# **Further Notes**

ON THE "SQUATTER PROBLEM"

If the number of research projects, newspaper articles, booklets, conferences, pamphlets and council (of one kind or another) resolutions are anything to go by, then the "squatter problem"/ "housing problem" must surely be one of the most direct and threatening manifestations of the present crisis in South Africa.

These "Further Notes ..." are an attempt to focus more closely on the issue, expanding some of Amanda Younge's points (see WIP 3) and rejecting others as lacking usefulness in coming to an understanding of the specific nature of the provision of housing in South Africa. My first comments will, therefore, be in response to Younge's contribution:

- the conventional responses, while by far not all in agreement as to the solution, all relate to "remedies" offered within the present structure - i.o.w. relating to the control of labour, or to control of those who fulfil a function of a reserve army of labour (those at present unemployed) or the marginalised labour force (those permanently unemployed, excluded from direct exploitation under capitalist relations of production).

Younge situates the issue within the capitalist mode of production, or at least mentions that that is where it is to be situated and states that: "If the causes can be obscured, the solutions which are adopted will be essentially palliative, and will in no way resolve the basic contradictions at the root of the 'problem'";

- however, it is hardly possible to discuss such a contradiction (antagonistic) as that between capital and labour on the same level as a "contradiction" between "Constantia and Crossroads", or between town and country, as Younge does. The contradiction between capital and labour arises out of production while the other inequalities mentioned relate to distribution. While redistribution in South Africa is desirable, whether it be between urban and rural areas or black and white workers (and even some capitalists would like to see the grossest inequalities eliminated), it is not possible without a change in the relations of production;

- consequently, her discussion of the town/country "contradiction", especially if applied to the South African social formation, is not a very useful starting point;
- a further criticism is that not enough of a distinction is made between the provision of housing under the "system of anarchic free enterprise" (i.o.w. a directly capitalist system of providing a commodity, housing), and state intervention in the provision of housing "essential to the reproduction of labour power".

The works referred to by Amanda Younge, while engaged in a most useful debate around the issue of urbanisation and housing, cannot be <u>directly</u> appropriated and applied to a situation of peripheral capitalism. (The same would hold for a discussion of the capitalist state, where concepts developed in response to state function in advanced capitalist society do not always transfer to the specifics of social formations occupying different positions in a world capitalist system).

Where does that leave us then? In a position where it is necessary to return to Lamarche's main hypothesis and to move from there to the specifics of the South African situation:

"Even if some problems exist which are specific to the city as such, at the economic level <u>there is no specifically</u> <u>urban social relation</u>. There are only class relations determined by the contradiction between capital and labour." (my emphasis - gm) (Lamarche, 1976:86)

This means that it is necessary to look at the present "squatter problem" against the background of the history of proletarianisation in South Africa - a history that has led to specific economic, political and ideological measures by the state to aid the process of accumulation, and also to "maintain and create the conditions for social harmony."

South African capitalism, both in its monopolistic form, eg in mining and the sugar estates in the early period, and as competitive capital, eg agriculture and early industrialisation, developed on the basis of a low-wage policy. It was at times directly argued, and mostly just accepted, that part of the costs of reproduction of labour power, i.e. of the labourer and family, was covered by agricultural production in the reserve areas. The twin institutions of compound housing for 'single' workers and the migrant

labour system served to perpetuate the system of labour exploitation and the accompanying justification. (This process is euphemistically described by Smit and Booysen (1977:5): "(T)he principle of <u>impermanence</u> was introduced in the urbanisation process of the Black population).

Initially the mining houses and the sugar estates provided shelter (compounds) for the bulk of the proletariat. Other African workers in the urban areas provided their own housing in areas around the 'white' industrial and commercial areas. In 1923, however, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act was passed, making provision for slum clearance and segregation. In 1920 the Housing Act had been passed, embodying the idea "that the main responsibility for housing the poorer section of the community should rest upon the local authorities! (Byrd, 1952:108) "From 1923 until 1937 housing was provided almost exclusively for migrant labourers..." (Smit & Booysen, 1977:6) As the Transvaal Local Government Commission stated (quoted in Smit and Booysen, 1975:6):

"...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 therefrom when he ceases so to minister".

