SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY
AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Influx Control:
The Pass Laws
by
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INFLUX CONTROL: THE PASS LAWS

Introduction
Influx control has been one of the central pillars of the policies of segregation pursued by successive governments in South Africa since Union; policies, inherited from the British colonies and the Boer republics, which have always been directed towards promoting the interests of the white population. The black population, excluded from participation in the political process, has had no say in the development of these policies, and black persons have been prevented by the force of the State from mobilizing themselves to have the policies changed. The result has been white prosperity and black poverty.

The History of Influx Control
Influx control has always borne a close relationship to land policy. Shortly after Union the Native Land Act of 1913 was passed, which set aside certain land for ownership and occupation by black persons. Black persons were not entitled to acquire ownership of land outside these areas, which then accounted for about 7% of the total area of the country and has
since been increased to approximately 13% of what was formerly the Union of South Africa. The right of black persons to be in other parts of the country has been regulated and controlled by the influx control system. In time this led to the concentration of black persons in particular rural areas which have as a result become overpopulated and unable to sustain even a subsistence agrarian economy. The restriction on the mobility of black persons imposed by the influx control system curtailed migration to the towns and inhibited the acquisition by them of skills necessary for participation in a modern technological society. Those members of the black population who were able to establish themselves in the towns were impeded by discriminatory education and labour policies and the result was that at the conclusion of the second world war - the time when South Africa was about to embark upon a period of unprecedented economic growth - the black population consisted in the main of migrant workers supplementing a subsistence economy in the reserves, agricultural labourers and peasants on white owned farms, and an uneducated urban proletariat. Towns have been seen by the white population as being their preserve and their governments have used the influx control system to maintain this position and to restrict the presence of black persons in the towns to what is needed to meet the labour requirements of the white economy. This policy was enunciated in the report of the Transvaal Local Government Commission (The Stallard Commission) in 1922 as follows:
"It should be a recognised principle that Natives - men, women and children - should only be permitted within municipal areas in so far and for so long as their presence is demonstrated by the wants of the white population".

The Existing Influx Control System
Over the years the principle stated by the Stallard Commission has formed the basis of influx control legislation, but with the passage of time policies have been modernized and refined and in recent years influx control has been closely linked with the government policy of denationalization of black citizens and the creation of independent homelands. The purpose of this paper is to describe the system of influx control as it existed in December 1983. It will be apparent from what follows that the restriction on mobility imposed by the influx control system has limited employment opportunities for black persons in the cities and has been a major cause of both rural and urban poverty.

The Framework within which the Influx Control System is Operated
The homeland policy contemplates that land set aside for ownership and occupation by black persons will be broken up into independent states. Part of this land has already been excised from South Africa and vested in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. The remainder of such
land still forms part of South Africa but has been divided into separate territorial areas which are referred to in the legislation as 'national states'. These are the non-independent homelands such as Kwa-Zulu and Lebowa. The homelands, independent and non-independent, are underdeveloped and overpopulated areas in which over half of the black population is supposed to live. The rest of the country is divided for the purposes of the influx control system into prescribed areas (which include all cities and most industrial and commercial areas) and non-prescribed areas (which consist largely of farmland and mines).

Non-Prescribed Areas

The right of black persons to remain on land in such areas is linked to employment. Special arrangements have been made in respect of mines. Elsewhere, bona fide employees and their dependents may live on the land if permitted to do so by the employer - who is usually a farmer - but the number of employees that each employer is permitted to accommodate on his land is not unlimited. Black labour control boards determine the maximum number of black employees permitted to live on any particular piece of land, and in this way numbers are limited and control is exercised over the congregation and residence of black persons on farm land. Black persons working in these areas have no security at all. They or their families can be ordered off the land at any time and their presence on the land is dependent entirely on the needs of the farmers. If ordered
off the land they have to go to an area for which they qualify on ethnic grounds. This will be one of the homelands, or possibly a resettlement area like Onverwacht in the Free State, and from there, the men may attempt to move into the towns, but can only do so lawfully, by means of the migrant labour system operated through the medium of the tribal labour bureaux. Women have difficulty in moving out of such areas and are ordinarily refused permission to take up employment in towns.

Prescribed Areas
Prescribed areas are the urban areas where employment opportunities exist. Controls over the presence of black persons in such areas are contained in the Urban Areas Act, the Black Labour Act and the regulations framed under these acts.

The Urban Areas Act
Control is exercised in the first instance through section 10 of the Urban Areas Act which contains a general prohibition against black persons being in an urban area for more than 72 hours. Excluded from this prohibition are persons defined in sections 10(1)(a), (b) and (c) of the Act as being black persons entitled to remain in an urban area without permission. Factors which entitle a black person to claim a 10(1)(a) qualification are continuous residence in the area since birth. A 10(1)(b) qualification depends on continuous lawful employment in the area with one employer for a period of
not less than ten years, or continuous lawful residence within the area for a period of not less than fifteen years. In addition certain other requirements in regard to good character, residence and employment have to be met. The wife or dependent child of a person with a 10(1)(a) or (b) qualification who reside with him qualify under Section 10(1)(c). All other black persons require permission from the manager of the local labour bureau to be in that area for a period in excess of 72 hours. These are the section 10(1)(d) workers who are usually migrants or commuters working on the contract labour system. The permission, if obtained, authorises the presence in the area only of the individual concerned and does not carry with it the right of the individual to have his family with him. The permission may be (and usually is) limited for a time and purpose specified by the manager of the local labour bureau.

Black persons who do not qualify under Section 10 commit an offence if they are in an urban area for a period in excess of 72 hours. In support of the 72 hour rule, strict control is exercised over the employment and residence of black persons in urban areas.

**Employment in Urban Areas**

Black persons qualified to be in an urban area under Sections 10(1) (a), (b) or (c) of the Urban Areas Act are free to take up employment or work for their own account within the area for
which they are qualified.\textsuperscript{13} A contract of employment has to be registered with the labour officer, but is not otherwise subject to his control.\textsuperscript{14} They also have opportunities to take up employment in other prescribed areas if accommodation is available,\textsuperscript{15} but if in doing so they move into a different Administration Board area, their section 10 rights may be prejudiced.\textsuperscript{16}

Other black persons have much more limited employment opportunities. They can only enter an urban area for the purposes of taking up employment or working for their own account if they comply with the provisions of the Black Labour Act and the labour regulations. The Black Labour Act provides for control over the employment of such persons to be exercised through labour bureaux.\textsuperscript{17} The basic control is to prohibit employment which is not sanctioned by the appropriate labour bureau.\textsuperscript{18} Labour bureaux have been established within the homelands, and all black men living there who are unemployed and dependent upon employment for their livelihood, are obliged to register at their area bureau.\textsuperscript{19} This obligation comes into existence when the young man is fifteen years old.\textsuperscript{20} Upon registration the worker is classified for a particular category of work.\textsuperscript{21} This classification, as far as practicable, has to be made in accordance with the wishes and qualifications of the worker\textsuperscript{22} who may be only fifteen years old - and the availability of labour in various categories of work. A record card is then completed\textsuperscript{23} recording details of the worker's
name, age qualification and identification and all jobs undertaken by him. These records are progressively being computerised. No black person living in the area of a labour bureau may leave such area for the purposes of seeking employment without permission from his labour bureau. It is an offence for him to do so, and it is also an offence for any person to introduce him into a prescribed area. To obtain employment he must be requisitioned or recruited through the labour bureau system. Requisitioning works as follows. Prospective employers make a requisition for labour which is referred by the municipal labour officer to a labour bureau in a homeland which endeavours to fill the requisition. Contracts between the employer and the employee entered into through this system have to be attested at the office of the labour bureau. The alternative procedure is recruitment, which is done under licence or through authorized labour agents. Recruitment is only valid if written contracts are entered into and once again the contract has to be attested and registered at the labour bureau for the area in which the recruitment took place.

In practice a farm labourer will not be allowed to enter into a contract for urban employment without the consent of the farmer on whose land he lives and the agricultural union for the area. Ordinarily the contract of employment may not be for a period of more than one year or 360 shifts or in the case of persons under the age of eighteen, nine months or 270
shifts. Without the concurrence of the labour officer, the worker cannot be employed in any category of work than that for which he has been registered, which implies that a worker is expected to follow a path which may have been chosen or assigned to him at fifteen, without his having any knowledge of urban life or the particular industry in which he is to work, and without regard to the inclinations and skills which may develop in later years. In practice this procedure is used to ensure a stable pool of labour for a number of unpopular and usually lowly paid occupations. Save with the consent of the Director of Black Labour – which is seldom given – a woman may not enter into a contract of employment to work in a prescribed area. If authorized by the labour bureau she may take work elsewhere but requires the consent of her guardian to do so. In effect, this means that women from homelands are excluded from establishing themselves in cities, and may only seek work in homelands, resettlement areas or farms.

Before the contract of employment is attested, the employer may require the worker to be medically examined and vaccinated by a medical officer. Notwithstanding the attestation of the contract, a municipal or district labour officer is required to sanction the employment or continued employment of workers in the prescribed area, and may refuse to sanction such employment if the worker does not occupy accommodation approved by him or a competent authority, or if there are any unemployed black persons in the area concerned who are authorized under Section
10(1) (a), (b) or (c) of the Urban Areas Act to be in that area and who are suitable for the employment.\textsuperscript{35} The municipal labour officer may require a black worker to be medically examined at any time and may refuse to sanction the employment or continued employment of any black worker if he is not 'passed healthy and vaccinated' by the medical officer\textsuperscript{36}. The procedure for employment of black workers is impersonal, humiliating for the workers and inefficient from the point of view of employers and employees. As far as the workers are concerned it inhibits their mobility and makes it virtually impossible for those who have not been requisitioned or recruited to find lawful employment in the towns. The number of black persons who may obtain employment in the Western Cape is limited and controlled in accordance with the policy of 'Coloured Labour preference'.\textsuperscript{37}

Control over employment is one of the two pillars on which the influx control system is built. The other pillar is control over residence.

\textbf{Residence in Urban Areas}

Residence in urban areas is subject to controls which will be dealt with later and is permissible only in black townships or in accommodation provided by the employer at the place of employment. Black persons are required to produce on demand to any authorized officer any permit, licence, certificate or
other document which they are required to have under the Urban Areas Act or Regulations. Provision is also made for the imposition of curfews at night in urban areas outside of black townships and hostels, and for the summary removal of residents from townships and hostels if they contravene any condition of residence imposed under the regulations. Machinery exists for the removal from the urban areas of persons convicted of contravening Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act and for removing from urban areas persons with section 10 rights who are declared to be 'redundant' or 'idle or undesirable' and for expelling persons whose 'presence in an urban area is detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order'.

Women are worse off than men. If they are homeland residents they are not ordinarily entitled to be recruited for work in the towns. Moreover, although a man who qualifies under section 10(1)(a) or (b) to live in a town may have his wife to live with him, a woman who qualifies under those sections does not have the same right. If a woman who qualifies under Section 10 marries a man who is not qualified to be there she must either leave the city or accept that notwithstanding the marriage she and her husband will be separated. Upon divorce or separation or the death of her husband, a woman living in the city by virtue of a section 10(1)(c) qualification loses that qualification and may be obliged to leave the city.
Housing Policy as an Instrument of Influx Control

The use of housing policy as an instrument of influx control has been pursued for the past twenty-five years. Housing for black persons was formerly the responsibility of local authorities but from the 1950s the Government sought to limit the provision of family housing units by controlling land usage, limiting funds made available for housing black persons and encouraging the settlement of workers in hostels rather than in family houses. In 1958 a decision was taken that sub-economic funds should not be made available to local authorities for the provision of new black housing on the grounds that it was not the State's task to provide subsidies for black housing in white areas. Local authorities were required to finance the building of such accommodation out of their own resources and did so for a number of years, but because of the financial burden and the restrictions on land available for such development, new housing stock was insufficient to cater for the natural increase of the existing urban black population let alone for the new population resulting from migration to the cities. By 1968 there was already a shortage of housing in black townships in the commercial and industrial areas.

