

Friday 4 March 1988

AP SIRy. 2.5 4%

ANC suspect

had

PIETERMARITZ-

BURG. A bag found in the possession of alleged ANC activist, Mr Gordon Webster, apparently contained more than 89 rounds of ammunition, a Supreme Court judge heard here yesterday.

- Giving evidence before Mr Justice McCreath, Detective Warrant Officer R G Humphries, an explosives expert with the local police unit, said he was called out to the Sinating Road, outside Pietermaritzburg, on the night of April 27, 1986. " He said he arrived at the scene and found a se-

riously injured man,

whom he later identified

carrying weapons, W/O Humphries said he found a key and two explosives in Mr Webster pocket. . Another device, commonly used for planting limpet mines, was found

in another pocket, the judge

- court heard.

Mr Webster is charged

with murder, 12 counts of

contravening the internal security act and a count on attempted murder.

Mr Webster was taken to the hospital and his companion, who was killed by police during the arrest and was identified

as Mr Bheki Ngubane, was taken to the mortuary.

W/O Humphries told the court that the boot of

the car, used by the man,
was forced open and a
large arms cache was
found.

N OCA»UG/Qâ\200\224?' / Â°

ammo in
bag: claim +

bag found in the car con-
tained a demolition
charge and a limpet mine.

Some time after the in-
cident W/O Humphries
said he was called out to
the Machibisa area where
he found a large arms
cache, consisting of hand-
grenades, limpet mines
.and detonators buried
over a 200 metre area.

He said he was later
taken to a house in the
area, and the key retriev-
ed from Mr Websterâ\200\231s
pocket fitted a locked
door in the house.

On entering and sea-
rching the room, W/O
Humphri¬\201lessaidadu_st

cap for a handgrenade
was found and when a
thorough search - was
made the next day, clean-
ing rods for AK47 rifles
were also found.

Under cross examina-
tion, W/O Humphries |
said it took about 15 sec-
onds to defuse a limpet
mine, but police preferred
to move it to an area
where it would cause less
damage. : .

â\200\230i He described to the |

court how, by using
ropes, a limpet mine was
removed from its

and detonated at a safe
place. .

The hearing will con-
tinue today. â\200\224 Sapa. -

Of the 10 American presidential can-

How America's top ten feel about SA

didates still in the 1988 race, four (all
Republicans) oppose economic sanc-

tions against South Africa and the re-

maining six (all Democrats) favour
sanctions in various degrees of
toughness. |

Two of the Republicans, Senator
Robert Dole and Congressman Jack
Kemp, voted unsuccessfully against
economic measures against South
Africa in 1986 and can be expected to
maintain that position if, as expected,
the issue goes before Congress again
this session.

Of the other two Republicans,
Vice-President George Bush did not

play a prominent role in the sanc- .
tions debate two years ago, though he

supported President Reagan through-
out the heated squabble, and evange-
list Mr Marion (a Pat Robertson op-
posed the sanctions in speeches and
sermons, looking at the situation
largely in terms of the global conflict
between the 'West and communism.

Four of the Democrats, Senator
Paul Simon, Senator Albert Gore,
former Senator Gary Hart and Con-
gressman Richard Gephardt, all
voted in favour of the 1986 legislation
and have: called for tougher action

against the South African Govern-

ment. :

1 Shift; of focus

The: remaining two Democrats, the
Rev Jesse Jackson and Governor Mi-
chael Dukakis, publicly supported the
sanctions drive.

Two events have combined to res-
urrect South Africa's race laws and
its regional policies as issues in the
1988 presidential election a the shift

of focus to the American South where ,

. â\200\234maintain pressure

million black voters will be
t factor in the 20 states
polls on March 8,
by Pretoria on

an important
that hold primary
and the crackdown
jon black groups,
ed even South Africaâ\200\231s few re-
g friends in the US.

This is how the 10
on Southern Africa issues: |

@ Vice-President
(Republican)

10 candidates stand

rejects sanctions and
s counter-productive,

â\200\234As the pace of the
presidential nomination
campaign quickens,
Neil Lurssen of The
Starâ\200\231s Washington
Bureau records the
candidatesâ\200\231 views on
sanctions and the
future of Angola and
Mozambique.

