

THE NATURE OF CROSS BORDER LINKAGES BETWEEN LESOTHO AND KWAZULU-
NATAL AND ASPECTS OF BASOTHO MIGRANTS IN PIETERMARITZBURG

By

‘MANTHATISI CORINNE MOREMOHOLO

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I certify that unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, this dissertation is the result of my own work.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Moremoholo', is positioned above a solid horizontal line.

M. C. Moremoholo

PREFACE

My home is in Lesotho, but during my honours degree studies at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, in 1995, I became aware of the number of Basotho migrants in Kwazulu-Natal, including students. I feel that the growing relationship between Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal has important regional development implications. New development planning initiatives and policy formulation will be necessary to address the sensitive political, trade, employment, migration and land issues arising from the cross-border linkages.

The research has therefore involved aspects of the following:

- i) the nature of population migration patterns between Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal;
- ii) trade linkages and commercial exchanges, both formal and informal, between Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal, including dagga trafficking and stock theft;
- iii) the regional development impact of Basotho migrants and settlers in Pietermaritzburg, Kwazulu-Natal, and in conclusion,
- iv) addressing development planning and policy issues that arise from the research findings.

The study areas for this research are:

- i) the Lesotho\Kwazulu-Natal border, and
- ii) Basotho migrant communities in Pietermaritzburg, Kwazulu-Natal.

The chapters have been divided as follows: Chapter one is the introduction and methodology and chapter two is the literature review. Chapter Three looks at trade patterns, while four deals with population mobility across the Lesotho\Kwazulu-Natal boundary. The fifth chapter explores the development impacts of Basotho migrants in Pietermaritzburg. The concluding chapter deals with proposals for development planning and policy issues.

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- the Basotho migrant settler communities in Pietermaritzburg;
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A special word of thanks must go to my parents for their understanding and support.

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‘Manthati

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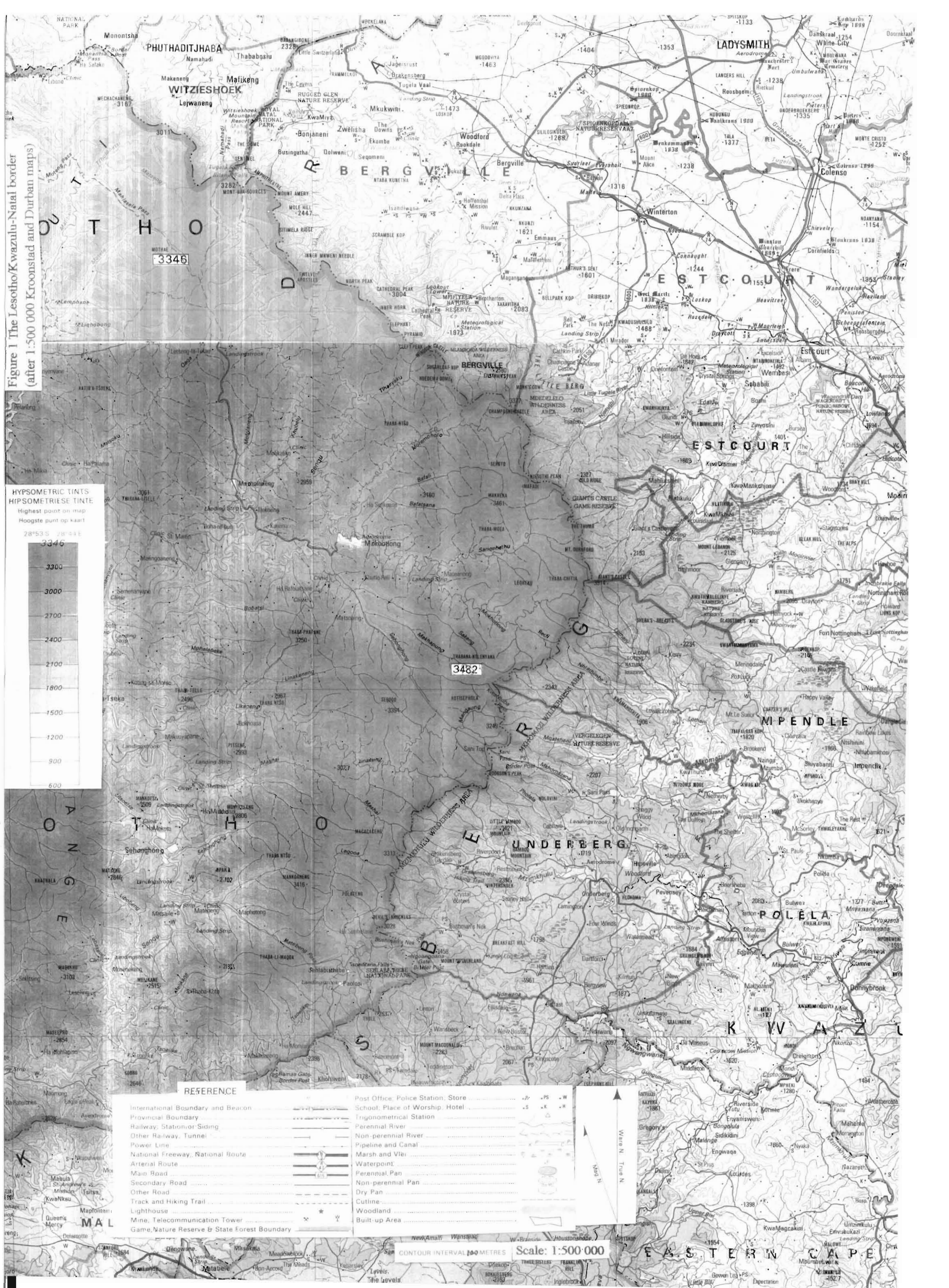
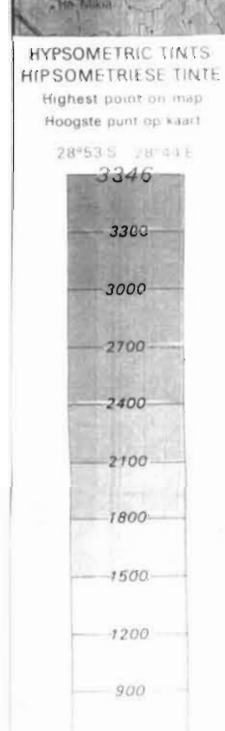
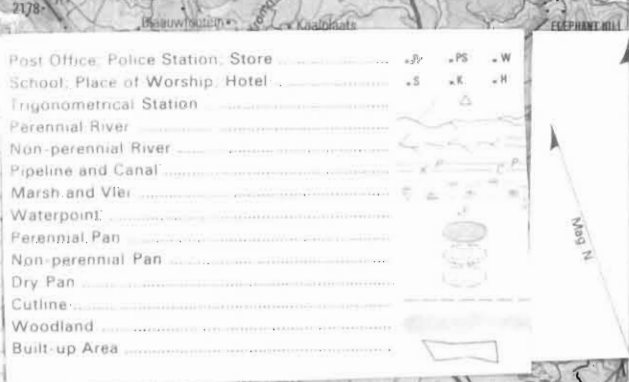


Figure 1 The Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal border (after 1:500 000 Kroonstad and Durban maps)



REFERENCE	
International Boundary and Beacon	Post Office, Police Station, Store
Provincial Boundary	School, Place of Worship, Hotel
Railway, Station or Siding	Trigonometrical Station
Other Railway, Tunnel	Perennial River
Power Line	Non-perennial River
National Freeway, National Route	Pipeline and Canal
Arterial Route	Marsh and Vlei
Main Road	Waterpoint
Secondary Road	Perennial Pan
Other Road	Non-perennial Pan
Track and Hiking Trail	Dry Pan
Lighthouse	Cutline
Mine, Telecommunication Tower	Woodland
Game, Nature Reserve & State Forest Boundary	Built-up Area



1. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The great numbers of Basotho found in Kwazulu-Natal can be seen as an example of the growing relationship between Lesotho and that province of South Africa and this has important regional development implications for both Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal, for South Africa, and for the rest of the Southern African region at large. For instance, new development planning initiative and policy formulation will be necessary to address sensitive political, employment and land issues arising from the cross-border linkages. Research into the different types of examples that show this relationship between Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal, and the driving force behind each and every one of them, will help in appropriate planning and policy formulation for the region. The extent to which the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal border plays its role as a demarcation line between two states cannot be ignored, as this can either inhibit or promote development in the area.

1.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA

The study area, shown on Figure 1, is made up of Natal Drakensberg Park, the Upper Tugela Location (now known as Bergville) and adjacent farms, forming the Kwazulu-Natal border. On the Lesotho side land is relatively bare with few villages and places where Basotho keep their animals (*meraka*). The Drakensberg Mountains lie in between the two areas, and are perceived as the boundary line between the two border regions.

1.2.1 Evolution of the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary

No documentation has been found in the literature research, that tells how the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary came into being. There may be a number of reasons

for this, but one that is most obvious is that historically there were fewer disputes about land in the Drakensberg area as compared to other borders. The Drakensberg area makes up most part of the boundary between what is now called Lesotho and the then Natal province of South Africa (Makhanya, 1970). Wars based on land frictions were experienced in other parts of Lesotho, between the Afrikaners of the Orange Free State and Lesotho, for instance, such that there was need for definite boundaries to be considered between the two nations. It is the same need, as research shows, that brought about all the other boundaries that exist between Lesotho and South Africa as a whole today. This section aims at looking at how the Lesotho Kwazulu/Natal boundary evolved, and this will mainly be done by briefly looking at the history of the Drakensberg area, and then a summary of how the Lesotho/Orange Free State boundary evolved, which is the boundary that is seen to have had a great influence on the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary.

The Bushmen, also called the San or Khoi-San people, were the original inhabitants of the Natal Drakensberg. They were nomadic hunter-gatherers and appear to have had the sub-continent largely to themselves. Evidence suggests that they had few material possessions and that they did not build permanent homes, but lived either in caves or temporary grass shelters (Irwin, 1980). The animals the Bushmen saw, particularly the eland, were painted on caves and shelter walls in a very lifelike manner, and paintings of other things, such as the ladders and rope bridges, show how they lived (Liebenberg, 1974), and this is one of the ways in which historical research about these people is conducted.

Even though we today perceive the Drakensberg Mountains as a fixed boundary between Lesotho and Kwazulu/Natal, it has always been so even before it was declared one. According to historical findings, the Bantu of Southern Africa, which is a group mainly made up of the Nguni and the Sotho speakers, only came to South Africa from the northern part of Africa around the fourteenth century. Their pattern of settlement in this region was, according to Omer-Cooper (1966), strongly influenced

by geographical factors, in which case the Nguni speaking people (Xhosas, Zulus, Swazis) on one hand settled in the coastal corridor stretching along the east coast from what was in the past known as Zululand and Natal to the borders of the Cape Colony. The Sotho speakers (Basotho, Batswana etc) on the other hand found a place on the interior plateau. In this way, the Drakensberg Mountains served as a boundary and barrier, naturally, between the two groups of people speaking different languages (Fig. 2).

Although the two language groups were separated from one another by the coastal escarpment, the separation was by no means absolute (Omar-Cooper, 1966). Some Nguni groups, such as the Phuthi, still filtered across the central Drakensberg into Lesotho. It was however at the northern end of the range (the Upper Tugela Location, now known as Bergville) where the escarpment ceases to be an important barrier, that overlapping was most considerable (refer to Fig. 1). Makhanya (1970) points out that intermarriages between Basotho and the Zulus took place at this end too, and so this helped bring stability in this part of the boundary as far as people were concerned.

There could have been some minor tensions between the crossing Nguni people and the Bushmen in the Drakensberg, which might have resulted in some Bushmen moving away from that area into the Maluti Mountains of Lesotho, but the greatest came from Chaka, king of the Zulus from 1812 onwards. This was the period when the Lifaqane wars took place and so people who fled from the wars in Natal through the Drakensberg fought those they found on the way for land. Chaka was then followed by the White hunters, first from the Orange Free state and then from Natal, who entered the territory shooting the game, often wastefully (Liebenberg, 1974). In the 1840s, the European settlers began farming operations, and so more tensions grew between the settlers and the Bushmen, until the settlers had to find ways of dealing with the Bushmen, and for instance in 1856 Fort Nottingham was built by the authorities in Natal and suitably garrisoned to protect the farmers against Bushmen forays (Liebenberg, 1974).

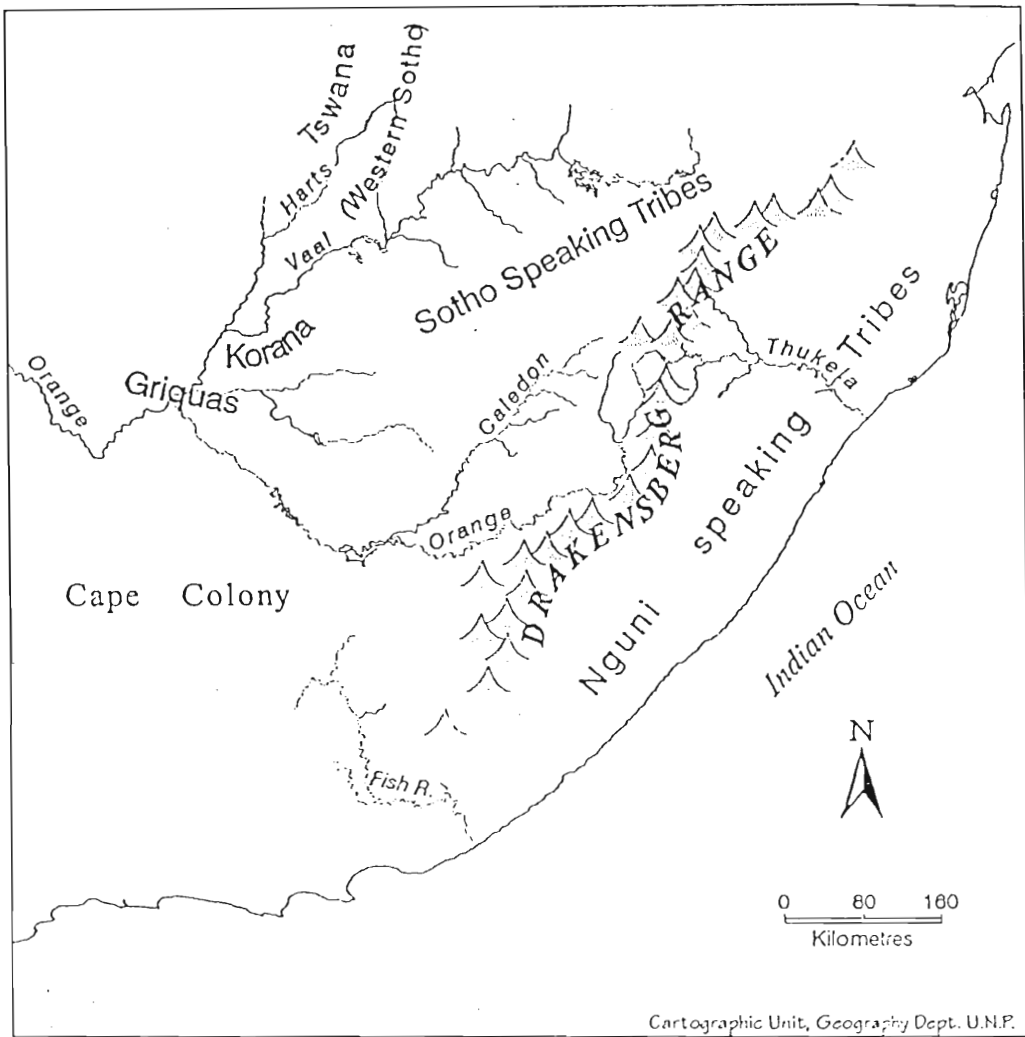


Figure : 2 Location of the Nguni and Sotho speaking tribes along the Drakensberg in the 19th century.(after J.D.Omer-Cooper, 1966)

Talking about hunters from the Orange Free State takes us back to briefly looking at the history of the Afrikaners in the Orange Free State. The Great Trek, a movement of about 10 000 Afrikaners who moved northward on to the tableland with their ox-wagons laden with house-hold possessions, in search of a homeland out of the reach of British government, took place from 1836, over the space of 10 years (Coates, 1966). These trekkers found a place in the Orange Free State, and so became neighbours to Moshoeshoe, the king of Basotho.

A number of conflicts arose between the Basotho and the Afrikaners, basically caused by different systems of land ownership, as the concept of a boundary was not known to Africans. For example, when a group of Basotho raided the cattle of an Afrikaner farmer and the latter took reprisals, Moshoeshoe considered that he had every right to come to the rescue of his Basotho (Coates, 1966).

Time went on and more tensions grew between the two race groups. As things got worse, Moshoeshoe asked for advice from the white missionaries who had come to Lesotho in 1833, and they helped him to obtain help from the British people in the Cape Colony. It was in one of the letters that Moshoeshoe wrote to the Governor with the help of the missionaries as he could not read and write, that he agreed that

“the Governor would fix the boundaries of Basutoland in justice to the various interests concerned. This in Moshoeshoe’s view meant that his country would extend well over half the distance from Thaba-Bosiu to Bloemfontein, including the entire district of Thaba-Nchu” (Coates, 1966 p.33).

The Cape Governor did not define the boundaries himself, but this was later done by Maitland, the Cape Governor who came after Napier and was stationed in Bloemfontein, who instead of stopping the wars made them worse, as neither the Boers nor the Basotho liked them.

A number of events took place, until again Moshoeshoe had to ask for protection from the British in the Cape Colony, at which time Wodehouse was the Governor. In

January 1868, Lesotho was annexed by Britain. On the 12th of March of the same year, a proclamation was issued declaring that henceforth

“the tribe of the Basutos shall be, and shall be taken to be, British subjects; and the territory of the said tribe shall be taken to be, British territory” (Coates, 1966 p.37).

At a meeting held in Lesotho on the 15th of April 1868, Moshoeshoe publicly surrendered the country without terms to the Queen of England, the state to which his and his people’s helplessness had reduced it being all to pitifully described in the words he used on that occasion:

“The country is dead. We are all dead. Take us and do what you like with us!” (Quoted in Coates, 1966 p.37).

Boundary negotiations with the Orange Free State were concluded in February 1869, a large agricultural land being ceded to the Orange Free State.

Some archival material show that Governor Wodehouse wrote a letter to Lord Granville on the 14th of May 1870, enclosing boundary notice of the 13th May of the same year, reading that the southern boundary of Lesotho (Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal) is along the line

“To the heads of the Orange at mount-aux-sources thence westwards along the Drakensberg to the source of the Tees; down the centre of that river to junction with the Orange; down the Orange to junction with the Corner Spruit” (Public Record office, London).

This letter was written after Moshoeshoe’s death, as he died on the 11th of March 1870. Makhanya’s (1970, p.207) view that the rugged nature of the Drakensberg Mountains makes the border an effective obstruction to movement and to habitation, and the border may thus not shift in any direction, and has the greatest chances of remaining stable and permanent, is however a very debatable issue especially these days because it is this same nature that serves as an attraction for tourists and promotes illegal population movements as law enforcement is not easy in this area.

Although the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary was declared so by Governor Wodehouse of the then Cape Colony in 1870, Bainbridge (1986) points out that for various reasons this boundary has never been surveyed, and so still poses a number of problems as to where the exact border line is. For instance, the people of Lesotho appear to consider the main escarpment as the border. But this consideration is distorted by the official topo-cadastral maps of both South Africa and Lesotho, which delineate the boundary along the watershed. However, Irwin (1980) points out that in many places the watershed coincides with the escarpment edge thus making frequent crossing of the border unavoidable if one is walking along the top.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

A variety of methods were used to obtain data for different sections of this thesis besides a general literature search. A map analysis of the geographical nature of the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal border was done by use of the Harrismith and Drakensberg 1:250 000 topo-cadastral maps that cover the border area. Verbal interviews were carried out with members of the Natal Parks Board and various government departments including the Department of Planning.

Verbal interviews with the South African Police Service at the Sani Pass border post for obtaining any records on formal trade through that border post were conducted. Telephone and fax conversations with the Department of Trade and Industry in Pretoria about trade through the Sani Pass border post were conducted.

Interviews were conducted with officials of the South African Police Service Stock Theft Unit, Pietermaritzburg, the Natal Agricultural Union (NAU), and the Department of Agriculture, on the issue of stock theft in the border area, and how each one of these departments deal with it.

Verbal interviews were conducted with officials from the South African Police Service Narcotics Bureau in Pietermaritzburg and SANCA head office in Pietermaritzburg.