In 1968 the controls over the occupation by black persons of housing in urban areas were tightened to give effect to the policy of the government that new family accommodation for
black persons should not be provided in urban areas. Regulations were passed which provided that occupation of houses in black townships in urban areas was to be subject to permit. Permits for family housing would be granted only to men qualified to be in the urban area in terms of section 10(1)(a) or (b) of the Urban Areas Act, who had work in the area and had dependents who lived with them. Others, who qualified in terms of section 10 to be in the urban area, had to find accommodation as lodgers or in hostels. Permits for family housing could be cancelled on 30-days' notice for a number of reasons including until 1979 the unemployment of the permit holder for a continuous period of 30 days. At the same time the system under which black persons were entitled to build homes on sites provided by local authorities was curtailed and existing home 'owners' were no longer entitled freely to sell their homes or to bequeath them to their heirs. They could dispose of the buildings which they had erected to a local authority. Any other transfer required the approval of the Minister. The source of accommodation in black townships was to become the local authorities from whom accommodation could be rented on terms prescribed under regulations which sought to relate the right of occupation to employment. All initiative within the black community itself to provide new housing or improve existing housing was stifled. In the years that followed control over housing was gradually removed from local authorities who did not always pursue the policy guidelines of the government and entrusted to
administration boards who would implement government policy. Funds were channelled into hostel development, and the construction of new family housing in urban areas was curtailed in favour of family housing in homelands. The government and the administration boards contemplated that workers who could not be accommodated in existing accommodation in the towns would commute between the homelands and the towns by bus or train either on a daily basis, or over weekends living during the week in hostels. This policy was pursued until 1979 when a number of material changes were made to the Regulations governing urban black residential areas.55

The 1968 residential regulations coincided with the Black Labour Regulations of 196856 which sought to institutionalize a migratory labour policy through labour bureaux and the contract labour system. The purpose of these measures dealing with labour and residence was to restrict migration to the towns, to prevent families who were not already there from settling in the towns, and to relate presence in the towns more directly to the needs of the labour market. Family accommodation was to be available only to those where the male head of household was in employment and was to be given up if the householder was unemployed for more than 30 days. It proved impossible to enforce this policy and attempts to do so had disastrous consequences. Migration to the cities which was the result of economic forces was not prevented, nor was there any reduction in the urban black population. Instead there was gross
overcrowding, an increase in 'illegal' residence in black
townships and a growing contempt for the law all of which
contributed to the resentment within the black urban community
which ultimately expressed itself in the 1976 riots.

Since the upheavals of 1976/7 opportunities for 'home
ownership' have been created through the 99-year leasehold
system and the reintroduction of the home building scheme
which was curtailed in 1968. These changes did not immediately
have a marked impact on black residential areas, partly because
of widespread suspicion within the black community of the
value of the new rights and partly because of formalities which
made the acquisition of leasehold rights expensive and
difficult. The suspicion of the black community is
attributable in part to government action in previous years
such as the policy of expropriating freehold rights of black
persons and the steps taken in 1968 to nullify home ownership
under the old site permit scheme. There is a reluctance to
invest money and hopes in acquisitions which might prove to be
temporary. This reluctance is fostered by conditions under
which accommodation is still provided within black townships.

Existing Conditions under which Housing is Provided in Black
Townships

Houses are available on lease from administration boards, and
recently the 99-year leasehold scheme has been promoted more
generously. It is now contemplated that large portions of the
existing housing stock will be sold to the present occupants. A substantial number of people are still accommodated in hostels and there has as yet been no provision of new land for family housing in black townships in the major cities.

The occupation of all accommodation in black townships is subject to strict controls the breach of which constitute criminal offences. It is for instance an offence to climb onto, under or over or through a gate or fence, wall or railing in or around the township,\textsuperscript{58} or to enter or leave the township otherwise than through some authorized means of ingress or egress,\textsuperscript{59} to sink any well,\textsuperscript{60} make any excavation,\textsuperscript{61} or dig any hole without the permission of the superintendent except for \textit{bona fide} gardening purposes,\textsuperscript{62} to deface obliterate or destroy any number painted, inscribed or affixed on the premises,\textsuperscript{63} to incorporate in any dwelling, building fence or outbuilding any material which has not received the prior approval of the superintendent,\textsuperscript{64} to fail to furnish one's full name, identity number and address or proof of the right to be in a black residential area as may be required by an authorized officer of the administration board or council,\textsuperscript{65} to convene or address a public meeting or assembly or to use a loudspeaker in the township without the written permission of the location superintendent,\textsuperscript{66} to permit a public meeting or entertainment in the location to continue later than midnight without the approval of the location superintendent,\textsuperscript{67} to collect any money for any purpose other than \textit{bona fide} church purposes at a
public meeting or assembly without the written approval of the location superintendent, or to use a dwelling mentioned in the site permit residential permit or certificate of occupation for any purpose other than that authorized under the regulations. Residential permits are issued subject to conditions on the breach of which the permit can be cancelled. It is a condition of residential permits that the tenant must occupy the house together with his dependents unless other arrangements have been made with the superintendent. Thus if there is a temporary separation of husband and wife as a result of matrimonial problems, the residential permit of the husband may be cancelled. On divorce, the husband's permit may be cancelled if he fails to make arrangements to the satisfaction of the superintendent for the accommodation of his wife and dependents. A location superintendent, inspector of the board, or other authorized officer may enter any house in the black residential area at any reasonable time for the purpose of inspection, and it is a criminal offence to refuse entry to such person.

The powers of the location superintendent are vast and can be exercised in an arbitrary fashion. It is a common occurrence for householders who are in arrears with their rental to be 'arrested' by township police in the early hours of the morning and taken to the superintendent's office to explain why they are in arrears. The acute housing shortage has led to long waiting lists and to suspicion within the black community of
favouritism in regard to the allocation of houses and talk of corruption in the allocation of houses is frequently heard. Whether or not there is truth in such allegations - and they are frequently made - conditions within black townships are such as to be conducive to such suspicions. Disputes between houseowners and tenants, disputes between families in relation to housing and disputes between tenants and housing authorities, are rife.

Location superintendents still see housing as an instrument of influx control and not infrequently use their powers for such purposes. An example. Mr and Mrs K lived in Soshanguve, a township outside of the Pretoria prescribed area which has been established on trust ground. Their children attended boarding school. They were divorced and Mr K retained custody of the children. After the divorce the township superintendent informed Mr K that he would lose his house because he was no longer married and had no dependents living with him. Mr K pointed out that the children lived with him though they were at boarding school. The superintendent said that this was not good enough and that he would lose the house unless he married again. Mr K then took a new wife but when he sought to have her placed on his house permit the superintendent cancelled the permit saying that the wife was not a resident of Soshanguve but came from outside the area. The cancellation was in fact unlawful and Mr K's permit was reinstated following an application made by him to the Supreme Court.73
Reference Books

Persons living in the homelands are prevented from being in the cities by the controls exercised over their right to reside or take up employment there. These controls are brought together by the reference book which every black citizen over the age of sixteen years is required to possess and the passport which every citizen of an independent homeland who does not have a reference book is obliged to carry. In order to take out a reference book the applicant must provide his fingerprints which are then transmitted to the central reference bureau. This provides a point of reference over the person concerned for the rest of his life. No contract of employment may be entered into with anybody who does not possess a reference book, nor may any such person become a tenant of a house in an urban area. The right to be in a prescribed area and the right to take up employment is recorded in the reference book which must be produced on demand to an authorized officer. Reference books or passports may be demanded in the streets and if these are not in order the persons concerned are arrested and where they do not qualify to be in the city they may be fined or imprisoned.
Classification

The influx control system differentiates between black persons who are citizens of South Africa, those who are citizens of independent states but were formerly citizens of South Africa, and other black persons who are referred to as 'foreign blacks'.

Foreign blacks have no right to live or work in South Africa. Their presence in South Africa is dependent entirely upon permission which may be granted or refused in an arbitrary fashion. Permission once granted may also be withdrawn at any time without reasons being given. An example of the precarious position of such persons is the case of black Zimbabwean citizens a large number of whom after having lived and worked in South Africa for many years were recently ordered to leave the country, notwithstanding the ties which they had built up here. The Zimbabweans had no rights at all in South Africa and there was no basis for challenging the directive requiring them to leave.

Black citizens of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei lost their South African citizenship when those territories became independent. Citizenship of such territories depends on ethnic origin and not necessarily on residence, domicile or choice of the individual concerned. Thus for example, persons classified as Tswanas who were born and brought up and live in Soweto lost their South African
citizenship when Bophuthatswana became independent. In many cases this happened against the will of such persons and has had a material bearing on their status, and that of their descendants for the purpose of the influx control system. Transkeians, Bophuthatswanans, Vendans and Ciskeians are now foreigners in South Africa. The same will presumably happen to the Ndebele for whom 'independence' is scheduled for 1984, and persons who are deemed to be citizens of any other homelands that take independence. The first generation of homeland citizens have retained the rights and privileges to which they were entitled as South African citizens, and can qualify for urban residence, and employment in urban areas under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act. But this right does not pass to their descendants and under existing legislation they will be classified as foreign blacks. This means that children of persons classified as citizens of, say, Bophuthatswana, who are born after independence and brought up in Soweto, by parents who have lived all their lives in Soweto may have no right to remain in Soweto. Unless the law is changed they will become as vulnerable to arbitrary administrative action as the black Zimbabweans were and they will live in Soweto without any security whatsoever. What needs to be stressed is that the rights and privileges which urban blacks who qualify under section 10 presently have in regard to residence and employment in urban areas are ultimately destined to disappear unless there is a change in the law.
This then, in broad terms, is the existing system of influx control. It is a system which is much hated within the black community; its by-products are broken families, poor living conditions, a loss of respect for the law, a sense of insecurity, a loathing of officialdom, and poverty.

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S DUNCAN

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FOOTNOTES

1. Act No. 27 of 1913.
2. Section 1, Status of Transkei Act, No. 100 of 1976.
5. Section 1, Status of Ciskei Act, No. 110 of 1981.
9. Section 26 of Act No. 18 of 1936.
10. Section 29 of Act No. 18 of 1936.
15. Para 14(4), ibid.
16. Section 10 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945 read with section 26 of the Black Affairs Administration Act, No. 45 of 1971
20. Ibid.
21. Para 6(2) and 7, ibid.
2.

22. Para 6(2)(a), ibid.
23. Para 6(2)(b), ibid.
24. Para 21(1), ibid.
27. Paras 10, 11 and 12 of Proclamation R74 of 1968.
32. Para 13(1)(h) ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Para 19, ibid.
36. Para 30, ibid.
37. Para 27(e) ibid.
38. Section 43 bis of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945.
39. Section 31, ibid.
40. Section 38, bis, ibid.
41. Section 14, ibid.
42. Section 28, ibid.
43. Section 29, ibid.
44. Section 29 bis, ibid.
45. See: Notes 32 and 33 (supra).


48. Regulations governing the control and supervision of an urban black residential area and relevant matters, promulgated in Government Notice No. R1036 contained in Regulation Gazette No. 976 of 14 June 1968 (Regulations Governing Urban Black Residential areas).

49. Paras 6, 7 and 8 of Chapter 2, ibid.

50. ibid.

51. para 20, of Chapter 2, and Chapter 7, ibid.

