Ivan Peter Toms was born in Germiston, Transvaal Province, South Africa on 11 July 1952.

He is a medical doctor, a graduate in 1976 of the University of Cape Town. He is at present studying part-time toward a bachelor's degree in Theology.

Dr Toms is medical director of Empilisweni clinic in the Crossroads settlement. This 10-year-old squatter community which has been a thorn in the flesh to the apartheid authorities from its beginning. The peoples' steadfastness is now under assault from Pretoria's 'vigilantes'. It one stroke the South African regime is able to remove unwanted black men, women and children living virtually within the shadow of Parliament in Cape Town and to promote for world consumption that the struggle in South Africa is now 'black against black'.

Empilisweni was founded in June 1980. Ivan Toms was a founder and was for three years the only doctor. The clinic, sponsored by the South African Christian Leadership Assembly, has three full-time and one half-time doctor and a total staff of 29. The facility treats 177 medical and 50 dental patients each year.

Empilisweni is administered by eight people chosen by the Crossroads community patients. This clinic committee hires staff, decides on goals, objectives and budget.

Ivan Toms is an executive of the South African draft resistance movement, the End Conscription Campaign. In the present State of Emergency all ECC members countrywide, men and women, have either been detained incommunicado or are in hiding.

Dr Toms is on the board of the Anglican Church's Board of Social Responsibility. He was an American Field Service exchange student in 1970-71 in Madison, Connecticut.

When he returns to South Africa - probably on 30 June, Ivan Toms is certain to be detained by Pretoria's security police. He will disappear into the maw of the police state to join thousands of other South Africans who have in any way evinced their opposition to the apartheid regime.
25 June 1986

Charles Z. Wick, director,
United States Information Agency
Washington, DC 20547

Dear Mr Wick:

I write about one of your guests from South Africa invited to tour this country under the auspices of the International Visitor Program of the United States Information Agency.

He is Dr Ivan Toms who leaves New York today to return home.

Dr Toms is medical director of Empilisweni clinic which is sponsored by the South African Christian Leadership Assembly at the Crossroads settlement outside Cape Town.

Dr Toms is also an executive of the End Conscription Campaign, the association of South African draft resisters.

On both counts Dr Toms faces almost certain detention when he arrives in South Africa. Crossroads has been the scene of bloody assaults by Pretoria-organized and -led vigilantes to drive the settlement's over 100,000 men, women and children out of their community which they had built up in defiance of apartheid. Empilisweni clinic is community-led and Dr Toms who was a founder six years ago is regarded by Crossroads dwellers as one of them. The South African authorities view him therefore as an opponent.

Pretoria has long seen members of the End Conscription Campaign as among its principal enemies and has repeatedly detained and brought to trial those who refuse to serve in the South African Defence Force. Since the State of Emergency was imposed two weeks ago all ECC members have either been detained incommunicado or have gone into hiding. Dr Toms is sure to be arrested when he reaches Johannesburg.

We call on you to exercise all energies of the USIA to protect this American guest. We look forward to hearing from you about these efforts and their results.

Very sincerely yours,

William Johnston
President
No doctors in South Africa's bloody crossroads

It's not a city, a town, or even a village and so it has no real name. It's just a place in South Africa that's come to be known as Crossroads.

"It looks like this," Ivan Toms said. On a scrap of paper, he drew lines slanted like tent-poles. At the bottom, he drew another, smaller line, straight across that connected the other two.

"It's a triangle, about a mile, by a mile, about three-quarters of a mile," he said. "And in there you have 150,000 to 200,000 blacks living in tin shanties that are about four by five yards and they have families of six to eight people, tightly packed together like that. And that's been going there since 1975."

Crossroads was never supposed to happen. "That's why they have the pass laws; that's the reason for the whole migrant labor system," Toms explained. "They never want anyone to see these people."

The pass laws restrict blacks to black areas. For some, that means living in black townships and for others, it means living in the even more remote homelands. It's a system designed to keep blacks so far from whites, they won't pose a threat and the conditions they live in won't become an issue.

To earn a living, the men get passes to work in the cities as migrants. But they are required to leave their families behind. The men who work in the cities live in hostels. Only rarely can they travel to the homelands and visit their families.

"Crossroads was the men saying, hell no, to the pass and the migrant worker system. By the thousands, they got their families and began to live as best they could right outside Cape Town. The government brought bulldozers and troops but they were not able to destroy Crossroads. For 11 years, the government tried, but Crossroads survived."

Ivan Toms is 32. He's short and stocky and has curly blond hair. He's a doctor and for five years he saw Crossroads from a distance. "But I had to be involved in bringing about change. Otherwise, I would be just another white in South Africa exploiting blacks."

