

URBAN RESTRUCTURING AS POLITICAL CONTROL

Cynthia Hamilton Ph.D., Chair

African and African American Studies Department

University of Rhode Island

SURPLUS PEOPLE

We assume when the term apartheid is used in describing events or conditions in the US that the reference is simply metaphorical and no one gets terribly upset. But a more careful look shows something very different. Apartheid not only describes relations between blacks and whites but also gender relations within the black community, it is the set of relations that has been used to neutralize class and the conflicts which might result. We will attempt to show in this short paper, the uncanny similarity between apartheid in South Africa, by focusing on "forced removal" in South Africa, and urban redevelopment in the US. Both have as their objective (though it is never said) separating the races physically which includes relocating blacks and rebuilding the old space in cities that they once occupied. Often this means reshaping relations between black men and women as housing is rebuilt and factories and other places of employment disappear or are relocated.

US EXAMPLE

Apartheid in the US has its official legal entrance in 1883- as the US Supreme Court reverses its stand on civil rights by declaring the 1871 and 1875 Civil Rights Acts unconstitutional and officially stepping away from the ability of the federal government to regulate the actions of private companies (hotels, theatres, restaurants) to open their doors to blacks and whites equally. By 1896 and Plessy v. Ferguson, "separate but equal," was the law of the land. Everything was separated but as this devise was used to control

blacks, working class whites responded to being left out of the industrialization which was transforming America. To divert attention from the behavior of companies government allowed personalized lawlessness (lynching, etc.) to continue. This continued until Plessy was overruled by Brown v. Board of Education in 1954.

It was "the war on poverty" which brought about the next series of policies which would destroy the old apartheid and establish the new. The old apartheid was caste bound- race, with no recognition of class- the new apartheid acknowledged class. For example, in the 1950s there were restrictive covenants to keep blacks out of higher income neighborhoods even if they had the money to move in. Blacks moved into cities in large numbers as industry and jobs moved out. Public housing which restricted blacks from moving in when it was new became in many instances all black until recently with the tearing down of Cabrini Green (2003) in Chicago and its conversion to mixed income housing as whites move back to the inner city. Model cities and "urban renewal" long ago (1967) began to destroy black communities and convert old cities into new white communities. As South Africa builds new Black Townships the US converts old cities which used to have large black populations into new global centers.

MALE-FEMALE RELATIONS

The period of Jim Crow (1896-1954) separated black women and black men as they traveled in different directions for work. But ironically they made valiant efforts to stay together. This strong social base became apparent with the Civil Rights Movement. The policies which resulted were based on the Moynihan Report which placed blame for many ills in the Black community on women. In many ways this was a dry run for what we witnessed in the squatter's settlement in Crossroads in South Africa.

We will look closely at policies in South Africa to see if we find other similarities.

INTRODUCTION

The conflict in the Natal and the Transvaal (pre- 1990) make it mandatory that we come to understand the urban policies of the South African government that gave rise to this conflict and which promote it in the interest of control. It stems not from ANC/Inkatha rivalry, though such rivalry was real, but rather from the new policies of the apartheid state: policies which seek to transform the spatial ordering of the country and thereby control political challenges; policies which have attempted to obscure the government's role and promote that of its agents.

The current crisis forces us to look at Crossroads as an example. This squatters' struggle was a powerful political base but after eleven years, tragically, this valiant struggle, originally led by women has fallen to local black authorities who are aligned with the South African state to destroy other nearby squatter communities. (Cole, 157) But the story of Crossroads is simply a way of opening up our analysis of displacement, removal, and influx control in South Africa.

Crossroads emerged in the mid-1970s as the state attempted to restructure African settlement in the Cape Peninsula. Residents fought to remain in the settlement and from 1976 to 1978 won the right to be an emergency camp. After 1979 the defeat of the women's leadership signaled the triumph of "petty bourgeois patriarchal values allied with the state." (Cole, 159)

This transformation of struggle corresponded to a new approach to economic planning in South Africa. As early as 1979 special commissions began to issue reports which rhetorically acknowledged that economic independence of the Bantustans was an impossible objective. Their alternative was regional planning, however this geographical conception also preserves the Bantustans. Theoretically, with the creation of regional development units, fiscal controls rather than political controls would be introduced and municipal services provided on the basis of one's ability to pay. Market strategies were to be introduced over ideology. The free market critics argue that this has not happened and that the state still plays a dominant role. But this is a consequence of the internal crisis of apartheid. The mixture of market and state strategies exist but they have not yet proven their effectiveness in controlling the African population.