52. Paras 15(1) of Chapter 2, ibid.


54. Para 9(1) of Chapter 2, ibid.


56. Black Labour Regulations (Bantu Areas) promulgated as Proclamation R74 of 1968.

57. Introduced initially by section 6A of Act No. 97 of 1978.


59. Ibid.

60. Para 37, ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Para 47(1)(c), ibid.

64. Para 47(1)(d), ibid.

65. Para 47(1)(m), ibid.


68. Para 26(3), ibid, read with para 47(1)(q).
69. Para 47(1)(w), ibid.
70. Para 7(4)(a)(ii), ibid. Until 1980, site permits and certificates of occupation were also liable under para 15 to be cancelled for this reason as well.
71. Para 7(4)(a)(iii), ibid.
72. Paras 42 and 43 read with para 47(1)(r), libid.
73. See: Case no. 5767/83 TPD Applications; See also Case No. 10260/83 and 11907/83 both TPD Applications.
75. Para 2, ibid.
76. Para 4, ibid.
77. Section II of Act 67 of 1952.
78. Section 8(bis) of Act 67 of 1952.
80. Para, 3 ibid.
82. Section 12 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945.
83. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Section 12(1) of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945.
These papers constitute the preliminary findings of the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, and were prepared for presentation at a Conference at the University of Cape Town from 13-19 April, 1984.

The Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa was launched in April 1982, and is scheduled to run until June 1985.

Quoting (in context) from these preliminary papers with due acknowledgement is of course allowed, but for permission to reprint any material, or for further information about the Inquiry, please write to:

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SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Among the discarded

by

Buntu Mfeyana

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Cape Town 13 - 19 April 1984
SYNOPSIS

This is the second interim report which sought to bring out more of the characteristics of a Natal "resettlement" camp. It looks at the various social groupings to be found in EKUVUKENI and environs: especially relations between Amakhoswa (Believers/Christians) who agreed to be moved, and Amabhebu (Traditionalists) who refused point-blank. The former protest that they are a peace-loving group and will have nothing to do with the latter's frequent fratricidal clashes. Such izimpi are essentially inter-clan and intra-group, but amakhoswa remain insecure; women who go out to collect firewood are said to be prone to abduction, while some of the feuding men (iziqhaza) stay in the camp by day, and sneak off to the hills by dusk, when their adversaries are likely to strike. LAND-HUNGER is clearly at the base of such faction fights, while the need for ready cash drives some to become hired killers and set out to avenge this or that murder, an act which frequently leads to an imbalance in the tally on either side. As a result the fighting escalates.

The camp is a small overcrowded area that has to support a population of about 20 000 people. For 80% of them the bare necessities of life...
are hard to come by: shelter, food, water, health services, transport, work and places of worship. Even the graveyard is rocky, uneven and poorly fenced, with a line of ready graves for young and old. Remittances from migrants (fathers, sons, husbands and a growing number of mothers) keep most families alive, while old age and disability pensions supplement the family income (when available). The general feeling at Ekuvukeni is summed up in the utterances "Sikhonyana" (we are almost alive), and "Silahliwe" (we have been thrown away).

Yet there is hope. After two years the fieldworker who also doubles as a lay minister of the CPSA has assessed the strengths and weaknesses of the community. Frequent complaints, endless visits to the many shebeens and countless pleas to Ulundi will help but a little. The answer lies in organization: so a community club has been launched, to see to selfhelp and other projects. Small it may be (20-30 active members) but it has led the women to discover hitherto unknown skills and qualities in and among themselves. Word has spread to Vaalkop, Limehill and further afield. A spirit of hope and competition is abroad. Even Inkatha has learned to treat the people's clubs with caution. And so the future, in the visitor's opinion, is not as bleak as in February 1981, when the experiment started.

They may move us around a thousand times,
Divide, cajole, bully, promise, demolish, demoralise
But as long as we are in Africa,
We shall rebuild, regroup and overcome...
THEY HAVE TODAY, WE HAVE TOMORROW.

INTRODUCTION
The date is 25th March 1982. It is Thursday evening and the time is 10 o'clock. We've been here for a few days, having arrived on Tuesday, 23rd, from "The Promised Land", Ekuvukeni area, Mnambithi district. We are taking up the suggestion made by some friends
recently, namely Margaret Nash, (Rev) Michael Wearne and others, that the Fieldworker should continue to talk into his machine if he feels that the material is overwhelming, the situation too complex. So we are going to try that.

We have no ambitions of making Part 2 of "Among the Discarded", which was said to be a good report, but maybe something like it will appear. This time we are going to go through the Diary, by way of trying to pick up a fragment which we wrote recently called "Update on Ekuvukeni". We'll read through some of the entries and then comment, but the main thing I would like to bring out at tomorrow's meeting with the Project Committee is the aspect of HEALTH, especially:

i) the health of the Fieldworker and
ii) the health of the Community vis-a-vis water (availability and purification), fuel and nutritive food.

I would also like to focus on the problem of transport because I am beginning to feel the pinch in the absence of any motorised transport. I'm NOT BLAMING ANYBODY. I just feel handicapped because I can't move around as fast and as efficiently as I would like to --- Now in this project I am handling very sensitive material which needs to be monitored constantly as far as one's situation allows. Public transport can be so tedious and irregular, not to mention the DIET OF DUST which we are treated to on the gravel road (about 15 km) between Ekuvukeni and Ezakheni. A study of the lungs and lung-related diseases of the workers who use this road five to six days a week would be quite revealing. We need not mention the effect on health and posture of waking up at 3 am catching the bus at 4 am as workers from Uitval do, and then standing all the way to and from Ladysmith (35-40 km).

I should be in Matiwaneskop this weekend to witness the Mothers' Union Annual Festival, and to make friends with some of the local
people who might prove to be good contacts later, like Mr Hlope and others. But here I am, stuck in Johannesburg. Surely if there was a (good, first-hand) car, I could manage somehow to satisfy both my family and work interests. Anyway, let me go back to my entries...

GUN LAW HAS COME TO STAY IN THE MNAMBITHI - MSINGA complex, the Ladysmith-Tugela Estates or Ferry area. This will come through when we stop to consider the diary-entries, and also Appendix I (translations of 2 articles from *Ikanqalo*). The latter refers to the recent shooting of Mr H T Kumalo and his wife in Driefontein, specifically Watersmeet. He was tipped to become the next chief of the area after Mr Samson Kumalo, who was shot dead in May last year. The incidents which people told me about at the beginning of this year also serve to emphasise this defence aspect, namely that SO MANY PEOPLE HAVE GUNS. Mr Elliot Mngadi's article and discussion (AFRA Special Report No.2: "The Removal of Roosboom") also emphasises the fact that in Ezakheni and the whole district there are too many guns, and in the wrong hands. Roughly eight out of ten people are armed, and really no fieldworker can just walk into such a situation and depend solely on charisma and the Holy Spirit, although we can put our trust in God. WE CANNOT TEMPT FATE BY GOING IN UNPREPARED. God would be justified if He said: "My child, why did you wade into this situation unarmed, when you knew very well that 80% of the people were armed to the teeth?"

I am also thinking of the next "summit meeting" in Msinga (*ahlumbe*). We had one on 11 March, with people from the Velanibathembu Project. Some two to three men have misappropriated a tractor bought for the whole community by I.C.A. Tempers are frayed; there have been some threats made, and fieldworkers from the SACC are supposed to return there and sort out the mess. It would be risky and unwise to just walk into such a situation barehanded, armed with files and pens only. What if some violence breaks out? How do we defend ourselves? Fieldwork in Natal and Transkei nowadays is becoming rougher, and nobody can be blamed for having some misgivings about these things.
I had intended to visit with the M.U. today, as is our custom on Thursdays. We thought we would have a service at Mrs Mokoena's, No.276 in the township. Oops, I have just referred to Ekuvukeni as "a township". In fact it should not even be called a "resettlement camp" because that is a euphemism. All such places should actually be referred to as "dumping grounds". All other expressions tend to mask the issues at stake.

We intended to take to Mrs Mokoena's house indawo nokubonga, ie encouragement, condolences and thanksgiving, because the family has been through a horrendous time. According to one of my informants a neighbour stabbed Mrs Mokoena's daughter in the head. The knife remained stuck in her head, and she was pronounced dead by the doctors. But after the knife had been removed she regained consciousness, and is now well. (Even recently, the mothers, WHO ARE THE CHURCH IN THE BUNDUS, mentioned that we should visit Mrs M). The point is that KNIFINGS, RAPE, ABDUCTIONS, DRUNKENESS, and all the other aberrations which we tend to associate with urban townships like Soweto, Alexandra, Western Native and many others HAVE BECOME PART OF THE DAILY LIFE in the so-called "rural areas".

In this project (called the Natal Pilot Project) I feel duty-bound to hammer and stress the on-going, vital connection between the reserves and the cities, between the countryside and the towns, between amakhaya nedorobha. One could take three case-studies - and we might do that later - take 3 families in Ekuvukeni, say the Myaka's, the Mbuli's and the Langa's and analyse them: see what connections they have with the city, how they are maintained and in what frequency. We've also, in the last few days when I was there, obtained some statistical data in the form of statements from people about how much they get paid. We are trying to, now, develop a statement made in "The Promised Land" that "industrial workers in Ladysmith are some of the lowest paid people in the country". Now when we get to the statistics and how people travel to get to work using the buses, how they scrounge from day to day, what happens at work and some statement or two on unions, then we will also be developing the picture.
Some figures and statistics on the nitty-gritty of life in such camps are beginning to seep through. It took us a year, but finally we've managed to get the people on our side, to trust us. This has a lot to do with how local people view us: not as scholars, tourists, do-gooders and such - but as fellow human-beings, fellow-Christians TRYING TO HELP OTHERS TO HELP THEMSELVES, to be their own spokespeople, their own champions.

So people are opening up. In the bus one gets a statement on how much Mrs X gets paid at what factory. How Mamthembu gets up at 3 am, catches the bus at Uitval at 4am, stands all the way (it is already full by then), does soulless and repetitive work (She's a checker at a cotton factory called "Mavelemi": C.F.C.C.). That's why when she knocks off at 5 pm she promptly falls asleep on the way home - seated or standing. One sees many of these over-worked workers.

Most workers are beginning to realise that their only hope lies in inyonyani: the trade union. I know, for example, that GAWU (the Garment Workers' Union) is active in the area. In this way we are developing a statement made in the slide and tape show, "The Promised Land". (referred to above). "Industrial workers in Ladysmith and the lowest paid in the whole of Northern Natal." A picture is emerging. Very grim. If we are going to include people from Ezakheni, Limehill and Driefontein (plus Steadville, Umbulwana and St Chad's, of course), then we'll be speaking in terms of about 250 000 people.

15.11.81 - had a 2-line entry: "signs of growth in immediate neighbourhood, as evidenced by booganda-ganda". Noticed that 10-15 flecrafts or tin huts have arrived, and are being put up. Already some families are trying to put up with them. You can see, around 7-8 am, these heavy machines rumbling up and down. A different kind of invasion. One is actually woken up by the monsters, and then the mental debate starts, the questions come, rumours fly thick and fast.
"People from Matiwane are arriving! Hawu! So I did some checking. Then the tune changed, "People from Jonono are here!" Heyi! What's all this? Later when I revisited the place to try and keep my finger on the pulse of the people, I found that these people are from around Ekuvukeni, but also from as far as Umlazi! The tin huts are partly the result of family growth; somebody is building a house for his daughter, in another case, it is for a son. Another group, bigger than the first, have been evicted from the surrounding farms - so far it has not been possible to talk to them and get some more details. The reader is referred to AFRA Special Report No.1, where some of the issues are analysed. (See below under "casework").

In a place like Ekuvukeni, where the means of communication is so primitive (about 5 phones for 15 000 people) rumours tend to breed and multiply unchecked. Indeed, the bush-telegraph has its own built-in flaws. People are aware that the place is growing, but how and at what rate still eludes them. After all, officialdom is a past expert at sleight of hand, disguise, double-talk and other shenanigans. The last thing they want is publicity: if a few more families can be infiltrated and scattered around a camp with minimum fuss, so much the better.

When amabhunu speak of "co-operation" they mean we must co-operate when they are raping our land. "Development" to them is whatever happens after people have been dumped, after the trucks have returned to their depot (eg kwaMapemwana, half-way between Ezakheni and Ekuvukeni), after the dust has settled and people pause to assess their situation: from their shacks, tents and pondokkies:

"Sanibona wee Katide, ninjani?"
"Sikhonyana mfo kaMbele."