So Dr. Toms took his expertise and went to Crossroads and established the Empilisweni Sacla clinic. "It means a place where people are healed."

Wednesday, he was in New York telling the story of another horror being perpetrated in the country where he was born. On June 10, his clinic was closed. "The military took over," he said. Yesterday, Toms was on his way home. "I'm sure I won't be allowed to go back to Crossroads. I'm told that wherever the area is sealed off. I expect that I'll be detained too."

Crossroads is more than just a place that sprang up outside Cape Town. Dr. Toms said that what had the look of just a forest of tiny tin shacks, was really a community. He said some shacks had become shops and others, offices and that in a way, a whole structure for living had been put in place. He said the malnutrition rate in Crossroads wasn't nearly as bad as in the homelands (where 50% of the kids suffer) and he said the infant mortality rate wasn't as bad as the homelands' 170 in 1,000.

Since the state of emergency, the only pictures of violence the government has allowed to come out of South Africa have been from Crossroads. And those pictures have shown horrible, bloody clashes of blacks against blacks. "But plainclothes cops come in... they're like the front runners and they've been involved in directing the attacks," Dr. Toms said. "Sometimes the police use tear gas, preparing the way."

He said the attacks have older conservative blacks on one side and the young militants on the other. "It's really sad," he said. "They have them fighting each other for the little bit of power, for the ability to tax and reap the corruption."

FROM CROSSROADS, the squalid place where no journalists are allowed, an old strategy—divide and rule—has been brought back to end 11 years of defiance by men who stood up to apartheid and fought for the right to live family life.
WE BELIEVE THAT WHAT YOU HAVE HEARD AND READ ABOUT THE CROSSROADS CRISIS IS A DISTORTION OF THE TRUTH.

The picture which has been presented to the public, through the media of the press and SABC television and radio, has been one in which the conflict within the Crossroads community is portrayed as little more than a faction fight. The situation is far more complex than this, however, as there are divisions within the community along lines of power structures, all imposed from above by state policies. The state, in the form of the security forces, have been presented as an impartial peace-keeping force. However, an on-the-spot examination of the situation by the undersigned group of church people indicates clearly that this is not in fact the case.

WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS NOT A FACTION FIGHT.

2.1 No tribal differences of any consequence exist within the Crossroads community.
2.2 Outside intervention in the structures and running of the community have sparked off the current unrest.
2.3 The current unrest has been presented as a straightforward fight between 'conservatives' (so-called 'witdoeke') and 'radicals' (so-called 'comrades').
2.4 Who really are the 'witdoeke'? They are a minority group within the Old Crossroads community and a great number of them actually come from outside Crossroads.
2.5 Who are the 'radicals'? These are the residents of the three satellite camps at Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portland Cement sections of Crossroads, who were permitted by the original Crossroads community to settle on those specific pieces of land in 1981. Leadership of these groups was established by popular election. These groups are often incorrectly referred to as the 'comrades'.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE STATE IS INVOLVED.

3.1 The leader of the 'witdoeke' indicated his willingness for a community council to be established in Crossroads.
3.2 This envisaged council would have power in the area of Crossroads which includes those areas referred to as Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portland Cement. The people living in these areas have popularly elected leaders and do not support the 'witdoeke' who have minority support even in the area of Old Crossroads itself. That only 4 000 out of 47 000 residents in that area took part in the February 1986 elections bears testimony to this fact.
3.3 The chairman of the executive committee which resulted from this election announced his intention to become a community councillor. This resulted in the resignation of three of his committee members who, along with others opposed to this decision, were forced out of the old Crossroads community.
3.4 At this time intense harassment by state forces started in the three satellite camps. Their leaders were detained and tortured during interrogation and an entire busload of women from...
these communities was detained. Doors were broken down and houses searched. During a prayer service at the house of one of the satellite camp leaders, shots were fired at the worshippers and a wounded man dragged away by police wearing balaclavas.

3.5 Meanwhile in Old Crossroads all progressive organizations were banned. The leadership of the 'witdoeke' went as far as attempting to close down the SACLA clinic which they considered to be a disruptive political influence undermining their authority.

3.6 The three satellite camps decided to accept most of those who had been evicted from Old Crossroads by the 'witdoeke' into their own communities. The meeting at which this incorporation would have been finalized was planned for Sunday 19 May, the day on which the 'witdoeke' first attacked the three satellite camps.