Literature on tourism in Lesotho and South Africa was reviewed. A field trip to the Himeville-Underberg area was taken. A day's tour up the Sani Pass through the Sani Pass border post to the Sani Top and into the immediate villages of Lesotho was made with a group of tourists. Discussions were carried out with some officials involved in the tourism industry in the Himeville-Underberg area. These include the Sani Pass Hotel manager, Mokhotlong Mountain Transport, Travel Underberg and the Natal Parks Board.

Discussions with the South African Police Service officers at the Sani Pass border post were held. Telephone communications with the SAPS border police in Durban and Fax communications with the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria were conducted.

Settlements in which Basotho can be found were identified by asking a number of Sesotho speaking people met on the streets where they were staying in Pietermaritzburg. Student colleagues staying in the former Black residential areas were also asked to identify such places if they knew of any. A total of four settlements were identified and a field trip was undertaken to them, namely Swapocamp, Ten City, Dambuza and Taylor's Halt.

Two of the settlements around Pietermaritzburg area were selected for further case study investigation, namely Dambuza and Swapocamp, as they could be easily reached by the researcher, and also contained more migrants than the other two. During four visits to these settlements, questionnaires were distributed to the settlement dwellers and verbal interviews were conducted with the residents. Some of the results in this report come from the researcher's personal observations during fieldwork. The Mountain Rise and Plessislaer police stations were visited for information on migrants who have settled in Ten City and Dambuza respectively and the Department of Home Affairs in Pietermaritzburg was visited in order to find out if it has anything to do with the migrants who now reside in the settlements.

It was during the research process that the researcher became aware of some constraints on obtaining information and quantitative data through interviews with migrants due particularly to the sensitivity of their illegal status in South Africa.

1.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The following four limitations were realised:

i) Dangerous places

Even before one could get into the actual act of going out to the field, a number of warnings were given by colleagues who reside in the neighbourhood of both Dambuza, in the Edendale area, and Swapocamp, along the new Greytown Road, in Pietermaritzburg. Besides these, the Department of Home Affairs referred to Dambuza as its 'no go area', while the SAPS in Plessislaer confirmed that they do not just go to Dambuza, as this is a settlement with a very high crime rate.

ii) Questionnaire survey

Questionnaires were distributed among the residents in the settlements. Some residents felt they would do the questionnaires in their own time while others wanted to discuss them with the researcher. However, it was not an easy task to make people in both settlements understand that the research work is solely done for educational purposes, while most of them thought that the researcher is either one of the SAPS officials, or has been bought by these to do a certain purpose for them. They thought this was going to end in their being sent back to Lesotho.

iii) Understanding

Residents lacked an understanding of what research is, as they either

thought jobs would be provided for them immediately, or they would get into trouble.

iv) Illiteracy

Some of the residents could not read and write and so either the researcher or a volunteer had to help in reading out questions to these kind of people and writing their responses down.

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2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND APPROACHES TO THE STUDY AREA

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

A literature search on cross-border migration and commercial trade, both formal and informal, between Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal indicates that there is virtually nothing written about the two above mentioned issues through the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary. Material available is about Lesotho and South Africa as a whole, but data on regional cross-border linkages between Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal has not been found.

In contrast, it appears that considerable work has been done on labour migration relating to the mining industry, with a regional emphasis on the Transvaal and Orange Free State. The broad spectrum of economic activities in which Basotho have become involved in South Africa, such as agriculture and trade are briefly dealt with. But even so, such work is dated and the new political dispensation in South Africa requires a new approach to regional issues in Southern Africa. The aim of this chapter is to review literature of migration and trade between Lesotho and South Africa, from the past to the present, and to look at the different ways in which the study area, which is the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal border area, can be viewed. But before getting into this literature, some terms which will be used in this work will be defined first.

2.1.1 Definition of terms

The concept 'political boundaries' has been changing throughout time. This change in boundary concept is related to the changes in conditions of human societies in different historical periods (Makhanya, 1970). The primitive concept of boundary was a zone rather than a line, marking a limit of a state's jurisdiction, and is referred to as a border by Prescott (1978). This frontier zone was usually declared a no-man's-land, and was unclaimed, unsettled, and unused (Makhanya, 1970, Prescott, 1978). This was an area where there existed an intermingling of cultures

from the two adjacent states, as people from each side at times intruded into this zone. The frontier zone was therefore an area of transition between the two sovereignties, rather than a clear-cut division between them (Makhanya, 1970).

An increase in world populations and advancement in technology increased the demand for precision in boundary making. Consequently, we have nowadays what we call political boundaries which Makhanya (1970 p.41) defines as follows:

“Boundaries represent the outer limit of the territory, within which the central government exercises political control.

The modern boundary is a definite line, along which two sovereignties meet.

The term boundary denotes a line, such as may be defined from point to point in treaty, arbitral award, or boundary commission report.

Boundaries appear on maps as thin lines marking the limits of state sovereignty. In fact, a boundary is not a line, but a plane - a vertical plane that cuts through the air-space, the soil, and the sub-soil of adjacent states.

This plane appears on the surface of the earth as a line, because it intersects the surface of the earth as is marked where it does so”.

From the above definitions it is clear that the modern concept of a boundary is a line -the thinnest possible line- and that it divides sovereignties, not only on the surface but also below the ground as well as high up in the atmosphere (Makhanya, 1970).

According to Prescott (1978) and Makhanya (1970), functions of a boundary change as the terminology changes. In the past, boundaries were viewed as defence barriers (Ratzel 1895, Lord Curzon 1907, Holdich 1916, in Prescott 1978). Fawcett (in Prescott, 1978) believed that the functions of boundaries were to protect the state and allow the application of restrictions to safe-guard defence,

trade and health, and also to allow intercourse between the two populations of adjacent states.

Makhanya (1970) provides the main purpose of boundaries nowadays as to safeguard the social, economic, and political interests of a state by

- i) restricting or even excluding immigrants, visitors, and working men from foreign countries because of the influence they might have on the citizens of a state, and because of the competition they might present to local citizens in commerce and industry;
- ii) restricting emigration so as to guard against economic instability that might result from loss of manpower;
- iii) examination and detention of persons with communicable diseases, both of domestic and foreign citizenship;
- iv) apprehending criminals, fugitives, and smugglers;
- v) imposing duties and taxes on legally imported or exported goods;
- vi) restricting the influx of foreign goods in competition with those produced within the state, and
- vii) controlling the flights of aeroplanes across the air-space of the state, and sailing of ships in the territorial waters of coastal states.

Although this viewpoint was raised in 1970, it applies even in today's world. It is in the light of the above information that the Lesotho-Kwazulu-Natal boundary is viewed therefore.

2.1.2 Population migration between Lesotho and South Africa.

Movement of people from Lesotho to South Africa and/or vice versa has been for different reasons.

For the purpose of this section, migration has been divided into five categories;

- i) migration to the mines
- ii) brain drain
- iii) migration to other industries
- iv) illegal migrants

v) permanent residents

i) Migration to the mines

The 1868 discovery of diamonds in Kimberley, and 1886 discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand led to a sharp rise in the numbers of Basotho who were prior to then migrating to South Africa (JASPA, 1979; Molefi, 1991). According to Molefi (1991, p.75) the reasons for migration in those early years were firstly to get cash through which Basotho could acquire agricultural implements such as ploughs, planters, and harrows. Secondly to acquire fire arms for self defence purposes against the Boer settlers who waged wars against Basotho intermittently in the 1860s. The third reason was the imposition of varieties of taxes on Basotho by the British colonial masters without requisite employment creation endeavours in Lesotho.

Lesotho produced grains for the mineworkers in South Africa and by the turn of the 19th century, despite its size, Lesotho was the granary of South Africa (Molefi, 1991). To the black South Africans of that time, mineworking was not an interesting job so mineowners had to find people who could work in the mines from South African neighbouring countries. Lesotho, as one of these countries was affected by this. The only way in which Basotho men could find themselves forced to work in the mines was for South Africa to stop buying grains from Lesotho, and this is what was done. There was no need for Lesotho to produce a lot of grain anymore, as nobody would buy it and in this way agricultural produce in Lesotho was killed in two major ways. Firstly, young and very productive men had to leave the country, leaving behind women and children who could not work on the fields in as productive a way as those men could. Secondly, as early as 1898,

37271 Basotho males were in mining employment in South Africa (Molefi, 1991). The wages at the mines proved to be enough, if not more, for the support of families, such that even those who were left at home found no reason for troubling themselves by working on the fields anymore.

On the side of South Africa, three major factors of production became necessary in order to ensure profit maximization and cost minimization: sufficient capital to finance production; sufficient supply of low-cost labour power; and the maintenance of low-workforce (Innes, quoted in Matlosa, 1995). The last two underline the basis for the emergence of labour reserves in Southern Africa, for migrant labour from Lesotho. Various measures marked the creation of labour reserves which were meant to ensure a readily available pool of extra-cheap migratory labour, particularly for the mining industry, from within and without South Africa. Among those from without was the establishment of an elaborate institutional network to recruit labour from the entire Southern African region to the South African mines (Matlosa, 1995). The Chamber of Mines (COM) was established in 1889, after which a region-wide network of labour recruiting agencies was set up, among which The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) was established in the 1970s to harness cheap labour from the South African labour reserve areas as well as from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (Matlosa, 1995).

Until the early 70s, the mining industry relied predominantly on foreign labour rather than domestic labour. Estimated at about 78% in 1974, foreign labour plummeted to the low of 42% a decade later (Matlosa, 1995). This was mainly due to the fact that four of those countries which were providing labour to South Africa stopped doing so because of various reasons. For example, Zambia

had withdrawn its labour from the mines as early as 1966 to address its labour shortage on its own copper mines, while in 1974, a plane carrying migrants from Malawi crashed in Francistown, Botswana, killing about 74 workers. In protest, Malawi withdrew its labour of about 120 000 migrants from the South African mines and temporarily banned recruitment of its labour (Crush, cited in Matlosa, 1995). The table below shows this change of trend in foreign supply of labour for the South African gold mines for the years 1970 to 1984.

Table 1 Africans on the Gold Mines - 1970-1984

Year	No. In thousands	% Foreign
1970	370	72
1971	371	77
1972	362	78
1973	379	79
1974	350	78
1975	322	68
1976	343	58
1977	374	49
1978	389	47
1979	399	46
1980	416	44
1981	422	43
1982	418	43
1983	428	43
1984	437	42

Source: Matlosa, 1995, p.7

Although this was the situation with Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique which had been acting as labour reserves for the

South African mining industry, a very good chance to send even more migrants to South Africa was taken by Lesotho. Table 2 shows the numbers of Basotho migrant labourers working on Teba mines in February 1992, as compared to those from Botswana, Swaziland, and Mozambique.

Table 2 Labour complement from Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Mozambique on Teba Mines: February 1992

Origin	Number	Percentage share
Lesotho	93 011	23,44
Botswana	14 012	3,58
Swaziland	16 712	4,21
Mozambique	50 149	12,64

Source: Matlosa, 1995, p10

Reliance of Lesotho on migrant labour became obvious and very important to both the government and individuals in the country. According to Matlosa (1995) and Van Wyk (1967), migrant remittances accounted for 50% of the country's Gross National Product (GNP). Matlosa (1995) again points out that migrancy translates into a saving on meagre public resources by providing employment to labour that the domestic economy would otherwise not be able to absorb. Molefi (1991) supports these opinions by showing that almost 3/4 of rural Lesotho households depend on miners remittances and deferred pay for their livelihood.

While Lesotho was enjoying all the benefits, a hard time came in the 1980s when it had to be confronted by the stark reality of retrenchments, where Molefi (1991, p.79) points out that in less than a century, the mining industry of "great economic value", is sending Basotho in droves back to their country to helplessly

witness their children die of starvation, malnutrition, and exposure in winters. The Lesotho government's response to this situation has been haphazard, ranging from attempts to initiate labour-intensive projects in the rural areas to negotiating for a fixed quota with South Africa (Matlosa, 1995). Table 3 below shows the decreasing numbers of Basotho on the Chamber Of Mines mines from 1985 to 1995.

Table 3. Lesotho labour complement on the Chamber Of Mines mines - 1985-1995

1985	101 120
1986	106 379
1987	108 895
1988	105 116
1989	105 000
1990	103 040
1991	93 319
1992	92 354
1993	89 940
1994	89 076
1995	88 000

Source: Matlosa, 1995, p. 16

As Lesotho battles to absorb its returning migrants in the early 90s, another type of migration is gaining momentum with deleterious consequences for the already weak economy; namely brain drain to South Africa (Matlosa, 1995, p.16).

ii) Brain drain

The history of brain drain is shorter than that of migration to the mining industry of South Africa. Brain drain is, according to Prah (cited in Matlosa 1995), migration of those people who have

acquired college education and possess a university degree as well as those who have acquired significant occupational experience and knowledge through practice. This migration involves professional labour which has been trained mostly through public financing by the sending countries, but nothing or very little is got by these countries in return for the loss of their skilled labour. In this way brain drain kills the economy of poor countries like Lesotho.

In the case of Lesotho, the hardest hit sectors are health and education (Matlosa, 1995). Examples here include the loss of 55% of its professional nurses, especially those in the government-run hospitals, by 1990 (African Development Bank, in Matlosa, 1995). Of the total academic staff establishment of about 250, the National University of Lesotho (NUL), the only university in Lesotho, has lost between 25 and 30 to South Africa since the beginning of the political changes in South Africa in 1990 (Matlosa, 1995).

The push factors for skilled migration include, among others, poor working conditions, poor pension schemes, lack of housing facilities and delays in appointments and problems related to promotion procedures (Matlosa, 1995).

iii) Migration to other industries

Labour migration from Lesotho to South Africa dates as far back as the initial contacts between Basotho and European settlers communities in South Africa (Molefi, 1991, JASPA, 1979). Basotho men went to the Cape and Natal colonies to work in the plantations, railway construction works and other labour intensive occupations. Their numbers were then fairly insignificant (Molefi, 1991). Until 1963, the movement of Basotho into South Africa was

not restricted, as no border control posts were instituted by South Africa, and so travel documents such as passports were not required anywhere on the borders (JASPA, 1979). It is because of this free movement that no statistical information about Basotho working in other industries was kept. But even since 1963, because of administrative difficulties or other reasons, the only statistical data that has remained are the numbers of Basotho recruited and actually employed in the mines of South Africa, and nothing seems to be available on other industries or agriculture, for instance. (JASPA, 1979).

iv) Illegal migrants

Evidence of illegal migrants from Lesotho to South Africa exists. However, it is not possible even to guess the total numbers or direction of change of numbers (Cobbe, 1986). A number of factors can change the trends in different directions, such as restrictions on mine recruitment, which increases supply of illegal migrants to South Africa, and changes in the South African legal environment, which aimed at decreasing the supply (Cobbe, 1986). The issue of illegal migrants is discussed in detail in Chapter Four of this work.

v) Permanent residents

There are Basotho who basically came to South Africa prior to the introduction of border control, and have therefore been absorbed into the South African community. The numbers of these migrants is also not known.

2.1.3 Trade between Lesotho and South Africa

One reason for people moving to and across Lesotho/South Africa's

boundaries is for trade purposes. Below is evidence that the two countries have always had strong trade ties which have been governed by agreements.

i) Southern African Customs Union Agreement (SACUA)

This is an agreement that was first made in April 1910 between South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, to have free trade of goods within the mentioned countries. It was revised in 1969, at which time Namibia was no longer a member, but the other four countries remained, and are still in this agreement today. The details of this agreement are dealt with in Chapter Three of this work.

ii) A number of writers agree on the fact that the geographical position of Lesotho within South Africa makes Lesotho's economy dependent upon South Africa (Makhanya, 1970; Van Wyk, 1967; etc). Makhanya (1970) also confirms that there are, and have always been, very great trade ties between Lesotho and South Africa. He says that commercial life in Lesotho is dominated by a few concerns whose ordinary activities are entirely controlled from head offices in South Africa. Most of the merchandise traded in Lesotho is of South African origin (Makhanya, 1970). A large number of Basotho buy from retailers in the South African border towns like Wepner, Ladybrand, Ficksburg and Underberg, which is a town in Kwazulu-Natal that is immediately reached after crossing the Sani Pass border post. This flow of money from Lesotho to South Africa is seen therefore as lowering Lesotho's national income.

Below are areas in which Lesotho and South Africa work together in the field of trade.

- a) **Dependency of Lesotho's exports on South Africa**
Those of Lesotho's exports that are imported by other countries than South Africa, clothing from industries for example, are marketed under the price umbrella of South African products. This enables Lesotho's main products to enjoy stable prices and demand conditions in the same way as South African products, which is a positive factor to viability.
- b) **The Lesotho Highlands Water Project**
This is one of the major issues in the economic relations between Lesotho and South Africa, in which Lesotho sells water and hydro-electricity to South Africa. Although it is costly for both countries on one hand, it has some benefits for them on the other. Some earthquakes are experienced in Lesotho while South Africa has to pay billions of rands to Lesotho. Lesotho has tarred roads to its mountainous areas now, while South Africa will soon be getting water for use by its people.
- c) **Monetary relationship**
Although Lesotho now has its own currency, it is still using the South African currency as well. This prevents any difficulties that can occur between the two states if Lesotho was using its own currency only. By using South African rand, Lesotho's external trade is facilitated and its economy stabilized, and this is a positive factor to viability.
- d) **Communication**
Besides being land-locked, Lesotho depends on South African harbours and airports for communication with the outside world. This privilege of transit enables Lesotho to carry out its normal functions of statehood, especially in international trade.

2.1.4 Approaches to the study area

There are various ways in which the study area of the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary can be viewed. Four of these found useful for the purpose of this study are dealt with below.

- i) The agricultural approach;
- ii) the conservation/tourist approach;
- iii) the integrated study approach, and
- iv) the regional institutional approach.

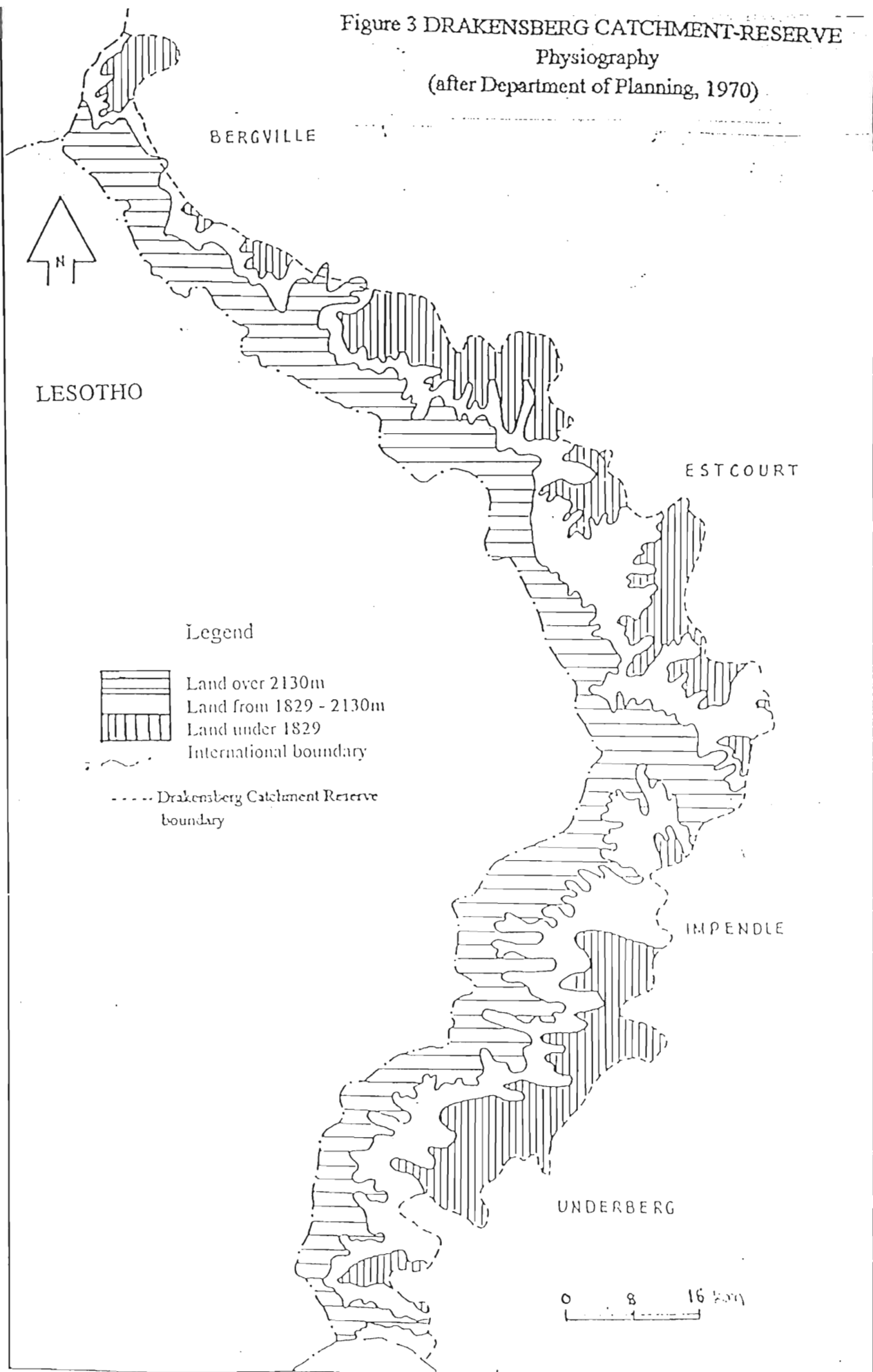
i) The agricultural approach

This was dealt with by Bainbridge (1986) and the Department of Planning (1970), who both divided the area into sections for agricultural purposes. According to them, the study area, which can be equated to the Drakensberg Catchment Reserve (DCR) on the Kwazulu-Natal side, extends for a distance of some 160 kilometres from Mount-Aux-Sources to the Natal-Eastern Cape boundary, with an average width of 16 kilometres along the Berg and its foothills (Department of Planning, 1970). It lies between the Lesotho border to the west and the Administrative Catchment Boundary (ACB) to the east (Bainbridge, 1986). It falls within the five magisterial districts of Kwazulu-Natal, being from north to south: Bergville, Estcourt, Mooi River, Impendle, and Underberg, making a total area of 241 395 hectares, which according to the Department of Planning (1970) can be divided into three distinct physiographic zones (Fig. 3)

Figure 3 DRAKENSBERG CATCHMENT-RESERVE

Physiography

(after Department of Planning, 1970)



a) Drakensberg escarpment

This zone is situated at an elevation of 2 200m to over 3 350m above sea level and contains awe-inspiring vertical scarp faces interspersed with rugged peaks, and is classified as “mountainous” (Bainbridge, 1986, p.6). The climate of this region is typified by extremes, covering a full, and often violent, range of weather conditions - from snow and frost, thunderstorm and mist, to clear intensely sunny spells (Department of Planning, 1970).