(Indeed, this position has not changed much. Mr PTC du Plessis said in Parliament that:

"... the position here is that certain people are being allowed to work in White South Africa. That is basically why those people are here."

and

"However, the Black people and we do not want to wage war on one another. After all, we are interdependent, but because we are interdependent and allow those people to come and sell their labour here, it does not mean that we are giving them a permanent birthright here for generations to come, for then they would also have a political claim to this country." (Hansard, 1978:columns 635 & 636)

According to Smit and Booysen "local authorities had neither the funds nor the administrative machinery to enforce the law of 1923." Industrial development during the war years demanded an increase in the labour force and squatter camps arose necessitating recourse to war measures to control squatting. Stadler (1978) suggests that the influx of <u>families</u> into the urban areas during and after the war relates to the failure of the reserves "to provide part of the family's subsistence", and also to evictions from white-owned farms. With wages below family subsistence level (the justification for this stated above), "(s)quatting may be

seen ... as an attempt to reduce the cost of subsistence in a situation in which, because of the swollen "reserve army" moving into the city relatively unimpeded by influx controls, wages could be held down during a period of rapidly rising living costs". (Stadler, 1978:4) In other words, a working class attempting to cope in a defensive situation.

But there is another side to the equation. The cost of reproduction of labour power involves not only obvious cost of food, but also of education, housing, transport, etc. And this, I suggest, is the direction from which the "housing problem" should be initially approached in South Africa. Squatter movements, food organisations, transport boycotts are some working class responses in the class struggle. Influx control, provision of housing by the state, the 'homelands' policy and urbanisation within these regions, bulldozing of squatter communities, low-cost housing, the Urban Foundation, represent some of the responses by capital. But also to be looked at is conflict over distribution of costs in financing these measures to lower reproduction cost of labour power and hence of wages. In connection with this last point Stadler concludes that it is monopoly capital that escapes costs, at least during the 1940s:

"City finances were drawn from two main sources: rates on the capital value of land and profits from services. Except qua property-owners in the city, the great interests in Johannesburg did not contribute to the city's finances. Mining land was not (and is still not) subject to rates. Thus the burden of providing the city's finances fell mainly on the city's petty-bourgeoisie and - as tenants - its working classes." (1978:7-8)

Smit and Booysen distinguish a third phase in government action as it relates to urbanisation in South Africa. This phase dates from 1950 with the Group Areas Act and the Native Services Act of 1952, "which provided that employers should make a contribution towards financing services for their Black employees" (1977:6), i.e. to subsidise transport and provide services in housing schemes. The transport subsidy was necessitated by the implementation of the Group Areas Act and the consequent removal of blacks from 'white' areas. These measures cannot be divorced from the establishment of labour bureaux.

Horrell (1971) points out that new housing schemes during the 1950s were established on an "economic" basis. In other words the inhabitants had to repay capital costs, interest, and administrative charges over a period of time. As has pointed out above

these costs enter into the determination of wages, through the effect on the cost of reproduction of labour power.

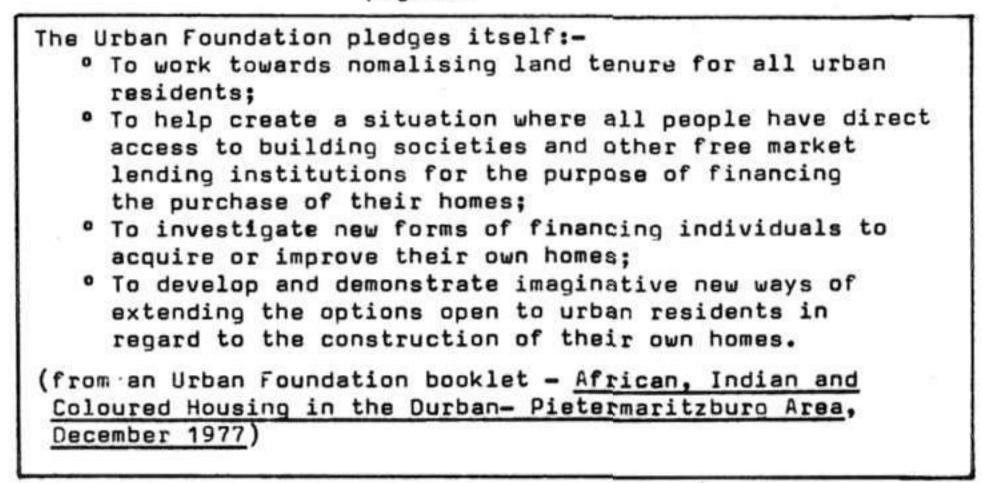
A fourth phase is dated from the 1960s with further control over provision of family housing in 'white' areas - permission had to be obtained from the Department of Bantu Administration and • Development. "In addition, from 1 January 1968 Blacks could only rent houses in Black residential areas in White urban areas and they were encouraged to ' ... build houses in Black towns in homelands of their own national unit where they could also acquire freehold'". (Smit and Booysen, 1977:10) Further all 'non-productive' Africans (elderly, widows, etc) would be resettled in the 'homelands'. Since the mid-1970s a two-pronged policy seems to be followed. The first is that of the "urbanisation of the homelands". Proclaimed towns in the 'homelands' (Transkei excluded) increased from 66 in 1970 to 86 in 1976 "while 129 had been delimited or partly delimited". (Smit and Booysen, 1977:19) These towns are developed and controlled by the South African Bantu Trust, the 'homeland' governments and the 'development' corporations. Urbanisation of the 'homelands' is directly related to proximity to industrial development centres (cf Smit and Booysen, Appendix B, 1977:40) Some additional factors in explaining the growth of these areas would be the resettlement of 'nonproductive' people from 'white' urban areas (especially since 1967); clearing of 'black spots'; changes in labour relations and utilisation in agriculture; structural and cyclical unemployment; redrawing of 'homeland' boundaries.

