



SOSTROPE  
MEDIA

the trantraal brothers

# CROSSROADS



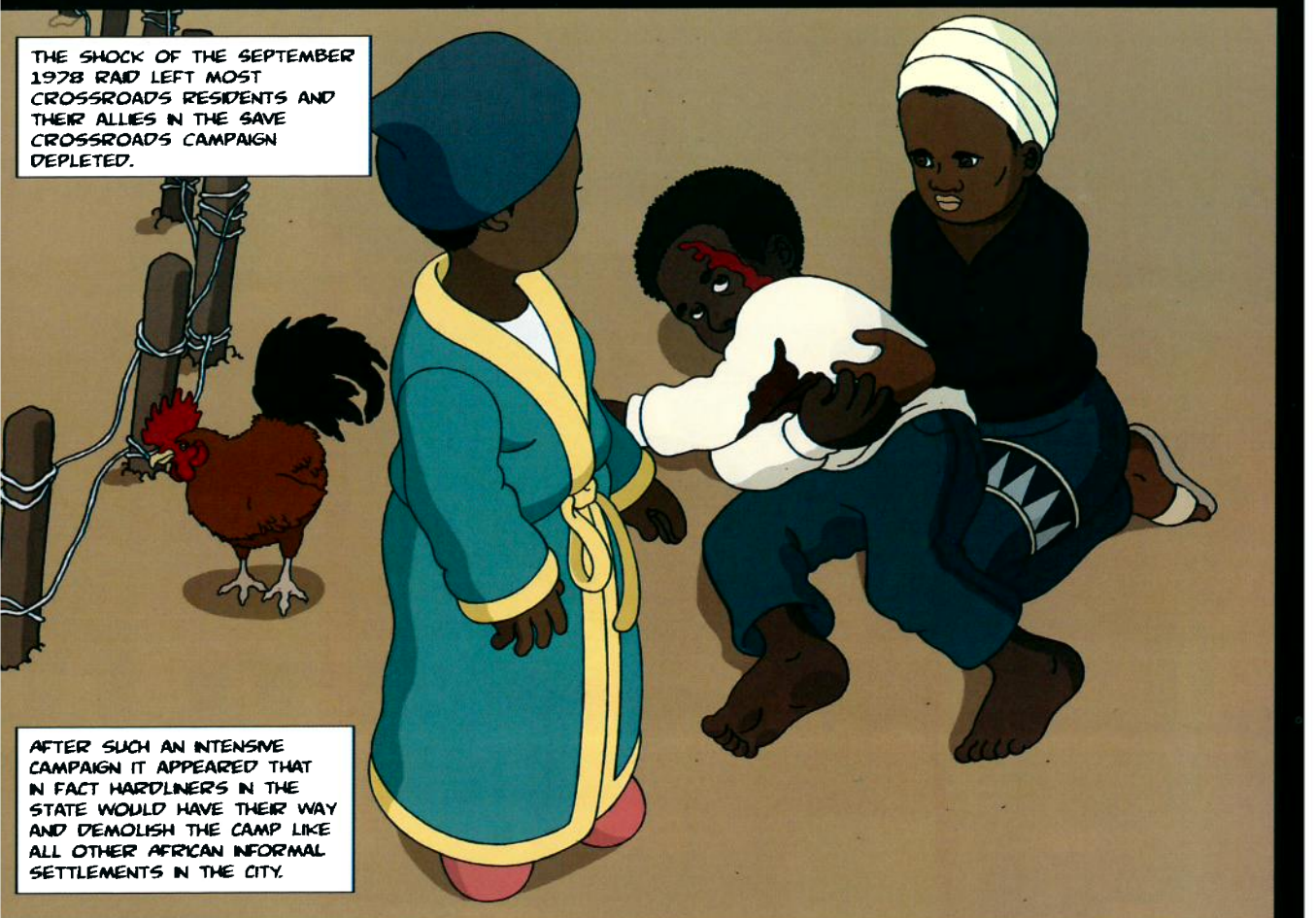
PART 3  
OF A SERIES

# CROSSROADS

## Imfuduso

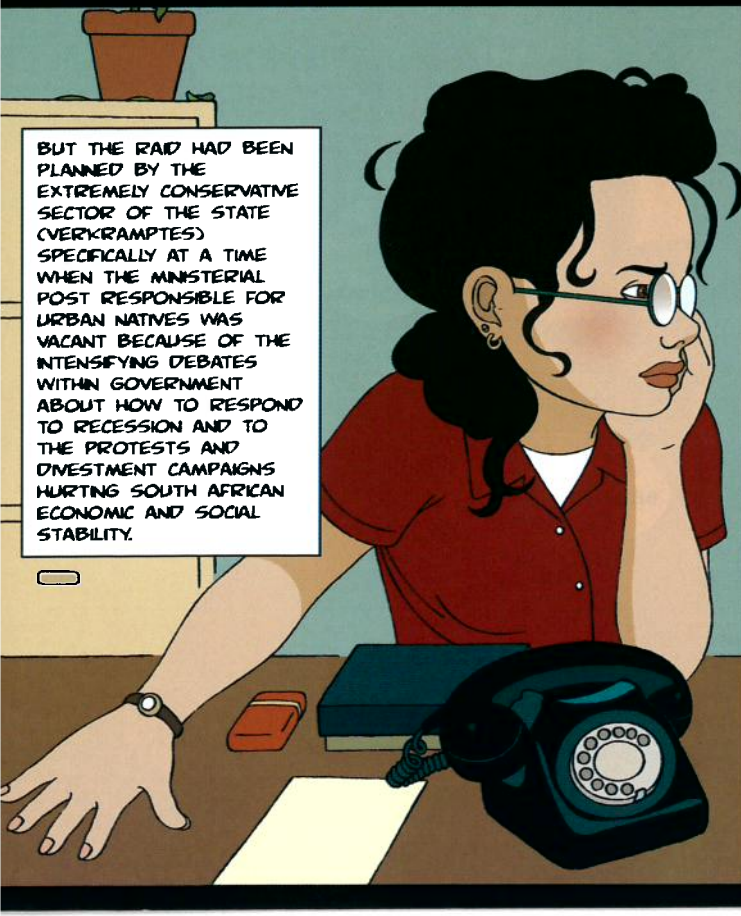


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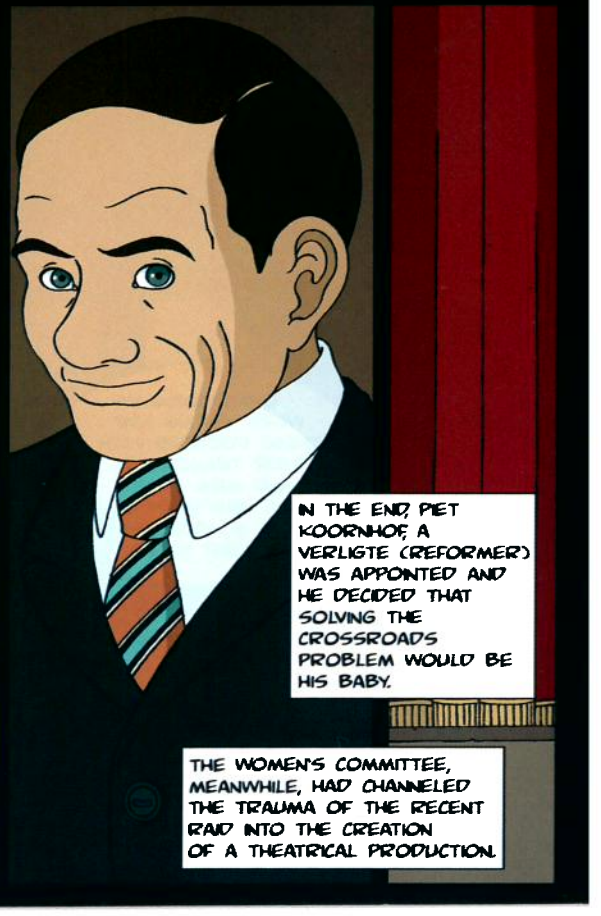


THE SHOCK OF THE SEPTEMBER 1978 RAID LEFT MOST CROSSROADS RESIDENTS AND THEIR ALLIES IN THE SAVE CROSSROADS CAMPAIGN DEPLETED.

AFTER SUCH AN INTENSIVE CAMPAIGN IT APPEARED THAT IN FACT HARDLINERS IN THE STATE WOULD HAVE THEIR WAY AND DEMOLISH THE CAMP LIKE ALL OTHER AFRICAN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN THE CITY.



BUT THE RAID HAD BEEN PLANNED BY THE EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE SECTOR OF THE STATE (VERKRAMPTES) SPECIFICALLY AT A TIME WHEN THE MINISTERIAL POST RESPONSIBLE FOR URBAN NATIVES WAS VACANT BECAUSE OF THE INTENSIFYING DEBATES WITHIN GOVERNMENT ABOUT HOW TO RESPOND TO RECESSION AND TO THE PROTESTS AND DIVESTMENT CAMPAIGNS HURTING SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STABILITY.



IN THE END PIET KOORNHOF, A VERLIGTE (REFORMER) WAS APPOINTED AND HE DECIDED THAT SOLVING THE CROSSROADS PROBLEM WOULD BE HIS BABY.

THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE, MEANWHILE, HAD CHANNELLED THE TRAUMA OF THE RECENT RAID INTO THE CREATION OF A THEATRICAL PRODUCTION.

THERE WAS NO CLINIC IN CROSSROADS, SO THE PEOPLE WOULD BE TAKEN IN A GROUP TO A CLINIC IN THE TOWNSHIP CALLED BISHOP LAVIS WHERE THEY WERE ATTENDED TO BY STUDENT DOCTORS.

A GROUP OF WOMEN, MOST OF WHOM WERE LEADERS AND ON THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE, WOULD GO WITH TO TRANSLATE FOR THE DOCTORS.