@ Congressman Ja! emp
publican) is a firm opponent of both
sanctions and disinvestment. He is a
supporter of the Sullivan l_â\200\231rmclp}e\$
which imposed an affirmative action
programme on US companies
operating in SA. He believes that the

Dukakis . . . â\200\234unban the ANC".

He says he will end US aid to

Unita, recognise the MPLA Govern-
ment in Angola and try to create
conditions that would lead â\200\230to the
withdrawal of Cuban troops. ~

@ Congressman Richard Gephardt

ngit US Administration should pro- (Democrat) says he supports a widĩ~\201

mote black-white negotiations along
the lines of the Camp David talks be-
tween Israel and Egypt during the
Carter Administration.

disinvestmet?lt aks
harmful to blacks and rÂç
reducing US influence in South Afri

ca. He wants US policy
black-white power- harin,

d responsible for

tions with minority rights as;;;a pre-

Mozambique, he fa-
vours reconciliation ne
tween the governments

Bob Dole (Republican)

On Angola and

says: the US must m
on the SA quemmegt
tional sanctions an ke o Dlack
ibly generate
on and violence.
gly supports
to Unita rebels, but op-
ither Frelimo or Rena-

confine itself to .
ted settlement. ,

tain pressure
but that addi;.

will reduce US influe
interests aqd 3
ter polarisati

continued aid
mo in Mozambique,

that US policy must
encouraging a negotia

He believes the US should provide
aid to rebels in Angola and Mozambl-
que until these countries rid them-

" selves of communism.

Â® The Rev Pat Robertson _{1}.epub-
lican) thinks sanctions and disinvest-
ment will work in favour of those
who want South Africa to be a one-
Marxist state. The African Na-
tional Congress should not be part of
SA decision-making until it rids itself
of the communists in their ranks.
" He favours military aid to anti-
communist rebels in Angola and Mo-
zambique.

@ Governor Mike Dukakis (Demo-
crat) says that as President g:ewlll

. toughen' sanctions and seek a com-

comprehensive international trade embargo. He wants all for the unbanning of the ANC and for its inclusion in talks.

including disinvestment strategy and, as President, will follow a policy of forcing real change. During a debate several months ago, he said that in some circumstances, he would consider supplying arms to the ANC.

@ Senator Albert Gore (Democrat)

believes the next step for the US should be to pull the sanctions rope a little bit tighter. If this does not work, then the sanctions should be made even more severe. He wants US companies to get out of SA. He opposed a move in the Senate to appropriate \$50 million aid for Unita rebels.

ordering out American corporations by a certain date, as we did in the case of Libya because that was a sign of our seriousness.

He wants the US Government to recognise the MPLA Government in Angola and to help that country rebuild its shattered economy. He seeks an end to US aid for Unita but wants the rebel movement to be included in reconciliation talks.

^ Former Senator Gary Hart (Democrat) voted in favour of the sanctions legislation in 1986, opposing earlier in the day an amendment that would have imposed similar sanctions on the Soviet Union. While in the Senate, he made several passionate speeches about the SA Government's race policies, comparing them to laws introduced by the Nazis in Germany.

Y- :

Of the 10 contestants, Congressman Kemp, Senator Simon and Mr Hart are considered to be in the weakest positions. All three are widely expected to drop out of the race soon, though some political experts believe Mr Kemp could reappear as a possible vice-presidential candidate at the Republican ' convention in August,

especially if the nominee turns out to be Senator Bob Dole.

Senator Dole is mistrusted by

many conservatives, largely because he has in the past supported increased taxation, and Mr Kemp

could drum up some right-wing enthusiasm for the ticket.