That word "Sikhonyana" says it all. It is part of the greeting pattern, rituals of entry and exit. The man Katide does not say
"Sikhona" i.e. we are all here, all right. There is a diminutive suffix: -ana- we are almost but not quite here, almost but not quite all right. It's chit-chat, it's the daily grind, but it also helps an outsider to gain an inkling into "how the other half lives".

When I arrived in January 1982, the topic on everyone's lips was IMPI: internecine warfare.* From Christmas right into the New Year, faction fighting raged furiously between abase ziduli nabakwa jwili: two local villages that resisted removal to Ngutu, Nondweni and such places.

"Nobody actually wants them as neighbours. They are so wild. Four times the trucks carted them away. Four times these people returned and rebuilt their kraals and homesteads" -(an informant).

Under different circumstances, one would applaud such single-mindedness and dedication. But the group with whom I have struck up an alliance, namely Amakholwa (the Believers), were not impressed; after all, they were being forcibly resettled among these warring clans. Another commentator, Mambatha, (aged about 75) puts it thus:

"When we were told that we will be moved to Fanteni, we said, "Awu! But we do not use guns, sticks, spears, and such! WE ARE NOT A WARLIKE PEOPLE, WE ARE AMAKHOLWA."

An article from Intuthuko ("Progress": Vol 16, No.11: Nov. 1975) refers at length to this tribe, and how its Chief (Absolom Ndlovu)

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*Hats off to "Juluka"(ie Sipho Mabuza and Jonathan Clegg) who are painfully aware of the situation in Msinga, judging by their experiences (Sipho was nearly killed in an elimination 'attempt') and songs. They are a good group in ethnomusicological terms: some of their titles include the smash hit "Impi", "Siyonqoba Simunye" (through unity we shall overcome) and a forthcoming LP titled, according to my contacts, "The Scatterlings" (released August 1982). Such material should be used to advantage whenever the land question is being discussed.
was installed to rule over them. HOW THE BANTU AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER FROM LADYSMITH, MR J P SWEMMER, COULD GO THROUGH THE MOTIONS OF THIS 'CEREMONY' WITH A STRAIGHT FACE, IS BEYOND MY UNDERSTANDING. I mean Steenkoolspruit was in the process of being expropriated, de-populated and moved! Which subjects was the Chief supposed to rule? To this day he remains a toothless bulldog, a "paper-chief": he stays on a farm 10 km from where most of his subjects are. Ekuvukeni is classified and hence administered as a "township", so he has limited say in its affairs. Very pathetic indeed. I suppose that also leaves Piet Pinnochio "cold" ...

The local class-structure at Roosboom, Ekuphumleni, Nkunzi, Mbulwana, Meran and Wasbank, looked something like this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>AmaOraram or Oralam</td>
<td>(The 'Coloureds')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>AmaKhosi</td>
<td>(The Chiefs, eg Kumalo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>AmaKholwa</td>
<td>(The Believers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>AmaBheshu/Iziqhaza</td>
<td>(The Traditionalists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>AmaNgurrman</td>
<td>(The Foreigners, eg Vendas, Shangaans et al)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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A word about each group before we proceed:

Most commentators agree that the Oorlam or half-caste groups (in the Cape they are called amaRhanuga, amaLawu, oo-Amperbaas) were left tribeless and homeless after the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). "Their grand-parents sought refuge with and grew up under amaBhunu or abeLungu." Consequently, they grew up with little or no knowledge of the Zulu language and culture. But things were not as cut-and-dried as all that, as Mrs Mchunu from Steadville (aged ± 70) testifies:

"My child, it was quite a life. At play, ie outside the house, we could use any language we liked. Indeed, to SURVIVE and SOCIALISE, we could not get by without a smattering of isiZulu. But once you entered the house, you had to forget everything else and speak Afrikaans (or English)."
The light skin is not a hallmark of amaOraram. Some are pitch black. It's the culture and outlook that count. Some of the surnames are Zulu (like Kazi, Mchunu, Bengu, Ndlovu etc) while others are Afrikaans (Petersen, Meyer etc). One strong levelling factor in these intergroup and interclass relations was INTERMARRIAGE. Another interesting term for this group is AMA-HUMUSHA (those who use a European language, Xhosa = amaKhumsha).

Most of the available anthropological literature deals with the royal class and clans, AmaKhosi. Less has been written about izinduna, the councillors and their family histories. One of our indunas, Mr S, went into hiding for 6 months this year, fearing for his life. Mind you, he also attends church with the Anglicans, so he's not just "another tribal fellow".

"His father had two or more wives, so his brothers from this extended family fought many a feud. Then out of the blue, some men appeared at S's house and demanded to see him. Had he shown himself, he would have met his Maker."

People feel for this man. We all pray that he will elude his hunters, or at least that they will leave him alone. One can only depend on case studies in such matters, otherwise the sweeping statement can be very misleading.

d There is a woman at the tin-hut section who has two pretty twins, a boy and a girl (aged about 9 months). Now until one enters and asks, it is difficult to know what happens in these fletcrafts. So I asked her, (she belongs to the Zwane clan), if they use both rooms, and she said, "No, we use one half of this tent."

"But what does your husband do for a living?"
"He is a Government person, an induna."

Oh well, I didn't know that Black civil servants get this kind of treatment.
Re the *Amakholwa* group: most of my observations have to do with the comings and goings of this group. They are my prime source of information. One institution that played a crucial role in their early history was St Hilda's School for Girls, founded by Miss Cooke at the beginning of this century. This strongly built school helped local women to learn reading and writing, sewing, cooking and various other skills that helped them to get and hold jobs in the various towns. When the Bantu education monster arrived in 1953, St Hilda's was the first casualty in the Mnambithi district.

"It was teaching the kaffir girls to stand on their own two feet, to be independent, to be cultured. It had to go..." (A black woman).

Miss Cooke earned the people's undying respect by insisting that she be buried at Roosboom, among the people she had come to serve.

*Lala ngokuthula Nkosazana...*

*Amabheshu*, as the name implies, still prefer the loin-cloth to a pair of trousers. They strive at all times to follow "the Zulu traditional way of life" (and wife). As the bus rattles past their isolated households, one will see a young maiden holding a white flag.

"What is it? Is she trying to stop us?" asks a new-comer like yours truly.

"No, leli tsitshi liqomile". (No. This young girl has just accepted a suitor.)

These young girls are the most interesting and colourful lot: I call them, rather fondly, the "stop-light group." They have a penchant, like their male counterparts, for over-decoration. See them on the bus on their way to town: colourful white or red tackies on the feet, socks held by a band of elastic cord, an assortment of bangles on legs and arms, a skirt of sorts held by a belt so decorated you must notice it: that's where you're likely to see two or three bicycle stop-lights among the bric-a-brac. The mid-riff is bare, while the shoulders are covered by an appropriate cotton shawl; white if unmarried or unbetrothed, and coloured if already "taken".
The neck and face boast a few necklaces, ear-rings and some cream (traditional or modern). The head is left bare, hair plaited in one style or another. Down the arms, a formidable array of bangles and watches march triumphantly. Don't bother to ask the time - most of the watches stopped ticking a while ago!

And so on to the young men (i'insizwa) : in the Eastern Cape, they are called o Bholomane: they ride bicycles in groups. Their bikes are decorated to extremes. A regular feature on any trip is i9qudu or isagila: the cudgel or bludgeon. That's to make sure that one can defend oneself against tsotsi's, dogs and the like. In our area of Kwa Zulu, of course, the sagila has been replaced by the okapi (knife) and isibham (the gun).I'insizwa are the noisy fellows who play all manner of noisy contraptions at the station and bus-stop while waiting for the next isitimela or ibhest. It comes as no surprise to a seasoned traveller to see 3 F.M. radios held aloft by their proud owners, all blaring, at top volume, the same song! Urban ways take a while to sink in. The latest craze is the amplifier (radio-cum-record player connected to a loadspeaker). It helps to announce one's return from the big city to one's village (isigodi).

Vestiges of these class-caste divisions endured to the present day, though the lines have been blurred somewhat. People do, in time, change and sort of "cross the floor" in terms of mannerisms, observances, dress, hobby and outlook. The resultant "grey areas" are more difficult to account for : eg the avowed Christian father who still insists on brewing something for amadZozi, abaphansi (the ancestors).

So one dare not depend on external characteristics, like a pierced ear-lobe, to guess at a person's cultural affiliation. It may be that Mr X or Miss Y is making frenzied efforts to have this ear sewn. Still, local Africans have not gone to the extent, like some of their Euro-American counterparts, of undergoing lip and nose
operations to make them look 'less African' and more 'Western'.

A final word on external traits: I still have to see a man wearing 
*ibheshu* in Ekuvukeni. People usually point to men wearing overalls and lolling about during the day, or wearing expensive suits and driving sleek cars, as "*abantu bempi*".

When we are taking some visitors around the district, I usually point out certain huts "skulking among the trees and shrubs", so skillfully camouflaged to blend with their bleak, brown surroundings, (boulders and rocks). One needs a sharp, trained eye to spot them, (by the time the thatch is cut and used, it is already golden brown). These then, are the hideouts and strongholds of the faction-fighters, the people who have refused point-blank to move. So here and there they remain, to beat their *is’gqapu* (ancestral drums) through the night, brew *isiZulu*, marry many wives and continue their *izimpizombango* (squabbles and feuds over sweethearts and boundaries).

This life-style has a way of marring community life in the closer settlements and "townships" quite drastically. Now and then *amabhe she* have to flee into the surrounding hills and vales which they have come to know so well. Their *izitha* (enemies) include administration board officials (*boomagwana*), *amaporisa* (the S.A.P.) and *amaso she* (police and army people in camouflage).

"How do you know that someone is looking for you, or is approaching your hideout?" I ventured to ask.

"We are helped by the women."

The speaker actually made a circle above his head to indicate "those who wear circular headgear." This cone-shaped headdress distinguishes married tribal women from others (unmarried and modern. The latter use doeks, woollen hats etc.) This headdress must be an adaptation of the original hairstyle, *isicholo* (for men = *isicoco*).

So, 1982, like others before it, began with bullet-shots, screams, deaths and recriminations. It kicked off with oaths of revenge, and missions to the cities and hostels to trace and eliminate real and imagined adversaries.
"Many people were killed. During the funerals of the victims, shots were exchanged. There were tense scenes... People had to go to the graveyard armed to the teeth. They hardly had time to clean and dress the corpses."

Let alone invite relatives near and far to enjoy the sumptuous meals which we urbanites have come to associate funerals with nowadays. There was no time for that. People were at war with one another. And that is the supreme tragedy.

Dr Kistner and I had a taste of this electric atmosphere on 31st January (1982), when we had to bury a young man, Sydney "Tshatsha" Zwane, aged about 20. He was a prefect at Endakana High School in Ezakheni. His soccer team, in particular, ("Young Killers F.C.") paid glowing tributes to him: the songs and praises in particular were very original and touching. One does wish for a movie camera or a whole film crew on such occasions.

Nkos'nathi, to use his very meaningful African name, (the Lord is with us. In such cases, does one really need a Euro-Christian name?) had just alighted from a school bus and was looking for someone to call his girlfriend.

"A drunk woman from nowhere just appeared and stabbed him once in the neck, and he was no more." (An observer).

Now when a year begins like that, one must have some misgivings about the defence situation. One would like to feel protected somehow - yes, preferably by a .38 special. I asked myself if the press in Natal and elsewhere knows anything about the situation of virtual war prevailing in Ladysmith. Yes, the coverage of the Verster-parabat case has been good and thorough (Kranskop-Msinga), but - well, perhaps one is expecting too much. Perhaps diaries like mine need to be published, to supplement the four line blurb in the Natal Witness et al:

"Misinga toll rises"
"Watchman shot dead in Mnambeet"
"Faction war spreads to hostels"

Yes, those casualty figures per weekend for Soweto need to be scrutinised, for 2-10% of the victims have to do with impi zombango.
Somehow, the atmosphere at the graveyard of Ekuvukeni when they buried Tshatsha reminded one of the 1976-77 Uprising of the Children, alias The Year of the Hippo.