MAMA MENE:

ONE EVENING WE WERE WAITING FOR THESE DOCTORS WITH THEIR TRANSPORTS AND MRS. LUKE'S HOUSE WAS VERY NEAR TO THE SCHOOL WHERE WE USED TO WAIT.

'MRS. LUKE CAME OUT OF HER HOUSE CARRYING A LOAD WITH RUBBISH, BROKEN SAUCEPANS. IT WAS A JOKE IN FACT, WHEN WE STARTED.'

WHERE ARE YOU GOING?

I AM BEING EVICTED. I AM BEING TRANSPORTED TO TRANSKEI.

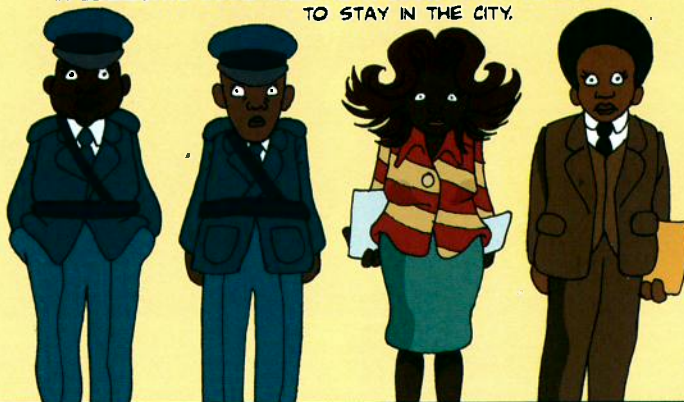
'SO THE PLAY STARTED THAT WAY.'



THE PLAY WAS TITLED 'IMFUDUSO' (EXODUS IN ISIXHOSA). IT WAS ROOTED IN A TEASING TONE THAT BOTH DESCRIBED AND INVERTED AN ATMOSPHERE OF TERROR. IT WAS NEVER WRITTEN DOWN BUT THE CORE STORY FOLLOWS ONE WOMAN WHO HAS SET UP HER SHACK WITH OTHER WOMEN AT CROSSROADS IN CAPE TOWN AND IS CAUGHT IN A RAID AND DEPORTED TO THE TRANSKEI.



AIDED BY OTHER WOMEN, SQUATTING IN THE CITY AND SUFFERING IN THE BANTUSTANS, SHE CONFRONTS THE POLICE AND AUTHORITIES AND RETURNS TO CAPE TOWN AND LEADS CROSSROADS IN COLLECTIVE RESISTANCE TO A SUCCESSFUL VICTORY TO STAY IN THE CITY.



WHILE THE CORE PLOT WAS STANDARD IN ALL PERFORMANCES, WHAT BROUGHT THE STORY TO LIFE AND CAPTURED THE AUDIENCES WAS THE LAYER OF SYMBOLIC DETAILS IN THE CHARACTERS, THE INTERACTIONS AND THE LINES, WHICH VARIED FROM PERFORMANCE TO PERFORMANCE.

INITIALLY THE CHARACTERS INCLUDED WHITE AND BLACK URBAN POLICE, A STRONG SQUATTER COMMUNITY, A BLIND WOMAN, A DEPORTED WOMAN, WOMEN IN THE TRANSKEI, AND TRANSKEI POLICEMEN. AS TIME WENT ON, SPECIFIC GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WITH WHOM CROSSROADS WAS NEGOTIATING WERE ADDED.