The two political reverends, Mr

@ Senator Paul Simon (Democrat). Jackson and Mr Robertson, both of

favours both sanctions and disinvestment. He is likely to

@ The Rev Jesse Jackson (Demo;;,

Baptists, are unlikely to win their

port the party nominations. But both have ar-
tough sanctions in the 1;:lfums Bill, dent supporters and have done sur-
already approved by the House of
Representatives, if and when it is de-
bated in the Senate.

prisingly well at the polls so far. This
will make them factors at their party
conventions, playing important roles
'in the choice of nominee.

crat) has, more than any other presi-
dential candidate, kept the SA issue

alive on the campaign trail. He says:
â\200\234We must develop a commitment to
full and complete economic sanctions

against the apartheid regime. Thatâ\200\231s

ter Mr Joe Clark made a
stinging attack on Pre-
toria's new restrictions,

Sos e e
and > in a special

statement to the House of
Commons

However, Mr Clark
said the cutting of formal
links at this moment
would cut off Ottawa's
aid programmes and
other forms of assistance
- to the Black
~ The Minister said he
did not know when the
right time would come to
withdraw from South
Africa, a threat made
over the last two years by
'the Conservative govern-
ment in Canada.

But the government
considered view
that this is the wrong time
for Canada to walk away,
or to cut ourselves off,
. he said.

In the meantime, Ca-
nada was consulting with
other Commonwealth na-
- tions and its Western al-
lies to determine what
. further punitive economic
measures could be
adopted
South Africa to hasten
- racial reform, he said.

to South Africa will re-

main in Ottawa for an in-
definite period to protest
against the current situa-

tion and to consult on
what further steps could
be taken

Pretoria amounts to less
than one percent of South
Africa's total trade and
Mr/ Clark has conceded
that Ottawa has little
economic clout in the re-

. gion.

Pretoriaâ\200\231s mnbassador
in Ottawa has been called
in to explain the deten-
tion on Monday of Arch-
bishop Desmond Tutu

and__ other clergymen |

when they tried to deliver
a petition to Parliament

protesting against the new
crackdown.

The Canadian state-

ment came just hours

after Archbishop Tutu
appealed to Western

countries to break off dip--
lomatic

relations with
South Africa until it can-

â\200\234celled restrictions it im-

posed on 17 anti-apart-
heid groups last week.

â\200\234Certainly the latest ac-

tions by the Pretoria gov-

ernment carry South Afri-

ca away from any pre-

tense of

Western nations know

it,â\200\235 Mr Clark said.
Ganada will continue to

* assist opponents and vic-

tlms of apartheid and the !
Canadian Embassy in that |

,,country would maintain
~its contacts with a broad

spectrum of South Afri-
cans, including opposition
groups, the Minister said.

S -Reuter.

TWO Berg
KwaZulu, allegedly
overcrowded, poorly
black spot area Education and Training.

because

The Natal Witness was told that if the schools succeeded in transferring from KwaZulu administration to the DET, the DET would provide them with essential facilities including desks, writing equipment, floors, water and toilets.

The schools which want a transfer — Hambrook, Ebhethani, and a third neighbouring school Woodford all own the title deeds of their land. They have been run by KwaZulu since 1972 as the area was destined at the time for incorporation into KwaZulu, explained local farmer Mr Alan Hall who has been involved in the transfer campaign.

by Claire Frost

The land was never incorporated and I firmly believe it will remain white. Because the schools are black schools in a white area the KwaZulu government only pays the teachers and is not prepared to subsidise or assist with buildings, desks and teaching materials, he said.

According to documents before The Natal Witness, Mr Simon Mkize, principal of Hambrook Combined Primary School, was told on November 13 last year that he had been transferred with effect from six weeks earlier.

Chairman of the Hambrook School Committee, Mr Hinnom Buthelezi, said that the school committee's complaints about the transfer had been ignored. Now Mr Mkize's standard four class just sits all day and we have no headmaster.

The headmaster of neighbouring Ebhethani Combined Primary School Mr B. Mathabula who was killed in a motor accident in January was also transferred after he campaigned for improved conditions, Mr Buthelezi said.

When approached by The Natal Witness, KwaZulu's Department of Education said the department has no reasons for transfers except to say that in the interest of education

In a statement, the department denied that they did not provide equip-

ment. KwaZulu controlled about 76 schools which were not directly in its territory, the statement said. Besides paying the teachers it also supplied aid for buildings, books, furniture and equipment.

â\200\234Ebhethani school has deliberately refused to take steps to enable the de-

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Laheh

artment to help it with the building subsidy. If any of the three schools concerned alleges that it has not been helped it is most likely that it neglected to make its needs known through the existing channelsâ\200\235, the statement said.

The Natal Witness visited the worst-

off of the three schools, Hambrook, this week.