At Crossroads the new strategy insured that millions would be set aside for development by the state. The new leadership had only to crush any opposition to the state's plans to qualify. According to one analyst:

The objectives of the state, to smash organized resistance...as well as to remove thousands of 'illegal' squatters from the Crossroads complex, increasingly coincided with the objectives of a threatened Crossroads leadership. (Cole, 161)

Even though the press insists on referring to inter African conflict as "faction fights" in essence these are struggles over economic and political control (or more accurately, who will share in the state's authority). There is no question that the new leadership is aligned with the South African state and security forces. As black workers are increasingly pushed into jobs in the state sector with each economic recession there is no doubt that closer political alliances will be formed between sectors of the black population and the apartheid state.

On the surface the introduction of market forces, the removal of the state from domestic action, and the concept of regional spatial ordering may seem no different than the old territorial breakdown/failure of apartheid policies in the face of changing economic realities and the desperate effort by technocrats to preserve white control and white autonomy.

CONTROLLING SPACE THROUGH REMOVAL

When the Nationalist Party took power in 1948 many of South Africa's urban communities looked like their counterparts in the United States. Within the city Blacks, Indians, Coloreds, and Whites shared urban space. Some communities, like Sophiatown outside Johannesburg, developed a distinct cultural and political character. The destruction of these neighborhoods and all established black urban communities on which networks of resistance were based was therefore a priority of the state.

Since the 1950s and the passage of the Group Areas Act, forced removal of Blacks from White areas has had the objective of curbing the dispersal of the black population throughout the country or their concentration in areas near major white cities. Besides concentrating blacks in the reserves (renamed independent nations) the Group Areas Act further enforced the government's objective of dividing the population. It stipulated that certain areas would be proclaimed as Group Areas in which only members of a particular group might live, own property, and conduct business. It further formalized the classification and division of the population on the basis of language, descent, skin color, etc.

Over the past forty years more than four million people have been "resettled" in South Africa. Indeed resettlement has become the cornerstone of the whole edifice of

apartheid, according to Cosmas Desmond in his introduction to The Surplus People (findings of the five volume report of the Surplus People Project of 1983). It has changed the geography of the country both physically and politically, serving to continually disrupt the basis for political organization. While this policy reflects the deliberate efforts to dispossess blacks of land and citizenship, it has also been designed to divide the black population, a governmental response to the political unity expressed over the past decades. Most important for those of us who wish to complete the analysis of apartheid's role in urban restructuring is an understanding that people are moved to suit the economy's needs and in response to the changing nature of capitalist development in South Africa. This means accommodating greater unemployment. There are thousands who will never gain access to employment in urban areas- these are the "superfluous" (hence the title Surplus People). Therefore "resettlement" keeps "superfluous" blacks from those areas where they are not needed and unwanted and continues the "peaceful" flow of blacks in and out of those areas where the labor is required.

The South African government has developed new terminology and strategy for its continuous efforts to keep the black population outside of the white urban industrial areas. The language is familiar to those of us who have watched black communities in the United States dissolve since 1965. "Orderly urbanization" and "urban renewal" have been the catchwords of the South African government since 1984. Has that government been influenced by the US or vice versa? This is how the process in South Africa is described:

...many communities have experienced group area and urban relocation undertaken in the name of 'urban renewal.' First the government froze development, then declared the area a slum when it deteriorated. For those moved 'urban renewal' meant upheaval, dispossession, unemployment, high transport costs and often loss of South African citizenship." (Surplus People, xxix)

The process has been frighteningly similar in the United States, since the first public housing legislation 1937: "slum clearance" and removal of "blight" have been the pretext for uprooting communities and moving residents. From the time a new development project is announced to the point that the new investors buy and develop property we see the following transformation in the designated communities in the US: deterioration, reduction in the price of property, demolition, development, increase in property values, rents and utilities, increase in taxes. Clearly the transformation is such that the character of the tenants changes dramatically by the end of the process. There was an important distinction between the two governmental policies however: in the US market forces are said to be primary. Therefore, while disenfranchisement was mandated by law in South Africa, since the 1965 Voting Rights Act (and 1954 Brown decision) in the US, any weakening of black electoral strength resulting from geographic dispersal lies explained in terms of "market" forces which allow for greater housing opportunities.