My hostess, MaZwane, paused in mid-sentence to observe: "If you were here, Mbele, you would have filled many of your note-books". They know that I like scribbling. I asked, "But Gogo how can you say that? Wouldn't I be killed by mistake?" MaZwane: Oh no! They know one another. They always know who they are looking for.

They go into a bus and look around. They even stage their own 'road-blocks'! If they find no one they leave quietly. If they find someone they tell him:

"Mfo, let's take a walk."

And before the bus has disappeared around the next bend, shots ring out, someone screams, and another nsizwa joins his ancestors...

Observer: "One man from the Zwane clan reached home, after a week or two in the bush. Just as he began to wash, maybe preparing to shave and then chat with his makoti, two men appeared at the doorway, apparently from nowhere, and said: "Mfo, let's go, you'll wash in front". He was shot on the way to the main road."

So 'urbanisation', which in most cases is nothing else but commercialisation and brutalisation, has brought the Zulu people the Valiant motorcar, the gun, the knife and the hostel. It reduced their land to next to nothing, and destroyed an old way of settling inter-clan disputes, (what Jonathan Clegg calls an "ideology of vengeance". Surely there were no hit-men in those days?)

(Other happenings in my absence early this year would include gale force winds which roared through the area twice, the second attack sounding more like a tornado. It's about the same time when rooftops in Osizweni, Newcastle, were blown off. I tried to contact Rev Twala and others in the area, but no dice. Later we heard that it was not
exactly Osizweni but an adjoining slum called "Mountain View" or something. The Caring Church does wish it could be at the right place at the right time, but to achieve that we need better co-ordination of our resources, human and material.)

POINT: People have tended to blame just about any calamity that befalls them (the drought, hailstorms, windstorms, etc) on the faction fighting:
"God does not like to see so much blood".

(It should be noted, at the time of concluding this extended report, ie October-November, there has been a lull in the war for 2-3 months. People say the chiefs came and wagged a few fingers, made a few pleas, and the "cease-fire" came into force. What will happen over the December holidays remains anybody's guess).

In mid-March the late rains came, but Ekuvukeni went without tap water for two weeks. It was a pathetic sight to watch old and young, firm and infirm, agile and weak-kneed, running after the ZG truck to get water which, on closer inspection with the naked eye, had oonojubalala (creepy-crawlies) dancing up and down. Peter and I are planning to do some rigorous testing, but the initial results indicate that even the water from the trucks is far from healthy. This is the health aspect, which we dare not forget.

One mother, MaMngadi, recalled the night of the freak storm:
"I mean, my whole mkhukhu was shaking. I woke up and rushed to the flimsy door shouting, 'Shwele, Jesu!' (Have mercy, O Lord Jesus!)."

And who are we to scoff at this "fire-engine" aspect of our faith? Adversity has an admirable way of reminding us of our Maker.

Mrs S Kubheka from Vaalkop, just across the dry river-bed from us:
"If I had dared to step outside that night, during the storm, Sho! I would have been sliced to pieces. The gust took about eleven sheets of metal from the house next door and rammed them against my daka-flat. The
walls are scarred as a result. They partly lifted my roof, and then the whole lot landed in an untidy heap on my poor mealie-shots. Had anyone stepped out, they would have been killed."

She is adamant that there is a gang of thugs that is terrorising residents in Vaalkop: another resettlement camp that looks like an old-style, quaint and innocuous village. Mrs S K herself originally came from the Dundee area.

"At night they go from house to house, robbing, raping, threatening to shoot, hacking people up and generally raising Cain. During the day they hang around in local shebeens, get drunk, smoke dagga, and generally carry on as if they were in Umlazi, Jabavu or some other township."

Mrs S K has some close relatives in Orlando East, so she knows what she is talking about. She has also been battling to get an O.A.P., but everytime her group makes the 3-5 km trip from Vaalkop to Ekuvukeni, the clerks tell them: "Sorry grannies, your papers were lost in the mail", or some such cock-and-bull story.

Someone asked: "But what kind of place is this, where the elements and people are constantly at war? We miss Nkunzi and Ekuphumleni."

Tragedy struck at the local skeleton police force. Goodness knows they are outnumbered: Ekuvukeni alone needs a resident army. The only army Mr Charlie can spare is in Ladysmith, guarding white people and their wealth. Apparently a helicopter went around looking for stock thieves, dagga-runners, etc. It had 6 policemen inside (2 White and 4 black). It ran into foul weather and crashed. All occupants were killed, one of them being a man from our dump: Mr Fakude.

On a brighter note, people are still enthusing about YOUTH CHEER 1981: we organised a bible quiz and some "sports on the village green" for the children. All present enjoyed themselves tremendously. Some parents watched and cheered from their stoeps. One of them, a neighbour called Mr Mbuli, said:

"Mbhele mfowethu, this is a good thing, keep it up."
That was on December 16, 1981. By February 16, 1982 he was no more: killed in a truck accident in Lenasia (Johannesburg).

The aim is to involve as many people as possible in church and club affairs: mothers, fathers, daughters, sons, cousins, children and grandchildren: have to rediscover a shattered spirit of *humanitas* and *communitas* last glimpsed in Meran, Wasbank, Nkunzi, Roosboom and Ekuphumleni. So in losing a potential ally I gain ten others in the form of his wife and children, relatives and friends.

She, that used to run Windsor Hotel
Ride in a chauffeur-driven car
Collect the day's takings
Be served before the abelungu because
She was the Mayor's girl
Badula, Mrs Cochrane's trusted servant -
Who ironed the silk shirts of
Mr Cochrane, M.P. -
has been thrown away,
Just like that.
How are the mighty fallen!

One can understand the anguish and agitation of a childless mother: what will the future bring? Who will look after her in her old age? What happens to her house, cattle, furniture, linen and newly-bought stove, when the Grim Reaper calls? I was appalled to watch her HP
agreement on the stove go from bad to worse (appendix). I have tried to advise her about making a will. At times I buy her some Bidomak Nerve Tonic when things get kinda rough.

But she will never fully recover from the loss of her lifelong partner, whom she eulogises as

UMadoda! Umfana ka Jobha!
UMqulusti! UVoo! Umaum-naam,
uk'dla kwabantwana
Aaw! yaqhakaz'insapho!
hay'sukan'apha madoda!

I think we have a strong case and a story to tell here (in the Main Biography), if only we can get all available tapes transcribed and the outline knocked into shape. But let's look at Granny's sister Lillian, for a second.

At age 60 or thereabouts Mrs Lillian Makhoba looks a weather-beaten, emaciated 80. What happened to "the Coloured lady" who used to be such a natty attractive dresser in Newclare in the 40's? Booze and ill-fortune did her in. She discovered the bottle, that bane of African family life, soon after marrying Mr Makhoba in 1942. They had about 4-6 children, "very pretty and smart". Now only Peter, the youngest, remains to comfort his sorely-tried mother.

"They all died from witchcraft, my child. They would wake up at night, screaming about "the cat" that was trying to get at them. And so they died, one by one."

Peter's elder brother, Vido, was stabbed to death in Western Native Township, aged about 20. By then Mr Makhoba had disappeared, and Aunt Lilly took to the bottle heavily. Nowadays she has stooped to the level of inkwishi (skokiaan): she lives for the next skal. Most of her O.A.P. goes to pay MaMkize who is her supplier. In fact little Granny has a whole network of these outlets worked out in the neighbourhood.

She only needs to disappear for 10 minutes, to return bleary-eyed, bedazzled, tongue-tied and very touchy. A chance remark, and she
lashes out at her elder sister, like a wounded tigress. So far their clashes are only verbal. I pray God that they will stay that way.

So one has to play various parts at various intervals: father, rented son, husband, man, scribe, translator, motivator, referee, breadwinner, uncle and preacher. The general consensus is that "people who have evil intentions know a house where there is no man". A male person, however, young, gives a home isikhunzi: dignity.

CASEWORK
I refuse to relegate these bread-and-butter details to the end of the narrative, because they are an integral part of life in a dumping ground. Indeed, some of them have been outlined above. Nor do we promise to supply our statisticians with an airtight case (dossier). We just want to silence those who may be saying, "But Buntu likes the sound of his own voice. When will he get to the nitty-gritty?" OK, OK Sbali, a guy has to let off some steam, but here goes.

1. DEMOGRAPHY
Assuming that the average size of each plot = 15 x 20 sq.m. = 300 sq.m. we can estimate the:
(i) area of the settlement of Ekuvukeni at 3 000 plots x 300 sq.m. x 2 (to cater for space taken up by roads, schools, churches (even if not built)) etc
   = 18 000 000 sq.m. or 180 ha

To get an idea of the population per sq. m. we would have to divide size of Area by Population
   = 1 800 000
   20 000
   = 1:90 sq.m. or one person per ninety square metres (contrast with Lower Houghton: it can be estimated that it is 1:450 sq.m.
(ii) Population: can be estimated at 15 to 20,000 people at any given time (if we consider natural deaths and increases. What effect poverty and faction fights?

ie 3,000 plots x 5 for each family

= 15,000

Certain factors, however, have to be taken into account to arrive at a more realistic figure, ie:

(a) some sites have simply been abandoned (death, disgust, war, etc);

(b) some sites have double or triple the complement of 5, eg Mrs Myaka has 8 people continuously resident at her house. Over weekends and holidays = 12 to 15.

2. SOME MEASUREMENTS

2.1 The tin toilets: length = 100 cm or 1 metre

breadth = 120 cm or 1.2 metres

height = 200 cm or 2 metres.

Area = L X B = 1 x 1.2 sq.m.

= 1.2 sq.m. or 1.2 m²

Volume = L X B X H = 1 x 1.2 x 2 cu.m

= 2.4 cu.m. or 2.4 m³

2.2 The tin hut or fletcraft (standard size)

Length = 3.7 m

Breadth = 3.6 m

Height = 2.3 m (with curved top)

Total volume of fletcraft = L X B X H

= 3.7 x 3.6 x 2.3 m³

= 30.64 m³ Q.E.D.

Each hut has 2 windows, one on each side.

Size of window L X B = 55cm x 45 cm

= 2.5 cm²

Size of door L X B = 225cm x 68cm

= 1.53 cm²
CONTRAST THIS WITH THE AREA OR SIZE OF THE TOILET IN THE CHIEF'S HOUSE, where 2 families could be accommodated with ease. He was given a white farmer's stand and house (reduced and in disrepair of course) for agreeing to move from Nkunzi to Sandbuilt or Fanteni or Ekuvukeni. NB FOR ORDINARY PEOPLE THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THAT THEY WILL GET EVEN THE TIN HUT.

For instance, Mambatha, now serving on the executive committee of the Club, explains:

"When I arrived I did not get umkhukhu. I asked the people at the office and they said there are none. So I had to stay on the muddy, cluttered site while building a daka-house. It rained throughout. We were thoroughly miserable."

2.3 Corner Property belonging to Mr B.S. (see Appendices), is said on official Deed of Grant (which is a far cry from a Title Deed) to measure 25 m x 25 m = 625 m². Most of the properties sandwiched between one corner and another are much smaller, say 20 x 15 m = 300 m².

3. COST OF LIVING

3.1 Mr A.M.M. had to proceed as follows in order to satisfy the Township office (and we are told that this place will not get a community council like Ezakheni "until people pay their rent better. There are too many people in arrears" - official):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17 months arrears:</td>
<td>R10,20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RENT</td>
<td>.60c x 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 months arrears:</td>
<td>25,50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERVICES</td>
<td>1,50c x 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 months arrears:</td>
<td>11,22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WATER</td>
<td>.66c x 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registration fees</td>
<td>2,00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchase price</td>
<td>127,60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R176,62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ANALYSIS: This statement of account reflects clearly the kind of situation that exists in Ekuvukeni: people CANNOT spare a cent to pay for rent etc. THROUGH SHEER FORCE OF CIRCUMSTANCE. Clerks at the office cannot force people
who have no money to pay monthly rates and rent = R2,76. People simply cannot afford even that. Let alone the R15,00 per month which is demanded at Ezakheni. Let alone the R45,60 which Mr Thebehadi demands monthly from Sowetans. "People get the government they deserve."