The school had six dusty classrooms, all without floors. Some children sat at desks, others on benches, but many of them sat and wrote on the dust floor.

ville school principals

equipped schools
to be handed to the

nsâ\200\224for the' ~tion Dep. rtment and we had lots of
that they were - â\202~qulp ent. By trying to get the school

were transferred by
ampaigned for their
â\200\224 situated in a
Department of

they c

â\200\230\\M W e
Schools want
switch to 41?4
DET as 261
pupils sit

classroom

Class one and two, and standard one .
___ 961 children â\200\224 were taught in one
classroom which had no desks or
blackboards. The number of children
in other standards varied between 40
and 69 pupils.

The nearest water was a stream 3 km
away and the only toilets were three
enclosed pits. The equipment consis-
ted of blackboards in the higher

classes and the children supplied their own tattered exercise books.

After Mr Mkize became principal in 1985 he and the parents collected money and with our own hands we built this school, school committee head Mr Buthelezi said. Before 1985 we were using one wattle and daub building. .

The only person who helped us was the farmer Mr Fanie Meintz who gave us iron for the roof.

Mr Buthelezi whose children We-lile and Herbert attend the school was a pupil at Hambrook himself from 1928 to 1934.

Lots of equipment

The desks we have come from those days. When I was a scholar the school was administered by the Natal Educa-

controlled by DET we hope that we will. | get back to those days. -

In a letter to the chairman of the Ebhethani School Committee, the Rev L. Mbhele, DET deputy minister of education Mr Sam de Beer admitted that as the three schools fell within South Africa your representations (for inclusion in the DET) merit further attention.

However, DET director general Dr Braam Fourie said this week that he had spoken to KwaZulu about the lack of facilities and equipment, but at this stage there is no question of a takeover of these schools by the DET.

In its statement KwaZulu said it would not like to be involved in an issue that would divide the people. These schools have been part of KwaZulu for alongtime.

KwaZulu would only consent to the transfer if it was with the concurrence of all the people concerned, the statement said.

Dusty standard two pupils at Hambrook school get down to work on the classroom's sand floor while their more fortunate colleagues study at some - of the school's few desks.

onto a bench at Hambrook oi ready for the day's lessons.

Class one pupils squeeze

N ok A cttwm 4

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200 unrest deaths in the past 14 months

Witness Reporter

MORE than 500 people have been killed in incidents of unrest in the Natal Midlands during the past 14 - months - most of them in townships around the city, according to information supplied by the University of Natal's Centre for Adult Education and those collected by The Natal Witness itself.

Mr John Aitchison, the deputy-director of the centre told The Natal Witness yesterday there had been 402 deaths in 325 incidents of

unrest during 1987.

Our survey was conducted on the basis of reports supplied by the

press, the police unrest reports and from affidavits and information' supplied by lawyers and organisations such as the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa), Mr Aitchison said.

According to these figures there was a total of 896 incidents of unrest in the Natal Midlands which included townships around the city, Greytown, Hammarsdale and Howick.

Between January and August 1987 there was a total of 80 deaths and from September to December there were 322 deaths with the

highest figure (108) being recorded in December.

Figures kept by The Natal Witness, based on police unrest reports, indicate that 98 people were killed in January 1988 and 28 last month - bringing the total since January 1987 to 528.

In their survey, the Centre for

Adult Education state that of the 402 killed last year 119 were either members or supporters of the United Democratic Front, 59 were from Inkatha, 218 were unknown, two were members of the S.A.P. and three belonged to the black

consciousness movement.

â\200\234We defined affiliation in its very broadest sense as the unrest figures from the S.A.P. do not state the

affiliations, thereby making it difficult to reach an accurate figure.â\200\235

The dramatic increase in killings from September indicated that something must have happened during that period.

The one clear observation that could be made was that despite the dramatic increase in the number of detentions during the latter half of last year, the death toll still continued to rise.

AR IR | o 130 bt SO AL |

it TEHE S

The Natal Mercury, Friday, March 4, 1988 â\200\230

Central Committee
ary 20, 1988, I certainly
not set out specifically

Inkatha.

result of your editorial

ment of black politics
South Africa is valid.

justified.

to be specificâ\200\231
stories in them
would be most happy
oblige in a detailed reply
â\200\230these questions,

space in which to do so.