South Africa has learned a great deal from the United States as demonstrated by the government's attempt to "depoliticize" its own role (in influx control) by introducing market mechanisms. In South Africa today the government boasts of its new reforms (stemming from the President's Council report on urbanization in 1985, the Croeser Report on the Financing of Local Authorities in South Africa, Kleu Report on Industrial Development Strategy, and the Riekert Report on manpower utilization of 1979). These reforms are said to have eliminated the pass system after 1986 and repealed influx control legislation. But material conditions have deteriorated for the African population and the new forms of control are more insidious. Housing and trespass laws have become the key. While there is a freeze on building family housing in urban areas outside the

Bantustans, access to housing is now the way one qualifies for Section 10 (urban residential) rights. (Black Sash estimates that there are 5 million homeless Africans.) Relocation is still a major tool but now the state claims only to be removing homeless and jobless persons. The state is now assisted by Bantustan leadership (and their organized armed groups.)

Conditions in the homelands continue to deteriorate and demonstrate the structural contradictions underlying territorial apartheid. While the government speaks of economic incentives for business to locate factories on the borders of the Bantustans (as part of its decentralization strategy) few took up the offer because of the poor infrastructure and difficulties getting goods to market. Before its reluctant recognition of the need for regional development strategies (which acknowledge the interdependence of African labor, Bantustans and the larger political economy) apartheid had institutionalized in the homelands the destructive land use practices of overgrazing, overcultivation and deforestation; it manipulates agricultural labor shortages while exacerbating the constant movement to cities.

"Resettlement" has the effect not simply of physically displacing blacks but the policy has made stable black communities impossible in South Africa. The psychological consequences of this policy have important political consequences for the apartheid regime. Victims of resettlement are demoralized as a result of being physically uprooted from their homes, friends and neighborhoods and dumped on barren land with a few blankets. There can be little political cohesiveness in an environment of complete instability. Additionally, the apartheid regime has precipitated divisions by making legal and residential distinctions between African ethnic groups (the ten homelands are

designated by ethnic groups), urban and rural distinctions are enforced by law; there are legal distinctions between the employed and the unemployed, those with legal status in areas and those without, gender distinctions are of course emphasized as well as the traditional divisions between Indians, Coloreds and Blacks.

These new urban policies help us to see the future South Africa has defined for itself. As political protest mounts, South Africa uses a combination of repression and privilege to consolidate a sector of the urban black population with a stake in the system on one hand, while completely ridding itself of the unemployed, the disabled, the "superfluous." As in the US, policies of multinational corporations have helped to create a "surplus" population through capital intensive, high technology ventures in industry, agriculture and mining. Additionally, to keep the costs of labor low where it is still needed, the South Africans (and the Americans) have sought to replace established urban workers with migrants; all black workers are, of course, migrants once they have been moved out of the city and forced into the Bantustans.

CONTROLLING SPACE

The early Nationalist program was based on Bantustans as the alternative to urban African settlement and graphically demonstrates the irrationality of territorial separation where the economy is completely dependent on the majority work force. Natal and the Eastern Cape were the sites of some of the earliest urban removals. The Colored Labor Preference Act was used to have blacks moved from the Western Cape. It should be noted that among the first communities and individuals to be moved were those which were the most financially secure. Removal is an experience which individuals and families never recover from emotionally or financially.

Of the ten Bantustans, six are located in the Transvaal. This is the most populous province and it is a mining center. Removals from rural farm land and the elimination of tenancy occurred early here. According to the Surplus People Project "in the Transvaal more than any other province, ethnicity has been used to divide people and reorganize them into Bantustans." (SPP, 53) This is not surprising given the political potential of these workers. This Bantustan, the closest to Pretoria "is one of the driest, dustiest, smallest, and most overcrowded," (SPP, 53) clearly a disincentive for any who might want to stay as near the city as possible.

