

which can be dealt with out of the context of the form of capitalism in South Africa, which has dictated that townships are physically separate areas, some distance from the centres of business, commerce and industry, and that they are administered as separate areas where control of the workforce is the major factor.

The involvement of the community councils in the rent increases is in some ways similar to the behaviour of the old Soweto UBC; but the community councils are more directly linked into the contradiction which faces "township development" and "improvement in the quality of life" advocates: massive amounts are needed to provide the most basic of services in the urban townships; yet the state insists that these amounts are to be obtained from the residents of the townships themselves. If the community councils are to provide any material benefits for township residents, this can only be done at the cost of raising rents enormously (witness the way in which Soweto is being forced to pay for its electrification programme).

To take the case of just one township in South Africa - and one in which conditions are better than in many other african areas - Soweto. Community council director of finance, IM Florence, estimates that the figure at current prices needed to 'upgrade' Soweto in terms of road improvements, sewerage, drains and housing is R1-billion, and that "the money will have to be repaid by Soweto like any other local authority".

Notes.

For important background material to the question of rents and the financing of townships, see the following:

1. Rents: paying for incorporation. Work In Progress 12, April 1980.
2. Shoes without laces? The financing of urban black townships, with special reference to Soweto and the Soweto Community Council. John Kane-Berman, mimeo, SAIRR 1980.
3. Kane-Berman, John. Soweto: black revolt, white reaction. Raven Press, 1978.

Rents: Mondlo

MONDLO - described as a 'hotbed of hatred', roads unlit and dusty, crime and disease common, in the two new schools the pupils have to sit on the floor. A Star newspaper report on the township was headed 'One would expect to find guerillas there' - a reference to the arrest of ANC fighters Boyce Bogale and Thomas Mngadi in this township earlier this year (see report on the Silverton Trial in the Courts section in this WIP and also in WIP 14).

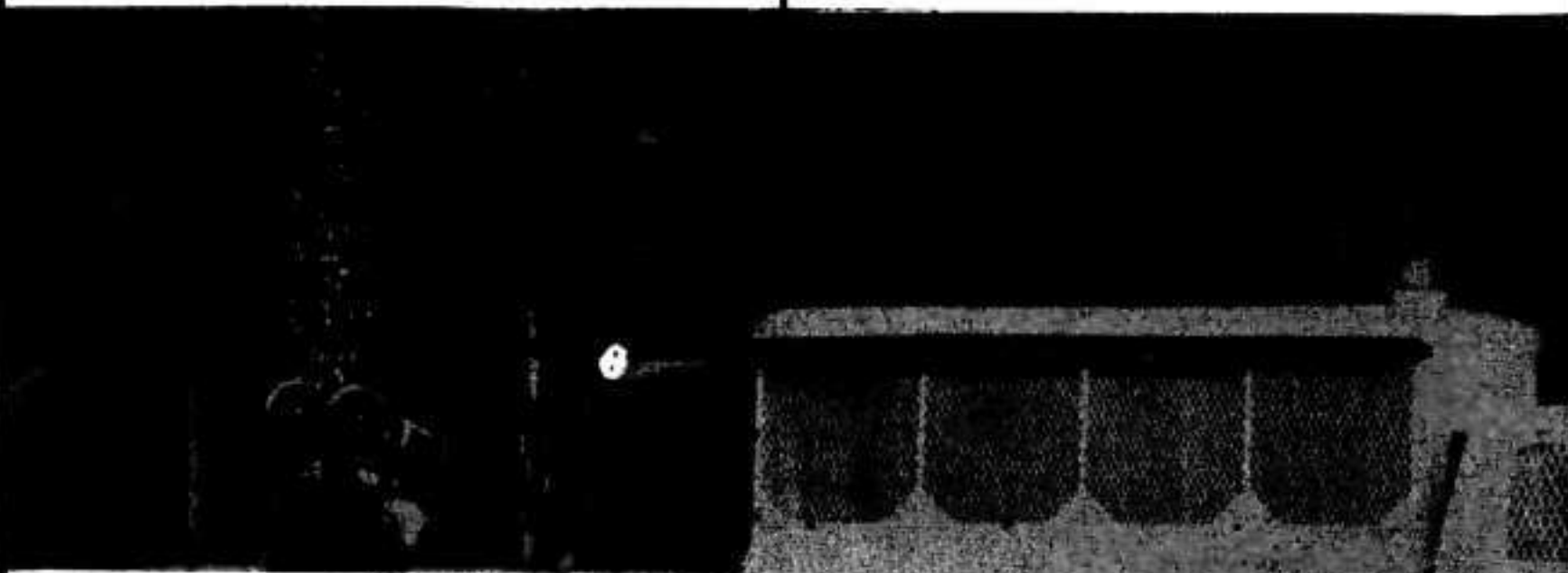
The population of about 35 000 is composed of people from farms (ex labour tenants) and from the townships around the Northern Natal towns of Dundee, Vryheid, Glencoe and Paul Pietersburg. For example, the population of Bhekuzulu location at Vryheid was going to be the first township moved as a whole (Sunday Post, 14.01.79). Many of these people have already moved to Osizweni and Nqutu, where yet another township is said to be planned.

