnically, socially and politically, treated with compassion and consideration, etc. Finally, it is a decision of Parliament and even the Minister of Co-operation and Development must abide thereby!

Joyce again replied, refuting these claims and pointing out that Parliamentary decisions can be amended or rescinded. The people of the tribe also replied at length, stating emphatically that they

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opposed to the move, as the new land is unsuitable for farming and there is no communal grazing, and they can see no reason why they should move from their own land. A terse reply to Joyce from Mr van der Walt followed again emphasising the previous points.

The community have been divided on the question of the proposed move. The late Chief Arthur Mathope was in favour of moving and it was rumoured that he had been offered the large house previously occupied by the white farmer. He died suddenly in mysterious circumstances, after taking medicine administered by his tribesmen. (This occurred the day after Helen Suzman, Sheena, Marian and two American visitors had been detained at a road block while visiting Mathopiestad, the police reputedly acting on a complaint from the Chief.) Security Police were much in evidence at the funeral, as they said to protect certain people from attack by those opposed to the move.

Mr Matlaku Johannes Mathope, at present acting chief, has been repeatedly visited and questioned by Security Police. Continued police presence in the area poses a serious hazard to relations between the authorities and the Bakabang people.

Having failed to win the support of the tenants and the collaborating chief having been dealt with by his own people, the authorities are now reported to have changed their strategy. It is reported that Agricor has spent R10 000 on developing and irrigating 13 prime fields which are to be offered to selected landowners.

There are 4 000 latrines at Ondersterpoort so the area is obviously being prepared for a very large resettlement, far more than the relatively small community of Mathopiestad. The Minister has been questioned about this by Helen Suzman in Parliament, but has not given a direct reply.

The affairs of the Mathopiestad people are being handled by the Legal Resources Centre. They also have great faith that Helen Suzman will be able to halt the threatened removal.

DRIEFONTEIN

This Driefontein lies in the South Eastern Transvaal and was bought as a farm from a white farmer in 1912, by the Native Farmers' Association of South Africa. Since then it has been divided into plots of 10 morgen, which have been bought by over 300 landowners, all of whom still hold title deeds. The people of Driefontein are of Swazi, Zulu and S Sotho extraction, but there is extensive intermarriage between the groups.

Since 1965 the people have been under threat of removal. In spite of many representations to the Government, it has been made very clear that no opposition to the move will be tolerated.

A letter from Mr J J G Wentzel, Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, stated: "Everyone has to make sacrifices for peace and prosperity" and the removal would go ahead. Dr Koornhof made it clear that "the dam on the Assegai River will, on completion, flood some of the Driefontein properties, and, it is a decision of Parliament that the people of Driefontein must be settled elsewhere".

Early in 1982 the Commissioner of Wakkerstroom "suggested" that people should sign in favour of the removal - otherwise they might get no compensation. In November 1982, the Swazi and Zulu people were taken to Lochiel, Kangwane and Babanango, Natal, respectively, to examine the areas where they are to be resettled. Only a small percentage of the community went - and they were seen on to the buses by carloads of armed riot police.

In December 1982 the Council Board of Directors was formed to co-ordinate resistance to the move, the chairman is Mr Saul Mkhize. Since then harassment of the people has increased. There is more obvious police activity in Driefontein. People are being arrested for pass offences. Women are searched and fined R30 if they are found without bra and pants. Pensions are being obstructed. Threats were made that the army would be used to "assist the removal". It has also been stated by Mr Halt, Commissioner of Land Tenure: "Within five years infrastructure should have deteriorated to the point that most people will ask to be moved".

On the 12th February 1983 Mr Mkhize's 17 year old son was severely assaulted by the local police, who kept asking why Mr Mkhize was resisting the removal. The son had a glass eye from a previous accident and during the assault this was displaced from his eye and lost. He was taken to Piet Retief Police Station, given electric shock treatment and detained for 24 hours.

Next to Driefontein lies Daggakraal and KwaNgema, who are also under threat of removal. Efforts are being made to divide each from the other, but there is growing support between the three communities to take a firm stand against all removals in the area.