Natal has experienced great difficulty with removals (189 "black spots" have been identified) since white farmers want Africans moved but are unwilling to give up more land for resettlement. The Bantustan in the province has the largest population and here too there is severe political fragmentation. Removals in Natal have been strategic for the State. They have cleared space for a missile range and have moved people away from the Mozambique border.

At least half a million blacks have been moved from the Orange Free State (most to Bophuthatswana). The Northern Cape experienced the greatest number of removals in the 1970s. Most blacks were sent to be the independent Bantustans. Conditions in the Eastern Cape are the worst in the country. While there are some factories in the relocation areas there is still a 30% unemployment rate. At least 80,000 blacks have been removed from the corridor separating Ciskei and Transkei. The Western Cape also has the distinction of no adjacent Bantustan. The Colored Labor Preference Area policy has been enforced (along with the Group Areas Act) to clear black settlements. Force has been the tool of choice in these removals. But more recently the government has attempted to use

economic incentives and describes resettlement as a "choice." There is also a new construction to create a place for the relocation of old townships. The Western Cape is clearly the example of what the country desires for itself.

Even though the government claims to have developed a plan for economic development in the Bantustans by encouraging industry to decentralize, no such development has occurred. The old boundaries and land use decisions ensure underdevelopment. The ten homeland areas institutionalize tribalism while political labels of "independent republic" and "national state" seek to obscure the fact that South African law disfranchised 72.5% of its population and banished it to 13.7% of the country's land. Poverty and complete inability to develop has been insured by the way homeland boundaries are drawn.

...the homelands have been divided into separate blocs so as to exclude all industrial centers of any size, most transport lines, most mineral resources and all but the smallest white settlement. None has a port...(Africa in Crisis, 175)

In instances where mineral wealth has been identified in the homelands, and this has been the case for all but two, the South African government has determined what companies would be licensed to explore the coal, asbestos chrome, platinum, iron, and vanadium deposits.

In 1973, out of 112 prospecting licenses issued for mineral exploration in the 'homelands,' 110 went to white controlled companies and two went to blacks. All of the 89 mining licenses issued during that year went to whites or white controlled companies. Almost none of the profits stay in the 'homelands.' (Africa in Crisis, 176)

There is no indication that the "homelands" will ever be economically independent nor is there any indication that the South African government ever intended that to be the case. The South African economy after all depends for its survival on a

cheap black labor force. The homeland policy helps to ensure that this labor force is migrant, individuals traveling up to 140km everyday, weekly commuters may cover up to 1000km each weekend. Not only is this distance between blacks and whites a political advantage for apartheid but employers benefit financially as well. Employers do not pay social security for migrants since this is presumed to be a responsibility of the homelands.

But there is one vital statistic that overshadows all others in helping us to understand the reasons for the resettlement policy "the black population is growing far more rapidly than the ailing South African economy can absorb it."

Given present population growth rates, blacks will make up 77.6% of South Africa's total population in the year 2000. (72.5% in 1980), while whites will comprise 11.8% (15.6% in 1980). Yet given the current rate of growth in jobs, 4 out of every 10 blacks could be unemployed by the year 2000, a situation which will put tremendous pressure on both South African cities and on like in the 'homelands.' (Africa in Crisis, 180)

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

South Africa's economy has had a major influence on the forms that influx control and thereby urban policy has assumed. The nineteenth century favored mining and agriculture. The concentration of the African population therefore tended to be in the rural areas. It is not surprising that the government quickly passed the Land Act of 1913, restricting black ownership to 7% of the total land mass of the county- the "scheduled areas" or reserves. These reserves subsidized migrant labor for mining capital. Early in the century the government began evicting sharecroppers from white areas. Tenancy was common as Africans squatted on "white" farm land. In the 1930s legislation was passed

further limiting African access to land and forcing the removal of blacks from rural areas unless they were engaged in wage labor.