It is indisputably true that
media coverage of South
Africa results in the view
that Inkatha is losing politi-

Editorial
SIR â\200\224 In my address to the

Inkatha on Saturday, Febru-
did

accuse The Natal Mercury
of bias in its reporting on

I have no particular quar-
rel with The Natal Mercury
and I will now not develop a
quarrel with you, Sir, as a

February 23. I simply say
â\200\234that the editorial itself was
uncalled for and that my
concern about media treat-

I have found that newspa- -

er newspapers in South
Africa which are totgllly

You asked me to be spe-
cific about what newspa-
pers I am talking about and
about what
I object to. I

if the Mer-
cury provided me with the

cal face and that the
ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance

has captured real mass support in South Africa. In Western Europe and North America this is most certainly the impression that newspapers and television companies give the reader and the viewer. Foreign correspondents in South Africa have not reported fairly on Inkatha.

You must be aware that the Media Workers Association of South Africa has repeatedly declared itself to be opposed to my leadership and to Inkatha.

It is I who have to face

of

to

on

in

| pers in this country refrain diplomats, businessmen, from publishing specific attacks on journalists and others who are clearly influenced by

biased newspaper reporting.

You must also be aware, Sir, that I have on numerous occasions had to approach the courts for protection from defamatory articles in newspapers and periodicals. I have won

- some court cases, some are pending, and in many cases

to
to

there have been out of court settlements in favour of Inkatha. It takes a lot more very clear evidence to induce a court to find an article defamatory than it takes

| criticise

3

them to issue a restraining order to limit possible future violence.

A newspaper like The Natal Mercury should sup-

port my campdign for unbi-
ased reporting in every
possible way. What I said in
my address to the â\200\234Central
Committee of Inkatha has
done The Natal Mercury no
damage. I am thevefore at a
loss to know why you, Sir,
responded so strongly in
your editorial. .

MANGOSUTHU G

BUTHELEZI

Chief Minister Of KwaZulu

And President Of Inkatha

@ Letter shortened

FOOTNOTE: We are: pleased

to know that not all newspa-

pers are tarred with the same

brush. But just as Dr

Buthlezi quite rightly objects

to being accused of being part

of the system, we object |

equally strongly to general

attacks on the â\200\230mediaâ\200\231 which

readers will construe as in-

cluding ourselves. Our con-

cern is that when attacks are

made, the accused is identi-

fied. Just as we demand unbi-

ased reporting in â\200\230the

ercury, so do we support

Chief Buthlezi and anyone |

else wishing to maintain high |

standards â\200\224 Editor

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â\200\224 - rusw alu 1 erecommumnicat

Pietermaritzburg
Bureau .

POLICE were yesterday
â\200\230searching for the gunman
who shot and killed a mem-
ber of the Kwazulu Legisla-
tive Assembly in the Camper-
down area on Wednesday.
night. =
Mr Msinga Mlaba, 36, was

Pl; hunt Zulu |
Police hun yg: %

_pohtlmanâ\200\231 s%{i-â\2021er |

â\200\230 killing was unknown at this

â\200\234available yestg;daya 3

A police spokesman in Pre- |
toria said the motive for the

stage and no arrests had been
made.

He said Mr Mlaba was
watching television when he
was gunned down. ;

No further details were

| shot dea at his home in
. Ximba by an unknown â\200\230gun-

to a police statement re-
leased in Pretoria yesterday.
The statement said a num-

â\200\230and spent bullets had been

| man about 10p m, according |
ber of AK-47 cartridge cases |

found at the scene.

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: i/â\200\231

O FRIEDMAN .

. â\200\234interest from govommont"

The SA Institute of Race Relations has emerged from its flirtation with the radical left and, step-by-step, is winning back respect for its independence and the authority of its research. Once again it has become recognised as a powerful â\200\230 generator of creative political thought. Deputy Editor NEIL

JACOBSOHN reports ...

Back on the track

wo/{/vt,(y)o

of plott:
process of change'

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ing

â\200\234the Â£

.,J,A political landscape

scarred on the left and .the

â\200\230right by intellectual sterility,

the SA Institute of Race Rela-

tions is, oasis-like, producing a fresh, cold stream of reasoned thinking.