3.7 A group of concerned church people went to Crossroads to investigate. At any one time at least three people witnessed and experienced the following:-

- The group was twice tear-gassed by the security forces.
- All teargas attacks were aimed at the victims in the satellite camps, but never at the approaching 'witdoeke'.
- Security forces made no attempt to disperse groups of heavily armed 'witdoeke' but constantly dispersed small groups of victims who tried to retrieve their belongings.
- Security forces stood by while 'witdoeke' gangs burned down shacks and looted the possessions and building materials. At the same time the 'witdoeke' were permitted to drive off satellite camp people who attempted to save their possessions.
- The security forces openly allowed the 'witdoeke' to set up and man road-blocks, with military vehicles parked alongside these illegal actions.
- The church group witnessed people being chased and assaulted by 'witdoeke' in the direct presence of the security forces without their intervention.
- There was absolutely no evidence of the officially claimed buffer of the security force members between the two opposing sides. Contrary to the claims made by the security forces that the Mahobe Drive is the borderline between the victims and the 'witdoeke' gangs, the actual 'frontline' is located at least a kilometer deeper into the area. Therefore the heavy security force presence on Mahobe Drive cannot be seen as the acclaimed 'peace-keeping buffer zone'.

4. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS ACTUALLY A FORCED REMOVAL.

4.1 In October 1984 the state announced that all squatter groups would be moved to Khayelitsha.

4.2 In February 1985 Crossroads erupted in violence when the presence of a removal squad made it obvious that the state's continued intention was to forcefully move the squatter people to Khayelitsha.

4.3 The violence subsided once the state began negotiations with the people, but the Crossroads residents firmly rejected the offer to be moved to Khayelitsha. The authorities promised that Crossroads would be upgraded but indicated that some people would have to be removed to a controlled squatting area next to Khayelitsha. Residents of Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portland Cement who were to be moved to this controlled site refused to move.

4.4 A series of coercive attempts to move these people were made by the authorities. These attempts met with little success. The leaders of these communities called for the recognition by the government for their right to live lawfully in Cape Town. Having fought for their promised permanent status and having shed their blood on that land, they now claimed the right to remain there.
4.5 The current systematic destruction of shacks in the satellite camps can therefore only be interpreted as form of forceful eviction. Thus far their intentions of rebuilding or even of recovering what is left of their possessions have been thwarted by 'witdoeke' and security forces. A delegation of women from the area to parliament was told that they have to move to Khayelitsha.

The above leaves this group of church people with the following questions:

**IS THIS THE PATTERN OF ‘ORDERLY URBANIZATION’?**

**IS THIS THE DEMOCRATIC WAY IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO TREAT OPPOSITION TO THEIR POLICIES?**

**IS THIS THE ‘EXTENSION OF DEMOCRACY’ ON WHICH THE FUTURE REGIONAL SERVICE COUNCILS WILL BE BASED?**

Signed by:

Rev. A. Simons (Methodist Church); Rev. P. Grassow (Methodist Church); The Rt. Rev. P. Matolengwe (Anglican Church); Rev. C. Davids (Anglican Church); Rev. S. Jacobs (Anglican Church); Rev. N. Brandt (Lutheran Church); Rev. J. Isaacs (Lutheran Church); Rev. D. Kapa (Presbyterian Church); Rev. B.N. Mgijulwa (Presbyterian Church); Rev. W.M. Mabuza (World Vision - Methodist Church); Rev. P. Oberhclzer (World Vision - N.G. Sendingkerk); Rev. N. Bixa (Methodist Church); Rev. R.M. Vithi (Methodist Church); Rev. Z. Mfengu (Apostolic Faith Mission); Rev. M. Mfenyana (Anglican Church); Rev. T. Lester (Anglican Church); Rev. S. Birchfield (Lutheran Church); Rev. B. Birchfield (Lutheran Church); Rev. A. Smith (Anglican Church); Rev. P. van den Heever (Methodist Church); Rev. J. Seremane (SACC - Anglican Church); Rev. G. Quinlan (Anglican Church); Ms R. Quinlan (Anglican Church); Mr J. Liddell (Methodist Church); Ms L. Liddell (WPCC - Methodist Church); Ms E. Huismans (WPCC - N.G. Kerk); Mr W. van der Westhuizen (N.G. Sending-kerk); Ms V. West (Lutheran Church); Mr V. Petersen (Anglican Church); Rev. J. Ashe (Anglican Church); Rev. T. Steyn (Anglican Church); Rev. T. Pearce (Anglican Church); Rev. C. Jones (Anglican Church); Rev. J. Davies (Baptist Church); Rev. P. Mentoor (A.M.E. Church); Dr H.T. Pearce (Methodist Church); Mr R.B. Crowder (Methodist Church); Ms J. Joubert (Methodist Church); Rev. H.S. Marawu (African Reformed Church S.A.).