Increase in urban population in 'homelands':

1960 : 33 486 1970 : 594 420 1975 : 984 271 (calculated from Smit and Booysen, 1977:19 & Appendix C. For more detailed information on the kwaZulu region see maps and table at the end of this article)

The second 'prong' of the housing policy is that of providing improved services for a stabilised petty bourgeoisie and part of the workforce (those in permanent employment, and with 'skills' related to production under monopoly capitalism) within black urban areas in 'white' areas. It is this field that the direct involvement of monopoly capital through the Urban Foundation (UF) and indirectly through changes in state policy can be seen. The Urban Foundation draws the link between housing improvement and land tenure on the one hand, and on the other the needs of

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monopoly capital for a stable, trained (industrially and ideologically) labour force. The latter aspect is reflected in the UF Code of Conduct. Among the proposals are:

- To strive for the recognition of basic rights of freedom of association, collective bargaining, the 'lawful withholding of labour' as a result of industrial disputes, and protection against victimisation resulting from the exercise of these rights;
- To strive for the maintenance of 'viable living standards';
- To initiate training programmes to improve the productivity and skills of employees to enable them to achieve advancement in technical, administrative, and managerial positions. (RDM, 8/12/77)

This code did not meet with any opposition from the Minister of Labour.

After this very brief historical look at the provision of housing let me return to a theory of housing in capitalist social formations, and specifically to a theoretical framework for an analysis of housing in South Africa. This attempt raises more questions than it provides answers to a theory of housing in South Africa but, I would argue, these questions do indicate a direction for future work.

Housing has a dual function under the operation of capitalist relations. Firstly, housing is a commodity such as any other, although with specific problems related to land and property, and realisation of the value of the commodity. (see for example Lamarche, 1976) Secondly, housing is a necessity in the reproduction of labour power - in other words just as the worker and his/her family have to be supplied with the means (wages) sufficient to purchase food and clothing, etc., the value of labour power also includes housing (shelter). Of course, the items included in the determination of the value of labour power are socially determined, i.e. they are the result of class struggle, and of the development of the forces of production (a motor car may be considered to be a social necessity to a white 'worker' in South Africa; education appropriate to the demands of assembly line production may be a necessity in a reproduction of a section of the black labour force in South Africa at the present time).

Pickvance (nd:59) argues that the dual nature of housing , i.e. use-value in the reproduction of labour power, and commodity, leads to two contradictions (I feel that more work needs to be done on the reasons why it is possible to separate these two aspects to housing): First - "...that between capital engaged in the building industry, and industrial capital in general. The former has an interest in a high selling price for housing, to increase its profits, whereas the latter has an interest in low housing costs since housing is a subsistence commodity whose cost enters the determination of wage levels";

Second - "...derives from the fact that housing cannot be built without land ... the source of the contradiction ... (lies in) ... the existence of the institution of landed property or private ownership of land".

I intend focussing on the second aspect of the provision of housing, namely the part played in the reproduction of labour power, and on the first contradiction. I have in the first part of these "Notes..." tried to indicate why this particular focus should be

the concern of those attempting to understand the "housing problem/squatter problem" in South Africa. Let me repeat - an analysis of housing as a <u>commodity</u> would undoubtedly be of great interest, but it would relate to a very small part of the total number of houses provided.

For example, a reply given in parliament (7/2/78) reveals:

As against this the amounts to be spent on housing in the 'home lands' during the book year 1977-78 total R8,5-m, with kwaZulu due to get R2,1-m. (The provision of housing as a commodity is, of course not unrelated to the totality of housing provision). An analysis of the reasons for the collapse of property firms during the present crisis, and of the extent to which the building and construction industry has been hit would throw much light on this aspect of housing. (The crisis is probably in part related to the long production and circulation periods of capital in the building industry, and probably affected competitive capitalist firms much more than monopoly firms with their ability to "export surplus capacity".)