ZUNGOYIKI  
CROSSROADS,  
LEMNI IBIKADE  
IXELWA IFIKILE

THAT MEANS:  
DON'T BE AFRAID  
CROSSROADS-  
THE DAY WE'VE BEEN  
WAITING FOR HAS  
COME.

WHEN WE GET  
ONTO THE STAGE  
THAT IS WHAT  
WE SAY.

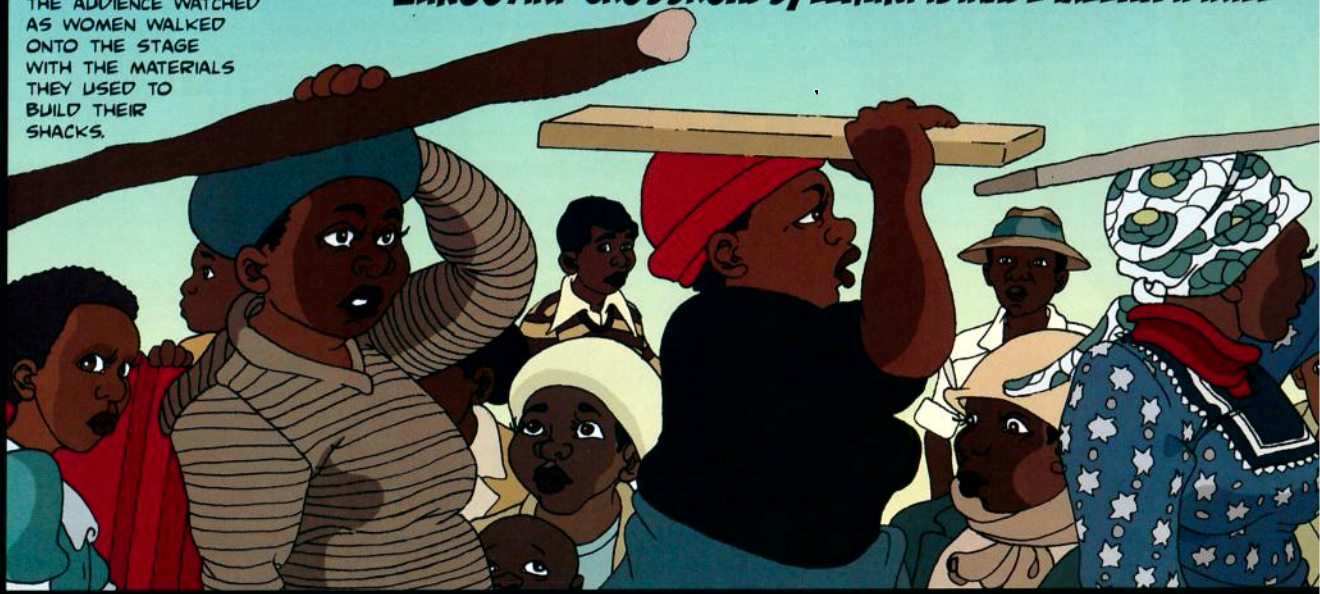
THE FIRST  
IMPORTANT  
THING  
WAS MUSIC IN  
THE PLAY BECAUSE  
IT CONVEYED A  
MESSAGE.

'IT ASKED QUESTIONS  
LIKE "SENZENI NA?  
WHAT HAVE WE DONE?  
WHY DON'T WE HAVE A  
PLACE?'"



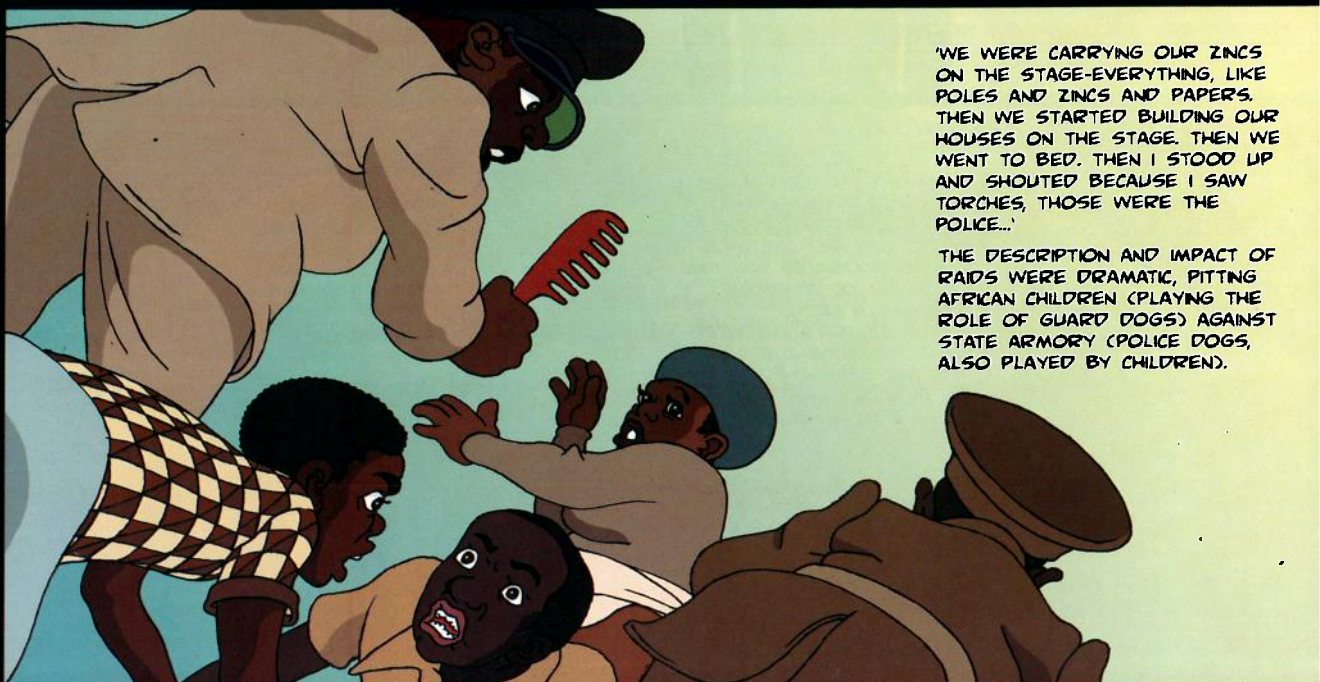
SET TO THIS MUSIC  
THE AUDIENCE WATCHED  
AS WOMEN WALKED  
ONTO THE STAGE  
WITH THE MATERIALS  
THEY USED TO  
BUILD THEIR  
SHACKS.