According to the Department of Planning (1970), the facts which show the climate of the Drakensberg escarpment are:-

- most frequent snow falls in South Africa, averaging about eight occasions per year and concentrated in July. Skiing may be possible on the Lesotho Plateau in midwinter.
- rainfall is concentrated in the summer months of October to April with a total of 1 660 to 1 780 mm. Main precipitation occurs in the form of 60 to 90 afternoon thunderstorms in summer. Hail is frequent. Mist and drizzle are common on the occurrence of cold fronts.
- average daily maximum temperatures range from 26.7°C in summer to 15.6°C in winter. Average daily minima are 12.8°C in January and -1.1°C in July but extremes can sink to 2.8°C in summer and -10°C in winter. Frost lasts from 90 to 150 days between April and September.
- winds are mainly southerly and northerly to north-westerly, the latter leading to gales in autumn.
- sunshine duration varies from 50 to 60 per cent.

b) Spurs and mountain slopes

Situated at an elevation of 1 829m to 2 130m, this zone consists predominantly of steep rock-strewn slopes

penetrated by the rivers and streams which rise from the great Escarpment. With its more human scale and greater accessibility, this zone provides the main recreational attributes of the Berg. Hotels and game and nature reserves with their hutted camps for visitors are situated at the heads of river valleys under the Berg. The streams run clear and sparkling, cascading over rocks and forming deep pools where dolerite sills intrude into the stream bed, creating the ideal habitat for trout (Bainbridge, 1986, p.8). The climate of this zone of the Drakensberg while very similar to that of the high escarpment, is perhaps not quite so dramatic (Department of Planning, 1970). It is typified by the following according to the Department of Planning (1970):-

- Winter snow falls heavily on exposed slopes, but usually melts rapidly.
- rainfall figures are almost identical with the High Escarpment.
- average temperatures are similar but the extremes of cold are less. Frost can also extend from April to September and embrace some 120 frost days per annum.
- although the wind figures are similar, deeply incise valleys can afford protection
- the sunshine duration and cloudiness are the same as for the Escarpment zone.

c) Foothills

At an elevation of under 1 829m this area is characterised by gentle slopes and softly-undulating farm lands with fertile alluvial areas in the river valleys. Near the lower altitudinal limit of this zone there also occur important complementary recreational assets, that is the series of storage dams which either exist, are planned, or are likely

to be built in the future (Bainbridge, 1986, p.8) (Refer to Fig 3). The climate of the foothills can be summarised as follows:-

- Winter snow falls are uncommon.
- rainfall averages 880 to 1 140 mm per annum.
- temperatures range from 35 C in Summer to -1.1 C in Winter, and Winter temperatures tend to echo conditions on the Berg, a snow cap sending the mercury plummeting. Frost can be severe.
- sunshine duration varies from 65 per cent to 70 per cent of the possible days in summer, to 75 per cent to 85 per cent in winter.

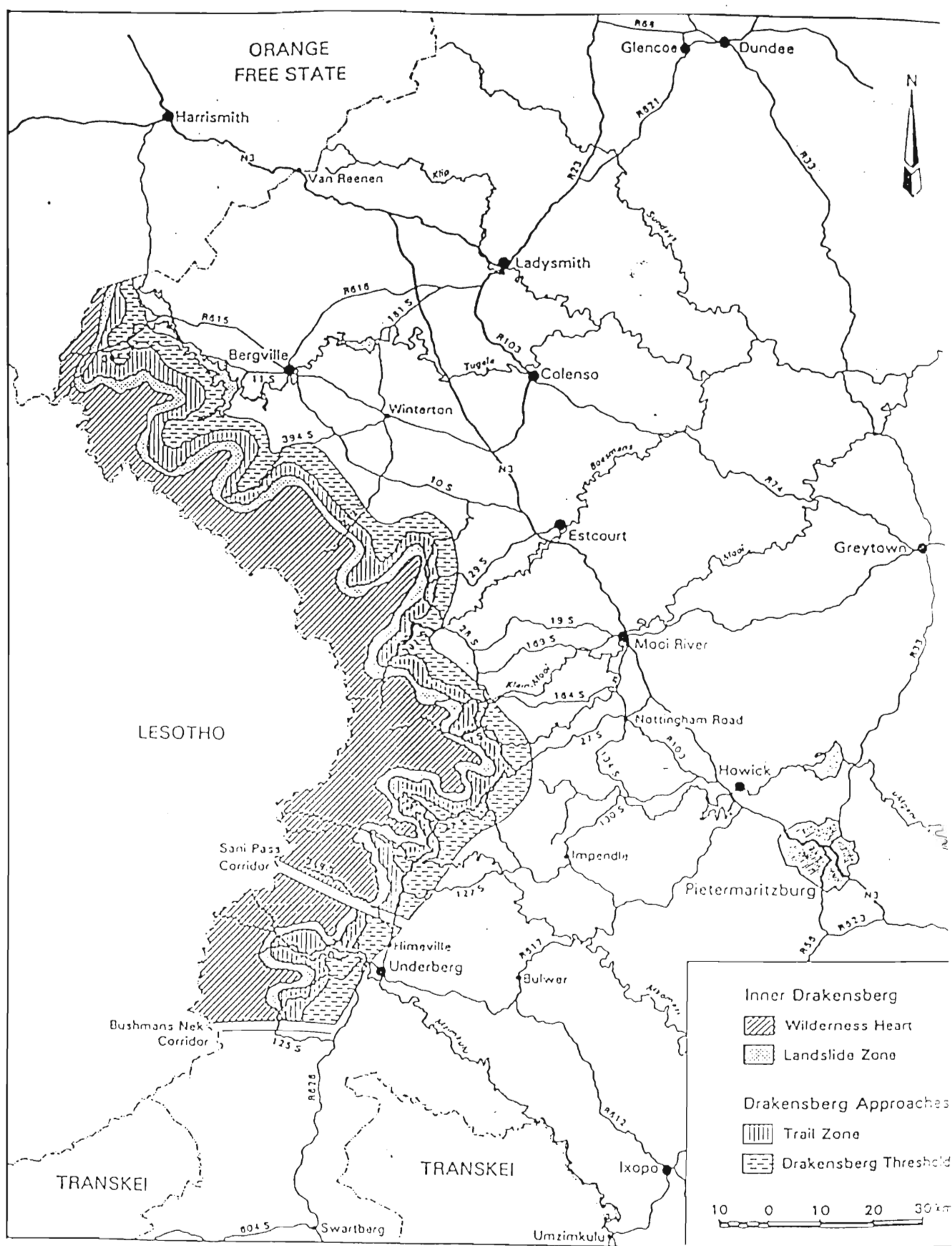
ii) The conservation/tourist approach

This approach was put forward by Martin (1990) who viewed the area for tourism purposes.

A policy for development in the Drakensberg area was put forward by Martin (1990), in which the DCR was particularly seen as a place to be conserved due to the following reasons:-

- a) Water sources;
- b) presence of unique natural communities;
- c) an important natural spectacle;
- d) one of the last portions of Natal to possess wilderness character, and
- e) an area capable of providing particular forms of outdoor recreation not obtainable elsewhere in Natal, for residents of Natal, Transvaal and elsewhere.

The Drakensberg Approaches Policy divides the Drakensberg into four different land use zones, namely the wilderness heart, the landslide zone, the trail zone, and the Drakensberg threshold (Fig 4).



Of the four zones, only the threshold was seen as capable of performing agriculture-oriented activities. The other three are put aside for nature conservation, which was facilitated by a change of control in the area, in which the department of forestry had to transfer power to the Natal Parks Board (NPB) in 1988. This means that what were state forests were changed into conserved areas. Prior to the extension of NPB authority, a very small portion of the Drakensberg area enjoyed conservation priority status under the control of the NPB (Table 4).

Table 4. Land ownership in the Drakensberg Catchment Area in 1986

OWNERSHIP	AREA (Ha)	AREA (%)
Forestry branch, Department of Environmental affairs	191 168	60
Kwazulu	60 475	19
Natal Parks Board	48 178	15
Private land	17 936	6
Total area of the DCA	317 757	100

Source: Bainbridge, 1986

iii) The integrated study approach

Looking at the Drakensberg Catchment Area in the post apartheid era, three major areas of land use can be seen. These are:

- a) the Upper Tugela Location (now known as Bergville);
- b) the Natal Drakensberg Park, and
- c) the farming land (refer to Fig. 1).

a) The Upper Tugela Location (Bergville)

This region fell under the former Kwazulu government in the past, but now is under the control of the Zulu king, through the Ngwenyama Trust. The location is inhabited by two Zulu tribes, namely the Amagwane the Amazizi.

b) Natal Drakensberg Park

This protected area is the state land under the control of the Natal Parks Board. Although maps still show this area as still having the state forests, the situation is that there are no forests in it. It is now a conserved area, mainly seen as a major water catchment source for the whole of Kwazulu-Natal Province, which is managed by burning.

c) Farming land

The Department of Agriculture has divided Kwazulu-Natal into regions according to their capabilities in agricultural production, which is determined by a number of factors such as topography, soils, and climate among others.

iv) The regional institutional approach

Besides the three previous approaches, being agricultural, conservation/tourist and an integrated approach, this fourth idea is to divide the study area by definition of use by those institutions that own land and are responsible for the smooth running of the area and these are dealt with below

a) Department of Water Affairs and Forestry

This department used to use the land for forestry up until the region was transferred to the Natal Parks Board in 1988. The water affairs section managed the areas above the forestry line, where the sources of most rivers are found. Its duties now are to ensure that water quality is

preserved, and to develop national water resources.

b) Department of Agriculture

The department's duty is to administer relevant acts, such as the Soil Conservation Act, the Conservation of Agricultural Resources Act, and the Sub-division of Agricultural Land Act 70 of 1970. Their work is confined outside the area under management of NPB.

c) Department of Local Government and Housing

This department's duty is to approve development and sub-divide land for non-agricultural purposes. It assists with provision of land for Settlement Act 126 of 1993, which is the land reform act.

d) Department of Traditional and Environment Affairs

This department is in charge of all former Kwazulu areas. The Departments of Local Government and Housing and Planning assist it with planning.

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3. TRADE AND COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES

3.1 FORMAL PATTERNS

Formal trade linkages between Lesotho and South Africa can be traced to as far back as when the two countries came into existence. This section aims at assessing the nature of formal trade and commercial exchanges between Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal, through the Sani Pass border post.

3.1.1 Trade agreements between Lesotho and South Africa

Trade agreements between Lesotho and South Africa have gone through three different phases. Firstly there were trade relations between Lesotho and the then South Africa, which was made up of the four provinces namely Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State and the Cape Colony, even before 1910. In 1910 the second phase whereby the relations were made formal started. Some changes to the 1910 trade agreements occurred around 1969, when new agreements had to be made and this resulted in the third phase of the relations, in which the two countries are still at present.

i) Pre-1910 Trade Relations

Until the very early 20th century, each of the four provinces in what was called the Union of South Africa in the past was in control of its own affairs. This is the reason for the Cape and Orange Free State forming a customs union in 1889, so that they could trade with each other under certain specified terms, while Transvaal and Natal chose not to join (Ettinger, 1974). Transvaal did not join as it had discovered gold in Witwatersrand in 1886, while Natal wanted a lower common external tariff (CXT) than the other territories wanted (Ettinger, 1974). On July 1st 1891 Lesotho

(then known as Basutoland) entered the union, and exactly two years later Botswana (the then Bechuanaland) joined (Ettinger, 1974). At this time both Lesotho and Botswana were known as the British High Commission Territories (HCTs), as they were British protectorates.

Although Lesotho and Botswana were in the customs union, they had no power concerning new accessions or amendments to the customs agreements, although they were to be consulted. The logic behind this was that Africans would not understand such matters, that whites should make the decisions, and that Britain, which controlled Botswana and Lesotho, could make its will felt through the Cape's membership (Ettinger, 1974).

In 1898, a new customs union was formed which included Natal, but made few other changes. In 1903, after the Anglo-Boer War, the four colonies and Southern Rhodesia, which were all under British administration, met in Bloemfontein to re-establish the customs union. Lesotho and Botswana were included in the customs agreement (although not represented at the conference or given any power in the agreement) (Ettinger, 1974). Swaziland entered the union on the 11th of October 1904, followed by Barotseland (part of Zambia), but both were also without any power in the union (Ettinger, 1974). The Union of South Africa was formed later, and Britain therefore decided to keep its HCTs temporarily out of the union. When however, the 1909 Act of Union replaced the customs union for the four provinces of South Africa, a new agreement was necessary between South Africa and the HCTs (Ettinger, 1974).

ii) The 1910 Southern African Customs Union Agreement (SACUA)

The customs agreement which came into being between South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland on the 1st July 1910 (Ettinger, 1974; Henderson, 1985; Cobbe, 1974), was aimed at facilitating common economic aims within a regional geographical scope (Henderson, 1985). The union did three major things, according to Cobbe (1974):-

- a) it regularized the use of a common external tariff, to be determined by South Africa and called for the free interchange of products between the four territories concerned;
- b) it specified the percentage shares of the customs and excise revenue pool to be received by each partner, based on estimates of the duty content of imports into the HCTs in the period 1906-1908, and
- c) it made no reference to non-tariff barriers on movement of goods between the parties to the agreement and during its currency South Africa interpreted 'free interchange' to mean that it could impose quantitative and administrative restrictions on imports into South Africa from the other territories.

Besides the fact that the 1910 SACUA was agreed upon by South Africa and Britain only (Ettinger, 1974; Cobbe, 1974), in representation of the HCTs, the agreement, according to Geldenhuys et al (1970), showed two fundamental and enduring characteristics about the then South Africa;

- a) South Africa had always approached relations with Africa from the point of view of its political, economic and military interests, and
- b) it had tried to influence the course of events in Africa in a

direction favourable to its own interests.

SACUA was therefore seen as relatively short-termed and inadequate (Landell-Mills, 1979), and another option was looked into by the HCTs.

iii) The 1969 Southern African Customs Union Agreement (SACUA)

The three HCTs seriously considered terms for a new agreement in 1967. In August and November 1967, representatives of the HCTs met and produced a counter proposal to the South African draft. Among the things the HCTs wanted, which were not in the South African proposal, were the following:

- a) The right to protect infant industries from South African producers;
- b) specific and extensive rights of consultation on all changes affecting HCTs, including tariff revisions;
- c) a greatly increased share of revenue, and
- d) lower duties on basic foods and other goods consumed by the poor (Ettinger, 1974).

In April 1968, South Africa was presented with the HCTs proposal, including detailed arguments on the division of revenue. South Africa agreed to use the HCT's draft as the basis for negotiations, as it was much more comprehensive than its own. The four countries met in July and August, 1968, during which time most of the issues were resolved, and the agreement replacing that of 1910 was signed by the governments of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and South Africa on the 11th of December, 1969 (Ettinger, 1974; Landell-Mills, 1971; Henderson, 1985). The 1910 agreement was terminated in 1970, but the arrangement of revenue was to be effective as from 1 April 1969 (Henderson 1985).

3.1.2 Costs and benefits of SACUA to the HCTs (Generally and to Lesotho specifically).

Henderson (1985) outlines the costs of SACUA to HCTs as follows;

- i) South Africa exercised effective control over Customs and Excise rates and policy, which were to become a major source of government revenue to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (BLS) as well as a key instrument of economic policy.
- ii) There is no direct relationship between economic growth in the BLS countries and the growth of customs revenue.
- iii) South Africa could sell its products to the BLS countries, but they in turn could not sell those goods that would compete with South African produce in South Africa.

In contrast, the main benefit as seen today by the Department of Trade and Industry in South Africa, is the income Lesotho derives from being a member of SACUA, although the revenue sharing formula in terms of which Lesotho (and Botswana, Namibia, and Swaziland) shares in the customs and excise revenue collected in the whole customs union area is biased in favour of these countries. Lesotho government income from this source normally represents about fifty percent of total government revenue. This income enabled Lesotho to expand her civil service and to create jobs in that sector.

Another benefit to Lesotho is the fact that the source of supply is relatively close. Shops and businesses do not have to buy in bulk because of the close proximity of the sources of supply in South Africa and they can also rely on adequate after sales service.

3.1.3 The situation of the Sani Pass border post regarding SACUA

The Sani Pass border post is the main communication route in the whole Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal border.

Research has shown that at this point in time there is no South African department which is prepared to furnish anyone with information regarding the movement of goods between Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal. The reason behind this is that the Sani Pass border, the only formal route that is being used for transporting goods between the two areas, is controlled by the South African Police and the Department of Home Affairs only, and the Department of Customs and Excise does not have any officials in the border post. However, it was reported by the Department of Trade and Industry that there is an intention of the South African Revenue Service (Department of Customs and Excise) to place officials at the main border posts between Lesotho and South Africa. The main objective of placing the officials at such border posts would be to monitor the value and nature of goods crossing the border for Value Added Tax (VAT) purposes. Customs officials would also be in a position to monitor the nature and value of trade between the two countries. The placement of customs officials and restriction of commercial traffic to such border posts, an added intention of the Department of Customs and Excise, will also give South Africa more control over the movement of goods between the country and Lesotho.

The main question in this situation then is whether the Sani Pass border post is regarded, by South Africa, as one of the major border posts between itself and Lesotho. Looking at the fact that Sani Pass is the only route accessible by road between Lesotho and South Africa on the whole boundary between Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal, that it is situated in the tourist attracting area, and so an area that is very much capable of growing, as tourism is a growing industry, one might think that it could be seen as one of the major border posts. Statistics show that the Sani Pass border post is still being used by a number of people whose impact on the development of the region might be of great importance, especially because tourists and traders are among the great users of this post. Table 5 shows the number of arrivals and departures, both from South Africa and other countries (aliens) through the Sani Pass border post, from 1994 to 1996. The aliens group in this case includes Lesotho citizens, tourists from every where except South Africa, and any other person who does not fall in any of these groups, but is again

not a citizen of South Africa. The growing use of the post is evident from Table 5.

Table 5 Arrivals and departures through the Sani Pass border post - 1994-96

YEAR		ARRIVAL	DEPARTURE
1994	Republic of South Africa	5 280	5 576
	Aliens	16 895	17 034
1995	Republic of South Africa	6 992	8 288
	Aliens	20 347	20 731
1996	Republic of South Africa	8 285	9 032
	Aliens	22 896	23 076

Source: SAPS, Sani Pass border post, 1997

There are some other aspects of the border post, however, that one might think could prevent it from being considered one of the major posts between Lesotho and South Africa. Its geographical location makes it to be so inaccessible that it is not just used by anyone except people who really want to see such a place and those who stay around it, such that it is the only nearest post they can use for crossing into South Africa from Lesotho, or vice versa. Its inaccessible nature is mostly evident during the Winter season when heavy snows prevent transport and travel movement taking place in the area. Throughout the year, only four wheel drive vehicles can be used on the route, and so this prevents most people from using the post. The hours of work are very short as compared to the other bigger posts as it is only open from 0800hrs to 1600hrs every day, while other bigger posts, for example the Maputsoe-Ficksburg bridge is open 24 hours a day.