In the case of Mr A.M.M. it was said that the purchase price was lowered (from what?) "because he is a pensioner". I will not comment on the term "services" because they are a joke:

- garbage disposal = pure junk
- sewerage = the notorious bucket system
- water = a laugh because people often stay for 3-4 weeks without a single drop from the communal taps. They have to chase the truck up and down the streets. Tempers flare and buckets fly as MaXulu from one street accuses MaZwane of "Trespassing" on her street. "Wait until the truck gets to yours!"

3.2 Travel
Around 1970-71 the bus fare on the B.I.C. (ie Bantu Investment Corporation):

- Bus was R0,04 (Steadville-Ladysmith = 3 km)
- Taxi was R0,10

By 1980-81 these fares had tripled, like everything else, to

- Bus fare R0,15
- Taxi fare R0,30

Contrast this with bus fare = R0,17 (Edendale-Pietermaritzburg, 1981 (10 km).

Only in September 1982 did one notice a 4c increase on this Edendale-Pietermaritzburg route. But still, those increased rents in Sobantu caused quite a reaction, eh?

Now let us look at Ekuvukeni-Ladysmith, ie 35 km:

- February 1980 = R0,90
- February 1981 = R1,00
- February 1982 = R1,20 and rising.
People are very angry at B.I.C. or K.D.C. for monopolising this and other routes, at the expense of private operators like Mr Karrim (an East Indian).

"The busdrivers are cheeky, and they refuse to load our heavy merchandise onto the carrier. Karrim's people used to help us load and off-load. And the B.I.C. bus is too fast."

And of course the private company was cheaper by 10c or so.

Wasbank to Ekuvukeni (17 km: private) = R0,50 (1981-2)
      "      "      taxi = R1,50 to R2,00 (evenings)

Ezakheni to Ladysmith (taxi : 15 km) = R0,60
Ekuvukeni to Ladysmith (taxi : 40 km) = R1,50

The area has had its share of bus boycotts, stoning incidents and such. We are even now busy transcribing an interview with Mr Elliot Mngadi, one of the veterans of such campaigns.

At least those who are lucky enough to have regular "slaves" or jobs buy weekly coupons:

Ekuvukeni to Ladysmith = R5,30 (6 days)

"of course if you are getting R13,00 per week this leaves you very little for food, rent and school fees. Forget about entertainment. Anyway, where would you go, except to a wake?", explained Mrs J N bitterly.

3.3 Shopping facilities

At Ekuvukeni there is a biggish "supermarket" owned by a private individual, Mr W.N. Earlier on I tried to keep track of his prices, but unfortunately this notebook was misplaced. Anyway, I have started on a new list.

In addition, last year I could monitor the shop easily because I did not know the owner. In that sense, I was "objective". (The truth of the matter is that I hated
his guts. I also envied him, so well established in a
desert, with a captive clientele, who had no other choice: travel expenses etc). But after June I discovered that
WN is human and humane: he took care that all my phone
messages to Mrs Hyaka were relayed fast. He would even
have her picked up and brought to the shop to call! And on
top of that he was - I discovered - my clansman (Bhele).
All pretence at "objectivity" on my part disappeared.

Anyway, relations between the shopowner and the people
did suffer some setbacks: the most recent and dramatic
case was around April 1982. A schoolboy was killed by
WN's assistants. He was said to have used some abusive
language. People rushed to the "super" and stoned it,
smashing every window in sight. There must have been
some looting.

After a while, things became quiet, and it became business
as usual. Not so the local butchery: it has never
provided satisfactory service. In 1981 it was run by Mr D,
an ex-school teacher. After a few months he gave up, and
let WN take it over. People are still not satisfied. One
needs time to compare prices between a local and a town­
based outlet.

There are one or two other shops and cafés in the
settlement. An interesting and ubiquitous ghetto
institution is the gijima stolo. (Xhosa isikroxo).
This is a shop established by any enterprising individual.
We had one in our immediate neighbourhood, run by Mr S.N,
the owner of the bottle-store. Someone must have complained
to the police, because after 6-9 months it was raided and
closed down. People like my neighbour (Mr E.M.) continue
to operate low-key: he sells a bottle of paraffin (375 ml)
@ 48c each. I also managed to obtain the following additional
figures: 1 pkt of candles @ 50c at Supermarket (Ladysmith
OK Bazaars) - 1 pkt of candles @ 72c at Supermarket (Ekuvukeni),
difference 12 c.
Just about the only institution that seems to be doing well in Ekuvukeni is - you've guessed it - the liquor store. The owner is known as "impokwanele" (grass hat) from his Radio Zulu days with K.E. Masinga and others. Just for those two reasons (radio and booze) he is very popular in the area. He owns a BMW and a kombi. Most of the local shebeens (and there is one in almost every street) are supplied by S.N. The municipality of Ladysmith continues to make whopping profits by supplying the local sweating class with the notorious, obnoxious factory brew (uKhukhamba).

"Even before the beerhall had been erected - I mean early 1978 when the first arrivals from Nkunzi were trying to settle down - they came and dumped uthwala under a tree. They should have brought milk" (A resident).

3.4 From the INFORMAL SECTOR we have the following information:

1 bucket of coal (is'gphu) = R0,85 to R1
1 load of wood = R7,00
1 full load of wood = R14,00

This wood is brought by a man and his young sons in a donkey-cart. Most of his customers are the old and the frail who cannot travel 2-5 km on foot, in scorching heat or driving rain to theza (look for firewood).

"Of course, you have to hide your wood, otherwise it is stolen bit by bit". (My hostess).

A full load lasts for about 3-4 weeks, less so in winter. When you have umsebenzi (an affair) you'd need about 2-3 loads. Most of the local women who go to theza are not safe from the warring hillbillies:

"They accost, harass and abduct us because we have no one to protect us."

Chance and the wild life also play their part:

"One makoti (young bride) carried a big log from the woods to her house. In the morning she started
hacking at it with an axe, and out crawled a large snake! Sho! She had been carrying it all the way!"

Another neighbouring entrepreneur, Mr Mngadi, sells *isitgoobo* (wooden poles) for fencing etc @ R2,20 each (same price or a little less, than the hardware store in town). And this brings us to

3.5 Building material

This is a sphere of life where most people in the dumping grounds experience something approaching Purgatory. To start with, the compensation received for their land and houses in the places of origin was not even a quarter of their building needs in the new area:

Most people received R50 to R100 to build a daka house with two windows and a door plus a tin roof = R300.

Consequently most structures are made of mud bricks (self-made) and thatched with a local type of grass. One ends up buying only the windows and doors, and (perhaps) the services of the builder and thatcher.

An old determined couple like the Mkaya's spent in the region of R4 000 to have their 5-roomed concrete brick house built. It has a small passage, pantry, bathroom (unfitted) and a small verandah.

"Oh my son, we struggled. The first builder, Mr Moletsane, was a good-for-lynching, cocky, incompetent chance-taker. He was jealous that *ikhenkheni nesabukazi* (an old man and an old lady) should want a 'pitch' when he stayed in a daka house."

After a protracted struggle a second builder, Mr B.S. came to their rescue, and the house was completed. 100 concrete bricks (from Dundee) plus cartage = R50,00.
There is a local entrepreneur, Mr J.K. (one of our Anglican churchwardens) who makes concrete bricks, but we have not managed to obtain an idea of his price-structure. A young schoolboy in our neighbourhood, Mandla Nkosi, makes his own concrete bricks: they are of high quality and texture: "I was taught by my uncle". This is one area where enabling organisations can make a firm and lasting contribution. Such expenses as we have outlined above (excluding schooling, church, political levies, etc) should be viewed against the background of

3.6 Income sources and figures

There is no data on how much each absentee husband, son or other family member (migrant) contributes to the family's coffers, but it may be assumed that this is 50 - 60% in most cases. Those who receive OAP's (see attached sheet: every month or two) used to get

- R60 in February 1981
- R75 in February 1982 and now we hear
- R90 in September 1982 with an occasional "bonus" thrown in for winter blankets etc. There is no clear pattern here, but what black pensioners receive is peanuts as compared to OAP's for whites.

Manner and place of collection is also significant: the white pensioner can arrange to have the money paid into his/her savings account, but the black one has to go to a collection point, to queue there for the good part of the day, only to be told,

"Sorry Gogo, but your number has not come yet."

A group of people from Vaalkop (10 km away) has been going through this rigmarole for about 2-3 years now, "Some of us have just about given up", says Mrs S.K. Her own case is rather hard to understand or stomach.
"At one stage the miungu was about to write my name down and thus get my application going, when the black policeman stepped in, shooed me aside and called the next person. I've never understood this kind of action."

I took down a few names and I.D. Nos., but the local Support Committee has not yet made any headway. A complicating factor is that occasionally a clerk appears, claiming to have come from "the government" (probably Ulundi), takes down people's particulars and promises to investigate.

(Mrs) S Kubheka N.I.N.5-1236890-0 (born 1921 from Vaalkop and before that Dundee).

(Mrs H D Zwane V/F 2078901 (Soon after this date, ie 17.3.81, her daughter told me that, at last, her money was beginning to trickle through).

For the following I could not obtain dompas numbers because they left for Vaalkop in disgust, after another fruitless walk:

(Mrs) Jiyane
(Mrs) Gertrude Sibiya
(Mrs) Zwane (not so lucky)

One or two UNIONS are active in Northern Natal, most notably GAWU, the Garment Workers' Union. One reads about strikes in Escourt, Newcastle and Mooi River (eg MOOITEX), but not so much in Ladysmith. Salaries paid to factory workers are generally low. At the class for Penitents this year, (1982), I interviewed two young ladies:

(Miss) S M M — gets R30.00 per 4-day week
(Miss) R N M — same. They work at C.F.C.C.
a big cotton factory in Ladysmith which people call "Navelempini" (the one who came back from the wars). It is one of the major exploiters of black labour, besides DUNLOP, SCOTFORS'S, BRUYNCO FOODS, LASHER and other "border industries".

4. EDUCATION
A separate report on the educational quagmire in which black scholars and teachers in Mnambithi find themselves was prepared for the Director of A.B.F. earlier on. The pupil-teacher ratio tends to be very high.

eg Embizeni H.S. 1:60 (Total Roll in 1982 = 840 pupils against 14 teachers.)
This High School is a most appalling and challenging case: it is "squatting" on the grounds of Nkunzi Combined School.
One lady teacher remarked, rather bitterly:
"None of the schools that existed at Nkunzi were rebuilt at Ekuvukeni. We actually compiled a lot of this information and gave it to a colleague so that he can motivate for an adult education centre."

INTERESTING: it is not so much the poor and the illiterate who steal, embezzle and pilfer. It is the educated and the "Respectable" (i'cwicwicw, i'ingcwicw, Neo-Xhosa = oo-cowe me). As someone once observed decades ago, "Power corrupts, but absolute power corrupts absolutely."
Let us look at two examples:

(a) M.U. Festival 1981: a highly respected individual holding a highly responsible position in the community (a nursing sister) managed to "spirit away" about 2 paper bags of groceries, while her less fortunate counterparts and their daughters prepared meals and behaved in an exemplary manner. The culprit had the temerity to ask for a lift from the church worker, who actually carried the heavy contraband into his car and helped her to make clean her escape! When the members of the Church Council sat down
to count the missing items the following list emerged:

- 3 tins of sliced peaches
- 2 packets of Holsum
- An undisclosed amount of beef (raw and cooked)
- 2 - 3 tins of custard powder
- 3 dumpies of beer.