It wasn't until World War I that manufacturing began to develop in earnest as South Africa could no longer rely on European imports for consumer items. Poor whites worked in manufacturing and feared the black majority. Concentration of black workers, primarily males, developed in industrial centers, like Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and East and West Rand. Poor whites and blacks shared space in the center of town and blacks had "freeholding" rights in some townships. An extraordinary development occurred, integrated neighborhoods in townships like Sophiatown, Evaton, Alexandra and others. The only groups who did not actively oppose black settlement were factory owners and shopkeepers. In 1922 the Stallard Commission expressed the government's official view of black urban occupancy:

The native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man and should depart there from when he ceases so to minister. (Unterhalter, 6)

This position was the basis for official policy which included the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and influx control, requiring that Africans in urban areas register with the government on arrival and report job loss when it took place. There was some minor opposition to these practices by manufacturers and major defiance by the black population.

The 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act placed further limits on urban African workers, restricting the number of days they could stay in an area looking for work, and restricting wives from urban areas without permits. Obviously such restriction of the labor surplus forced industrialists to pay more wages to white workers.

By World War II South Africa's access to imported manufactured goods was more restricted and industrialists began to question government policies of restricting black access to urban areas. The setting which brought the nationalist party to power in 1948 was the debate over influx control. The farmers and white workers backed the nationalists who vowed to oppose the idea of a black industrial reserve and continued to resist black urban access.

The 1940s witnessed a period of economic slumps which hurt the white working class and may have helped spark the mass political mobilization and defiance among non-whites. The close proximity of Africans, Indians and Coloreds facilitated impressive solidarity in union formation in all sectors from mining, commerce and industry as well as organized boycotts and squatters action.

The Nationalist Party promised to protect the white population from the demands of the African National Congress and the Indian Congresses as well as the inaction of the Labor Party and the United Party in opposing the Fagan Commission which argued for an industrial reserve in urban areas. They vowed that Africans would never become a permanent urban community and promised to use influx control to protect white jobs and salaries. With their electoral victory they immediately begin forced removals from urban areas, destruction of mixed inner city communities, established segregated townships, and continued to force squatters off rural land.

Industrial expansion continued through the 1950s and 1960s despite the government's resettlement schemes. Black employment was a necessity and with it black concentration in urban areas. Expansion took place in both industry agriculture. Mechanized mines in the Orange Free State and West Rand were opened. Mechanization

increased the demand for labor, albeit skilled and semi-skilled African labor. Between 1951 and 1961 there was a 100% increase in gold output. Labor surplus was made accessible by the destruction of black communities and black displacement from the land. More repressive legislation was passed to control the black population, including the issuance of reference books in 1952 and the 194 Bantu Laws Amendment Act which articulated the definition of people who were "idle and undesirable" and therefore subject to removal from urban areas. As late as 1979 government reiterated these definitions:

Once you are officially 'idle', all sorts of things can be done to you. Your removal to a host of places, and your detention in a variety of institutions can be ordered. You can be banned forever from returning to the area where you were found, or from going anywhere else for that matter, although you may have lived there all your life. Whatever right to remain outside a special 'Bantu' you gained by birth, lawful residence or erstwhile employment is automatically lost. (Unterhalter, 19)

In fact removals were seen more and more as a form of control during the economic boom of 1963 to 1968. Between 1960 and 1970 the manufacturing work force increased by 63%.

Many credit the recession of the 1970s for igniting the wave of black militancy, which began with worker strikes in 1973 and their crescendo in 1976 after Soweto with a national uprising. The economic crisis of the 1970s was characterized by a balance of payments deficit, a shortfall in investment capital, a shortage of skilled labor as mechanization continued in industry, and of course growing unemployment. Investment in manufacturing declined between 1975 and 1977.

URBAN REMOVAL AS INFLUX CONTROL

Apartheid may be defined as ore than "influx control" but there is no doubt that the laws governing influx control - the movement and rights of Africans in urban areas - are

essential for maintaining control. The nature of influx control has changed with the objective economic and political conditions within South Africa. However influx rests on the movement, displacement and relocation of the black population. As the Surplus People Project notes: Without the relocation of the people the policy of influx control, which states that Africans have no rights to the urban areas, would break down" (SSP, p. 67". The Surplus People Project in South Africa has provided us with a simple explanation of relocation, one which is apparent in all of the influx control laws from the urban Areas Act of 1945 to the Black Communities Development Bill of 1984: it is a way of removing those who are not needed by the economy - the "economically redundant or surplus, which includes old people, sick and disabled people, women and children, and the unemployed. The Department of Bantu Administration and Development expressed the official view:

It is accepted Government policy that the Bantu are only temporarily resident in the European areas of the Republic for as long as they offer their labor there. As soon as they become, for one reason or another, no longer fit to work or superfluous in the labor market, they are expected to return to their country of origin or the territory of the national unit were they fit ethnically if they were not born and bred in the homeland. (General Circular 25, 1967).