Scorning the rhetoric of either extreme, it is meticulously analysing the process of change, identifying opportunities to advance towards its goal of a SA free of racial

discrimination and devising strat-

egles to implement such opportu-

If that sounds like a detached, even clinical, approach to the hugely emotional upheaval of

change, that's exactly what it is meant to be. Its contribution to change, the Institute has decided, will be in the form of influential research.

Anyone seeking working knowledge on the Institute's vision needs look no further than a seminal paper by its research manager, Steven Emswiler, published (finally) in the SA Foundation's latest quarterly bulletin.

It is entitled simply and appropriately 'Understanding Reform'. It argues that, as government is immensely

powerful, change will not

come rapidly. Rather, it consists of the gradual erosion of

apartheid which, in turn, will make further erosion possible. So-called reform, says Friedman, is a symptom of the erosion.

Politics into the business of influencing change. Reform should therefore not be rejected as irrelevant or counter-productive any more than it should be uncritically embraced. Rather, it should be used to up the pace of change.

The argument is based on growing evidence that much of it gathered

by the Institute itself that a change in SA has led to wider change, even though this may initially have been the very opposite of what government intended.

Says Friedman: 'There is

not a single example over the past decade of a reform which has strengthened white control and there are numerous examples of

reforms which have weakened it.'

Implication is the realisation that change is never the result of pres-

key actors - all of them gathered

~ This creates opposition to a break from unidimensional protest

sure from a single source, so the

next phase must be to identify the :

A faithful to traditional liberal

given situation of change. Very often the key Players in this informal alliance would be horrified to learn that they were in the same camp, says Friedman. :

Then it's a matter of getting the detailed research on that issue to all the players and facilitating, more than lobbying; the hope of gradual change in it.

But another name, it's the art of the possible, the acceptance of the reality of incremental change. I think our motto could be Slow and steady wins the race, with a little like the tortoise. Here, quips the Institute's executive director John Kane-Berman, only half-joking.

Incongruous though his message may be, Kane-Berman is articulating a courageous stand. Even now that the deceptive glow of the

quick fix has faded, the concept of gradual change by participation

remains an intense

view among the left - or - no more brigade.

Behind the Institute's recovered intellectual respectability lies a

battle, and a philosophy

- grounded out in the early Eighties by Kane-Berman and the late Ernie Wentzel one of

vin

SAâ\200\231s most creative legal minds and a great humanist. Their success is illustrated by the currency the Instituteâ\200\231s research has gained in circles from, in Kane-Bermanâ\200\231s words, â\200\234those in government to those.in exileâ\200\235.

But it was not that simple. By the start of the decade the Institute had drifted into the arid and vicious circle of protest politics.

. Links forged between the front of anti-apartheid bodies brought, instead of solidarity, arid uniformity. The same people gathered at the same meetings to hear the same people vie to outdo each oth-

- er in their condemnation of the

same filthy racist regime in Pretoria.

Into that slithered the seductive rhetoric of the quick fix, the deception that all apartheid needed to roll over and die was one good shove. It carried before it organisation after organisation, from the ANC to the UDF to the Black Sash

to the English universities and

even the PFP. :

Wentzel, Kane-Berman and a

handful of others held out, but not without much bloodshed. The left

was unwilling to loosen its grip; indeed, even today much poison remains.

It was not until near-bankruptcy focused minds that they were able to take action.

The Institute had become traâ\200\230rped in a mish-mash of social and community projects, each answering a need, but most wholly inappropriate to the nature of the 81;)geanitsiati0ï¬\201. â\200\234We wgre running

ration Hunger, a bursary programme, extra classes for b&ck matrices, unemployment bureaux, arts and crafts shops, dance workshops ... and most of them at a

loss. Administration was in a .

shambles. Not only were they a massive drain on resources, but they forced research, our traditional strength, on to the farthest backburner,â\200\235 says Kane-Berman.