## ZUNGOYIKI CROSSROADS, LEMNI IBIKADE IXELWA IFIKILE



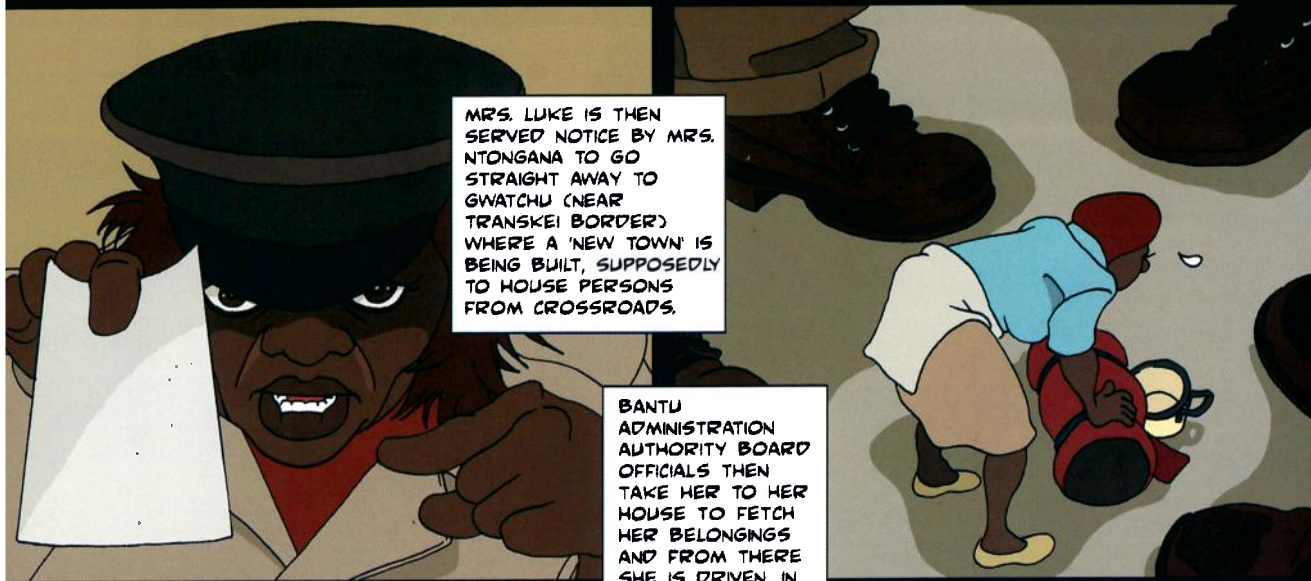
'WE WERE CARRYING OUR ZINCS  
ON THE STAGE-EVERYTHING,  
LIKE POLES AND ZINCS AND PAPERS.  
THEN WE STARTED BUILDING OUR  
HOUSES ON THE STAGE. THEN WE  
WENT TO BED. THEN I STOOD UP  
AND SHOUTED BECAUSE I SAW  
TORCHES, THOSE WERE THE  
POLICE...'

THE DESCRIPTION AND IMPACT OF  
RAIDS WERE DRAMATIC, PITTING  
AFRICAN CHILDREN (PLAYING  
THE ROLE OF GUARD DOGS) AGAINST  
STATE ARMORY (POLICE DOGS,  
ALSO PLAYED BY CHILDREN).



AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CROSSROADS AND THE IMMEDIATE RAID, TWO WOMEN (PLAYED BY MRS. MGOGO AND MRS. LUKE) ARE ARRESTED.

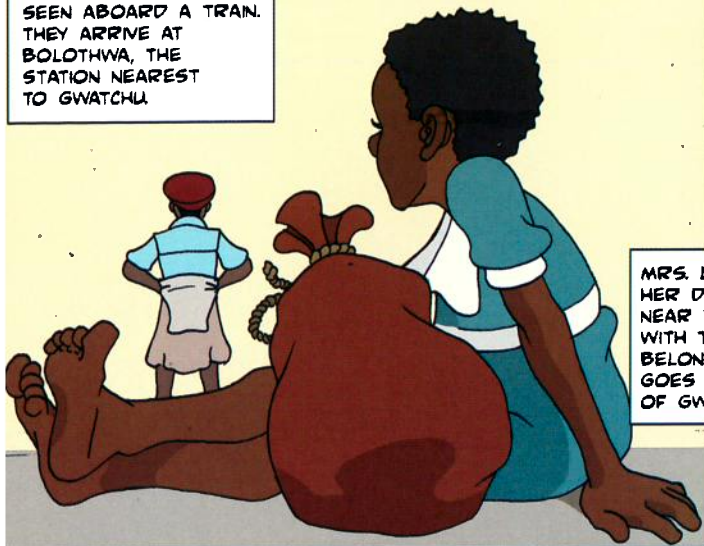
THE WOMEN APPEAR IN LANGA COURT, ARE FINED APPROXIMATELY R55 FOR NOT HAVING PASSES.



MRS. LUKE IS THEN SERVED NOTICE BY MRS. NTONGANA TO GO STRAIGHT AWAY TO GWATCHU (NEAR TRANSKEI BORDER) WHERE A NEW TOWN IS BEING BUILT, SUPPOSEDLY TO HOUSE PERSONS FROM CROSSROADS.

BANTU ADMINISTRATION AUTHORITY BOARD OFFICIALS THEN TAKE HER TO HER HOUSE TO FETCH HER BELONGINGS AND FROM THERE SHE IS DRIVEN, IN A POLICE VAN, TO THE TRAIN STATION.

MRS. LUKE AND HER DAUGHTER ARE NEXT SEEN ABOARD A TRAIN. THEY ARRIVE AT BOLOTHWA, THE STATION NEAREST TO GWATCHU.



MRS. LUKE LEAVES HER DAUGHTER NEAR THE STATION WITH THEIR BELONGINGS AND GOES OFF IN SEARCH OF GWATCHU



SHE LOSES HER WAY AND ARRIVES, WEARY, HUNGRY AND THIRSTY, AT COFIMVABA IN TRANSKEI.

MAMA MENE:

'ME, MRS. MAKHONDWENI AND MISS BARA, WE ARE IN THE TRANSKEI, SITTING IN THE LOCATION. SOMEBODY WAS COMING...'

'SO WE SAID, LET'S GO SEE THAT WOMAN SITTING DOWN, SHE SEEMS VERY, VERY TIRED.'

I AM COMING FROM SOUTH AFRICA, I HAVE BEEN DEPORTED.

THEN WE TOOK HER HOME AND GAVE HER FOOD THERE.

'BUT ALL THIS TIME THE TRANSKEI POLICE WERE FOLLOWING THEM. THAT WAS MRS. MAPISA AND MRS. PETER. SO THEY CAME AND THEY SAID WE HAVE NO RIGHTS TO KEEP ILLEGAL PEOPLE.'

MRS. LUKE AND THE WOMEN HELPING HER ARE ARRESTED AND IN ONE VERSION OF THE PLAY HER HELPERS WONDER WHY THEY SHOULD BE ARRESTED FOR HELPING A HOMELESS WOMAN.