In 1973 Dr Anthony Barker mentioned that there were '3 000 dwellers in loaned tents ... in 1963' at Mondlo.

Earlier this year it was reported that residents at Mondlo owed the KwaZulu government no less than R194 000 in outstanding rates (RDM, 17.04.80).

Rates had been increased from 84c to R6,40 (!) a month, but 99% of residents refused to pay this additional amount. The increase was said to be necessary to pay for piped water for each plot and for rubbish removal.

The increase had caused a lot



Broken windows at the Urban Bantu Council Chambers, Jabulani, after the rents demonstration of April 1977.

bitterness in the township and KwaZulu Minister of the Interior, Dr Frank Mdlalose, reportedly got a stormy reception in the township when he visited in an attempt to break the boycott. Dr Mdlalose did, of course, also feature in a similar role during and after the Newcastle-Madadeni-Geizweni bus boycott of 1975.

This reflects the hazards of attempting to maintain a supposedly popular role with the well-being of 'the people' rhetorically uppermost, while being structurally involved in economic schemes (rather than involvement in the obviously reproductive roles of administration, education, welfare and ideological control, as well as repression. An example of clashes in the sphere of reproduction - that of education - is discussed elsewhere in this issue of WIP). It is this involvement in economic schemes that brings KwaZulu bantustan authorities into direct conflict with 'the people'.

The bitterness in the township was also reflected in the resignation of 10 of the 11 members of the Mondlo township council, and the formation of a committee under the chairpersonship of local Inkatha leader, Gregory Zulu. This committee of residents was to take up the issue of the refusal to pay the rates increase after the resignation of the township council.

Paul Nhlapo, former 'mayor' of Mondlo, and the person directly blamed for the rent increase, had had six shots fired at him, being hit twice.

Nhlapo said in a later interview (Star, 20.08.80) that despite the fact that Inkatha claimed a membership of 300 000 this was inflated as there were not that many paid up

members. Of the 35 000 township residents only about 500 were 'known and active members'. Nhlapo said that he was thinking of resigning from the movement, which was called, in the article, 'the instrument used by Ulundi ('capital' of KwaZulu) for local governance'.