The tendency to think that there might be some information on the Sani Pass border post in the Lesotho Customs and Excise offices is shattered by the fact that on the

Lesotho side of the border post, the only people found are the Lesotho Mounted Police (LMP) officials, and no customs or sales tax representatives, or any other body that might be responsible. The situation is similar to that of South Africa therefore, although ironically South Africa is said to be depending on Lesotho for trade data at the moment (Department of Trade and Industry).

Although the situation in the Sani Pass border post is such that nothing has been put on record, the researcher's fieldwork visits to the post showed that general dealers from Lesotho and from Mokhotlong district especially, go through the post into Durban, Pietermaritzburg or Underberg, which are all towns in Kwazulu-Natal, to buy goods for sale in Lesotho. The kind of goods bought include food and clothing. Although specific amounts of money that the dealers spent on the goods could not be established in this research, it is obvious that they spent much, a thousand rands at least, as every time they returned to Lesotho their four wheel drive bakkies were full. Besides the money spent on goods, they also fill their vehicles with fuel in Kwazulu-Natal and pay for accommodation if they have to sleep on that side of the boundary. The frequency at which the dealers cross into Kwazulu-Natal, which might be twice a month according to those interviewed, also increases the amount of money taken to Kwazulu-Natal.

Lack of records made it impossible again for one to evaluate if there has been any change in the cross border trading patterns through time. However, any change that might have occurred, could be due to the following factors among others;

- a) change in legislation in relation to trade, either on the Kwazulu-Natal or Lesotho side;
- b) change in the numbers of traders who cross, which might either increase or decrease and therefore have different impacts on the region;
- c) change in the prices of the goods, and
- d) change in the running of the border post.

3.2 INFORMAL PATTERNS

One of the functions that modern boundaries perform, according to Boggs (1940) is in respect with the collection of duties and taxes of legally imported or exported goods, and the prevention of illegal movements of goods. This means that an efficient boundary should control any trade that passes across it, meaning that maximization of formal and minimization or total eradication of any informal trade (if at all such a thing exists on the boundary), is achieved as one purpose of a boundary. Looking at the Lesotho\Kwazulu-Natal boundary, research has shown that trade linkages and commercial exchanges, in both their formal and informal natures, occur. Formal trade and exchange in this case is that which is permitted by the laws, and agreed upon by the two states involved. Informal trade and exchange is therefore that which is not permitted by the laws and agreements of the states. In the case of this study, the two states involved are Lesotho and South Africa, through its Kwazulu-Natal province and two important aspects of informal exchanges concern the movement of livestock and dagga.

3.2.1 Stock theft

One of the illegal trade movements occurring between Lesotho and South Africa is that of livestock from stock theft. The history of stock theft between the two countries goes as far back in time as the nineteenth century, when the idea of boundaries was first introduced to the Basotho by the Dutch who came to settle in the Orange Free State. The Basotho, just as any other African nation, did not have any knowledge of boundaries before then and so even after the border line between Lesotho and the Orange Free State was marked out by beacons by Sir George Grey, Moshoeshoe paid no heed to it. A body of Basotho, two or three thousand in number, would rush across the border, steal cattle and sheep, murder some of the farmers, and then retreat across the Caledon River before any organized resistance could be raised (Whiteside, 1906). It may be argued that this happened because the Basotho were not satisfied with the border lines, as their land was taken away. Today, poverty seems to be the main reason for people stealing other peoples' stock, and so it is either killed immediately to be eaten, or sold to

somebody else to obtain cash, or exchanged for other things such as dagga, which is particularly the case for the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary. Published material and primary research indicates that stock theft is still actively taking place between Lesotho and South Africa today. For instance, Farmer's Weekly (September 15, 1989, p. 89; October 13, 1989; July 3, 1995; and April 5, 1996) report cases of stock theft in different parts of Lesotho/South Africa under the titles "Stock theft-latest details from SAP", "Stock theft latest from SAPS", "Joint forces combat crime", and "Stock theft cases: RSA" respectively.

The aim of this section is to establish the nature of illegal movement of stock that is taking place along the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary. This aim will be achieved by firstly looking at the present situation of stock theft along that boundary, in which case those themes such as where along the boundary does it take place, when and how it happens, and the kind of stock that is stolen, will be answered. Secondly, the different departments of governmental and private sector organizations that are involved in combatting stock theft in the study area, and the different techniques that they use, will be discussed. Lastly some economic and socio-political implications of stock theft, both for Lesotho and South Africa, will be discussed.

3.2.1.1 Present stock theft situation along the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal international boundary.

The intensity of illegal stock movement differs according to the location along the boundary. For those areas that are very steep, for example around the Sani Pass, there isn't much stock theft taking place compared with places with a more gentle slope which experience a lot of stock theft. This is because it is easier to drive animals through a gentle slope than a steep one. For places where farms exist next to the boundary, much stock theft is experienced again as the farms are closer to the border than those that are adjacent to the protected areas that are under the control of Natal Parks Board, and so the border can be crossed faster than having to go through

the protected area where one might end up being caught.

This does not mean in any case that the protected area is not illegally crossed at some points. It still is, and a number of problems are created for the Natal Parks Board who control the protected area as stock thieves do not pay anything to enter the protected area, while tourists do. The stock thieves and other illegal crossers are therefore a security risk and threat to the visitors. Although they are said to behave themselves when it comes to disturbing visitors, they do damage vegetation by starting veld fires when it is not time for burning and so are a threat to the environment and disrupt conservation management too.

Stock theft along this boundary seems a one way process, whereby people from Lesotho are the ones coming into Kwazulu-Natal to steal animals. There still is, however, an internal stock theft process going on within Kwazulu-Natal itself. No differentiation in official records is made between stock theft taking place along the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary and that within Kwazulu-Natal itself, and so the tables in this section do not make that difference. Whatever the case might be, mostly small animals such as sheep and goats are taken, but cattle and horses are of interest as well. The animals are driven across the boundary into Lesotho at night, especially at full moon. The passes used for crossing are shown on Fig.5, after which the animals are assembled together at different places in Lesotho, namely Sehonghong, Mashai, and Senqu. The stealing is most prevalent in winter, because people eat more then, and during festive times. Tables 6 and 7 are examples of the time and day of the week at which the incidents took place in Tugela (Bergville), an area in the Drakensberg study area, from January to June 1996. There appears to be no specific time for stealing most animals as for different months, the most animals were stolen at different times. For instance, in January between 1200 and 1800 hrs is the time in which most stock was stolen. February shows a different time as this was done between 1800 and 2400hrs, while

in April the incident occurred between 00 00 and 0600 hrs. There is again no special day of the week on which most animals were stolen.

Table 6 Time at which stock was stolen in Tugela - January to June 1996

Month Time	January	February	March	April	May	June
00 - 06	33	21	37	75	49	49
06 - 12	14	15	43	35	59	59
12 - 18	34	9	13	7	4	4
18 - 24	4	31	12	25	3	3

Source: SAPS Stock theft unit, 1996

Table 7 Day in which stock was stolen in Tugela - January to June 1996

Month Day	January	February	March	April	May	June
Monday	12	14	15	19	14	12
Tuesday	16	15	26	26	17	13
Wednesday	43	11	18	22	31	11
Thursday	13	8	19	18	16	10
Friday	12	11	15	16	11	16
Saturday	17	13	14	18	9	7
Sunday	11		16	15	11	14

Source: SAPS Stock theft unit, 1996

It is worth mentioning at this point that marking and branding stock makes it easier for stock owners to identify their stock if any are recovered. However, for those animals that are stolen to be killed immediately, identifying meat is still not practical.

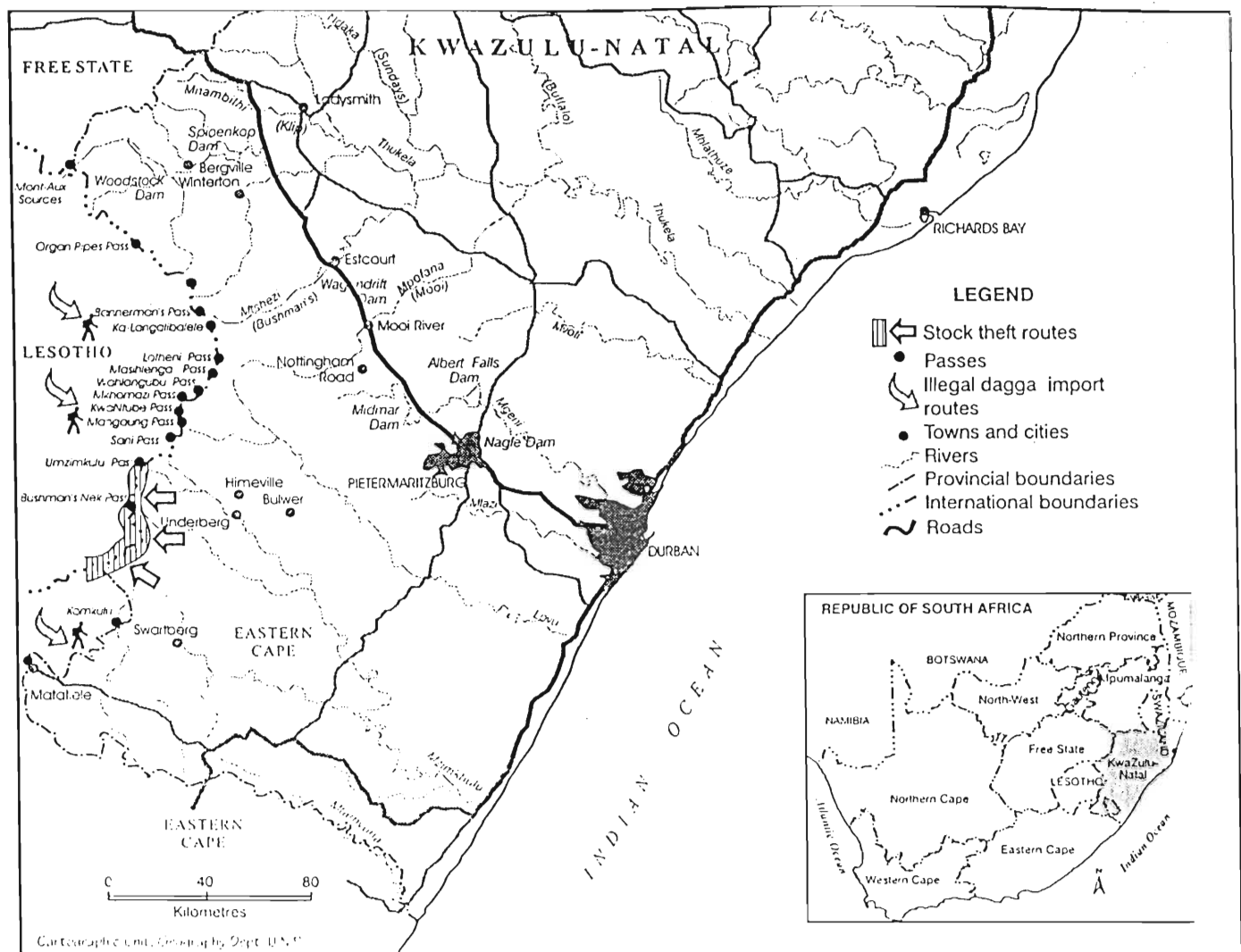


Figure 5 : Routes for stock theft and dagga transportation through the Lesotho/KwaZulu-Natal boundary

3.2.1.2 Organizations involved in combatting stock theft in Kwazulu-Natal and the methods employed.

The serious nature of stock theft in the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal border has made a number of institutions in Kwazulu-Natal find themselves working towards combatting stock theft. These institutions spent lots of money in doing this, as this is the only way through. Below are such institutions and how they operate in combatting stock theft.

i) South African Police Service (SAPS) stock theft unit.

The stock theft unit of the South African Police in the study area started in 1968, with the first office to open at Bushman's Nek (Fig. 1). An average of 15 cases from the whole Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal border area are reported every month, in which case at least 45 cattle worth R90 000.00 will be stolen. About 55% of the animals are recovered.

To combat stock theft in the area, the unit utilizes five methods.

a) Informers

These are people who go out to the farms and find out the ways and means of the stock thieves, so that it is easy for the rest of the crew to trace them when the time comes. No extra costs are incurred in this case as this is the actual job of informers.

b) Ordinary investigations

These are undertaken any time to check the situation of stock theft in an area, especially if such an area was stricken by theft before. No extra costs are encountered here as well.

c) Patrols

This is the situation in which the SAPS and Lesotho

Mounted Police (LMP) members identify animals and their owners, and see whether the two coincide. The issue of where the animals are going to, and who the shepherd is, are important in this case. The patrols last for two to eighteen days, depending on the number and intensity of the theft cases reported. For every six members of the SAPS involved, an average extra cost of R550.00 is incurred, mainly for feeding the police during the patrols.

d) Observations

This is when some members of the SAPS and the army stay out for some nights to catch the thieves. This means therefore that the observations are done after some cases have been reported in an area. They last for at least seven days, and cost around R644.00 for every three members.

e) Raids

These concentrate on problem areas as well. Some stolen animals are brought to a single place and the police from both sides of the boundary, together with affected farmers, come to the place to select the stock that the farmers claim are theirs. A helicopter and some horses, and a greater number of police than in any other method, are used in this one. The average cost of running a raid, for at least three weeks is R45 000.00 and this includes things such as food and payment for the police, and even medical costs as this is a very dangerous operation.

ii) Department of Agriculture

The department of agriculture in Kwazulu-Natal does not deal directly with the theft that takes place along the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary. It is mainly involved with theft within the Kwazulu-Natal province itself, including the study area, and this it

detects through the following two major ways.

a) Slaughtering

The Department of Agriculture has to make sure that every slaughter that takes place in the province is legal. Abattoirs are used as a means of assistance in that every animal that is killed in them needs to have full particulars of the owner recorded. There are 86 abattoirs in the whole of Kwazulu-Natal, 32 of which are for red meat while the rest, 56, are for poultry.

b) Dipping

Dip tanks provide a source of information about animals that come to be dipped through the official assistants at the tanks. These assistants keep registers of people who dip, the owners of the animals, the numbers of animals - how many died, were born, were sold, were moved to other places - and such information for every group of animals that is brought to be dipped. It is through these records that thefts may be detected.

Figure 6 shows the animal health districts in which dipping tanks are officially controlled in the Drakensberg study area. The study area in this case falls under three districts, namely Ixopo, Estcourt, and Ladysmith.

iii) The Natal Agricultural Union (N.A.U.)

One of the major aims of the N.A.U. is to combat stock theft. This union is made up of farmers as members and so the consequences of stock theft are felt at first hand by the members. The union has the Natal provincial stock theft committee. It comprises of a member from the red meat producers organization, the attorney general, the public prosecutor, a member from the stock theft unit



Figure 6: Animal health districts in the Drakensberg

of the SAPS, a member from the Department of Agriculture, and one from the Agriculture Portfolio Commission for Kwazulu-Natal. This committee meets three or four times a year to discuss stock theft issues. Two stock theft forums were arranged at Sani Pass and Mont-Aux-Sources hotels on the 29th and 30th of January 1997, in which ways of dealing with stock theft, and some other issues such as the formation of private security systems, group security, border security, and the stock theft information resource centre, were discussed.

The seriousness of stock theft between Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal is such that it has attracted the attention of the governments of the two countries. A meeting was held in Pretoria by President Nelson Mandela of South Africa, and Lesotho Foreign Minister Kelebone Maope on June the 10th 1996 to discuss the issue on the Lesotho\Kwazulu-Natal border. Although the Lesotho Mounted Police and the Lesotho Foreign Affairs office seem to be working together with South Africa on the issue, at times the boundary inhibits the good job which might be done by the two countries involved. This is because delays are experienced by South African farmers and the SAPS when it comes to crossing into Lesotho immediately after stock has been stolen from South Africa. This is because these are two different states and so people from either side of the boundary have to be authorised to enter the other side. The longer the time taken for them to get permission to cross the border, the harder it gets for them to recover stolen stock.

3.2.2 Dagga trafficking

Of any informal trade and exchanges that may be occurring along the Lesotho\Kwazulu-Natal boundary, two of the most prominent include stock theft, which has been discussed earlier, and the dagga trade. This section will look into the dagga trade along the Lesotho\Kwazulu-Natal boundary, concentrating on such aspects of it as what dagga is, where it is grown along the boundary, how dagga from Lesotho crosses the boundary into Kwazulu, what the stand of South Africa is in relation to the dagga problem in the whole country, and lastly the question of

whether legalization or decriminalization of dagga in South Africa is a viable option to solving the cross border problem.

South Africa, like most of the world's countries, is experiencing an explosion in drug abuse, especially among its young population. The difference between South Africa and the other countries lies in the kind of drugs that are used. Cocaine and heroine are the major drugs used in such countries as the United States and other Western countries (Searll, 1989), while "by far the most widely abused drug among South Africa's youngsters is dagga, which is relatively inexpensive and widely cultivated in many remote areas" (Searll, 1989, p. 44). Evidence showing the presence of dagga in South Africa can be seen in the daily publications, newspapers and magazines of the country. Below are examples of excerpts extracted from some newspapers and magazines, showing the role that Kwazulu-Natal, and the boundary with Lesotho, play in maintaining the amount of dagga found in the province, and the country as a whole.

- i) In the three months between February to April 1988, R5,2bn worth of dagga was confiscated and destroyed in the Weenen district of the Natal Midlands. More recently during March 1989 police launched 'Operation Dagga' near Mapumulo, during which they destroyed R1 000m worth of crops. On 3 May 1989, 27 000 kilograms of dagga worth R27,3m and 1 000 kilograms of seed were destroyed at Weenen; and on 17 May, R11,3m worth was destroyed at Bergville (Zuydam-Reynolds, 1990).
- ii) In a joint operation involving the SAA's 15 Squadron based in Durban and staff of the SAP's Pietermaritzburg, Durban and Port Shepstone Narcotics Bureaus, over 327 bags of dagga were found and destroyed (Clark, 1993).
- iii) According to a Natal Witness report of 16 May 1996, a dagga dealer swallowed the marked money he was given for his wares

when confronted by the police. Detectives said they were approached by this dealer with an offer to sell them dagga. They handed him a marked R10 note and took the dagga handed over by him, but he immediately swallowed the note when they identified themselves as policemen.

- iv) Police seized 3 000 kilograms of dagga and recovered four stolen cars among other successes in a two-week operation on the Lesotho border. The operation was conducted in the Upper Tugela areas by the Border Police, Organised Crime, Stock Theft and Public Order Policing units. Police (Natal Witness, 11 Oct., 1996).

3.2.2.1 What is dagga?

Searll (1989) gives the following definition of dagga:

“Dagga consists of the dried leaves and flowers of *Cannabis sativa*. Looking similar to dried, mixed herbs, it ranges in colour from green-grey to green-brown, and often contains broken woody stems and seeds (known as ‘pips’). When ignited, dagga has a sweet, almost cloying smell, reminiscent of burning leaves or hay. Hashish, a by-product of dagga, is made by scrapping off the resin exuded by the flowering tops and compressing it into small blocks which may range in colour from pale brown to black. Hashish oil, another by product, is a viscous liquid made by processing dagga with a solvent” (p. 57).

Dagga is also known by many other names such as marijuana, dope, cannabis, weed, grass, pot, wheat, zol, bane, boom, ganja, herb, malherbe, hash or hashish, hemp, Mary Jane, majat, bhang, mastoera, insangu, imya, lebake, matekwane, kaya, smova, bale and Durban poison (Searll, 1989).

3.2.2.2 Dagga production along the Lesotho\Kwazulu-Natal boundary.

Dagga is seen to be the best and easiest crop to grow. According to Smith, (1992, p. 36)

“(it) uses sunlight more effectively than virtually any other (plant) on our planet, growing up to five metres or more in one season. It thrives in virtually all climates and soil conditions and has almost no weed or insect enemies. Because of this special attribute, it was and is frequently sown around the boundaries of cultivated fields as a protection against insect pests”.

Zuydam-Reynolds supports the above view when he says that dagga flourishes everywhere, even in very rough weathers like in the Lesotho\Kwazulu-Natal border area, and grows in the poorest soil (1990).