IS IT BECAUSE THE TRANSKEIAN MINISTER WILL NOT ACCEPT REFUGEES FROM CROSSROADS?

THE THREE WOMEN ARE THEN DISCHARGED AND MRS. LUKE IS BROUGHT TO COURT.

THE POLICE FETCH HER CHILD AND TOGETHER MOTHER AND DAUGHTER ARE TAKEN IN A VAN TO COFIMVABA.



'WHEN THEY LOCKED HER UP AND SHE WAS IN COURT, SHE TOLD THEM THAT THERE IS NO USE IN ARRESTING HER BECAUSE SHE WILL GO BACK TO CAPE TOWN.'

'AND SHE DID, SHE CAME BACK TO CAPE TOWN.'

AS MRS. LUKE HITCHES HER WAY BACK TO CAPE TOWN, CROSSROADS IS RECEIVING EVICTION NOTICES FROM B.A.A.B. AND BEING DEMOLISHED.

THE BULLDOZERS AND FRONT-LOADERS ARRIVE.



HOUSES ARE MOWN DOWN AND NEIGHBOURS MOVE AMONGST EACH OTHER IN ANXIETY AND DESPERATION.

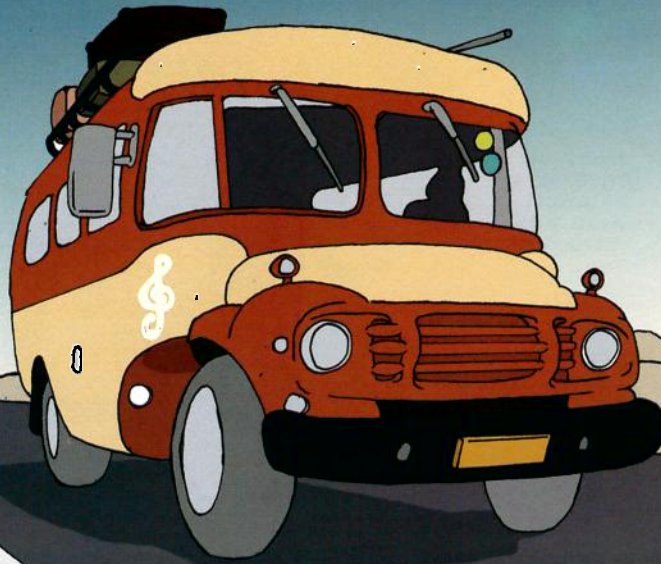
IN THE AFTERMATH, WHILE RESIDENTS MOVE ABOUT THE DEVASTATION, SEARCHING OUT THEIR BELONGINGS, MRS. LUKE GOES TO THE SITE OF HER NOW DESTROYED HOME.

I HAVE COME BACK TO CROSSROADS TO STAY.

THE PLAY ENDS WITH MAMA LUKE PUTTING HER HOUSE BACK UP



WHAT HAD STARTED SPONTANEOUSLY AS A PLAY PERFORMED FOR AND AMONGST THESE WOMEN, TAKING ON CHARACTERS THEY WERE UP AGAINST AND ACTING OUT THEIR STRUGGLE THUS FAR, QUICKLY EVOLVED INTO SOMETHING MUCH BIGGER.



WITHIN A MONTH THEY HAD CONSOLIDATED THEIR EXPRESSION AND ACCEPTED THE INVITATION OF WHITE ACTIVIST ALLIES TO SUPPORT TAKING THEIR PLAY ON TOUR TO PROJECT THEIR VISION AND DEMANDS IN OTHER SQUATTER CAMPS, LIKE DIMBAZA; IN TOWNSHIPS LIKE SOWETO; AND IN WHITE CITY CENTRES LIKE JOHANNESBURG AND CAPE TOWN.

MAMA MENE:

'WE WERE SO FED UP MRS. LUKE WAS FED UP. WE WANTED TO PLAY IT (TO EXPOSE IT)-EVEN IN CAPE TOWN PEOPLE DO NOT KNOW HOW WE LIVE.'

'WE WANTED TO SHOW THE OTHER COMMUNITIES, WHITE COMMUNITIES, HOW WE LIVE IN CROSSROADS.'



'SO WE'D BEEN TALKING ABOUT IT AMONGST OURSELVES THAT IT IS HIGH TIME THAT PEOPLE MUST KNOW. EVEN THIS PIK BOTHA THAT GOES OVERSEAS AND TELLS LIES THAT THERE IS PEACE IN SOUTH AFRICA-WE MUST SHOW THE WORLD.'



THIS SMALL IMPROVIZATIONAL PLAY PERFORMED ON A PATCH OF DIRT TURNED INTO A THEATRE PIECE ON TOUR TO SOME OF THE BIGGEST PLAYHOUSES IN THE COUNTRY! AFTER A MONTH, WOMEN PERFORMED IT IN CROSSROADS THEN AT THE SPACE THEATRE IN CAPE TOWN. WORD SPREAD AMONGST WHITE LIBERALS AND THE MARKET THEATRE IN JOHANNESBURG CALLED THE VERITAS OFFICE TO REQUEST THE WOMEN COME THERE TO PERFORM.



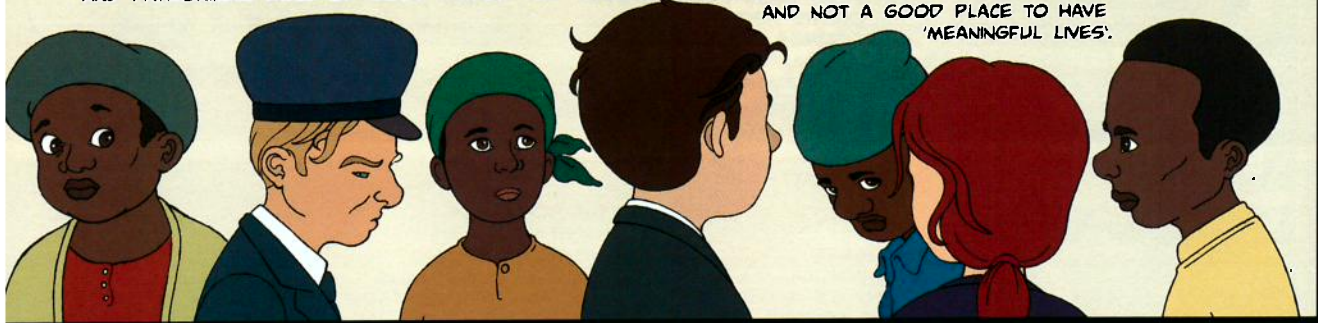
SEVERAL MONTHS LATER A SECOND TOUR WAS ORGANIZED TO THE EASTERN CAPE, WHERE THEY PERFORMED IN THE BANTUSTAN, CISKEI AND IN THE TOWN OF DIMBAZA, WITH MUCH DRAMA AND SOME TERRIFYINGLY CLOSE CALLS WITH THE POLICE ALONG THE WAY: HOW CAN YOU WOMEN BE TRAVELLING, WITHOUT PASSES, IN A MIXED RACE GROUP AND WITHOUT HUSBANDS?!