The policies of removal and influx control should be seen as ways to manipulate space and by that control and contain behavior. Regardless of the reforms and/or changes, the white minority populations is ever mindful of their own declining numbers and the increasing numbers of Africans in the country.

Relocation has taken at least three forms according to the Surplus People Project: in the 1950's most people were victims of the Group Areas Act with the elimination of blacks spots and rural labor tenancy and government emphasis on Bantustans as the only legal residency for Africans. In the 1960's urban relocations was responsible for the removal of whole townships. In the 1970's the government moved to consolidate the Bantustans. In the 1980's "regional development" strategies were adopted, dividing the country into eight regions (one regions corresponds closely with the boundaries of Natal, another with the Orange Free State, two fall roughly within the present boundaries of Cape Province and four within the Transvaal). But the real objective was to decentralize industry as a way of breaking up communities and population concentration.

In 1940 when the Board of Trade and Industry first suggested decentralization as a mean of decreasing the threat of a concentrated black work force it was rejected as a threat to white labor. Industry has always suggested market forces as an alternative to overt ideological strategy to maximize their financial advantage. After 1986 the administration of influx control was to be transferred from the police to employers and real estate interest and urban residential rights (Section 10) were to be based on access to housing. This corresponded to the State's recognition that residential areas must be tolerated on the periphery of metropolitan areas to serve industry. Of course there was, simultaneously, a freeze on the construction of family housing in urban areas outside of the Bantustans, thus the proliferation of squatters settlements. (By 1986 many townships had been incorporated into Bantustans and new residential areas, call "catchments" or "deconcentraton" areas, were being established on the periphery of metropolitan areas.) But the new strategy being advised by industry and technocrats is to use market forces to

depoliticize control. The rationale is that economic mobility will supersede political participation. According to the chairman of the Economic Council:

(As) soon as government takes responsibility for supplying houses it becomes a political matter and then people who are not in the political process, who haven't got representation in Parliament for examples, say it is because they don't have representation in Parliament that they have to stand at the back of the queue for houses. That is why they definitely want one-man-one-vote for this country. But, if you can take these things out of the political sphere as much less important role and it becomes a less important matter for people to necessarily have a certain form of representation in the central Parliament. (Unterhalter, p. 126).

As this quote implies, there are constitutional goals in this market strategy as technocrats strain to salvage apartheid. The idea which has been floated is for a confederation, in which the Bantustan governments and white South African would cooperate through consultative constitutional structures. According to Elaine Unterhalter:

Current planning envisages regional economic decentralization, interlocking with regional service councils that will replace provisional administration and allow all groups representation (Unterhalter, p. 133).

The Riekert Commission on Manpower Utilization of 1979 even envisaged a process in which the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards would gradually be replaced by black local authorities. (Hindson, 84). Both of these ideas are based on the preservation and autonomy of the Bantustans. In 1980 government installed the community council system in townships. This was part of the strategy to privatize township housing, transport, and services. The full costs of reproductions were to be imposed directly through rates and taxes levied on consumers, homeowners and African businessmen in the townships. (Hindson, 84). As rents, service charges, and transport rates increased, while wages fell and unemployment increased, residents of townships

attacked the council system and its personnel. All of these strategies are premised on the idea of the preservation and economic autonomy of the Bantustans, which is of course impossible.

As new strategies towards property rights are developed the government is able to shift the focus of conflict to black communities where anew stratification is emerging, one which pits black entrepreneurs and skilled workers and those with a political relations to the state against the "have-nots," whose without secure jobs and no Section 10 or residential rights. The government is anxious to use the skilled property owners not only as a supervisory force but also as the buffer between whites and the "more politically volatile poor sections of the working class and the unemployed." This owning class of Africans is therefore forever vulnerable: they can never get beyond their supervisory functions to demand permanent political power.