However, as the table on the previous page indicates, "dwelling units for Bantu, Coloureds and Asians are mainly financed and built by the public sector". Many of the concepts relating to the provision of housing <u>directly</u> under the conditions of capitalist commodity production are, therefore, not applicable or do not occupy as central a position within a framework for analysis. What does become important when analysing housing as an aspect in the reproduction of labour power, is the first contradiction (above), and the role of the state in "shift(ing) problems around without resolving them".

To analyse the housing "problem" or the squatter "problem" in South Africa one has to look at it in an historical perspective, and periodise according to changes within the first contradiction brought about by changes in the structure of capital in South Africa. (Because of the extent of state intervention in the South African social formation the role of the state may be a fairly direct reflection of the relative positions of sectors of capital. The state's role may not reflect the needs of the economically dominant 'fraction' of capital, but these needs will be expressed if only to oppose the role of the state at a particular moment). These changes cannot be separated from the class struggle, as various squatter movements and rent protests have shown students in Soweto were most successful when they mobilised the community around this issue, which led to at least a postponement of proposed rent increases. The rest of this paper will be concerned mainly with a suggested theoretical framework, and a few suggestions as to possible application. Hopefully a further article could fill in this framework through an application to the South African situation.

The provision of housing (compounds) by the estates and mines (monopoly capital during the early period) was probably necessitated by the inability of the state to fulfill this function at the time. On the other hand, the particular form it took - compounds - can be explained by several factors: control could easily be maintained over a large work-force; costs are reduced in construction and provision of services; the individual members of the labourforce could be treated as 'single' male migrants as they did, in most cases, not bring their families with them.

The inter-relatedness of the system of labour exploitation in South Africa (a migrant labour system) and the specifics of the urbanisation process and provision of shelter (and part of the logic behind the 'homelands' policy), is clearly evidenced in the compound system. As Hill (1976:31) put it:

"Since the process of capital accumulation unfolds in a spatially structured environment, urbanism may be viewed as the particular geographical form and spatial patterning of relationships taken by the process of capital accumulation."

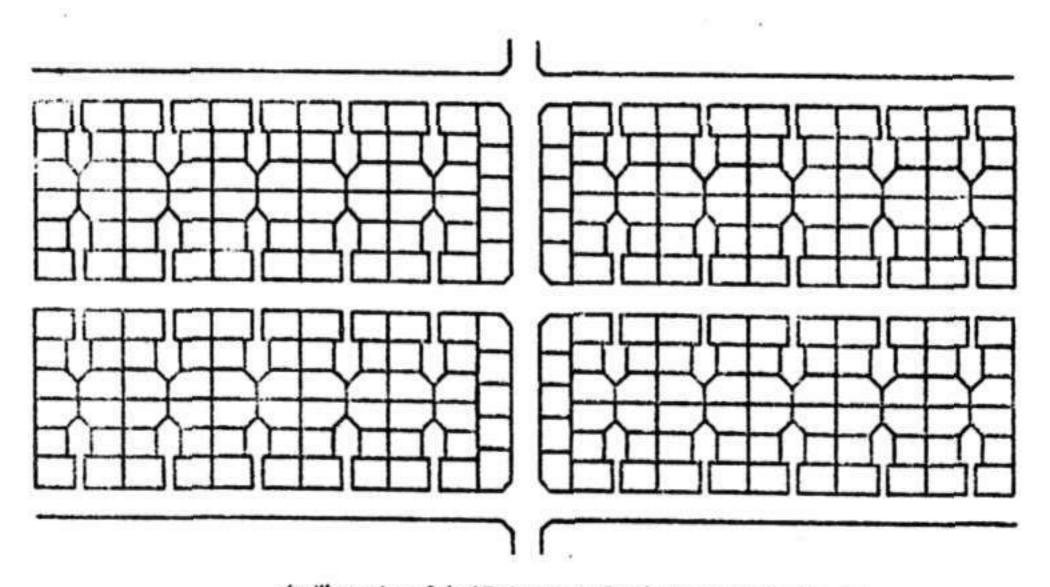
The implications, in South Africa, of the maintenance of precapitalist forms of production (e.g. 'traditional' communal land tenure; the power of the chiefs) can also be seen in the maintenance of geographically separate areas for the housing of, initially, the families of migrant labourers, those who cannot at any time find employment in the capitalist sector, of the labourer after 'retirement', and now of many of the labourers temselves. These areas are the reserves/bantustans/'homelands'. Families would have been, and are, housed in dwellings constructed under precapitalist relations - some of the materials used may be commodi-

ties produced in the capitalist sector but labour costs involved would in this case not enter into the determination of the value of labour power. The same would hold for housing the vast majority of agricultural labour. The other side of the picture would be the 'inmates' in the 'single' men's hostels.