Not only does the special attribute of dagga turn it into a protection for other plants, but it also makes it easy for everyone to grow it, be it in large quantities, for sale or for personal use and the only control is their fear of the law. It is therefore very usual to find dagga plants grown next to the huts, in the backyards, or in any such places, both in the rural and urban areas. However, of all the dagga grown in Kwazulu-Natal, most is said to be coming from the former Kwazulu area, including the areas along the Lesotho\Kwazulu-Natal boundary (Fig. 7).

Zuydam-Reynolds (1990) reports that it was a traditional activity, earlier this century, for most Zulu homes to grow a few plants of dagga on the doorway to huts where the domestic poultry sought shade, and this plant was therefore referred to as ‘mthunziwenkukhu’, meaning ‘the shade of the fowls’.

Fields in the areas where dagga is grown differ in sizes from one square metre to a thousand square metres and an average of eight dagga plants a square metre has been estimated. The size of the field again determines the

numbers of people who harvest the crop after anything between two to four months from the time of planting the seeds, which is normally around September. Evidence shows that harvesting is always done for a very low salary.

3.2.2.3 Dagga production on the Lesotho side of the Lesotho\Kwazulu-Natal border.

Discussions with the SAPS have shown that an average of 70% of all the dagga criminal cases found in the Kwazulu-Natal province are against Basotho from Lesotho, who have crossed the boundary into the province for the sole aim of selling dagga. Clark, (1993) supports this evidence when he writes that much of the drug is routed to Natal via the mountainous Lesotho border area because of increased SAPS control of the Transkei border. Different passes shown on the map (Fig 5) are used as crossing places, and these prove to be lower in altitude than the rest of the boundary, allowing for easier crossing. Donkey trains are used to transport bags of dagga across the Drakensberg, usually at night during full moon. The hazardous journey is made by a string pack donkeys, led and followed by two men, carrying torches, in single file along dangerously narrow and steep tracks (Clark, 1993).

Once the dagga is in Kwazulu-Natal, the smugglers disperse it to various kraals or settlements, where the dagga is hidden. It is then dried and made ready for sale. It is worth mentioning at this point that dagga that comes from Lesotho is sometimes swapped for food or guns, and that no dagga is moving from the Kwazulu-Natal province of South Africa into Lesotho, making this a one way traffic business. This is because much of the dagga grown in Kwazulu-Natal is destroyed at a very early stage, while nothing or very little is done to control the dagga fields in Lesotho. The more lucrative market demand is also in the urban areas of Kwazulu-Natal.

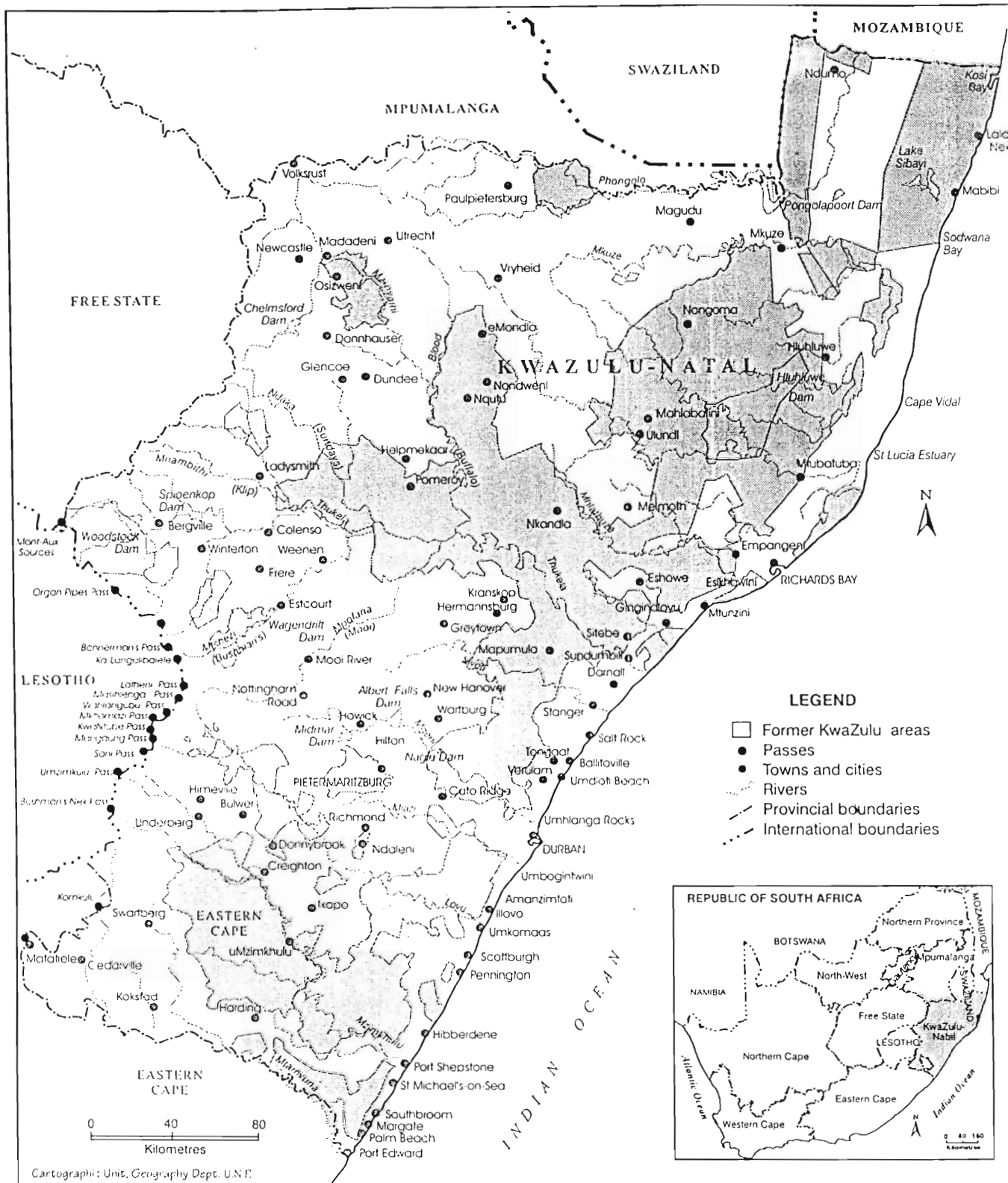


Figure 7 :Former KwaZulu areas

Even though the price of dagga is comparatively lower than that of other drugs, it is still on its own a very expensive drug. However, people who really make money out of this business are those who sell it, especially at later stages. The price may however differ from one person to another, and again from place to place. It is argued that the more the drug is refined, the more it costs the user. The average value of a 20kg bag in the Drakensberg costs anything between R400.00 and R500.00, while the same dagga is sold at a price of about R1.00 a gram in Gauteng, realising a profit of some R19500.00.

3.2.2.4 Dagga and the South African law.

Dagga is considered an illegal drug in South Africa and ways and means of controlling it are always sought in the country therefore. “Although the South African authorities have made a general effort to deal with the full range of unlawful drugs, they have been chiefly preoccupied with dagga” (Boister, 1995, p.23). The South African Narcotics Bureau (SANAB) and the South African National Council of Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (SANCA) are two of the major organizations dealing with the dagga problem in Kwazulu-Natal.

- i) South African Narcotics Bureau (SANAB) (Part of the South African Police Service)

This is one department of the South African Police Service (SAPS) which is specifically aimed at enforcing the laws against the trafficking and use of all illegal drugs. Two ways that SANAB use in the enforcement process regarding dagga are to destroy the crop by spraying, uprooting and burning or by using road blocks to apprehend the carriers.

a) The spraying operation.

This is a situation in which the police wait for the farmers to grow dagga, and let it grow to a certain height before they spray all the fields on which dagga is grown. A spraying operation normally consists of about 20 personnel, with helicopter pilots, ground crew, and kitchen staff included. Once a dagga plant is sprayed, it takes between 2 to 4 days to turn brown and change into powder form. Should the plant even be harvested immediately after spraying, it will not be of any use as it will still change into a brown powder after a few days.

A fact worth mentioning here is that the best way of destroying dagga plants is uprooting them, as it is only in this method that every plant is killed, and no other plant or even animal is affected by the killing of dagga plants. It is therefore seen as an environmentally friendly method. However, the basic problem with this method is that there is not enough manpower to carry out the process, let alone the funds to pay them. A spraying option is therefore viable in this case, although very costly and environmentally questionable.

b) Road blocks.

Traffic at points along the boundary, a few kilometres after crossing the boundary, is blocked and the police search vehicles that are going further into Kwazulu-Natal. It was found out that most of the dagga confiscated along the Lesotho\Kwazulu-

Natal boundary comes from Lesotho, and so the people caught are the citizens of Lesotho. Due to the law, such people are sent back to Lesotho, with the hope that they will never be caught in the same process again. It is not surprising, however, to find the same people being caught again in the same action, after a very short period of time, according to the Narcotics Bureau.

According to the SAPS, drug dealing and stock theft go hand in hand in the Drakensberg. Evidence shows that the more the number of road blocks experienced, the higher the rate of stock theft, and vice versa. Evidence has again proved that the police on the two sides of the boundary do not work together in trying to control dagga production and trafficking, especially across the boundary. This was once tried, but a failure was accepted by the SAPS when minimum cooperation was shown by the Lesotho police, which was seen as hiding some of the people they knew quite well that were trading with dagga, and even not allowing the SAPS to get into some locked houses when dagga could be seen inside, claiming that they did not have the right to do that. Control therefore of this informal trade proves to be going on only along the South African side and not on the Lesotho side.

As a supplement to the two ways of enforcing the law, SAPS some times search the houses, kraals, and such properties of villagers. It is in such cases where a lot of dagga which is already packed in bags is found. Such dagga is sprayed with paraffin and burnt.

Some people think not enough punishment is enforced on drug dealers. Search

(1995) for instance, states that narcotics police in this country are frequently frustrated by the legal system, which often imposes soft sentences and minimal amounts of bail on drug dealers. Table 8 shows that some work still goes on within the narcotics bureau in the whole of South Africa, as a decrease over years from 1992 to 1995 is evident in the arrests made on people found in possession of and dealing in dagga, the mass of dagga confiscated and/or found abandoned, and that destroyed in cultivated areas. This decrease might however be due to other reasons such as smugglers finding better ways of avoiding the police, and so a true picture of the situation is not given.

Table 8. Illegal dagga confiscated and/or destroyed, as well as arrests made from 1992 to 1995, in RSA.

	1992	1993	1994	1995
Arrests for possession of dagga	6 511	4 331	3 169	2 047
Mass confiscated and/or found abandoned	470kg000	5 891kg000	4 451kg000	1 470kg529
Arrests for dealing in dagga	10 272	8 717	7 896	4 065
Mass confiscated and/or found abandoned	253 672kg000	841 445kg000	264 201kg000	237 342kg681
Mass destroyed in cultivation areas	4 618 238kg000	860 471kg000	6 914 254kg000	118 801kg000

Source: SAPS (SANAB) Pietermaritzburg, 1996

Note: The table reveals dagga confiscated and or destroyed, as well as arrests made in the the

whole of RSA.

ii) South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (SANCA).

This is a government sponsored council that is aimed at preventing and treating alcoholism and drug dependence in the whole country.

It hopes to do this through fulfilling the following functions:

- development services;
- prevention services;
- treatment services;
- research services;
- liaison services;
- marketing services;
- financial services, and
- other services. (Constitution of SANCA Pmb society, F.R No 06602550004).

In the whole of Kwazulu-Natal midlands, there are four major SANCA head offices, and these are found in Durban, New Castle, Empangeni, and Pietermaritzburg. People who need help from these offices visit any one of them, depending on the distance between home and the station, and then they are referred back to any of the closer to home drug treating organizations, be it governmental or not, for successive treatments. This does not in any way rule out the fact that each of the four mentioned SANCA head offices has a specific defined area to serve. Fig 8 shows the areas that are served by the Pietermaritzburg SANCA office, which includes the Drakensberg study area.

Although SANCA Pietermaritzburg is government sponsored, it was found out that to perform all the duties it should, in all the areas it serves, it needs more funding than just what the government



provides. This means that there has to be some other means of getting more money to help, and again that some of the duties will not be performed if such means do not succeed. For example, the office is understaffed as not more than one social worker can be afforded, when one is not enough. Again, the area shown on the map is too large an area to be covered by an underfunded organization, resulting in some of the areas not being attended to. This shortage of funding again leads to the office waiting for invitations to places where it can provide useful information, such as schools for example, when it should initiate the visits itself to promote anti-drug use.

3.2.2.5 Legalization and decriminalization of dagga: the South African case

The debate on the legalization of dagga in South Africa has for some years now been going on. According to Bouman (1992) this debate started in 1990 when the then Minister of Law and Order agreed with Earthlife Africa (an environmental group) that paraquat, a substance that was used for spraying dagga, was very lethal and so should not be used for that purpose. Some people think however that this call stems more from an acknowledgement that the battle against it, from a policing point of view, has failed globally. In South Africa, with only approximately 800 members of SANAB standing between the South African population and the ruthless armies of the international cartels, the prognosis for simply containing the threat looks bleak (Boister, 1995). The debate still seems to have a long way to go, as there are differing views on the issue, mainly being caused by the fact that the drug itself has both good and bad qualities, depending on the person using it. As Bouman (1992) puts it, “but perhaps the truth is that dagga, like a scalpel, is an animate object, it cannot be good or evil - only a

person holding it can” (p. 41).

Among a number of people campaigning for the legalization of dagga in South Africa, Rastafarians across the country are on the march to demand the freedom to smoke dagga (Collins, 1995). Below are some of the good and bad qualities of dagga, which should be considered in determining whether it should be a legal drug or not in South Africa. These are viewed in terms of different aspects: the economic aspect, the environment aspect, its medicinal use and its social aspect.

i) Economic aspect

According to the SAPS Narcotics Bureau, dagga in Kwazulu-Natal is cultivated in the rural areas, which are mostly the former Kwazulu areas (Fig 7). Due to the political situation of Black South Africans during the apartheid era, these are the places where unemployment and poverty still reign, and so many residents participate in the cultivation of the money-spinning crop. As Zuydam-Reynolds (1990) shows, what is clear is that the constant threat of police action has not deterred dagga farmers. Poverty and economic survival outweigh legal sanctions. The guaranteed returns inject vital additional income into dependent rural communities which struggle to survive on migrant remittances and pensions (Zuydam-Reynolds, 1990).

The price of dagga is evidence of a multi-billion rand contribution the crop makes to the rural Kwazulu-Natal economy, as the process of its sale shows. However, the fact that it is illegal means that its production has remained

in the informal sector in the province. The dagga industry again provides employment for large numbers of people in the cultivation and marketing of the crop, but exact figures of the numbers of people engaged in this industry are not known due to the fact that it is an illegal industry.

However, the enormous profit made by the dagga industry is questioned if the crop is legalized, as some arguments maintain that it is this illegality which helps so much in determining the price, and this is well understood by the farmers of the dagga-growing regions as one is quoted in Zeydam-Reynolds (1990, p.37) saying:

“Would I like to see dagga no longer a crime? Hau!
You are mad!
The only thing that keeps up the price of dagga is
the police” (p. 37).

ii) Environmental aspect.

Environmentalists protested not entirely for the legalization of dagga, but also for the fact that ways of dealing with it should be revised. They firstly argued that the chemical used to destroy dagga (paraquat) is lethal. Other herbicides used by the police are also claimed as harmful to the environment, and that the dagga farmers in an attempt to evade detection by the authorities have resorted to farming on marginal, ecologically sensitive areas, thus contributing to increased soil erosion (Khan, 1996 and Cooper, 1994). Besides causing soil erosion by burning dagga in sensitive areas, authorities also increase the risk of general veld fires.

Very often the authorities are compelled to utilise expensive equipment such as helicopters in the destruction

of dagga plants as is the case with the SAPS. This expensive equipment and all that is needed for this operation is bought with the money from tax payers. If dagga production was not a problem, this money could have been used in other productive sectors, such as providing houses for the homeless.

Bouman (1992) and Khan (1996) show that there is a feeling that hemp products could replace almost all oil, thus reducing the use of fossil and nuclear fuels as well as protecting the environment. It is further argued that greater use of hemp paper would save trees, and produce a stronger, more flexible, less expensive, and more ecologically sound paper through a process which produces less pollution than paper made from wood pulp.

Bouman (1992) points out that until this century, families and farmers in America used cannabis to clear fields for planting, as a fallow year crop, and after forest fires to prevent mud slides and loss of watershed. He continues to show the effectiveness of hemp in binding soil as they put down forty- to fifty- centimetre roots in only thirty days, unlike the two- centimetre roots produced by barley grass presently used by farmers as a fallow and soil binding crop.

iii) Medicinal use.

In England, the United States and Germany, a growing number of medical professionals are calling for the decriminalization of dagga to enable doctors to prescribe it in certain circumstances. Research in these countries has

indicated that cannabis can be effective in treating the symptoms of a variety of illnesses, including AIDS, glaucoma and epilepsy, and in helping cancer the severe nausea caused by chemotherapy (Thamm, 1995). These uses of dagga can also be considered in South Africa where traditional healers have long been aware of the therapeutic properties of dagga and use it most commonly mixed with other herbs to treat asthma, bronchitis, high-blood pressure, heart ailments and diabetes (Thamm, 1995).

iv) Social aspect.

It is agreed that dagga does cause social harm, but it is impossible to quantify this damage. There are three main reasons, however, which are seen as a summary to all the reasons given for prohibiting the sale and use of dagga in South Africa. These reasons are given by Boister (1995).

- Dagga encourages crime in the society.

- People under the influence of dagga constitute a danger to those around them.

- Dagga users find themselves at risk of using harder drugs.

Boister however goes on to argue that the same reasons could be used to ban alcohol, or even tobacco, but that has not been done, so there seems to be no valid reason why dagga has been singled out.

Growing dagga takes place on both sides of the Lesotho\Kwazulu-Natal boundary, but it appears that the most significant amounts are grown on the Lesotho side and are brought across the boundary by carriers. The Lesotho government involvement compared with that of South Africa may account for this. Little or no employment and the lack of economic opportunities in the harsh Lesotho environment have

exacerbated the poorest of Basotho families living in the Lesotho Highland border area. The attraction of the market for dagga in Kwazulu-Natal, particularly with access to the large urban population of Durban, and to a lesser extent that of Pietermaritzburg, continues to make dagga growing a profitable option for the peasant farmers of the area.

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4. POPULATION MOBILITY PATTERNS

4.1. FORMAL POPULATION MOBILITY PATTERNS

Formal population mobility patterns have been divided into two. The first pattern is tourism while the second one is work and study.

4.1.1 Tourism

Tourism ties between Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal (KZN) are seen by the tourist traffic moving through the Sani Pass border post in the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary, which prevails mainly during the summer seasons. In Winter the snow prevents any movement of people, as very cold temperatures result from the heavy snows that are experienced. However, the beginning and end of the snowy period is a good time for skiing, which then becomes one of the tourist activities in the area.

For Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal to be able to work together in the tourist industry, there are bodies taking care of this industry in each of the areas. In Lesotho, the Lesotho Tourist Board (LTB) is a body that was established under the Lesotho Tourist Board Act of 1983. It performs the following duties;

- i) it is responsible for marketing the tourism sector at the macro level, and
- ii) it possesses the authority to act as a Tourism Development Corporation in that, subject to Ministry of Finance approval, it can borrow funds and invest in and manage tourism related enterprises (Tourism Development Plan for the Kingdom of Lesotho, 1994).

In Kwazulu-Natal, tourism is run by various bodies, which all help each other in the smooth running and development of the industry. They include the following:

- i) Publicity Associations (PA), Community Tourism Organization (CTO) and Information Offices (IO) - these three are at the grass-roots level of the industry. Their main objective is to bring tourism to the ordinary people through marketing it to them. They also help in the development of the industry as the same people are given a chance to develop their skills, for example arts and crafts, which are then sold to the tourists.
- ii) Kwazulu-Natal province is divided into seven Regional Councils for tourism purposes, the boundaries of which are political. Each council has its own tourism body, which is of a higher rank than the PAs, CTOs and IOs. The Uthekela Regional Council (number 4) and the iNdllovu Regional Council (number 5) are in the Drakensberg study area (Fig. 9). Each of these councils is further sub-divided into smaller areas for promotional purposes, and each one of the areas has an umbrella organization and members are the PA, or the Arts and Crafts and tourism facilitators.
The purposes of each of the regional councils are;
 - to market each of the councils;
 - to develop tourism in each council;
 - to create opportunities for the PA, CTO and IO, and
 - to enable facility managers to carry out their functions.
- iii) Timeless Afrika - this is an international marketing arm of the regional councils 1, 3, 4 and 5, with offices based in Durban.
- iv) Tourism Kwazulu-Natal - this is a newly formed, emerging body, and based in Durban.