Clearly South Africa's new regional development strategies have had drastic consequences. On one hand we see displacement occurring as a result of schemes to restructure land use and to build up the Bantustans as separate regional political structures. The major motivation for dividing the African majority is of course political. More surprising have been some of the plans to establish new townships. Of course this is a way for government to control the location of urban black residents and squatters but it has been coupled with the recognition that urban black communities cannot be avoided. The new township of Khayelitsha, (whose town council has already been accused of being a tool of the state), 40 kilometers from Cape Town is a testimony to that realization. This massive township would incorporate three squatters settlements and three older townships much close to Cape Town. It was reported that in Parliament there

seemed to be a reluctant concessions that the Cape needed its own Bantustan, albeit one not too close to the metropolitan area. (Unterhalter, 136). The first phase of the project was completed by 1985. According to Elaine Unterhalter:

Khayelitsha is to have its own adjacent industrial and retail site, and will provide houses on leasehold for the better off and "site service" schemes for squatters that is land on which people may build their own housing and which is serviced with some water, sewage and refuse collection facilities. It is an example of the new housing policy, the attempt to co-opt squatters, and the decentralization policy all in one. (Unterhalter. 136).

The majority of Africans have refused to move to the new township either because 1) the distance to work is too great, 2) they object to the way permanent residence rights are determined, and 3) they were never consulted about relocating. Ironically some of the complaints have come from the new Crossroads leadership which was responsible, not so long ago, for directing vigilantes who, with police cover, violently attacked many of the rightless people at Crossroads forcing them to take shelter in Khayelitsha. (Unterhalter, 136). Other destitute squatters have agreed to move to the new township. But generally the government has been able to subvert organized opposition.

What we see in the new urban policies is the government's political strategy for the future: decentralization of the economic targets, market forces which deflect concentration of government controls, constant division within the population and complete instability of the population. All of these material conditions make political organization difficult for the non-white population.

But these new conditions produce their own contradictions and therefore point out new or renewed organizational tools. The new urban strategies do help to obscure apartheid's old face. But they may also be the basis for rejuvenated national movement. There are

new divisions which the new urban strategies have created but there is no stable black middle class which the government can use as a promise for complacency. The economic recession has made economic incentives more difficult for the government to use. The terrible scare of displacement remains forever and the threat of displacement for all non-white persons intensifies with growing unemployment.

The new urban strategies of the government of South Africa also force upon us all a new recognition of the role of neighborhood, community and family and women in political organizing and change. Until these are rebuilt there can be no organized defeat of apartheid.

FUTURE STRUGGLES AGAINST APARTHEID- THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Women have borne the brunt of urban resettlement and many of the new urban policies. The government in its own perverse way has identified women as the cornerstone of community- not just because they bear children but because stability and permanence are products of the presence of women. Analysts who study the immigrant experience in the US have concluded that communities only take root when residents begin to envision a future. Therefore the presence of women, marriage and children are decisive factors in transforming a migrant laborer into a permanent resident and for the establishment and persistence of communities. (Golab, 16) These conditions influence political outlook and behavior as well. Men who are forced to migrate for work and then live in single sex hostels, as is often the case in South Africa, tend to be less politically motivated. They live from day to day. The men with a wife and children must often fight for better conditions because they have no choice (no option to pack up and move). They must be concerned about the future, theirs and that of their children. It is not surprising

that South Africa has enacted a series of laws to consistently separate African families and prohibit family life.

The new policies in South Africa inadvertently point out the significance of community for political change. Government commissions never fail to point out that squatters' settlements have been at the center of political organizing. I will add that women play a central role in building and sustaining these communities, which does not escape government and policy analysts. It is no accident therefore that women have been the special targets of influx control. Women have been the source of community, building them up in the face of violent government opposition. Their role in Crossroads and Soweto demonstrates how the fight to preserve community may be the embodiment of the struggle for social change to defeat apartheid. The struggles for community have been the embodiment of democracy as well. The replacement of women's leadership in settlements like Crossroads with men not only disrupted the progressive politics of the settlements but also ended the democratic impulse.