Pickvance (nd;62), in discussing work done by Topalov, quotes him as saying that three policies may be followed in "the period of the transition to capitalism", viz "The use of pre-existing housing stock ...;... the use of rural labour;... a policy of 'self-housing' (as in the shanty towns of today)." All of these policies reduce the value of labour power, and all have been, and are, followed in South Africa. Industrial capital, unless it is involved in the construction of housing, also benefits from a reduction in the value of labour power through the provision of housing by the state and/or of cheap housing. Despite the accompanying danger of social unrest it is during periods of economic growth that squatter communities grow. (And, of course, during periods of mass unemployment. Then the social security considerations predominate and the state apparatuses play their role in controlling these communities and separating the productive from the non-productive, while universities and research institutions organise competitions for cheap housing, upgrading present accommodation and clamouring for permanent land tenure and accompanying(?) stability increases. Wattle and daub alternatives may be the "eco-freak's" dream, but it also well serves the needs of capital to tide it over another crisis).

Attempts to reduce cost of housing have (and are) occupied the minds of many researchers, both directly state or through institutions or private. Kieser's report (1964) is but one example, and refers to "an extensive programme of research (by the National Building Research Institute of the CSIR) which resulted in a significant reduction in building costs." An example of the extent of cost-reducing research is given below, the symmetry of the design speaks for itself:

"It is interesting to note that in Township No 13 where the so called 'Lapa' or 'Spill-out' design ... has been used the collection-mileage per service for one collection (refuse removal) is lowest." (Kieser, 1964:53-54)



An illustration of the 'Spill-out' or 'Lapa' system of township design.

Not only are attempts made to reduce costs but conflict between capitals occurs as to who is going to bear the costs of public housing. This is, I think, reflected in the struggle between local and national authorities as to who should be responsible for housing and to what extent. For example Byrd writes that

"...since 1930, when sub-economic loans were first made available to local authorities, mainly for slum clearance and re-housing, there has been almost continuous discussion between local authorities and the Central Government as to the ratio in which losses on subsidised housing should be shared between them. But although the local authorities have successfully persuaded the Central Government to bear a constantly increasing share of the losses, the large sub-economic housing schemes so far completed have also swollen the actual losses incurred by the local authorities, thus constituting a growing burden on taxes." (Byrd, 1952:110-111)

This area would demand further investigation, e.g as to the origin of revenue used in the provision of housing. Within industrial capital there is further conflict between monopoly and competitive capital over responsibility for housing (see, for example, the opposition from some capitalists to the UF activities).

The enormity of state involvement in the provision of housing demands that a theory of housing in South Africa also be a theory of the state in peripheral capitalist social formations and of state expenditure. "In 1976 the public sector spent R270 million on housing in South Africa (including the homelands)", but this is not excessive in comparison with countries such as Brazil and Venezuela. (Maasdorp, 1977:20) GS Muller, managing director of Nedbank, warned that "South Africa could go bankrupt in an attempt to meet the demand for lower income housing for all race groups." (Natal Mercury, 10/9/77).

The work by James O'Connor on state fiscal policy (1973) may well provide part of the framework for analysis of state involvement. In summary, O'Connor's argument is that firstly, "... the capitalistic state must try to fulfill two basic and often mutually contradictory functions - <u>accumulation</u> and <u>legitimization</u>." (1973:6) In other words the state must involve itself in aiding the accumulation process of capital while at the same time not appearing to be supporting one class but to be working for the benefit of all.

His second premise is that, corresponding to these two basic

functions of the state, "state expenditures have a twofold character":

- A. <u>Social Capital</u> "indirectly expands surplus value". Of which there are two kinds
- i. social investment "consists of projects and services that increase the productivity of a given amount of laborpower and, other factors being equal, increase the rate of profit" (eg, "State-financed industrial parks")
- ii. social consumption "projects and services that lower the reproduction costs of labour and, other factors being equal, increase the rate of profit." (eg, housing)
- B. <u>Social Expenses</u> "projects and services which are required to maintain social harmony - to fulfill the state's 'legitimization' function. They are not even indirectly productive" (eg, "welfare system, which is designed chiefly to keep social peace among unemployed workers. (The costs of politically repressed populations in revolt would also constitute a part of social expenses)."