The Lesotho Tourist Board works hand in hand with the above mentioned bodies in Kwazulu-Natal, and others in the rest of South Africa, to market Lesotho.

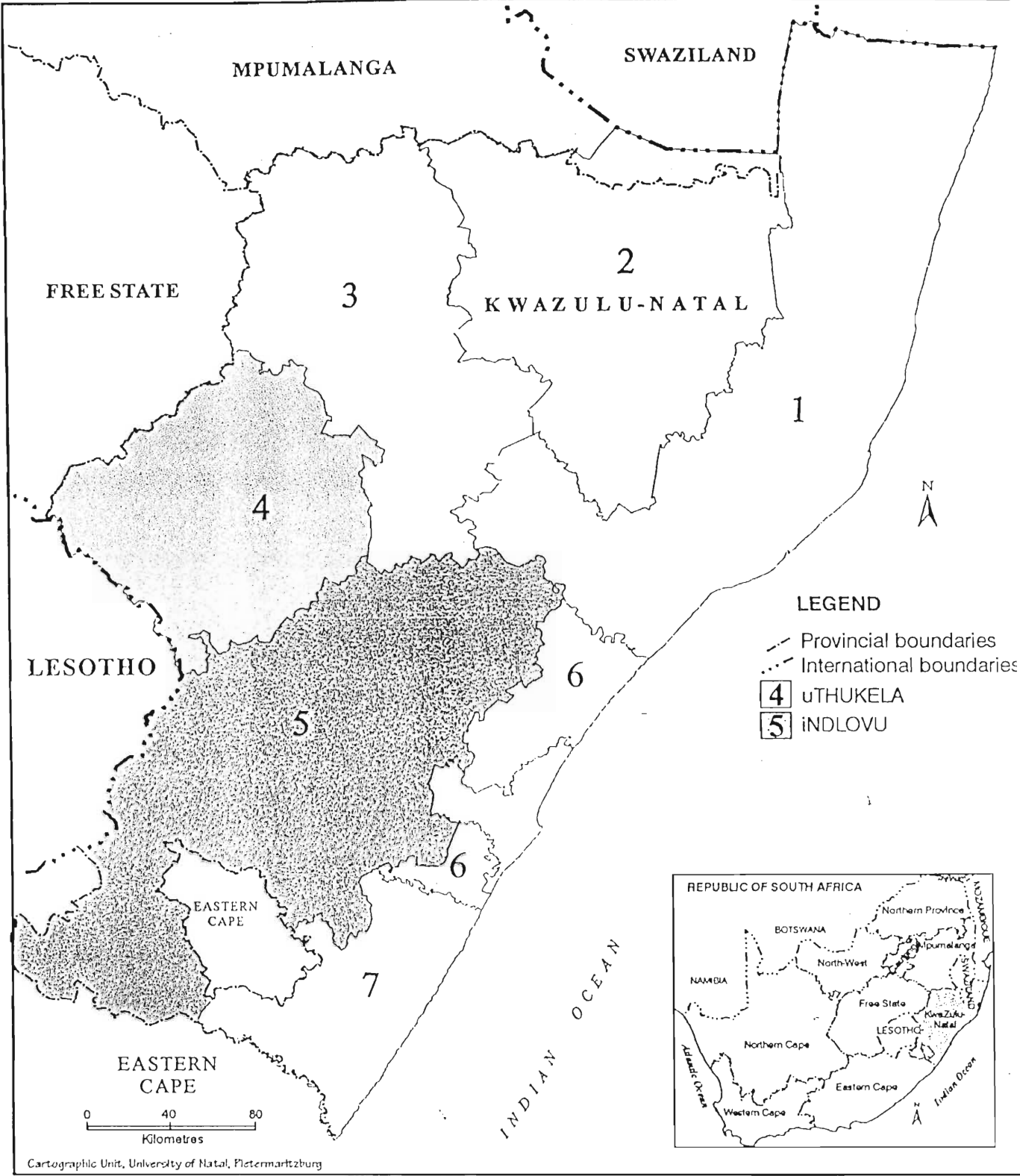


Figure 9 : Regional councils in the Drakensberg

There are two basic ways in which the marketing is done.

- i) The brochures from the LTB are sent to the different travel agents in South Africa, where the marketing is done.
- ii) A worker from the LTB is sent to market Lesotho in South Africa, and South Africa itself in turn invites other agencies from other countries to listen to Lesotho and South Africa being marketed. In this way, the two countries are known internationally.

Table 9 gives an example of the numbers of people who came to Lesotho, including tourists, after the country had been marketed with the help of South Africa, for the year 1995.

Table 9. Arrivals in Lesotho from Europe and Asia, by travel purpose - 1995

COUNTRY	VISIT	HOLIDAY	BUSINESS
Australia	79	73	54
Asia	481	151	281
U.K.	788	670	532
Germany	185	560	123
Netherlands	83	130	50
Denmark	51	47	51
Sweden	52	38	71
Ireland	127	104	300
France	91	98	131
Italy	37	55	65
Others	115	165	88
TOTALS	2089	2091	1746

Source: Lesotho Tourist Board, 1996

All tourists come to Lesotho through South Africa. There is not much business going on in Lesotho and this accounts for this category having the least number of people as compared to the holiday and visit sections. The table gives evidence that the number of people who came to Lesotho for visit and holiday, in which sections the tourists are included, largely exceeds those who came for business purpose, with the exception of those coming from Ireland.

The aim of this section is to explore the nature of tourism taking place between Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal, focusing on the Sani Pass border gate as this is the only accessible route by motor vehicle along the whole border. This aim is hoped to be achieved by focusing on certain specific themes, such as the tourist attractions in the border area, and specifically around the Sani Pass area - (Himeville-Underberg area); organizations controlling tourism in this area; how the area is marketed; the tourists themselves, and the benefits and losses brought by the industry to the area - or countries at large.

4.1.1.1 Tourist attractions and accommodation in the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary area

The boundary between Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal is, on the South African side, mainly the Natal Drakensberg Park (NDP), which is under the control of the Natal Parks Board (NPB). It therefore is a conserved and protected area with a variety of indigenous plants and animal life. Although one of the functions of the NDP is to conserve water in sufficient quantities for the main urban and rural areas of Kwazulu-Natal and Gauteng, it is also a major tourist attraction with its unique scenic appeal and its extraordinary diversity of characteristic plants and animals. Like the name implies, the NDP is a park with different types of accommodation and other facilities, and numerous activities as well. Figure 10 shows some of the different parks, accommodation facilities, and activities in the Sani Pass area. It is clear that horse riding and trout

fishing are some of the tourist attractions in the Sani Pass.

The Lesotho side of the border is mainly attractive due to its rugged mountain scenery. Thabana Ntlenyana, the highest point in Southern Africa is found on this side (Fig. 10). Due to a great change in height and therefore temperatures, this is a very cold side, and this leads to a change in the types of soils and vegetation. This side provides a totally different view from the South African side for tourists, which makes the whole touring experience even more interesting. A number of small Basotho villages are seen on the tours into Lesotho. A brief look into the way traditional Basotho conduct their everyday life is taken.

The Kwazulu-Natal side of the border has a number of places to accommodate tourists including the Sani Pass Hotel, the Youth Hostels, Bed and Breakfasts and camping sites. This is not the situation on the Lesotho side where only one place, the Sani Top Chalet, is available for tourists who want to spend a night in Lesotho.

4.1.1.2 Organizations running tourism in the Sani Pass

A number of tourist bodies operate in the Sani Pass area, including the following:-

i) Mokhotlong Mountain Transport

This is also known as the Sani Pass Tours. It was established in September 1955, and carried its first tourists up the Sani Pass in 1956. They are the major carriers of tourists in the Sani Pass area and are based in Underberg. For instance, it has a pre-booking for 1997 from one German tour operator for 1051 tourists. The tables that follow (tables 10 and 11) show the numbers of tourists and their countries of origin, who were carried by the MMT from January to December for the years 1995 and 1996.

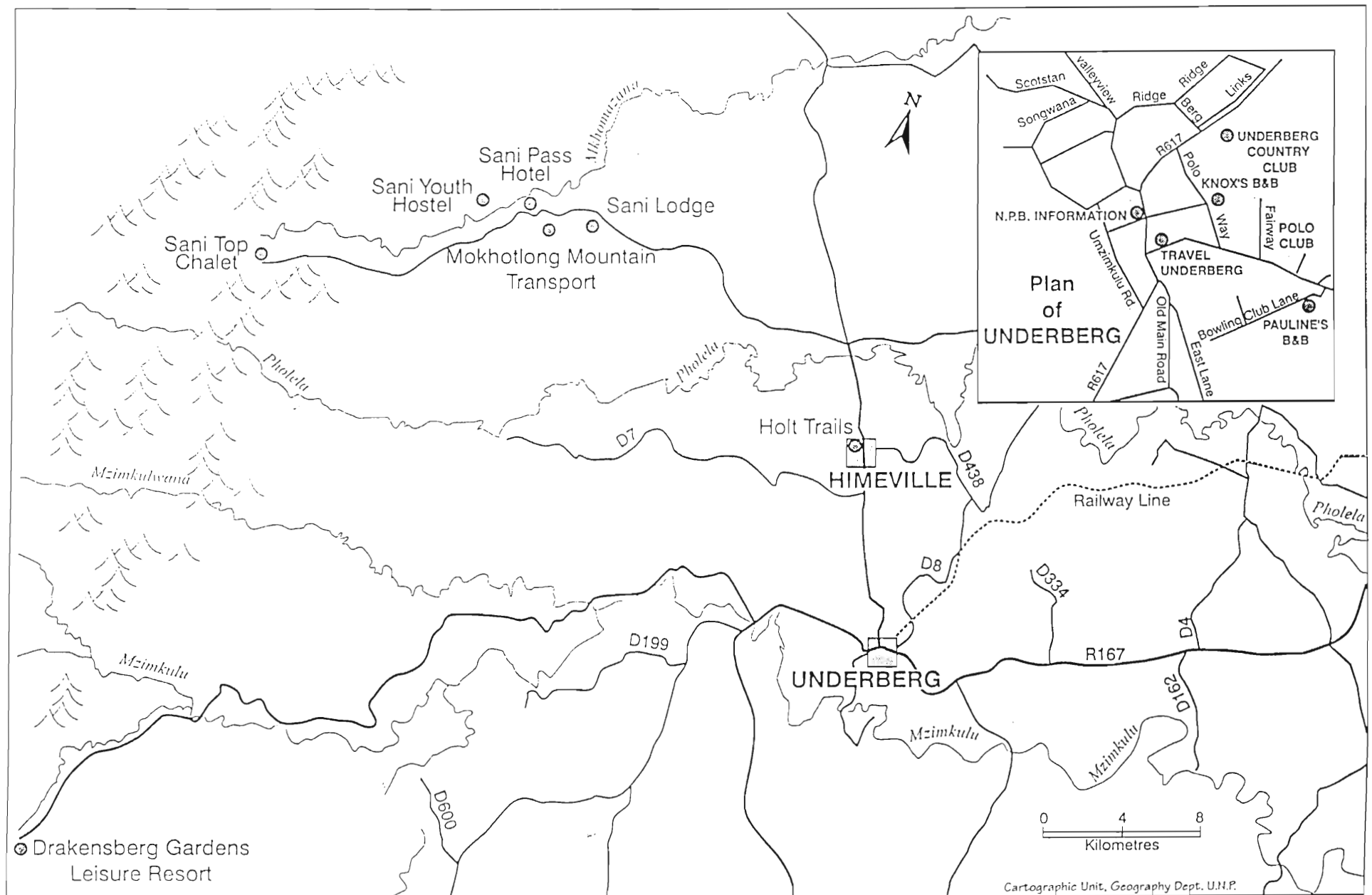


Figure 10 : Some of the attractions in the Himeville/Underberg area (after Southern Drakensberg Publicity Association Sani Saunter Map)

Table 10 Tourists by country of origin carried by Mokhotlong Mountain Transport in 1995

COUNTRY	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	TOTAL
RSA	176	73	108	178	103	127	420	137	285	63	65	124	1859
UK	24	54	64	61	32	58	41	55	65	74	46	84	658
GERMANY	23	31	65	52	21	5	42	53	28	119	81	72	592
AUSTRIA													0
SWISS	2	6		4	2	2	3		7	2	2	4	34
FRANCE	8		3	4			3		3	17	6		44
BELGIUM	7	2	8	12	3	4	9	11	9	18	10	21	114
NETHERLANDS													0
ITALY	2								1				3
													0
HUNGARY	27			9					2				38
OTHER		2	10	12		1	1	1	11				38
													0
EUROPE													0
USA	3	5	9		2	1	15	4	4	17	8	9	77
CANADA	1	2	3			1	4	2	3	9	2	1	28
AUSTRALIA	10			8		2	5	3	3	10	9	14	64
NEW ZEALAND			1			1	1	2	1	2	1	8	17
ZIMBABWE						2		3				4	9
OTHER AFRICA							12		4				16
SINGAPORE				2			1	2		1			6
MALAYSIA													0
													0
S. AMERICA	3			6									9
TAIWAN										10			10
JAPAN	13						1		1				15
THAILAND													0
SCANDINAVIA			6		2	2	1	2	2	14	5	17	51
SLOVENIA	14											4	18
PORTUGUESE	2												2
BERMUDA			2										2
ISRAEL								4		4			8
INDIA								4					4
MEXICO									1				1
FINLAND										4			4
CHINA										3			3
UNITED ARAB							5						5
EMIRATES													0
													0
OTHER	1	3								2			6
TOTALS	316	178	279	348	165	206	564	283	430	369	235	362	3735

Source: Mokhotlong Mountain Transport, 1997

Table 11 Tourists by country of origin carried by Mokhotlong Mountain Transport in 1996

COUNTRY	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	TOTAL
RSA	116	40	186	188	146	87	108	189	157	61	104	155	1537
UK	31	64	32	56	62	51	36	27	44	86	38	102	629
GERMANY	108	111	87	92	86	64	48	41	89	144	110	74	1054
AUSTRIA													0
SWISS		4	12	7				4	11		14	4	56
FRANCE	17		3	12	17			4	6	6	12		77
BENELUX	21	4	2	3	6		4	6	14	4	12	29	105
ITALY		4	5	1	4			2		12	10	14	52
HUNGARY	2				3					4		4	13
OTHER EUROPE	4		2		2	10				4	12	3	37
USA	2	6	4	6	11	4		12	8	24	19	12	108
CANADA	2	3	4	4	9		2		4	16	14	14	72
AUSTRALIA	17	12	4	11	62	42	10	12	9	11	28	7	225
NEW ZEALAND	12	4	7	4	104	17	3	7	2	12	14	9	195
ZIMBABWE	2		1	2	8			4	2	4	4	15	42
OTHER AFRICA	2		2	4		7			2	4	12	4	37
SINGAPORE	10			4		7	2				13	14	50
MALAYSIA													0
S.AMERICA	3	4		4		7				7	3	4	32
TAIWAN		12				3				3	17		35
JAPAN		1		2			1				15		19
SCANDINAVIA	6	7	4	3	7	2	4		2	6	12	3	56
INDIA	4		1	3			8			8	4		28
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES						10	16						2600
RUSSIA	4									4	3		11
OTHER				21			4		12	4	6	12	59
THAILAND								6			10		16
TOTALS	363	276	356	427	527	311	246	314	362	424	486	479	4571

Source: Mokhotlong Mountain Transport, 1997

Note: There were heavy snow falls from the 6th July 1996 to 11th August 1996, and no activities could be carried out during these period, which accounts for the low number of tourists that were transported up and down the pass.

An analysis of the two tables reveals that the total number of tourists for the year 1995 taken up the sani Pass by the MMT is 3735; this increased to 4571 in 1996, when most of the tourists came to South Africa at the beginning, and towards the end of the year, and were mostly from the same countries as in 1995, thus the U.K., Germany, Swiss, France, and others. The year 1997 is expected to have an estimate of 5200 tourists. For both tables, most tourists come to the Sani Pass in the middle and towards the end of the year. MMT is accountable for carrying 65% of all the

ii) Kwezindaba Tours

Based in Underberg, the organization rents out bicycles to the tourists interested. However, it does not serve the Lesotho side of the border.

iii) Sani Top Chalet

This is the second biggest tourist organization in the area, after the MMT. It was established in 1989, and is also an attraction in itself. It is on the Lesotho side of the boundary, but is run by South Africans who reside in Underberg.

iv) Holt Trails

This body runs holt trails both in Lesotho and in South Africa. The

offices are however in Himeville..

v) Khotso Trails

It functions only in the Himeville-Underberg area.

vi) Various bed and breakfast establishments in Himeville and Underberg

vii) Natal Parks Board

Natal Parks Board has offices in Underberg, in which information about tourist attractions and accommodation facilities in the Drakensberg study area is provided to anyone. This is done by help of brochures that they give out to information seekers. They also do accommodation bookings for the tourists.

viii) Travel Underberg

This organization transports tourists to Underberg from such places as Pietermaritzburg and Durban. The offices are in Underberg and it does not cross into Lesotho.

4.1.1.3 Marketing the Sani Pass

The Sani Pass is marketed through the travel agents in South Africa and other countries and through the annual Tourist Indaba

i) Travel agents in South Africa and other countries promote tourism through

a) writing to the agents;

b) advertising on television (Mokhotlong Mountain Tours director did this in September 1996 in Germany, for example);

c) help from Welcome Tours in Durban, who receive an average of 700 to 800 tourists from Germany every year, and through

d) Strelitzia, which receives approximately 200 to 300 tourists from France and England every year.

ii) Tourist Indaba

This is an annual gathering of tourist organization of Southern Africa, which is held on the 5th to the 10th of May every year to market tourist areas in the Kwazulu-Natal province. The Sani Pass Hotel and Mokhotlong Mountain Tours share a stand to market the Sani Pass area in this gathering.

Most of the tourists to the Sani Pass area come from countries such as Germany, Britain, and slightly less from France.

4.1.1.4 Benefits and disadvantages of the tourist industry to the Sani Pass area

The benefits and disadvantages of the tourist industry to the Sani Pass area can be viewed in terms of the two countries involved. These can be economic, environmental or social.

On the South African side, the benefits are enjoyed by a large number of people.

- i) The farmers, through their associations, such as the Underberg-Himeville Trout Fishing Association, obtain fees from anyone who would like to do trout fishing in the area. For horse riding, R100.00 is paid by each person for a period of one day to ride a horse.
- ii) Employment is created for tour operators as they take tourists up and down the Sani Pass area in four wheel drive vehicles.
- iii) People who provide overnight and accommodation facilities benefit from this industry as well as an average of R240.00 is paid at the hotel by a single person for one night, while a bed and breakfast centre gets R65.00 from a single person in a single night, and at least a R40.00 will be spent on a restaurant a day.
- iv) Local people are employed in the hotels and other tourist catering

facilities.

- v) Fresh purchases, and other things are obtained from the local farmers and people.

The Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) also benefits from this industry as it gains licensing fees and taxes from organizations operating in the area.

The Lesotho side of the border gains benefits from several sources.

- i) Tips are given to the people in the areas visited. 1996 calculations by MMT show that a value of R27 580.00 was given to Basotho by tourists as tips, while MMT itself paid an amount of R3 650.00 to locals as tips and in payment for things such as bohobe - bread made by local households.
- ii) The road through the pass is kept in a good condition for tourists by using people from Lesotho to clear it of any thing that might be a cause of obstruction, such as big stones falling from the rock faces that have been cut through the mountain side. This helps Basotho business people who always have to go to Natal through the pass for shopping. It also helps those people who work on the road as they get paid in the end.
- iii) The Lesotho government is paid a M5.00 toll fee, which is equal to the South African R5.00, by every vehicle that gets into Natal through the Sani Pass border gate from the Lesotho side. For 1996, an amount of R3000.00 was paid as tolls to the Lesotho government for such vehicles, representing payment for 600 vehicles.
- iv) According to management of the Sani Top Chalet, it made approximately R60 000.00 for the meals and about the same amount for soft and hard drinks purchased there by the tourists for the year 1996, but much of this finds its way to South Africa as this is where the owners stay. However, sales tax on the lunches

bought would amount to about R6 000.00 and this goes to the Lesotho government, and most of the liquor is bought in Lesotho.

Although there seems to be a number of benefits for each of the sides of the border from the tourist industry running in the Sani Pass area, there still are some losses incurred in the industry, such as the fact that Lesotho tourism does not advertise itself straight to overseas countries, and so all the benefits brought by the tourists on their first arrival to this area only go to South Africa and Lesotho does not benefit as much.