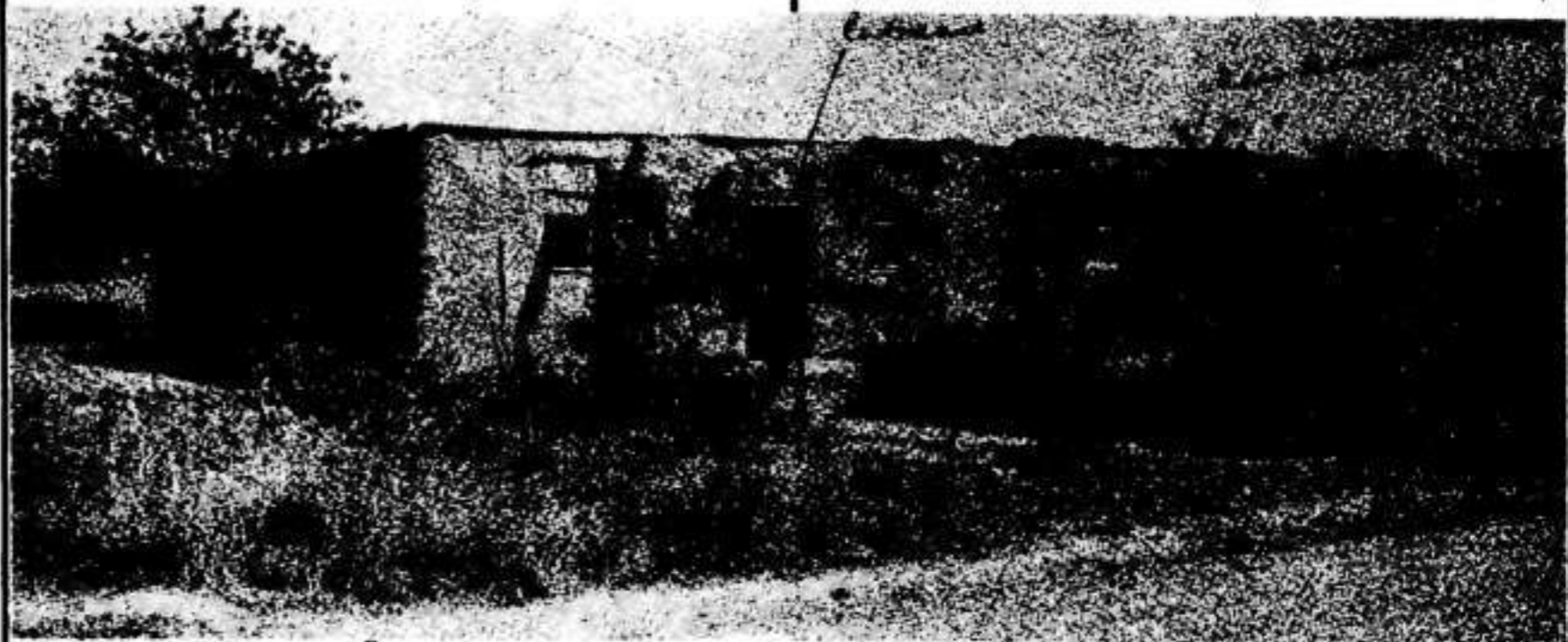
It was reported that shooting had been heard in the township late at night on several occasions earlier this year.

It is clear, if one looks at the sources of 'own revenue' for KwaZulu (in other words, money not received from the central government) where potential points of conflict lie. This money is very important to the bantustan authorities as it is the only money that gives them a degree of 'independence' from the central authorities. But, on the other hand, this money has to come, disproportionately from the pockets of the working class, from wages. This is the case because so little productive activity is undertaken in these

areas, which would allow taxes to be levied on wealth produced by the working class but after they had been paid their wages.

In 1973/74 just under R9-million out of R11,6-million came from 'taxes and levies' and 'townships' (rates and rents). In 1974/5 R14,3-million out of R16,8-million came from these sources, with an astronomical rise in the amount from taxes.

As commentators on this bantustan have said, 'Since ... over four-fifths of revenue comes from a fixed personal tax and from housing and hostel rentals, it is clear that raising revenue from these sources will be painful and politically unpopular' - this seems to be quite an understatement, especially if bus fare increases (in which the KwaZulu government have a direct stake) are also taken into account. (See the discussion of the Madadeni bus fare increases and the Seshego bus fare increase in this issue).



The house in Mondlo township where alleged ANC guerillas Boyce Bogele and Thomas Mngadi were arrested in possession of arms and explosives.