He was appointed director in September 1983, and by the end of that year two steps were taken: to restore research ride of place, and to hive off all charitable activities on their own. â\200\234It had to be simply a business decision,â\200\235

, he admits there was

more to it than that. â\200\234There was a

. feeling we had politically lost di-

rection; that we had become just

â\200\230achievable.â\200\235 %

another protest organisation doing

nothing except criticising government. I donâ\200\231t deny for a second the right of validiti' or protest, but increasingly we felt we were getting nowhere, that government wasnâ\200\231t listening.â\200\235 : :

. The move back to the total objectivity of research forced tough i-\202uestxons, such as whether a beral organisation like the Institute really had a role or whether it was simply part of a â\200\234mutually reinforcing ghetto of the left, listening to no one except each other, reaching no one except each other. We had to break out of the laager :39 start reaching the unconvert-

What emerged was Friedmanâ\200\231s Policy Research Unit. The aim: to analyse in detail how change that had occurred â\200\224 the strikin example being in the labour fie15 - come about and to identify where further change could be facilitated.

Says Friedman: â\200\234We chose areas for research where we believed there was potential for chd:ge, such as the desegregation of educational institutions, Group Areas, migrant labour. We have not researched fields like security, where there is obviously no sign of fluidity.â\200\235

Now, says Kane-Berman, â\200\234the ANC quotes our political violence

statistics in Sechaba and government, by direct word of a Cabinet Minister, accepts our research as factual and non axe-grindingâ\200\235.

Friedman adds: â\200\234What excites me is that there is a fundamental change in our relationship with the key actors, most evident in government. Five years ago we would occasionally go and see a Minister, tell him he was wrong and be politely ignored. Now we are seeing direct interest from d{;;temment in our research, and requests to see it.â\200\235 ificantly, an equivalent level of interest is being shown on the opposite side of the political spectrum, add Institute officials.

New potential means new challenges, and the focus now is to get the product to the right people. â\200\234We are going to devote our resources to extending our penetration of the market, to get our research on to the desks of decision-makers from every walk,â\200\235 says Kane-Berman. â\200\234The broad goal of a vision of a society free of statutory apartheid is not fanciful, it is-

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-

By Brendan Boyle g :
EDENDALE, South Africa 'â\200\224
Death is everyoneâ\200\231s neighbour in
the lush Edendale Valley west of
Pietermaritzburg. Fear is a

_constant companion. -
Â» â\200\234There have been so many deaths

that most people have lost their

says local

sense. of weeping,â\200\235.
â\200\231 Lakela

newspaper - reporter

. - Kaunda. â\200\234Weddings, soccer match-

' 'es and parties have been replaced:
:by fuherals,?., .. g R G

. * "By knife,' by gun 'and by fire,
. + death comes
the . boxy - -brick
thatched

â\200\230 cottages an

_infant shot in his motherâ\200\231s arms,
2-year-olds ; burned "to death, .a

' IOK'ear-old beheaded with an ax -
and

: a 70-Â¥â\200\230Ã@ar-old - couple - found
recently with their throats slit.. "

Rows of fresh graves bear
testimony to the terror. Qutted

homes mark the scenes of violence.-

The black Edendale Hospital
overflows with victims of the ugliest
factional war yet spawneÃ«f by
apartheid. ek

â\200\234The stores of human woe arÃ©
- unending,â\200\235 said &' young American

~working to help the victims. â\200\234It is
. that Inkatha is the aij

hard to believe that people can be so
cruel to other people.â\200\235 - bl g

/This is a civil war black against
black, Zulu killing Zulu.

On one side among the areaâ\200\231sâ\200\231

500,000 blacks is the ideal of a

capitalist nation ruled by blacks and Â»

. whites together,
white Sout
leader,â\200\230 â\200\230Zulu chief â\200\230'Mangosuthu
Buthelezi, :.and his
. member Inkatha Movement. ' ~ ~

propounded

Democratic Frontâ\200\231s blueprint for a
socialist nation under a government
elected by universal franchise.

* < Victims and. witnesses charge
that police are siding with Inkatha,
not to impose peace but to ensure a
Buthelezi victory over the UDF.