The meeting called to discuss this delicate matter ended in a stalemate: the culprit proved too powerful and eloquent, while those who sought to expose her did not get enough support. But the more dramatic and earth-shaking case was that of

(b) Mr M, ex-principal of Mbizeni High School. He was found guilty of having misappropriated the following amounts over the year 1978-79 (details obtained at a Parent Teachers' meeting held at the school on 19.7.81):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Embizeni (school fees)</td>
<td>R2 500,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria (allocation) (1979)</td>
<td>1 472,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria (allocation) (1978)</td>
<td>968,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Natal Witness (donations etc)</td>
<td>23,40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toorays (shop?)</td>
<td>68,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riga Bros (Pty) Ltd</td>
<td>.78,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank Stores</td>
<td>182,50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desai Bros</td>
<td>600,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAND TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>R5 891,90</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The School Committee decided, in consultation with its lawyers, to initiate a stop-order arrangement with the culprit's bank (R50 p.m.) in order to recover the money. Many parents resented the whole sordid affair, especially having to fork out more moolla to keep the school going. More was our dismay when we heard that Mr M is already teaching at another school in the Cape!!
5. **IMIHAMBIMA**

The term graphically captures the state of poor, needy people: "those who walk a while and stop." The antonym is *amadlashiye*: "those who eat and leave something over.


Her home is across the street from us. The mother is very sensitive about H.E.T.'s condition. Would hate to see her picture and story in a newspaper. H.E.T. is hydro-cephalous: has been to a couple of hospitals and specialists to no avail. I referred her to the Neurology section at Baragwanath who recommended a specialist in Wentworth. After exhaustive tests the child was discharged and is now back with mom.

H.E.T. shows signs of retarded physical and mental growth. She only studied up to Std.3. She is determined not to lead a twilight existence. When she ventures out to fetch water from the communal tap other children make fun of her. Hopefully attitudes will change. By September 1982 she had been granted a disability grant by the state.

Her mother, Mrs L.T. (a divorcée) works at an Indian owned "supermarket" in Wasbank. She has 2-3 other children (normal). Earns a measly R10 per week which goes to buy the following items:

- **Bus ticket** R3.00 pw
- **Food** R2.00 pw
- **Fuel** R5.00 pw

"I cannot afford to pay rent or rates at all", she said bitterly. She tried to explain her position to Mr N, the clerk at the Township office. He understood.

"But then *icazi aliboli*. The account just keeps piling up and up. Jehova! When will it ever finish?"

She developed an ulcer as a result of these pressures. I reiterated the doctor's advice about a strict diet,
abstinence from alcohol and mental relaxation. She really appreciated the chance to share her burdens with someone:

"People in the bus today were talking about that. They quoted the case of the young man who recently hanged himself: he should have confided in someone about what was eating him." (27.7.81)

Between the 25th and 27th October 1982 the members of the Executive Committee of Masisizane decided to visit a few other families known to be destitute. Of course we knew that this is a mere gesture: our resources were too limited to even help the 50 or so people who stay in the two rows of tin huts in Section 1. Anyway, we set out with a few food parcels donated by the Diepkloof branch of the B.H.L. (Black Housewives' League).

(b) Hovel No.91: Granny Mabaso, aged 75. I noticed this pondokkie and its shabby old lady as early as March 1981. Hers is the first one-room hovel on the right as the bus enters the concentration camp. I kept wondering what the true situation is, and what could be done about it. So we had our chance that Monday, 25.10.82. We went in (almost on all fours) and found Mrs Mabaso seated on the dusty floor. It is doubtful if she can walk properly. A little boy sat opposite her, also on the floor. The place had hardly been swept.

On the rusty bed was an old blanket and little else besides. The place hardly boasted a spoon, let alone a bank-stool. We found one anyway and sat down. Yet our hostess proved surprisingly bright, and cheerful. She asked for all our clan names (or surnames) and then proceeded to bonga: ie recite names from each lineage as a way of giving thanks.

*In 1983 we had generous support from the SA Red Cross in Durban. But the headaches of storage and distribution! Haikona!"
We explained who we are and what we are trying to do. She listened and gave thanks, adding,

"No one is looking after me. My only son is supposed to be working in Glencoe. He stays with his wife but no children as yet. He hardly comes home or sends any money. I depend on my pension. Sometimes I ask Jimmy from across the street to help me with a few errands."

(c) Tin Hut No.93: found Mr and Mrs Kumalo, middle-aged, seated next to a newly-built daka flat.

"How do you survive from day to day?"

"Somehow things work out, my child. We don't know how."

Mrs Kumalo is on an OAP so that helps. Maybe her husband lands the occasional tovhoo (odd-job): he looked strong enough. A mentally retarded girl (from next door?) kept grinning at everyone and shaking hands all round. She took the food parcel and gave it to Mr K. She seemed to grasp our mission. After a few niceties Mr K blessed and thanked us and we left.

"You will not find the tin shack next time around. We've had enough of it!"

We wondered how many seasons it had taken to replace it.

We then entered what one can call "Misery Row": two squalid lines of tin huts, just behind Granny Mabaso's shack. We had misplaced our list from the office, but we knew that in this area we are sure to find the wretched of the earth. Using previous experience we went looking for:

(d) MaXaba, aged 65. We found her at Tin Hut No.88.

"I am waiting for the office to send someone to occupy the other half of this mkhukhu. I have moved all my belongings to this half. In fact I am trying
to scrape the soot off the walls as I did at No.69 where Mbhele found me. People make all sorts of fires in these tin shacks."

We noticed small crosses made on the walls with black or white paint. "The church people came to pray, bless and strengthen my house." She probably meant the Zionists.

"People are dying like flies in this neighbourhood. There is no transport to the clinic for one case opposite. We are burying people every day. Ma'am, the teacher at the creche, is in bad shape from a disease we do not know. She is sitting in her tin hut, singing hymns and waiting for her soul to depart."

We checked again on 6.12.82 and found that Ma'am was feeling better.

Miss Xaba (she never married) understands how amakholwa (Christians) work. She was quite pleased to see our small group.

"At the previous shack (69) I had a rough time. I was being harassed by a mad woman called 'MaMkhize'. She would come to my mkhukhu anytime, abuse me verbally and then throw a hail of stones at me. Imagine the noise. I persevered. I refused to lose my temper. She would should, "Get out, this is my house, you bitch!" One day I comeback to find all the locks sawn off. The office had to replace them."

MaXaba takes a deep breath, adjusts her spectacles, and continues:

"After two to three weeks of this dog's life I went to N, the Superintendent's secretary, and said, "Man, I've had enough now. Asiyompilo mos lona. WHY IS A MENTAL PATIENT ALLOWED TO ROAM LOOSE AMONG NORMAL PEOPLE?"
I received no satisfactory answer, but I had made my point. I was moved to this No.88, and have had no problems thereafter."

"What are the symptoms of this mysterious disease?" one of us ventured to ask.

"The person starts to feel faint and languid. He or she cannot walk from the shops nearby to his house. He becomes feverish, hot and stifled. As the fever develops, the person wants to be left alone. We feel very helpless at this stage. Some recover, others don't."

**DOES ANYBODY IN AND OUT THERE CARE?**

Possibly the most disturbing, touching, and alarming case is that of (e) Mr S. Hovel No.6 - a leper. His sleeping place is constantly wet, because of the sores on his hands and feet. **THIS PERSON SHOULD NOT BE STAYING WITH OTHER PEOPLE IN HIS CONDITION.** I mean there are about a dozen children in his yard!! They stand a high risk of contamination. Mr S says he has been to King Edward Hospital and was told:-

"We can see no way of curing you, because this is a case of black magic."

We checked with a nursing sister from a neighbouring dump called Limehill:

"I do not believe his story. He may be acting like some TB patients who hide their condition and hate hospitals, pills and the lot. Such people will do anything to stay loose, free and ill. **THE INCUBATION PERIOD FOR LEPROSY IS 20 YEARS, SO THOSE CHILDREN ARE IN REAL DANGER.** They may grow up as if they are normal and healthy, kanti..."
In the meantime Mr S goes about his business on his knees. He uses a horse for longer distances. One resident remarked:

"It is amazing to see him leap onto the horse's back from way down. Sometimes naughty boys drive the horse away, and that infuriates him."

At least now that we have -

(a) a local support committee and
(b) good relations with the office and local Health Committee, there is a chance that this and other cases will come up for discussion and review. Time is of the essence.

Let us quote one more case before we conclude, and that is

(f) Mr Mthethwa, Tin Hut No. 69. His next door neighbours Messrs Buthelezi and Dlamini are in similar if not worse straits. They are utterly alone. At least Mr M has his two grandchildren for company and errands (Mboheni, aged about 6, and Nomusa, aged 3). He was already in bed when we knocked and peered into the dark interior of the shack. We were really looking for MaXaba, but we asked him briefly how things are.

"I became ill sometime ago, and the doctors decided to amputate my left leg."

"Do you receive a disability Grant?"

"No, I have to return to Durban to get the doctor's papers. Only then can I claim the D.G."

"Where is you lamp? It is getting dark now, Baba."

"WHEN IT GETS DARK, I GO TO SLEEP. THERE IS NO LAMP."
Holy Maria! We gave him one food parcel, and later sent a couple of candles and some matches. Call it what you damn well like: "my good deed for the day", ambulance work, amelioration or whatever: we could not just stand there and say,

"Ah, observe now cadets. Another victim of apartheid. After 214,061 casualties the revolution will occur on 24th September 1984 at 5 a.m."

That is not how human society works.

CONCLUSION
This here final section is dedicated to albertina, amandla, asha, bhadula, beleda, helen, ilse, juby, leah, lillian, mamphela, mitah, nomzamo, kagiso, priscilla, sibongile, thenjie, thoko, zodwa and zubeida ...

Just a handful of sisters with a touch of clash.

We set out to give you, dear reader, a glimpse into a dumping ground: how people mope, hope and cope there. We have hardly scratched the surface, even of my much vaunted die-ary and notebooks. There are scores of other cases crying out for attention. Yet we are confident that this travelogue will give you an idea of the travails of a section of a section of a section of our people.

Still the question nags: are we a nation gone mad? The most dangerous maniacs and schizoids are those who see themselves as "normal, scientific, objective, balanced" etc etc. Look at what they did to the Red Indians, the Maoris and the Jews. Why press on with this insane pipe-dream to carve up Beautiful Azania into black tribal ghettos and preserve the urban-industrial core and prime agricultural land for the Hopefully United White Tribe?
The latter strikes one as an ever-scheming, selfish, scared and de-Godded minority.

Apart-hate has led to a breakdown in essential civic, judicial and medical services. The implementation of pass, group areas, and security laws is so burden-some on the State that the whole machinery will (hopefully) grind to a halt.

Professor Van Rooyen (of UNISA?) was quoted as saying (News Bulletin SABC 11.9.81) that:

South Africa has 4 700 registered Social Workers, but 3 000 practising Social Workers (so 1 700 must be "otherwise employed")

The question is: how many left to join industry? Why? (Conditions of work, extra-heavy caseloads, salaries and the sheer futility of working in a welfare-cum-police state). This learned gentleman concluded that SA needs 8 000, not 3 000 Social Workers.

The outlying, impoverished areas suffer most in this crisis. If eg in Johannesburg we have 1 Social Worker (Black) per 1 000 people - in Ladysmith we have 1 Social Worker (Black) per 10 000 people.

A partial solution lies in developing our para-social services and training our massive contingent of community workers: they consist of all sorts of part-time and full-time workers, volunteers, child-minders, and so on. They could come together to form the first ever COWASA (Community Workers' Association of SA). Many young and not-so-young people have indicated their keenness to be involved in such work.