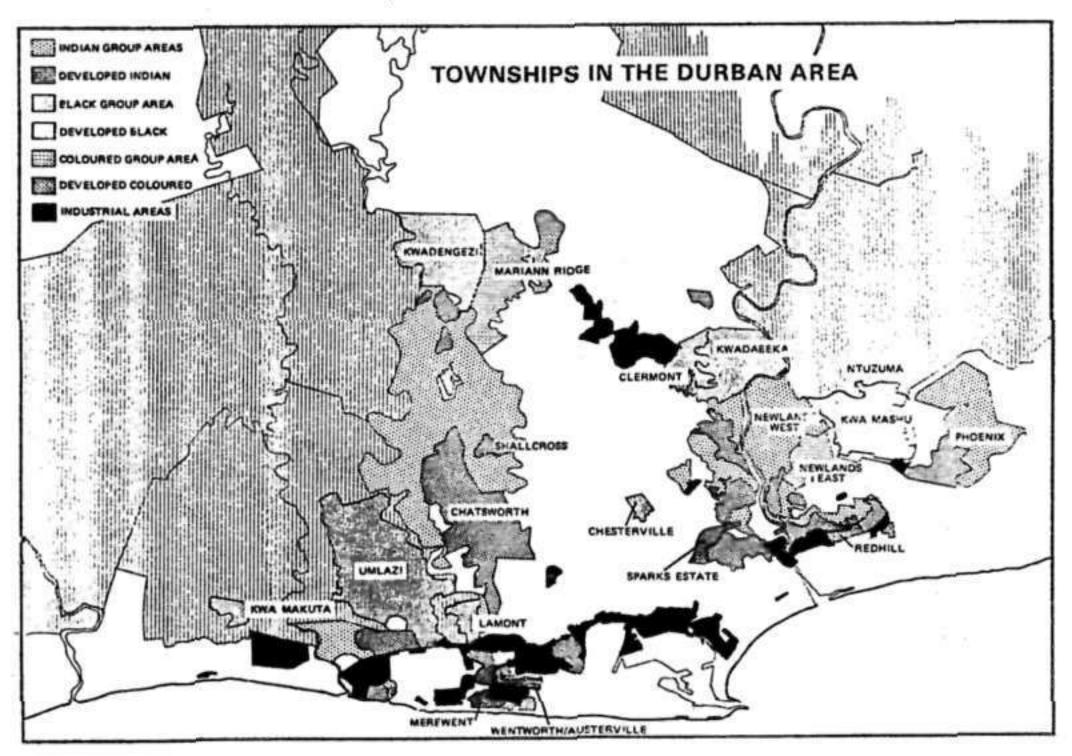
O'Connor was specifically analysing the fiscal policy of the state in the USA, but the relative importance of the various items in the fiscal policy of the state may give indications as to the nature of the specific state. In South Africa, for example, 'social expenses' are mainly of the repressive kind, with 'welfare' doing rather poorly as a control mechanism. The balance between these items becomes obvious and important during periods of economic crisis when the problems associated with unemployment can be resolved either through unemployment benefits or through direct control of the unemployed. It is of course not possible to separate any item as neatly as is suggested by the breakdown above.

It is not my intention, and I am in no position at the moment, to apply this type of analysis to the South African situation. However, two further aspects need to be stressed because of their relevance to an understanding of the "housing problem" and of state involvement in this area. Firstly, the ways in which the state can finance these outlays, viz. "by creating state enterprises that produce surpluses which in turn may be used to underwrite social capital and social expense expenditures; second, by issuing debt and borrowing against future tax revenues; third, by raising tax rates and introducing new taxes." (O'Connor, 1973:179) The second point is that of socialising costs, or making capital as a whole and the working class pay for items that are going to benefit a 'fraction' of capital. In other words increasing profits by decreasing the share of costs of capital in general or of a 'fraction' of capital. An obvious example of the way in which certain costs are passed on to the working class through the socialisation of social capital, in this case housing, is the manner in which township housing is financed through beer selling.

As I said earlier in the paper more questions will be raised than enswers given. Hopefully I have indicated sufficiently clearly the directions in which I feel further analysis should move. I would appreciate responses to this article.