As early as 1937 women were targeted by legislation. The Native Laws Amendment Act placed limits on African urban workers and stipulated that the wife of a worker had to have a permit before she could settle in town. "Reference Books" were issued to all Africans in 1952 but the resistance to their issuance to women was so fierce that it took a decade to implement the policy. An amendment to the 1945 Urban Areas Act introduced the Section 10 clause in 1952. This specified that only "certain" Africans had the right to remain in urban areas ("people classified as Section 10 (1) (a), that is those who were born there and had lived there continuously; those classified as Section 10(1) (b) who had worked continuously for one employer for ten years or had lived

lawfully and continuously in the area for 15 years; dependents of people in both these categories, classified as Section 10 (1) (c); and other workers who had permission, usually short term labor contracts to be in the area for their jobs- they were classified as Section 10 (1) (d).") (Unterhalter, 12)

In 1964 Act 42 repealed the section of the 1945 Urban Areas Act which had given wives and children automatic rights to live with men who qualified as urban residents under Section 10 and allowed them in urban areas only as visitors with a permit. Women could be moved out of urban areas if unemployed even if they qualified for Section 10. In order to remain in the city a woman had to qualify for Section 10 independent of her husband, that meant having both a job and a residence. However, because women are legally deemed "perpetual minors" those from the Bantustans can only enter into contracts in higher wage urban industrial areas with the consent of their "guardians." Therefore up to 1986 it was illegal for women from Bantustans to enter into a contract of employment to work in a "prescribed area" and they were therefore confined to low wage work in Bantustan based industries, resettlement areas or farms. A 1965 retroactive law said women who had been living in urban areas since 1952 should have registered within 72 hours to qualify for residential rights. Because women were prohibited from being registered tenants in the townships they became homeless if widowed, divorced, separated, or deserted and they are of course deported to a Bantustan.

This consistent repression of women should help us to identify their pivotal role in social change. Couple this with the attack on women's leadership, from right wing African forces allied with the government, in movements like Crossroads we begin to see what the catalyst for social change may be. After eleven years of struggle the women's

leadership was defeated by "petty bourgeois patriarchal forces allied with the state." This new leadership has been the state's representative in attacks against other squatters. In 1986 an estimated 110,000 people were forcibly moved through the destruction of the Langa township (official) and Crossroads community (and moved to Khayelitsha or left homeless).

CONCLUSION

It is impossible to conclude this analysis without some reflection on urban policy in the United States. [The irony of newly constructed high rise complexes in the central city which have displaced the old residential communities dispersing and reducing the African Americans in major metropolitan areas.] Add to that the lack of work and America too has a "surplus population," one which it is frantically attempting to displace to the city's periphery. The new financial schemes which seek to turn poorly run and inadequately maintained services over to residents also bears an uncanny resemblance to South Africa. Examples include HUD's idea to sell public housing to tenants and the Bureau of Indian Affairs plan to turn all of their services administration over to tribes on the reservation (an idea unanimously rejected by the Native Americans).

These policies point to the unwillingness of non-homogenous societies to develop social policy which addresses the needs of people of color and a persistent manipulation of space for purposes of political control. As economic conditions become more desperate and the surplus population grows we cannot help but wonder where the similarities between South Africa and the United States will end.

With all of South Africa's claims to be moving into a post-apartheid era, we must recognize that the reforms (the move to market strategies) are mandatory for the

maintenance of the South African state and economy. The objective is far from that of attempting to integrate Blacks into the political apparatus; by the growing black political organization of the country, the government had to look for tools other than force. With a growing recession the state also wanted to absolve itself of the fiscal responsibilities of a new urbanization.

The new mechanisms of control not only continue to divide the African working class (which was the objective of the old influx control and past laws) but creates greater economic stratification and thereby hostilities within their ranks. If South Africa must incorporate Africans into the political sphere, this will take place only after organizational and political ties are disrupted and/or discredited. The United States has demonstrated that the franchise is not dangerous once group loyalties and identification are lost.

The US has demonstrated how easy it is to control an interest group once its significant political organization is shattered. The State was faced with the choice of "us" or "them" both in South Africa and in the US. In both cases new organization was required for the economy to survive. Unfortunately we have yet to identify practices which allow for a decent quality of life for citizens as the state and economy thrive.

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