In the meantime let us bring this extended report to a close by stressing that, in spite of all this and more, the spirit of the people is far from being broken:-
They may move us around a thousand times,
Divide, cajole, bully, promise, demolish, demoralise;
But as long as we are in Africa,
We shall rise like the Phoenix,
We shall rebuild, regroup and overcome...
THEY HAVE TODAY, WE HAVE TOMORROW

And please maan, do remember the words of MaXaba, my grandmother
on my Father's side, in one of her bitter, militant moods. She
was on her "hot-line to Heaven":-

We-e-na gongqongqo lakuloMosisi,
Elathwal'izono zelizwe,
Sincede sibhukuqe lo mbuso,
Wala maxelelu amagxagxa;
Oogqada-mbekweni bamaxaxavithi,
Iint'ezafik'apha ziqhaqhazela,
Zixakene neenqanawa zazo,
Ezazintlithek'emaweni ibubutyobo.
Iint'ezafik'apha zingq iba,
Imilom'izel'amaxolo,
Zitywatyushwa ngumtshetsha,
Zacel'indawana yokulima.
Sothuka sezizifake zatshona
E'zo nzapho zazo zimasentse;
Seva sekukhala 'A!Kumkanikazi!'
Kant'uHoho noHints sa baya phi na?
Seva sekukhala 'A!Lipabliki!'
Mini na le!!!?
NguNopabliki ocholwe phi lo,
Ezekwe ngaziph'iinkomo?
Uzube na-athi
Wena S'Iwanga qo sakuloSamyeli,
Xa la maxelelu esigxadazelisa,
Xa la nqod'esisu simpatsiya
Isithwaqwa isixexebula;
Iint' ezaqa qadeka phambi kukaQilo.
Sincede siziqengqel' emaweni,
Xa zingavum'ukumamela;
S'phamandla siziswaantsulise
      zibuyel'eYulophu,
Sizitywayushe siziwez'iilwandle,
Xa singenakuhlalisana ngobuntu.
Fikelela ke nalapho ndingefiki khona,
Uphumelelise izicelo zethu;
We-e-n'waazalwa silibele,
We-e-na Menzi weZulu nomhlaba.
Amen. Makube njalo.

(Buntu ka Mfenyana
Johannesburg
15 December 1982
(c) SACC, J & R.)
IKULUKA

Kutholakala ngomfanyana ohlala

kuvele indaba eshaqisayo emzini

wase Watersmeet lapho kudutshulwe

isakhazimi esiqavile nomka xo

obe sesithi shwe ukuthi sizobamba

isikhundla senkosi yama Ntungwa nayc
eyafa ngokudutshulwa ngonyaka

odlule.

Lomlisa nonkosikazi wakhe uMnu.

H.T. Khumalo obesebenzela inkampani

yabameli yakwakare & Pace,

engumabahalane iminya ekaminaingi,

ubedume ngelokuthi u"H.T." kulonke
lase Mnambithi.

Kutholakala ngomfanyana ohlala

khona ophume ngesamagundane

ngesikhathi sekudutshulwa uMufi

noNkosikazi wakhe, ogijime wayohlaba

umkhosi ngesikhathi zawo-8 kusihlwa

gowelshithu mhlaika 10 March 1982.

Umfanyana lona uthe bekunehhashi

ebelilokhu lihlupha belixosha nomkhulu

okuthu ngalesosikhathi babona abalisa

abathathu bekhuleka. Umkhulu wababiza.

1.1.1

Kube sekushayelwa amaphoyisa

abathuthe ebzokhe abasa emakzhazeni.

UMufi uMnu. H.T. Khumalo

nowakwakhe abanabo abantwana

banamala amaningi kakhulu ezindawo

ezingamapulazi eJobstown, eWatersmeet,

eBurford nakwezinye izindawo.

Abomndeni babikele uMnu. N. Dlamini

usihlalo weKhansela ukuthi

umngcwabeni wabafisa uNkwe.

a. emenyakeni engu-65 ubudala kantzi

umkakhe uNkwe. Mthoko Khumalo

ubeseminyaka engu-56 ubudala.

Nokho abomthetho babhizi nokuthola iqiniso

lesizathu sokubulawa kwabo.

Mnuz. Khumalo ubalelwana

eminyakeni engu-65 ubudala kantzi

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Nzimela uMfale

lebo kule nomba

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lesizathu sokubulawa kwabo.
IZIKHAMIzi ZASEDRIEFontein

ZlWOTHe UBOMVU

NGOMGQIBELO mhlaka 13 March 1982 bekunuembizo enkulule yezakhumelizahlaga enkubeka ukuthi befakazi eMoba, iPhayikeni, eMbusweni, eNkuthu kwaSchoeman, emaHhukwini, eBaldaskraal, emaThondwana, eBurford, iLusitania, iMatiwane neJonono.

Lomhlango ububizwe ikhansela kamazipathi wamaNtungwa ukuzochezela ngesimo esiha, salomuzi nekusasa lawo.

U!MnU. N. Dlamini
usihlahlo womkhundlu
ubikele umhlango
ngesho eyi esithume uMnu.
H. T. Khumalo ofe
lebaleba
leka 10 February 1982
by House of KwaZulu.

U!MnU. Derick Dladla
owake waduma kakulu
engo-1986 ewele ukuthwtha
kubantu baseWAbank
oseypiisekumhazimi
nomthetho waseMhlungo
uthile umhlango
ngamaqinile abakhubeka
kubenzile abantu
ekunye uMnu.

U!MnU. Dladla
usihlahlo
usithandza
ukubantu
uzimila
noAmaBhunu
mushambane
nakwazi
ubantu
eKuvukeni.

EMoba Kukhethwe
IKomiti Elisha

UMHLANGANO ubunabantu ababalela
emashumi amathathu eMoba
kuksi neilungumashayatsho olingu
tufhi loomgwamanda uMnu.

EPthwe noSihlahlo wesiyiyingi uRev. M. M.

Up!i USugar
Mu!o?

E!Moba Kukhethwe
IKomiti Elisha

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E!Moba noSi!lahlo wesiyiyingi uRev. M. M.

Akusuye kuthuthwe
mumthi kunyanda
umthi umhlungo
uMnu.

Ngakhoke kufanele
uMhuza kra
wakhe
luhlangene
axedoni
ka
uMhlungo

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kuksi neilungumashayatsho olingu
tufhi loomgwamanda uMnu.

E!Moba noSi!lahlo wesiyiyingi uRev. M. M.

Akusuye kuthuthwe
mumthi kunyanda
umthi umhlungo
uMnu.
TO OUR LATE DEAR BROTHER

NKOSINATHI SYDNEY ZWANE

REST IN PEACE

2. A song by the Anglican Church Members.
3. Embakane Choir
4. Speech by the Principal of Embakane High School.
5. Form V Group of Embakane.
6. Embakane High School Choir, Reject Body
7. Cast Choir
8. Speech by Mr. Makhathini of Embizeni High School.
10. Speech by Mr. T. Angama.
11. Young Killers Choir.
12. A song by the family members.
13. Speech by President of Young Killers Mr. P. Mhlungu.
14. Embakane Choir
15. Reading of the wreaths.
17. Vote of thanks by Mr. S. V. Zwane.
ITEM I

SCHEDULE OF GOODS/OPGAWE VAN GOEDERE

INVOICE NO. 97969

Description of Goods/Beskriving van Goedere
(Sufficient to identify them) / (Voldoende om dit te identифیeer)

1 Super univa Queen stove 92 649.95

REVENUE
STAMP
INKOMSTE
SEEL

Annual Finance Charge Rate 26% Finansieringkoste 26% per Jaar

ITEM II

SCHEDULE OF PAYMENTS/OPGAWE VAN BETALINGS

Amount of Initial Payment Bedrag van aanvanklike betaal 100.00

In Money R In Goods R In Geld R In Goedere R TOTAAL 100.00

Description of any goods traded in (Sufficient to identify them)
Beskriving van enige goederen waarin handel word (Voldoende om dit te identifiser)

The balance of purchase price after deducting the initial payment is R

Die saldo van die koopprys na aftrekking van die betaal is R

payable in 23 consecutive monthly installments of R commencing on

het betaalbaar in spaarveldsame maandlike betaalings van R beginnend op

the last day of each successive month with one final installment of R one month thereafter

die laas dag van elke daardopvolgende maand met ene finale betaal van R

die daardopvolgende maand.

I require Customer Protection Insurance and am aware that such insurance is on a monthly basis. I agree to pay a monthly premium of R

Ek verlang Klantskaderverzekering en is bewus daarvan dat soortlike verzekering op 'n maandlikse basis is. Ek kom ooreen om 'n maandelike premie van R

in addition to the above so that total payments will be twenty three installments of each and one final installment of R

betrwegens betaalbaar in spaarveldsame betaalings van R elk en ene finale betaal van R

die daardopvolgende maand.

This agreement entered on the terms and conditions set out on the reverse hereof and signed by the seller

Hierdie ooreenkoms aangegaan in navolging die bepaling en voorwaardes soos op die keerlyk uiteengestel en geteken deur die koper te

on this day of August 2012

op hede die dag van

WITNESSES/GETUE: 1. 2.

253 Murchison str Ladymith

30 19.82

253 Murchison str Ladymith

30 19.82
A B A 1910.

An ownership unit hereby granted shall be subject to all such regulations as either are already or shall in future be in force in the township in which it is situated.

(2) Except with the approval of the Minister, the ownership unit hereby granted shall not—
(a) be used for any purpose other than for residential purposes,
(b) be subdivided;
(c) be held under registered title by more than one person; or
(d) be transferred, leased, sub-let or otherwise disposed of to a person other than a black.

(3) The registered holder of the ownership unit hereby granted shall pay to the South African Development Trust or to such other body or bodies as may be duly constituted, the fees, charges and rates lawfully payable in respect of the said ownership unit and prescribed in respect of the said township.

(4) The Minister may at all times for the benefit of the public, authorise any person to make roads, railways, tramlines, dams, aqueducts, drains, water furrows or lay water mains and to conduct telegraphs, telephones or electric power-lines over the ownership unit hereby granted and to resume the whole or any portion or portions of the said ownership unit if required for public purposes, on payment of such compensation to the registered holder for the damage or loss so caused as may be determined by the Director-General Co-operation and Development, whose determination shall be final.

(5) Subject to existing mineral rights, if any, all rights to every mineral, metal or precious stone of whatever nature and to any oil in or on the ownership unit hereby granted which are vested in or reserved to the Trust, shall remain so vested or reserved, together with the right of access to any mines or works undertaken for mining or prospecting or worked by any person duly authorised in that behalf. The said ownership unit is subject to such further rights as the public in the Trust now may, or may hereafter, have or be entitled to obtain under or by virtue of any law relating to the prospecting, digging, mining, or exploitation of any mineral, metal or precious stone of whatever nature and any oil in or on the said unit which rights shall not be impaired or in any way affected by the deed of grant. The further right is reserved to the Trust to occupy or to authorise the occupation of so much of the said ownership unit and to use or to authorise the use of so much water on the said unit as may be required for the prospecting or mining of any mineral, metal, precious stone or oil, on payment of such sums of money in compensation as may be determined by the Director-General Co-operation and Development, whose determination shall be final.

(b) The said ownership unit is further subject to the following servitudes and reservations (if any):

(7) The ownership unit hereby granted shall not be liable to execution for debt other than—
(a) a debt secured under a mortgage bond duly registered; or
(b) a debt to the Trust or to such other body or bodies as may be duly constituted in respect of the said unit.

and should the land be sold in execution it shall not be acquired by a person other than a black.

Thus done and signed at Pretoria, 25th August 1984, on the 25th day of August 1984.

Pretoria, 25th August 1984

Director-General Co-operation and Development
(duly authorised by the Minister of Co-operation and Development)
These papers constitute the preliminary findings of the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, and were prepared for presentation at a Conference at the University of Cape Town from 13-19 April, 1984.

The Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa was launched in April 1982, and is scheduled to run until June 1985.

Quoting (in context) from these preliminary papers with due acknowledgement is of course allowed, but for permission to reprint any material, or for further information about the Inquiry, please write to:

SALDRU
School of Economics
Robert Leslie Building
University of Cape Town
Rondebosch 7700