## Gerhard Maré

Some further information on housing in Natal (from the Urban Foundation booklet):



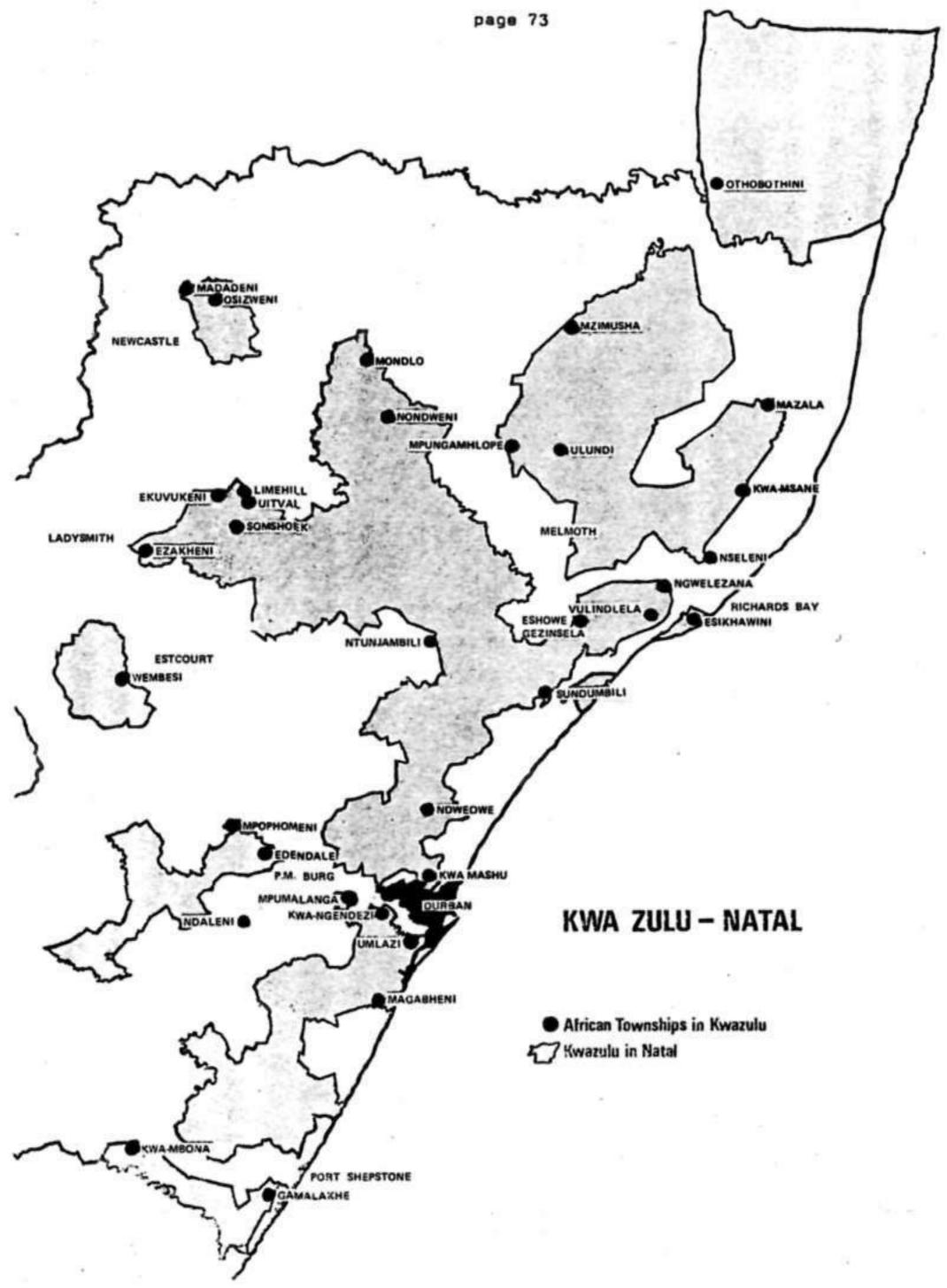
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## THE SOUTH AFRICAN BANTU TRUST AND THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR --- KWAZULU GOVERNMENT SERVICES' HOUSING PROCRAMME