4.1.2 Work and study

No information and statistics on the legal workers, students and pupils who come to Kwazulu-Natal through Lesotho\Kwazulu-Natal boundary was found. This is again because of the absence of Home affairs officials on the post, so the police do not concentrate on such matters (SAPS, Sani Pass border post, 1997). However, the Department of Home Affairs has proved that the two categories do appear on the list of groups of people who cross the post from Lesotho into Kwazulu-Natal. Although this is the situation, Basotho are found working and studying in Kwazulu-Natal. For instance, the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg had about 45 students coming from Lesotho in 1997. About 10% of these students came from the highland districts of Lesotho but did not always use the Sani Pass border crossing for moving backwards and forwards between their homes and the university.

Pietermaritzburg campus of Natal Technikon had at least two students from Lesotho in 1997, and Epworth Primary and High Schools had at least four students from Lesotho during the same year.

4.2 INFORMAL POPULATION MOBILITY PATTERNS

Under this category, illegal migrants are the only focus.

2.1 Illegal immigration

The aim of this section is to focus on the issue of illegal aliens who cross from Lesotho into Kwazulu-Natal through the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal international boundary. Very little information has been documented on this topic. Most of the work done has been on the issue of illegal immigration into the whole of South Africa from the rest of the world and not just from Lesotho to Kwazulu-Natal, or from Lesotho to South Africa. There are a number of reasons for this, the most obvious one being firstly the fact that the nature of the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary, being very mountainous and very cold in Winter, does not allow for easy access and police patrolling. Secondly, not much attention has been given to this border by the South African government, compared with other South African international borders such as the Mozambique/South Africa international boundary which has an electric fence (Minaar et al, 1995). Whether its maintenance is well kept or not, the fact is it is there, and shows that South Africa cares about Mozambicans illegally crossing into it. A third reason seems to be that no other governmental department officials are found on the Sani Pass border post except the South African Police Service (SAPS) officials, whose duty is not to compile information on the illegal immigrants from Lesotho, but to make sure that everybody who crosses does so legally (SAPS, 1996). In principle, however, illegal immigration through the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal international boundary is as important as it is through any other South African boundary.

Due to lack of information about the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary specifically therefore, the discussion in this section will be based on what the literature says generally about the issue of illegal immigration into South Africa, as the same situation is being experienced along the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal

border. The following topics are looked at:

- i) the definition of an illegal alien;
- ii) causes of illegal immigration to South Africa;
- iii) numbers of illegal aliens in South Africa;
- iv) impact of illegal aliens in South Africa;
- v) halting illegal immigration to South Africa, and
- vi) conclusions.

No movement of illegal migrants from Kwazulu-Natal to Lesotho has been detected. This may be due to the reason that there is nothing worth migrating to Lesotho for, as there are no jobs or better living standards in Lesotho than in South Africa, which may be a motivation for people to migrate.

i) Definition

According to Minaar and Hough (1996, p.14) and Solomon (1995, p.7), an undocumented or illegal alien in the Republic of South Africa (RSA) is “any alien who enters or remains in the RSA in contravention of the Aliens Control Act (Act 96 of 1991), and includes any alien who:

- a) enters the RSA at a place other than a port of entry;
- b) remains in the RSA without a valid residence permit;
- c) acts in contravention of his residence permit;
- d) remains in the RSA after the expiry of this residence permit;
- e) is prohibited from entering into the RSA; or
- f) becomes a prohibited person whilst in the RSA.”

In short, an illegal alien is an undocumented person who has entered South Africa cladenstinely or someone who has remained in South Africa after the expiry of his/her visas or permits (Minaar et al, 1996). In this definition, those people who have applied for asylum and been granted refugee status are excluded (Minaar et al, 1996).

ii) Groups of illegal aliens

Minaar and Hough (1996) classify two categories of illegal aliens, namely the organized and the informal movers.

a) Organized movers

These are those illegal aliens who wish to stay in South Africa permanently. They mostly come from countries in Eastern Europe, Asia, the Pacific Rim and to a lesser extent from Central Africa. They enter South Africa with valid passports, but stay on after these are not valid any more.

b) Informal movers

This is a group of those illegal aliens who see themselves as temporary residents in South Africa while they seek employment and work. They mostly come from neighbouring states, such as Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Botswana and Namibia, with a sprinkling from further afield, such as Malawi and Tanzania. These people usually enter South Africa illegally by use of various methods, the most common one of which is to simply cross the borders clandestinely (Minaar et al, 1995).

iii) Causes of illegal immigration to South Africa

Illegal immigration to South Africa is caused by a number of reasons, which can be classified into three major groups according to Minaar et al (1996), Carim (1995) and Solomon (1995).

a) Economic reasons

Famine and economic deprivation are examples here. This is the case with Lesotho where there exists a high level of

unemployment due partly to retrenchments from South African mines. People are economically deprived and yet they still need to live. They therefore leave that country for its neighbour, South Africa, where they hope to find jobs.

b) Political reasons

Examples include refugees in civil wars and human rights abuse.

c) Natural disasters

Drought and environmental degradation occurring in some countries are good examples of natural reasons that push people to move from such countries in Southern Africa to South Africa. In the case of Lesotho, people get displaced as soil erosion has taken its root and so agricultural practises are limited to a very large extent.

iv) Numbers of illegal aliens

Estimates of the numbers of illegal aliens in South Africa range from two to eight million (Solomon, 1996). This, according to Carim (1995) is largely a result of state policy which criminalizes such persons, drives them underground, and so makes it impossible to arrive at any precise figure. Solomon (1995) takes these estimates to be exposing the problem any study into the question of illegal immigration has to confront: the illegal and clandestine nature of this form of population movement provides an inadequate basis for quantifying migration. In the 1988/89 South African Yearbook it was estimated that there were 1,2 million illegal Black aliens then living in South Africa (Minaar et al, 1995). In the 1989/90 Yearbook this figure was repeated but with the rider 'possibly more' (Minaar et al, 1995). Since then, annual estimates of the number have seen the figure increase to 2

million in 1991, 2,5 million in 1992, 3 million in 1993 and as high as 5 million in 1994 (Minaar et al, 1995). It cannot be denied that since the 1994 elections there has been a noticeable increase in the flow of illegals to South Africa for various reasons (Minaar et al, 1995).

v) Impact of illegal aliens on South Africa

Illegal aliens have a largely negative impact on the South African state and on the lives of ordinary South Africans (Solomon, 1995). These can both be viewed in terms of their economic and social aspects.

a) Economic impacts

Research suggests that illegals contribute to the failure of the RDP as their demands for housing, health care and policing have to be covered (Minaar et al, 1996, Solomon, 1995). For instance, estimates were made that illegal aliens had placed an additional burden of R210 million on the economy for the year 1994 (Minaar et al 1994),

Repatriating illegal aliens to their countries adds another cost to the RDP. Carim (1995) points out that the cost of catching and repatriating Mozambicans alone in 1995 would reach more than R120 000 000. The figure might be less for Lesotho, which nevertheless falls within the first three countries from which most illegals in South Africa come. Table 12 shows the number of illegals repatriated to Lesotho compared with Mozambique and Zimbabwe, from 1992 to 1995. However, it is considered that most of these repatriates return (Carim, 1995).

Table 12. Number of illegal aliens repatriated to Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Lesotho from 1992 to 1995

	1992	1993	1994	1995
Mozambique	61 210	80 926	671 279	131 689
Zimbabwe	12 033	10 861	12 931	17 549
Lesotho	6 235	3 090	4 073	4 087

(Minaar et al, 1996).

Local people have decreased access to employment if illegals are present. According to Solomon (1995), illegal aliens are generally active in the following sectors of the economy: agriculture, hotels and restaurants, construction, domestic employment, and informal trading.

Other costs include, for instance, use of South African clinics and mobile clinics in the border areas. The Sani Pass border post has been cited as an example whereby Basotho cross into South Africa with Lesotho passports and go to the nearest clinic where the medical personnel treat them without asking for any South African ID (Minaar et al, 1996).

Pensions are also paid to some of the illegals after they have disguised in various ways to appear as South African citizens (Minaar et al, 1996).

b) Social and health impacts

Illegal immigrants are said to contribute 14% of all crime in South Africa, particularly in the area of prostitution, small-arms and drug trafficking, car theft, and armed

robbery (Carim, 1995, Minaar et al, 1996 and Solomon, 1995). Crime and the violence associated with it has an adverse effect on the economy in two ways, according to Solomon (1995, p.11). Firstly state resources which would have gone into RDP projects have now to be channelled into the security apparatus of the state. Secondly rising crime and violence reduces investor confidence.

Illegal immigrants live in the shadows, and this makes the detection and control of such diseases as Aids, cholera and malaria almost impossible (Carim, 1995, p.222).

Politicians, trade unions and people employed in the informal sector are increasingly strident in blaming immigrants for undercutting prices, grabbing low-paid jobs and scarce housing, and adding to the crime figure.

vi) Halting illegal immigration into South Africa

The number of illegal aliens in South Africa is increasing every year, in spite of ongoing efforts by the South African government. There firstly exist the South African Aliens Control Act No. 96 of 1991, which was amended in 1995 to establish the Aliens Control Amendment Act No. 76 of 1995, which both deal directly with the control of aliens in the Republic of South Africa. Besides the two Acts, the following have been done;

- a) deployment of a further 5000 SANDF troops to bolster border control security;
- b) use of airborne camera surveillance on remote controlled drones;
- c) enforced repatriation, and

d) accommodation, which is doing nothing about the illegal migrants situation.

All the policy measures taken have failed to stem the tide of illegal aliens in South Africa. A convincing argument could be made that the reason for this failure lies in the fact that none of the approaches takes into consideration the underlying root factors which motivate people to move in the first place (Solomon, 1996). They (approaches) are “fighting symptoms (illegal immigrants) as opposed to directing attention at the source of insecurity (poverty, ecological catastrophe, human rights abuse and civil strife) which generate these population movements in the first place”. (Solomon, 1995, p.14). The solution to the problem of illegal aliens, according to Carim (1995) is ultimately an economic one. It therefore demands long-term perspectives and commitment (Carim 1995, p. 222), from every country with which South Africa shares any border and from the whole of the Southern African region.

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5. DEVELOPMENT IMPACT OF BASOTHO MIGRANT SETTLERS IN KWAZULU-NATAL.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Although it is not easy to establish the exact number of illegal Basotho migrants settled in Kwazulu-Natal, it is evident that considerable numbers exist in the province, as Basotho can be found at all levels of life, be it study or work. For example, Hlobane and Danhouzer mines are filled with Basotho migrant workers. Around Pietermaritzburg area, pupils and students from Lesotho can be found at schools such as Epworth, both at the primary and high school levels, the Midlands Technical School, Natal Technikon, and the University of Natal. Both the Natal Witness and Basil Read companies have some of their workers originating from Lesotho. The informal trading on the streets of Pietermaritzburg feature Basotho from Lesotho and even among the unemployed and hungry, Basotho can be found. All these people have both the positive and negative impact on the development of the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal region.

The aim of this chapter is to assess the extent to which Basotho migrant settlers in Kwazulu-Natal impact on the development of the region, especially the highlands region of Lesotho, which is that region from which most settlers come. This aim is hoped to be achieved by firstly analysing the settlements in which the settlers are found, and then looking at their impact in those settlements. The settlers do not only come to Kwazulu-Natal through the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary as this is limited largely to the Sani Pass, but also use other border posts such as the Lesotho/Ficksburg post. A poor network of roads and the nature of the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary makes transport in that area very scarce, while there are taxis moving to and from other posts every day of the week.

Before getting into the results of the research, the definition of a migrant settler will be given.

5.1.1 Definition of a migrant settler

According to Larkin and Peters (1983), migration is change of residence or normal habitation for a substantial period of time, involving the crossing of a political boundary. A migrant settler is therefore one who has migrated and settled in another area. For the purpose of this work, those Basotho who have settled in Kwazulu-Natal, be it for a few months or for some years now, and hope to continue being here for another few months or years, or even for the rest of their lives, are seen as migrant settlers.

5.2 BASOTHO IN DAMBUZA AND SWAPOCAMP SETTLEMENTS IN PIETERMARITZBURG

Just as any other group of people would do, Basotho settlers in Pietermaritzburg have clustered together in some settlements. A number of reasons may account for this. Firstly one feels safe around one's own people when they are in a foreign place. Since Kwazulu-Natal is full of Zulus, Basotho are definitely going to feel safe in a place where other Basotho are already there. This also makes them feel at home and not as if they are lost. The language factor contributes a lot to this feeling too, as communication and expression of one's feeling is much easier in one's mother tongue than in a foreign language. Secondly, the fact that most of the settlers who are here came as job seekers accounts for the clustering in that some follow their relatives who were already in Pietermaritzburg and so stay in the vicinity of these.

Of the two settlements, Dambuza is the bigger. However, due to a high crime rate level in Dambuza, the department of home affairs is not able to perform its duty of dealing with illegal migrants in this area. This is done by sending the SAPS to the settlement. Everybody in that settlement has to produce either a South African identity book, or a valid passport from their places of origin. People found with expired passports are arrested and then repatriated to their countries of origin. This policy had to be applied to Swapocamp, the smaller of the two settlements, as the Pietermaritzburg Transitional Local

Council (TLC) had raised the issue of illegal immigrants in that area, and so wanted the Department of Home Affairs to take action. Another reason for people in Dambuza not being disturbed is that it is a freehold settlement area while Swapocamp can be referred to as a 'squatter settlement' as the people there have illegally settled on the state's private property.

People in both settlements live under very dirty, unhealthy conditions. For example, rubbish and dirty water is found running on the streets, and these show no signs of ever being cleaned. The streets are covered with the smell of either urine or the brew that is made in the settlements.

The houses in the two settlements are made up of mud and sticks. Various materials are used for roofing, such as plastics, or even galvanized iron if people were lucky enough to have that. The problem in most houses however is that the rain easily goes through the roofs during rainy seasons, and this results in the destruction of both the floor, which in most cases is also mud, and other possessions inside the house.

In Dambuza, the houses are rented from the various land owners. Most of the houses are either four or five roomed, and these rooms are rented by up to four or five families, depending on the size of the house. A room is rented at the price of between R15.00 and R20.00 each per month. In the land invaded settlement of Swapocamp however, the dwellers build houses themselves, and so do not have to pay rent.

The rent paid in Dambuza is only for the houses, as no other services are provided by the land owners. For example, water is drawn either from common sources for the community, or from a nearby home with its own water source, in which case separate payments of R1.00 a bucket of 20 litres, are made to such a family. As for electricity, some families managed to obtain the coupon system for their rooms, and so do have electricity, while most still live without it.

A single public water source is provided for a number of households in Swapocamp. The

residents here do not pay anything for the water. No electricity has been installed in this area.

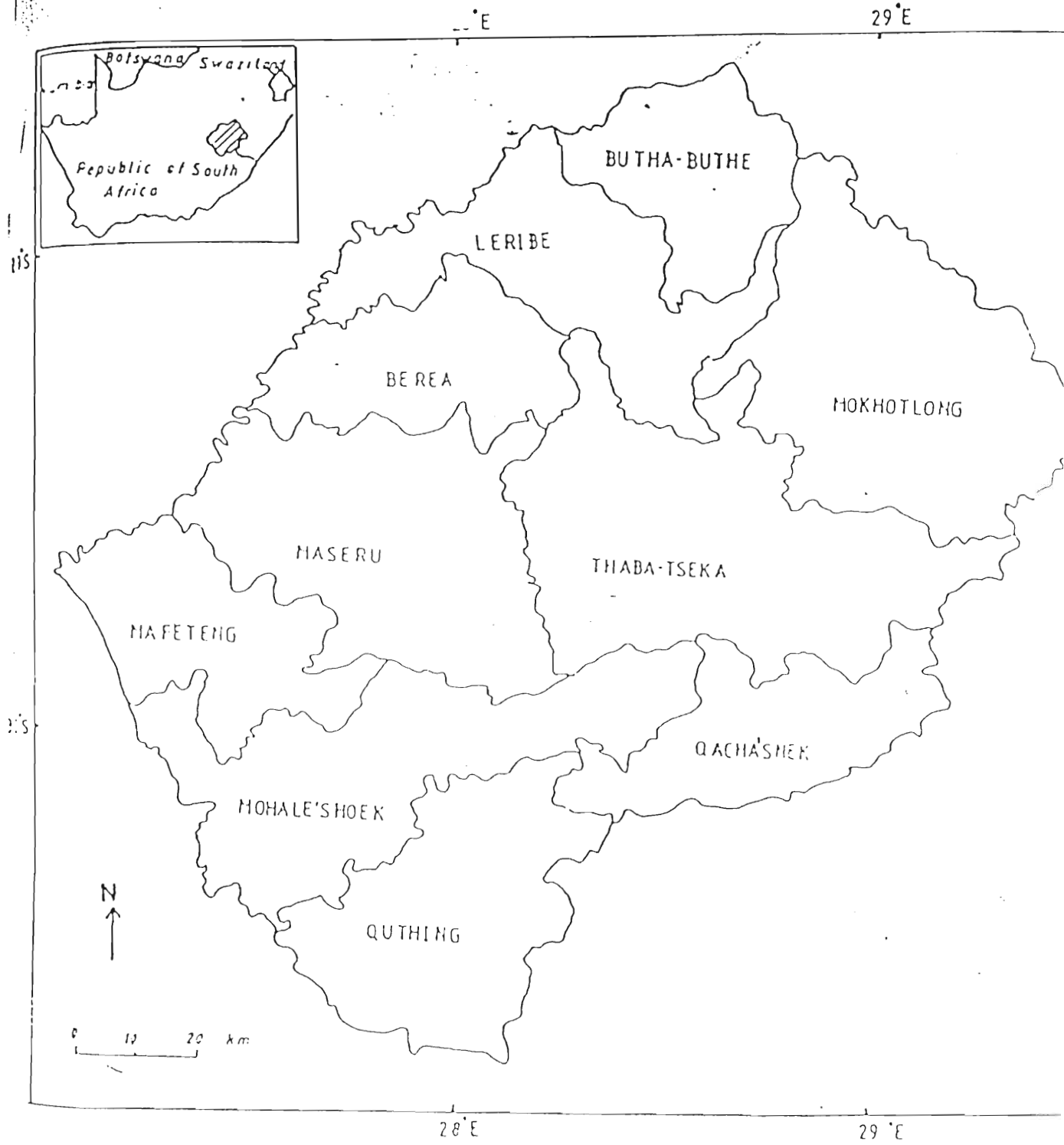
In both settlements, no complaints were raised about provision of services such as schools, clinics, and churches, as it was pointed out by the residents that they use the surrounding facilities in Edendale and Copesville without any problem.

Both family structures of a mother, father and children, and single residents are found in the two settlements. Some of the people are not necessarily single, but have left their families in Lesotho and so are alone in Pietermaritzburg. For bachelors and such people, life is made easier by staying with a group in a single room so that rent payment is shared because some of them are not employed.

5.3 DEVELOPMENT IMPACTS OF BASOTHO IN THE SETTLEMENTS

Although some people found in the two settlements come from the lowland districts of Lesotho, most are from the highland districts, which are basically Thaba-Tseka, Mokhotlong, Qacha's Nek and Quthing (Fig. 11). One may assume without having to ask, that these people crossed the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary into Kwazulu-Natal because of their proximity to the Drakensberg passes. The main reason they give for having left Lesotho is that they were not employed in that country, and so came to Pietermaritzburg with the hope that they could find jobs. However, not everyone of them is in search of a job, as some were found to have come to visit doctors, or buy some things to sell in Lesotho, and would therefore be going home after some time, but still keep coming back. The people's first knowledge about Pietermaritzburg was either influenced by relatives who were already here or some just came and thought they would see what it is like here and so ended up in that city. There is no difference in the rate at which these people came to this city before or after the 1994 elections, although this is hard to prove with figures. About 50% of those interviewed said they came a very long time ago, or at least their relatives came before them. The remaining 50% said they have either just come or are not staying for a long time. Thus, they have either come for

Figure 11 LESOTHO DISTRICTS
(after Bureau of statistics, 1986)



shopping, to see the doctors, or for such reasons and are therefore going back.

There is evidence of a very high unemployment rate in the two settlements, and this is observed from the numbers of dwellers found consuming beer at home every day of the week. In this way, these people end up finding some other ways of earning their livelihood. For instance, home made brew is sold by the families, at a price of fifty to sixty cents a can of about 750 millilitres. Customers come to such a household and gather there while buying and drinking their beer in a crowd. Some small things such as fruits and sweets are also sold by some families while temporary jobs such as drawing water for richer households are done as well.

All the informal market trading in the area is done at very low prices, as everyone in the area can do it and so the cheaper one is, the more customers one gets.

From the sample surveys in Dambuza and Swapocamp, it appears that migrants are basically uneducated and job seekers, and these are the people who fill up the settlements in which Basotho settlers can be found. Even if among them there are those few who do have jobs, and so do not negatively impact on the development of Kwazulu-Natal, they are surrounded by the majority that has a very negative impact on the development of the region.