WHITE SUPPORTERS ASSISTED IN THE TOUR IN TERMS OF LOGISTICS BUT HAD NO HAND IN THE CREATION OF THE STORYLINE.

ON NOVEMBER 22, 1978, DR. PIET KOORNHOF SPENT HIS FIRST FULL DAY IN OFFICE VISITING CROSSROADS. TWO DAYS LATER, IMPUDSO BEGAN ITS RUN AT THE SPACE THEATRE AND WAS WRITTEN UP IN MAJOR NEWSPAPERS IN THE CAPE. AS A REFORMER, KOORNHOF WAS DETERMINED TO CHANGE THE INTERNATIONAL IMAGE OF SOUTH AFRICA BULLDOZING INNOCENT WOMEN'S SHANTIES.

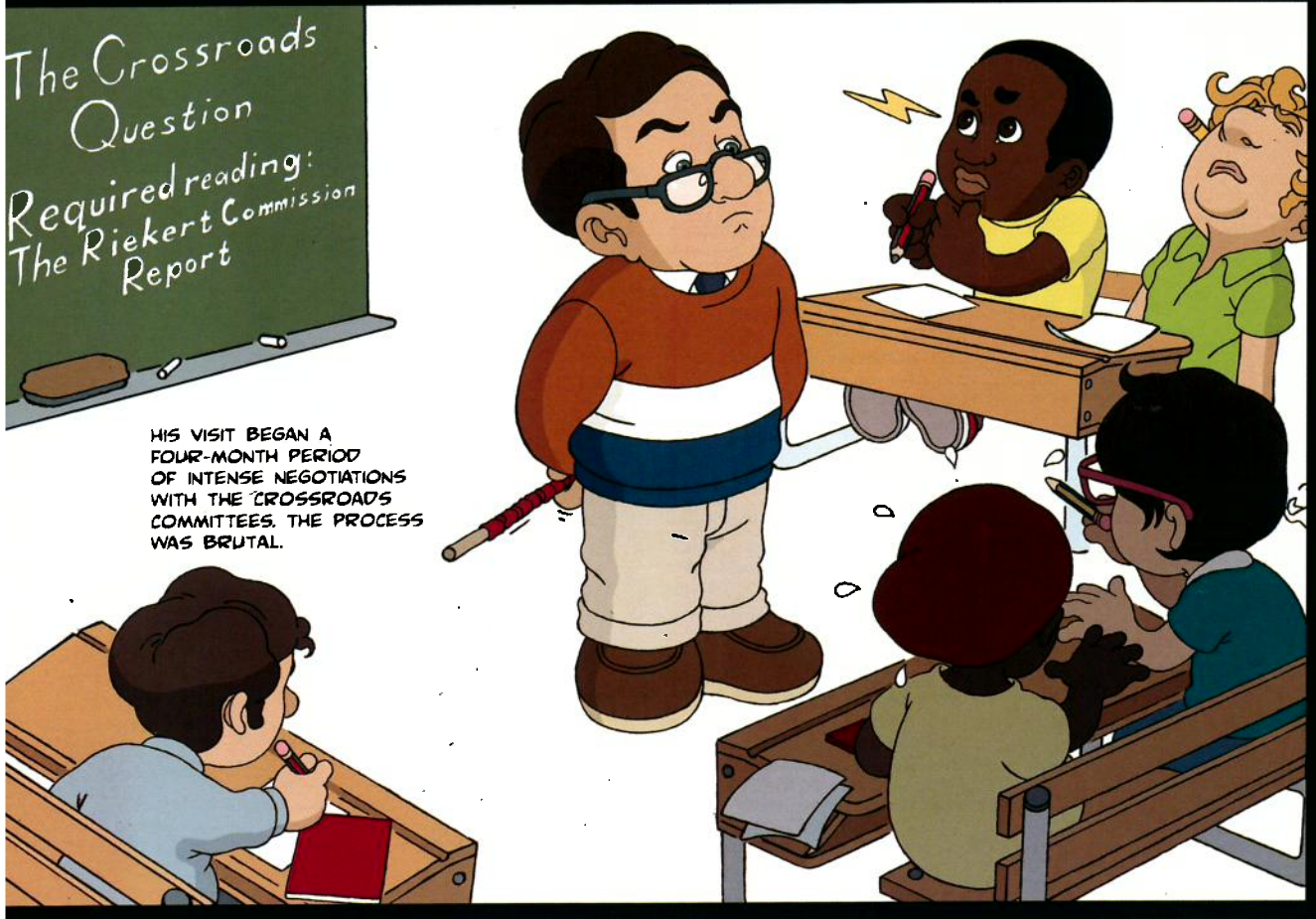


HE USED A LANGUAGE OF MORALITY TO JUSTIFY HIS PROPOSED SOLUTIONS-TAKING A PATERNALISTIC AND PATRONIZING ROLE OF 'GOOD FATHER' AND ARGUING THAT CROSSROADS WAS A 'HEALTH HAZARD' AND NOT A GOOD PLACE TO HAVE 'MEANINGFUL LIVES'.



The Crossroads  
Question  
Required reading:  
The Rieker Commission  
Report

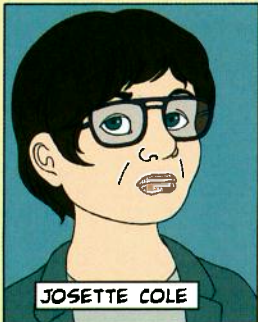
HIS VISIT BEGAN A FOUR-MONTH PERIOD OF INTENSE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CROSSROADS COMMITTEES. THE PROCESS WAS BRUTAL.



MAMA YANTA AND MAMA NTONGANA REPRESENTED THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE ON THE NEGOTIATION TEAM, WHICH WAS ALSO MADE UP OF MALE MEMBERS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE, ALONG WITH COMMUNITY WORKERS FROM VERITAS LIKE JOSETTE COLE (MANDLOVU) AND CELESTE SANTOS, LAWYER MIKE RICHMAN, UCT PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS FRANCIS WILSON AND ANGLICAN BISHOP PATRICK MATALENGWE.