TOWNSHIP	SITUATION	NUMBER OF HOUSES BUILT	NUMBER OF HOUSES PLANNED	DEVELOPMENT AGENT, AUTHORITY	AVAILABILITY OF SERVICED SITES FOR HOMEOWNERSHIP	MONTHLY RENTAL' (EXCLUDING SERVICES)	PURCHASE INSTALMENT PER MONTH ENCLUDING SERVICES
DURBAN/PMBU	RG AREA						
iniari	South of Durban	22 151	25 000 (present)	Durban Corp.	Immediate (limited) >	R4,36	\$3.20
KwaMashu	North of Durban	15 442	17 000	KwaZulu Dept. of Works	Immediate (limited)	R4,36	Not yet determined
KwaNdengezi	Mariannhill	500	3 000	PNBAAB	Immediate	R9.76	- do
(waDabeka	New Germany Pinetown	Due to commence 1978/79	8 (/00	PNBAAB <sup>2</sup>	-	1777	
Ntuzuma	Durban Verulam	2 000	10 000	Durban Corp.	Sites will become available as soon as the township has been proclaimed.	R4,36	R3.70
Mpumalanga	Hammersdale	5 317	10 000	KwaZulu Dept. of Works	Immediate	R4,36	R3,70
KwaMakuta	Amanzimtoti	2 398	2 450	KwaZulu Dept. of Works	Will become available towards the end of the 1978/9 financial year (providing funds are available).	R4,36	R3.20
Magabeni	Umkomaas	600	1 000	Kwa Zulu Dept of Works	Immediate (limited)	R4.36	R3,20
Ndwedwe	Tongaat	Due to commence end of 1977	2 000	Tongaat Group	-		
Edendale	PMBurg	50	25 000	DBAAB <sup>3</sup>	When sites have been surveyed and the township proclaimed.	Not yet determined.	5
REMAINING A	ZEAS IN KWAZU	lu	1	ľ		1	1.
Ulundi	Capital of KwaZulu	600	10 000	KwaZulu Dept. of Works	Immediate.	R4,36	R3.20
Gezinsela	Eshowe	505	746	— do —	Immediate.	R4,36	R3,20
Sundumbili	Isithebe Industrial Area, Mandini	868	3 226	— do —	April/May 1978.	R4,36	R3,20
Ngwelezana	Empangeni	974	974	— do —	Plans for further extensions are being drawn up.	R4,36	R3,20
Ezikhaweni	Richards Bay	1 500	40 000	— do —	Immediate.	R4,36	R3.20
Nseleni	Richards Bay	1 274	1 384	— do —	Remaining sites have been allocated to Richards Bay Minerals, to be developed by that company.	R4,36	R3.20
Madadeni	Newcastle	6 000	11 727	— do —	Immediate.	R4,36	R3,20
Osizweni	Newcastle	6 000+	13 695	— do —	Immediate.	R4,36	R3,20
Ezakheni	Ladysmith/ Colenso	4 813*	9 1 3 2	— do —	Immediate.	R4,36	R3,20
Wembezi	Estcourt. Mooi River	1 314	4 009	DBAAB	Immediate.	R4,36	R 3.20
Camalakhe	Lower South Coast	884	4 171	KwaZulu Dept. of Works	Immediate.	R-4, 36	<b>R</b> 3,20

1: This does not include service charges which are levied on all housing units, whether leased or sold. The amount of the service charges varies from township to township, but averages around R3,00 per month. Electricity charges are also excluded.

- 2: Port Natal Bantu Aifairs Administration Board.
- 3: Drakensberg Bantu Affairs Administration Board.
- 4: Many of these houses have been developed by the home owners themselves.
- 5. Approximately 1069 houses are owner developed.



Works referred to:

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- Smit, P and JJ Booysen <u>Urbanisation in the Homelands</u> a new 1977 dimension in the urbanisation process of the Black population of South Africa (Institute for Plural Societies, University of Pretoria)
- Urban Foundation (Natal Region) -"African, Indian and Coloured 1977 Housing in the Durban-Pietermaritzburg Area"

On African housing, Mr Fouche (Secretary for Community Development) made it clear that the State's main answer was still single workers' hostels, with 120 000 beds for single men and 90 000 family dwellings to be provided through State funds in the next five years.

The average spending a year on African housing amounted to only R7-million, he said. This would have to increase to R55-million. The contribution by the National Housing Fund to single and family housing would be about R275-million over the five years. (Star, 12/9/77)

The Government had accepted that another 400 000 houses were needed for blacks, Mr John Knoetze, chief director of the Vaal Traingle Administration Board said at the University of the Witwatersrand last night.

...

"One cannot think in terms of R10 000 a unit, but fortunately we can build for R3 000," Mr Knoetze said.

Of the 400 000 backlog, 200 000 houses were needed in homeland townships and another 200 000 for blacks living in South Africa's white areas Mr Knoetze said after his speech.

Private enterprise could play a part by making money available for building, he said.

(RDM, 15/9/77)

Mr HJ Kriel, former chairman of the Cape Divisional Council and present MPC for Parow, said at the end of last month that the demolition of the camp would definitely take place (Crossroads squatter camp).

He gave a number of reasons why this should be done:

"The squatters were a large work force and as they did not pay rent they competed unfavourably with the established labour market.

"It was the government's responsibility to protect the settled labour force and for that reason squatting was made illegal.

"People who came to cities without organising suitable accommodation knew they were doing wrong.

"The actions of the squatters who moved to the Peninsula from the Homelands could be seen as direct challenge to the authorities and as a result the autorities had to be firm.

"Squatter camps were unstable and therefore presented a security risk in times of unrest."

(Voice, 11/3/78)