The sale and distribution of dagga trade has a serious impact on the lives of people, as it is an addictive drug which is not only bought by the adults but also by school going children. Dagga has been proved to have very negative impacts on a human's body, such as retardation of mental activities. This means that those people who were supposed to be doing either school or employment duties efficiently cannot do so, and their numbers keeps growing every day. The development potential of the area therefore is negatively affected.

According to the SAPS, the sale of drugs goes hand in hand with that of illegal arms. This is considered to be the situation in these settlements as well. People end up having guns,

and so crime rate level increases.

High levels of unemployment gives people all the time to themselves, often resulting in them drinking all day and not being productive in any way.

Uneducated people - those with primary education or less - do not easily find jobs as they lack skills. These are the most difficult people to deal with as they lack understanding of a lot of things. It is not easy for an area to be positively impacted by such a group of people.

The impact of Basotho migrants and settlers in the two settlements of Dambuza and Swapocamp is a negative one. This has serious development implications for not only the settlements but also for the whole of Pietermaritzburg and even Kwazulu-Natal as a province, so needs attention.

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6. CONCLUSIONS: DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND POLICY ISSUES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to put forward by way of a conclusion, some points for consideration by policy formulators and development planners in both Lesotho and South Africa for the issues dealt with in this work regarding the movement of goods and people across the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal border.

6.2 TRADE - FORMAL AND INFORMAL LINKS

This section is divided into formal and informal trade.

6.2.1 Formal trade

South African\Lesotho boundaries and all borders, no matter their differences in length and location, are to be treated in a similar manner, as they all are supposed to serve the similar purpose of dividing two states. Officials from all relevant departments, including in particular the department of home affairs, police services and customs and excise are to be present at border control posts on both sides of the border to perform their various tasks. Both sides of the Sani Pass border post lack officials from some of the relevant government departments, thereby having ineffective control of people and goods passing through.

For development purposes, the future can only be built if the wrongs of the past are corrected. If no records are kept on the border posts, there will be nothing to refer back to in future about the role and effect of the post and there will be no sound information on which to base development. However, if information is kept,

then that acts as a stepping stone for the future generations to develop the area. This should be the case with the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal border area, which has no records for a number of trade items or reasons for people travelling at the moment, such as the number of students who use the post to cross from Lesotho into Kwazulu-Natal to study, for instance.

6.2.2 Informal trade - stock theft and dagga trafficking.

There should be more efforts to make sure that the relevant departments in both Lesotho and South Africa take action against things such as stock theft and dagga sale along the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal border. At present, farmers from both sides have joined hands in fighting both stock theft and dagga trafficking, especially because the two crimes seem to go together. Liaison committees have been formed, for instance the Underberg-Mokhotlong District Liaison Committee and the Bushman's Nek-Sehlabathebe Committee, which are meant to liaise between the farmers and the governments of both Lesotho and South Africa on the two issues. Even though this much progress has been achieved, the situation in some areas, for instance the upper Swartberg area, the Underberg area and the areas of the former Transkei bordering on Lesotho, has not improved and has recently got out of control.

The Swartberg Stocktheft Prevention Association is a recent association involved in stock theft prevention measures along both the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal and Lesotho/Eastern Cape borders. Looking at the situation, the association came up with suggestions for the South African National Defense Force (SANDF) deployment and South African Police Service (SAPS) to address the problems.

- i) Suggestions with regard to SANDF deployment.
 - a) The RSA/Lesotho border problem is of an international

nature for which responsibility must be taken at a national government level for the problem to be solved.

- b) Essential in the deployment of any National Defense Force along international border are access roads which would include a road along such a border. Once roads are in place, the border can then be cost effectively patrolled by the SANDF using vehicles. Once the border is patrolled, a proper security fence should then be erected without a risk of the materials being stolen by Lesotho or other criminals. The border must be clearly demarcated by the authorities and visible signs must be displayed.
- c) It is suggested that the Lesotho Mounted Police (LMP) as well as the Lesotho Defense Force (LDF) should deploy their forces closer to the border from Qacha's Nek in the west to Bushman's Nek in the east. It is essential that joint South African and Lesotho security forces patrol the problem areas. It is also suggested that the LMP and LDF attend the South African Joint Operation Committee meetings with regard to the border issues of stock theft and dagga in order for joint planning to take place to solve the problems.
- d) Because the problems are of an international nature, one of the interim resolutions would be to get a standing authority to act on stock theft and dagga problems, so that security forces can cross the border into Lesotho to recover stolen stock. With reference to terrain, it would be practical to deploy a mounted force along the Lesotho border so that reaction time in follow up operations can be minimized.

ii) Suggestions with regard to SAPS problems

- a) The SAPS border policing unit must assist in the prevention of illegal movement of Lesotho citizens between South Africa and Lesotho. The LDF and LMP must also conduct patrols along the border to prevent cross border crimes. It is suggested that the South African Narcotics Bureau become more involved with the Kwazulu-Natal\Lesotho border drug trafficking operation.
- b) The South African High Commission in Lesotho and the South African Department of Foreign Affairs must address the problems being experienced with Lesotho regarding
 - the release of impounded stock within 48 hours of identification;
 - the establishment of a 20 km corridor inside and along the entire length of the border for the purpose of stock theft follow up operations;
 - an authorized SAPS Stock Theft case number should be sufficient for South African security forces to gain access to this corridor. SANDF and SAPS helicopters should be granted authority by the Lesotho government to fly within the 20km corridor and have authority to land at designated areas such as police stations within Lesotho during stock theft follow up operations.

As a result of a number of meetings held by Lesotho\Kwazulu-Natal border farmers, the following actions were suggested:

- a) The South African government and the Department of

Foreign Affairs must accept responsibility for the international borders of South Africa. The Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal and Lesotho/Eastern Cape must be given particular attention because of the escalating incidence of cross border crimes due to lack of patrolling and policing along the international borders.

- b) Roads should be constructed along the border so that the SANDF border protection unit can use patrol vehicles on a permanent basis. This course of action will in the long term be cost effective for the following reasons:
 - stock theft losses and associated loss of revenue to the government thorough tax losses would decrease;
 - the SANDF, already active in the area, could be more effectively deployed in securing the international border and preventing stock theft, and additional crimes that occur along the border such as dagga running and illegal immigration all in the same operation;
 - the SAPS stock theft unit could be more effective in preventing stock theft rather than conducting costly follow up operations inside the extremely remote areas of a foreign country.
- c) Border farmers should under no circumstances have any illegal Lesotho citizens in their employment and finally
- d) pressure should be applied to the relevant authorities within Lesotho to institute compulsory registered branding of all Lesotho owned cattle and livestock.

6.3 POPULATION MOVEMENT

Population movements across the border can either be formal or informal. These are the two issues addressed in this case.

6.3.1 Formal movement - tourism, brain drain and work and study reasons

Different areas along the Lesotho\South African international border have different qualities. For example, the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal border is one that has tourism development potential. The Lesotho and South African governments (Kwazulu-Natal) should get together to plan for the maintenance and good running of the border, such that the aim of the area could be to attract even more tourists for the benefit of both countries. Strict border control measures such as a 24 hour patrol of the border could ensure greater security for tourists against criminal activities such as theft from backpackers and could limit or even get rid of intruders who illegally cross into Kwazulu-Natal from Lesotho to either sell dagga or steal stock.

Matlosa (1992, pp18-19) gives three possible solutions to the problem of brain drain, as have been suggested by the study by the African Development Bank. These are: introduction of stringent 'bonding' requiring those educated through public funds to work in the home country for a specified period of time; the imposition of work permit quotas by the South African government on skilled manpower from each Southern African country, or a regional agreement on a system of compensation whereby the recipient country would pay tax to the sending country for each graduate employed.

6.3.2 Informal movement - illegal migration

“Lesotho has limited options to redress its economic hardships generally and those unleashed by migration specifically” (Matlosa, 1992, p.19). Not surprising, all its strategic options revolve around its relationship with its only neighbour - South Africa (Matlosa, 1992). Lesotho is faced with four strategic options that will affect future policy options relating to its economic viability in general and labour migration in particular:

a) Maintaining the status quo option:

This means that no fundamental economic and political changes would be introduced to re-orient Lesotho-South Africa relations (Matlosa, 1992). Everything that was happening before, including repatriation of mine workers and brain drain will continue, and only those few people who are benefitting will remain doing so.

b) Negotiating option for the return of the land usurped by the Afrikaners during the C19th Basotho-Boer Wars:

In this case it is doubtful that South Africa would be willing to cede the ‘Conquered Territory’ above all other things that one might think of when it comes to this land. For instance, how the land can help boost Lesotho’s economy is not known.

c) Formal political option of integration into the post-apartheid South Africa:

This is not a new idea as in the past South Africa anticipated the incorporation of the British High Commission Territories into the Union of South Africa. This arrangement did not succeed as Basotho did not like the South African apartheid system (Matlosa, 1992). Today the revisitation of this matter shows that, on one hand, it could be beneficial to the poor Basotho and not to the rich and the

governing, as these would have to lose their positions. On the other hand, South Africa has its own problems of uplifting those who were marginalised in the apartheid era and so it would not like to take on the very poor Lesotho which will only bring more problems to South Africa. The response of South Africans to the question of incorporation is another issue, as educated Basotho might be viewed as coming to take jobs which could have been taken by South Africans if Lesotho was not incorporated into South Africa.

Mine migrancy is on the decline or has stagnated in the 90s. Attempts by the mining houses to repatriate or retrench foreign miners in large numbers causes more clandestine migration to South Africa (Matlosa, 1992). To avoid this clandestine migration, a region-wide solution has to be worked out.

Migration cannot be stopped, but the rate at which it occurs and the direction it takes can be changed, especially by the country of origin, which in this case is Lesotho. This can be done in a number of ways including job creation out of skills that ordinary people already possess. A number of centres in the country should be involved in this. If agriculture seems to be one of the prominent ways out of which a lot of people in Lesotho earn their living, then funds to teach good farming skills and help people start their farms should be made available to people. This will prevent a lot of people from moving out of Lesotho to Kwazulu-Natal hoping to find jobs when they do not have any skills.

6.4 OTHER POINTS

- i) Before any planning can be made for an area, planners should know the potentials and downfalls of that area and what it already possesses. This can only be done through researching on the fields

of interest to the planners, or any one who would like to invest their money in such an area. As far as boundaries are concerned, research should be done at provincial level with neighboring states if a smooth running of that boundary is to be experienced by both the concerned states. This will also act as a starting point for making good relations with neighbours.

- ii) Any plan about an area should include all the people who will be affected by the plan, for it to succeed. In the same way, any tourism or other plan that is hoped to be implemented in the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal border area should be made known to everyone who is going to be affected by such a plan before it can be implemented. This will include farmers on the side of Kwazulu-Natal, as well as local people and their chiefs on the Lesotho side, who might all become beneficiaries of the scheme in the end.
- iii) Education in Lesotho is expensive. For instance, a secondary or/and high school child staying in a boarding school pays nothing less than M2000.00 a year, while a day scholar pays over M800.00 a year (M1.00=R1.00). This cannot be afforded by a lot of families, especially in the highland regions, where most families depend on migrant workers for their living. Subsidies by the government are needed, at least for everyone to have basic education, so that people can be able to understand and choose what is best for them in life. People should also be taught the importance of education in life, as some do have money but feel it is better to spend it on circumcision schools than any other school.

- iv) The root causes of everything that is happening should be addressed, instead of looking at the results. Molefi (1991) provides a list of some of the recommendations made at the two conferences, one on Post-apartheid South Africa and its neighbours and the other on Future Perspectives on Labour Migration in Southern Africa, which both dealt with the issue of unemployment. Below are some of his recommendations which are relevant in the light of this research:
- the curriculum in both secondary and high schools should be expanded to include vocational and technical skills training in order to enable graduates of those institutions to take advantage of self employment opportunities;
 - labour supplying states, through their universities, should make studies on employment and training opportunities, and should consider retraining migrants with a view to equipping them with skills needed in their own economies;
 - the church, government and donors should cooperate in the establishment of a National Emergency Fund for each of the labour-supplying states to deal with the socio-economic issues related to the unemployment crisis; and
 - there is a need for research institutions in South Africa's peripheral states to share research information on labour and employment issues through conferences, and seminars, and other means. Governments as well as donor agencies in these countries should also share information of programs and activities relating to employment.
- v) Present policies aimed at dealing with all factors discussed in the body of this document should be revised if no progress is seen. Of

course to obtain good results, patience has to be practiced as this will not be an overnight event. In conclusion therefore, planning seems to be a task going beyond the boundaries if development of a boundary area is to be reached.

If the issues discussed in this thesis and the recommendations made could be addressed by the relevant Lesotho and RSA or Kwazulu-Natal Provincial authorities, positive future development of the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal border area could be realized.

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APPENDIX 1 QUESTIONS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY, PRETORIA

Question 1. Southern African Customs Union Agreement

- 1.1 What does SACUA involve?
- 1.2 When was it established?
- 1.3 By who?
- 1.4 Why was established?
- 1.5 What are the changes that it has undergone through time?
- 1.6 What are its successes and failures?
- 1.7 What are the benefits and losses of the member countries?
- 1.8 Is it the only agreement about trade between Lesotho and South Africa?
- 1.9 If no, what else is there?
- 2.0 When did these others start?
- 2.1 What duties do they perform?

Question 2 Managing the border posts

- 2.1 Have there been any changes in border posts control in the past six years?
- 2.2 Why were those changes made?
- 2.3 Are all the border posts managed in a similar manner?
- 2.4 If no, where do the differences come?
- 2.5 What are the names of all the departments that take part in the managing of the border posts?

Question 3 Trade through the Sani Pass border post

- 3.1 How many people have crossed from Lesotho into Kwazulu-Natal, to do shopping, from 1990-1996?
- 3.2 How much money did they spent in shopping in Kwazulu-Natal?
- 3.3 What kind of goods do they mostly buy?
- 3.4 Do they pay anything at the post when going back home?
- 3.5 Is this shopping the same throughout the year?

Question 4 Other

- 4.1 What are the benefits of both countries from this trade?
- 4.2 Are there any other routes used for shopping purposes, along the boundary, besides the Sani Pass border post? (If possible, insert map)
- 4.3 Are there any people crossing from the South African side into Lesotho, through the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal border, for shopping purposes?
- 4.4 Where do they do their shopping?
- 4.5 What kind of things do they buy?

APPENDIX 2 QUESTIONS TO THE SAPS STOCK THEFT UNIT, PIETERMARITZBURG

Question 1 Places where stock is stolen

1.1 Which places along the boundary, on both sides, are mostly affected by stock theft?

Question 2 Routes followed by stock thieves

2.1 Which routes, on the border, do the people who steal stock take after stealing?

2.2 How do they transport the stolen stock?

Question 3 The time that stealing takes place

3.1 What time of day is stock stolen?

3.2 Is the stealing seasonal?

Question 4 Range

4.1 What kind of stock is mostly stolen?

Question 5 Halting stock theft

5.1 Which departments are involved with stopping stock theft in Kwazulu-Natal?

5.2 What do they do to try and stop it?

5.3 What co-operation exists between these departments?

5.4 Do you co-operate in any way with the Lesotho government in stopping stock theft?

Question 6 Statistics

6.1 How many operations have you had in the past six years in trying to stop stock theft?

6.2 How many police officials does a single operation need?

6.3 How many other people, besides the officials, are needed in a single operation?

6.4 What is the cost of undertaking a single operation?

6.5 How long does a normal operation take?

6.6 How much stock was stolen in the past six years?

6.7 How much of the stolen stock was recovered?

Question 7 Other

7.1 Does stock theft have any effect on the other land uses in the area?

7.2 What is its impact on people in general?

7.3 Does it have anything to do with dagga trade in the area?

7.4 How are stock thieves punished?

7.5 What do you see as the role of the boundary in the whole issue of stock theft?

APPENDIX 3 QUESTIONS ASKED THE SAPS NARCOTICS BUREAU, PIETERMARITZBURG, ABOUT DAGGA

Question 1. Range

- 1.1 What kind of drugs are transported through the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal boundary for sale in either Lesotho or South Africa?

Question 2. Dagga growing

- 2.1 In which areas is dagga grown on both sides along the boundary?
- 2.2 On how big the pieces of land is it grown?
- 2.3 What season is it grown?
- 2.4 When is it harvested?

Question 3. Transportation

- 3.1 How is dagga transported from one country to another, through the boundary?
- 3.2 What time of day or night does transporting take place?
- 3.3 Which are the routes on the boundary through which dagga traders pass in order to get into a different country?
- 3.4 Is dagga trade between Lesotho and Kwazulu-Natal a one way or two way process?

Question 4. Sale

- 4.1 In which areas is dagga sold, both in Kwazulu-Natal and in Lesotho? -

Question 5. Statistics

- 5.1 How is dagga measured/weighed for sale?
- 5.2 How much is a single unit of its measurement?
- 5.3 How much of it was caught during transportation time either from Lesotho to Kwazulu-Natal or vice-versa, from 1990-1996?
- 5.4 How much of it was destroyed on the fields in the same years?

Question 6. Halting dagga trade

- 6.1 Which are the organizations involved in dagga trade, and its use, in Kwazulu-Natal?
- 6.2 What do they do in trying to stop the trade?
- 6.3 What does the SAPS do?
- 6.4 What time of the year does it do it?
- 6.5 Is there any co-operation between the different organizations?
- 6.6 Do you co-operate in any way with the Lesotho government in trying to halt dagga trade between the two countries?
- 6.7 How many police get involved in a single operation of trying to stop dagga trafficking?
- 6.8 How many of other people have to be there in this operation?
- 6.9 What are the roles of these other people?
- 7.0 How much is spent by the government on a single operation?
- 7.1 On what things is the money spent?

Question 7. Other

- 7.1 What are the effects of dagga, both to people and the environment, along the boundary?
- 7.2 What do you see as the role of the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal international boundary in the issue of dagga trade between the two areas?

APPENDIX 4 QUESTIONS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS, PRETORIA

Question 1 Managing border post

- 1.1 What is the role of the Department of Home Affairs in border control in general? (In the whole of South Africa)
- 1.2 Which other government bodies help in the management of the border posts, that is in making laws governing and ensuring that these laws are kept?
- 1.3 What do these other bodies deal with specifically?

Question 2 Illegal immigrants

- 2.1 Which routes do illegal immigrants use along the border in order to cross into KZN? (If possible insert map to illustrate)
- 2.2 Besides by foot, how else do they cross?
- 2.3 Do you find that they cross over mostly during the night and at certain times of the year?
- 2.4 For what reasons are most people crossing into Kwazulu-Natal:
 - Trade
 - Jobs
 - Other

Question 3 Halting illegal immigrants

- 3.1 What methods are employed by the Home Affairs Department to stop illegal crossings?
- 3.2. How do the other concerned departments try to stop illegal crossings?
- 3.3 In what ways do departments co-operate to stop illegal immigrants?

Question 4 Statistics

- 4.1 What numbers of people have crossed the border illegally per annum from 1990-1996?
- 4.2 What numbers of people have been deployed to rectify the situation?
- 4.3 How much does it cost the South African government per annum?
- 4.4 What time is invested in establishing to stop illegals?
- 4.5 What happens to the illegal immigrants who are caught and how are they punished for

different offences that they have made?

Question 5 Students

5.1 How many students and pupils crossed the Sani Pass border post to come and study in Kwazulu-Natal for the years 1990-1996?

5.2 What institutions do they mostly attend?

Question 6 Legal workers

6.1 How many legal immigrants crossed into Kwazulu-Natal from Lesotho, through the Sani Pass border post, to work, from 1990-1996?-

6.2 What kind of employment do they mostly go into?

6.3 For how long are students and legal migrants allowed to stay in Kwazulu-Natal?

Question 7 Other

7.1 What are the other categories of people who come into Kwazulu-Natal from Lesotho, through the Sani Pass border post?

7.2 What monies do Lesotho people, especially workers and scholars, have to outlay to stay in Kwazulu-Natal?

7.3 What co-operation exists between you and the Lesotho government regarding both the formal and informal movement of people across this and other boundaries?

7.4 With which department of the Lesotho government do you work?

7.5 Is the attitude of the present South African government towards both the formal and informal immigrants from Lesotho different from the previous one?

7.6 If yes, how has this effected on the issue of immigrants (both formal and informal) in south Africa?

7.7 Is there any movement of people from south Africa into Lesotho, across the boundary, besides such cases as for tourism, stock theft and drug trafficking?

7.8 What do you see as the role of the Lesotho/Kwazulu-Natal international border in the whole issue of population movement?

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