THERE WAS NO CONSENSUS AMONGST THE 'TEAM' ON HOW TO APPROACH NEGOTIATIONS-TO CONTINUE TO EMBARRASS THE STATE, OR TO 'COOPERATE' TO ENSURE THE BEST POSSIBLE 'DEAL'

CROSSROADS MEMBERS OF THE NEGOTIATING TEAM WERE FRUSTRATED BY KOORNHOF'S MANNER AND NEGOTIATION SKILLS. HIS METHODS WERE EXCLUSIONARY AND DMSIVE: HE WOULD MEET UP WITH THE TEAM AT LARGE ONLY A FEW TIMES AND IN BETWEEN HE WOULD MEET UP WITH THEIR LEGAL TEAM, MADE UP OF RICHMAN AND WILSON, WHO WOULD TAKE PROPOSALS BACK AND FORTH AND ADVISE THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE. WOMEN DECIDED TO CONTINUE PUBLICIZING THEIR MESSAGE THROUGH THE PLAY BUT AGREED TO BE 'ON CALL' FOR KEY MEETINGS. THE FIRST IMFUDUSO TOUR TOOK PLACE IN BETWEEN KOORNHOF NEGOTIATIONS.



WE WERE UNDER A LOT OF CRITICISMS FOR TAKING THE WOMEN AWAY WHILE THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE GOING ON. WE AGREED IF IT BECOMES CRITICAL WE WOULD SEND THE WOMEN BACK.

AFTER THE PERFORMANCES, INSTEAD OF COMING BACK WITH THE BUS, WE PUT MRS. YANTA AND MRS. NTONGANA ONTO A PLANE AND FLEW THEM FOR THEIR FIRST EVER PLANE RIDE BACK TO CAPE TOWN. SO IT WAS A PRETTY HECTIC SERIES OF EVENTS.

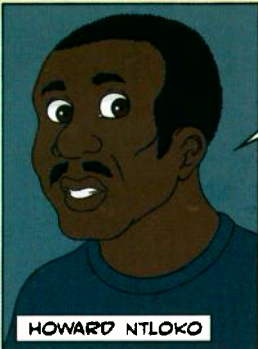
KOORNHOF ALIENATED AND INTIMIDATED THE DELEGATION FROM THE COMMUNITY.



I FELT DEPRESSED. WE WERE LIKE SCHOOL KIDS IN FRONT OF A TEACHER. YOU COULD NOT WHISPER TO YOUR NEIGHBOUR. IT WAS LIKE POLICEMEN WERE WATCHING US...

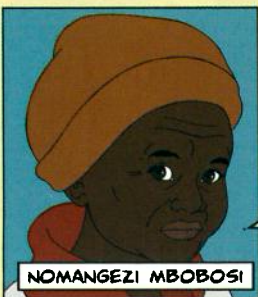
DR. KOORNHOF TALKED FOR AGES AND AXED THOSE WHO DEEMED TO SAY ANYTHING. WE WERE ALL INTIMIDATED. WE DID NOT GO AS PRAISE SINGERS BUT THAT IS HOW WE TURNED

WOMEN AND YOUTH RESPONDED DIFFERENTLY.

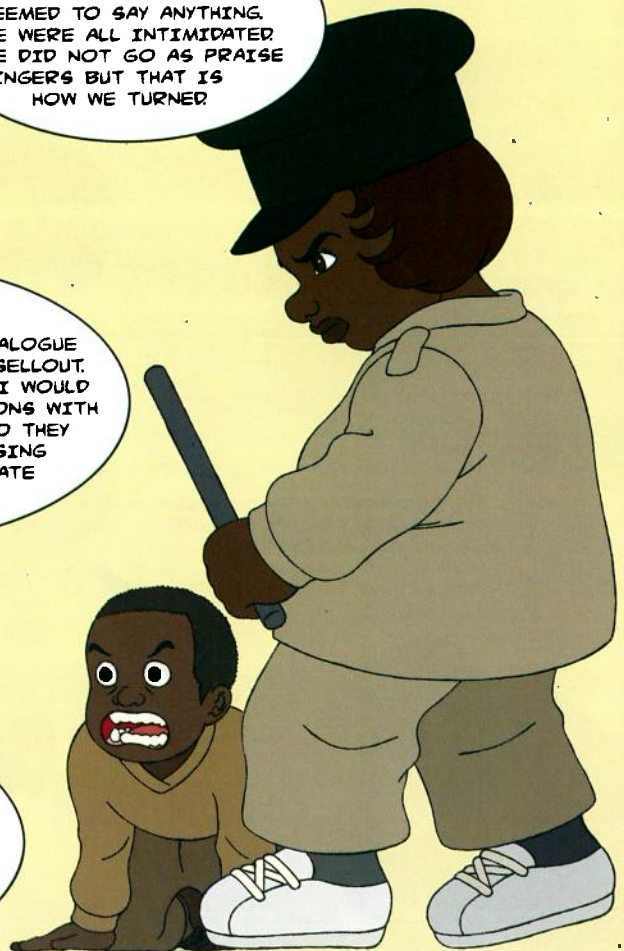


I AM UNABLE TO TOLERATE THESE MEETINGS. THIS FORM OF DIALOGUE MAKES ONE APPEAR TO BE A SELLOUT. AND THIS I CANNOT TOLERATE. I WOULD LIKE TO CLOSE THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH DR. KOORNHOF TOMORROW, SO THEY CAN GET ON WITH OPPRESSING US, WE CANNOT PARTICIPATE IN A SELLING-OUT PROCESS.

IMFUDUSO FED INTO THE CONFIDENCE OF THE WOMEN, WHO, LIKE THE YOUTH AND UNLIKE THE MEN, DID NOT FLATTER KOORNHOF AT MEETINGS WITH HIM.



IMFUDUSO WAS VERY POWERFUL. PEOPLE BEGAN TO BECOME STRONG. THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE NEVER KEPT QUIET. WE CALLED UPON DR. KOORNHOF WHEN WE CAME BACK FROM OUR TOUR. HE GAVE US PROMISES. HE WAS THE MINISTER OF PROMISES.



CAUCUS MEETINGS BETWEEN KOORNHOF AND THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY AND BETWEEN CROSSROADS LEADERS AND THE URBAN FOUNDATION WAS THE BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF DIVIDE AND RULE THAT WOULD EVENTUALLY PUSH THE WOMEN AND THE KIND OF ORGANIZING THEY EMBODIED OUT OF CROSSROADS.



THE URBAN FOUNDATION'S BIG BUSINESS CONSTITUENTS HAD BEEN KEEN TO FIND A SOLUTION TO DEAL WITH INFLUX CONTROL, BECAUSE IT WAS IN THE WAY OF ACCUMULATING CAPITAL. THEY HAD ALREADY MET SECRETLY AT LEAST TWICE SINCE THE SEPTEMBER RAIDS WITH THE CHAIRMEN OF THE SIZAMILE AND NOXOLO COMMITTEES, ELLIOT WAKA AND JOHNSON NGXOBONGWANA.

THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE WAS TOTALLY UNAWARE OF THESE MEETINGS, ARRANGED WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF BLACK VERITAS COMMUNITY WORKERS.

EXCLUSION WAS NOT INCIDENTAL OR ACCIDENTAL. JOSETTE COLE: 'UP UNTIL THE KOORNHOF INTERVENTION IT HAD BEEN MEMBERS OF THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE WHO, TO A LARGE EXTENT, CONTROLLED ACCESS TO INFORMATION, OUTSIDE CONTACTS AND ANY RESOURCES COMING INTO THE COMMUNITY. THE FACT THAT THESE CAUCUS MEETINGS EXCLUDED WOMEN WAS A SIGN THAT CENTRALIZATION MEANT TAKING POLITICAL CONTROL AWAY FROM THEM.'

# NFW CROSSROADS

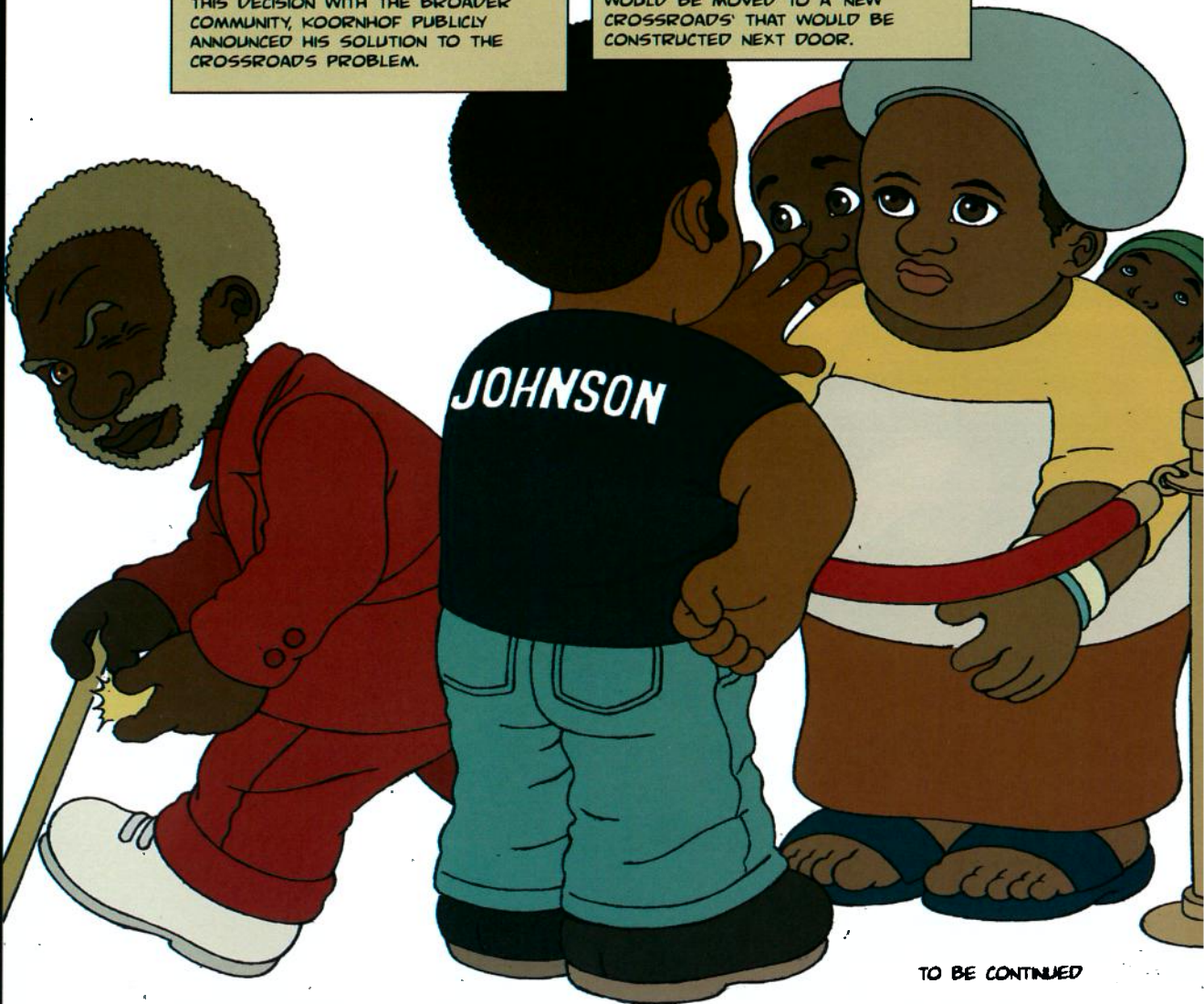
BY LATE MARCH 1979 THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE BREAKING DOWN BECAUSE KOORNHOF WOULD PUT NOTHING IN WRITING THAT GUARANTEED THAT EVERYONE WOULD BE ACCOMMODATED, AND THE COMMUNITY REFUSED TO AGREE TO A SETTLEMENT THAT EXCLUDED ANY CROSSROADS RESIDENTS.

BUT AFTER FOUR MONTHS OF ENDLESS DISCUSSIONS, TIRED, DESPERATE AND WITH NO OTHER ALTERNATIVES BEING OFFERED, THE JOINT COMMITTEE WAS CONVINCED TO 'ACQUIESCE' TO KOORNHOF'S PROPOSAL AND AGREED TO COOPERATE IN BUILDING THE NEW TOWNSHIP.

AT THE END OF THE DAY KOORNHOF HAD MANAGED TO GET THE JOINT COMMITTEE TO AGREE TO A RESETTLEMENT OF CROSSROADS WITH NO GUARANTEE THAT EVERYBODY IN THE COMMUNITY WOULD IN FACT QUALIFY TO LIVE THERE.

FOUR DAYS LATER, BEFORE THE JOINT COMMITTEE HAD EVEN SHARED THIS DECISION WITH THE BROADER COMMUNITY, KOORNHOF PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED HIS SOLUTION TO THE CROSSROADS PROBLEM.

HE TOLD THE PRESS THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF CROSSROADS RESIDENTS WOULD BE MOVED TO A 'NEW CROSSROADS' THAT WOULD BE CONSTRUCTED NEXT DOOR.



TO BE CONTINUED



## crossroads

The creative team wishes to thank the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town for making the publication of this comic book possible.

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If only capitalism feeding off of racism and sexism to determine who has shelter and water and food and all the basics was history. Watch this space and find out what happens in the struggle to survive and thrive in Cape Town over the course of twenty years.



Check <http://crossroads-project.eu.pn/>  
for further reading and references