â\200\234Ultimatel
ts - now of apartheid and
economic decline,â\200\235 said editor
Richard Steyn of the Natal Witness

newspaper. â\200\234Without a massive

most nightly among" '*
uts scattered across the .

i n slopes of the Edendale Valley.
: gr%.ixe 450 dead have included an-

b
Africaâ\200\231s favourite black ,
1.5-million-

y, we are reaping the

lack against black in S.

security force presence, I donâ\200\231t see it

. ending in the short term at all.â\200\235

. Each side accuses the other of
keeping the slaughter going. -
Âç

e donâ\200\231t fight,â\200\235 said Velapi -

Ndlovu, the' local Inkatha
chairman. â\200\234We donâ\200\231t attack people.
If people come to us and they die it
is their problem.â\200\235 " Â° - :
â\200\234Buthelezi says Inkatha does not
attack,â\200\235 said Peter Kerchhoff, head

â\200\230of the iâ\200\231liettermaritzburg Association

for Christian Social Awareness. â\200\234He
says his people are defending
themselves. But the warlords are
not â\200\230defending, they .are'going out
and murdering pÃ©ople. There is no
doubt about that.â\200\235

Yet little in, this vicipus war isâ\200\231

clear-cut. ;

It would be wrong to say that it

is purely one side attacking the other; added Kerchhoff. But, certainly over (recent) days, there has been evidence of increasing Inkatha provocation. :

What is coming out of this, too, is a clear picture in the minds of the people that the police are involved with Inkatha, he said.

That statement raises the most serious of the allegations arising from the black-against-black

battles - that South Africa's police

are actively on Inkatha's side. There is no doubt in my mind and that the police are working hand in love with them, said the young African, who cannot be identified because his work violates the terms

* of his visa. : Police are believed to be holding

800 to 1,000 UDF supporters, detained - without being charged,

-and none from Inkatha.

.. Police report the statistics of

' On the other is the radical Unitdd * oertim, ooy, JOMBING in a terse

statement that belies the horror of murder and torture in Sweetwaters, Edendale, Imbali and Taylors Halt.

A 10-year-old boy was abducted.

Police later found his body in a

ditch. He had been beheaded with an ax, said the police report of last year's killing of Skumbuza Shezi, son of a UDF supporter.

The victims' own stories are more graphic, : i Iewathula Mkhize, a small

By

ed by hidden police hand .

13-year-old, tells without apparent emotion how a man he identified as Inkatha induna David Ntombela and 'seven warlords' shot and killed his mother and 11-year-old sister while he hid under a bed. -

I heard my mother say in she was going outside, he said. I then

he Ntombela say to my mother
that she should not move and
should lean against the wall. I
heard a gunshot and I heard her
groan.

~ â\200\234A short while later,. certain of
them entered my room. I saw him
+.aim his gun at my sister, Petronella,

. and fire orie shot. She fell to floor

and I heard more shots. I remember
her crying out. She lay bleeding on .
the floor. She was moaning.â\200\235 =

Mkhizeâ\200\231s older brother, Man-
gethe, says that when he went to
the police he found Ntombela
chattin, with the ' officers.
Mangethe said he was teased about
his motherâ\200\231s death and was not
allowed to make a statement until
he had washed a policemanâ\200\231s car.

Ntombela was charged with
murder, which he denied. In what
was seen by Inkathaâ\200\231s rivals as
evidence of police suf)port for the
movement, he was released on \$50
bail, with no trial date set. ' -

â\200\234For many whites,â\200\235 said
Pietermaritzburg University lectur-
er John Aichonson, â\200\234Buthelezi is
the acceptable face of a non-racial
future. He represents the middle
road between white minority rule -
now and black majority rule in the
future.â\200\235 i

But Butheleziâ\200\231s proposal for an
experimental multiracial adminis-
tration in Natal province, a plan
known as the KwaNatal Indgba,
required him to deliver a majority of
< the black vote. â\200\230Aichonson said
" whites would only accept the plan if

thecf' were convinced that Buthelezi

and not the UDF would represent
blacks.

The UDF and its 2 million
members is feared by most whites.
â\200\234The South African government
cannot afford to let Buthelezi lose,
but if the police deliver his victory it
. will be a Pg:'rhic victory becatuise the
> feople have lost faith in him and
_ Inkatha,â\200\235 Aichonson said. â\200\224 UPI

3 yfe/mp v R fÃ©c Mlhos â\200\224 Muw_

. Established 1887
South Africa's largest daily newspaper -

- Dangerous
~ delusions

ITV poor Koos van der Merwe of
the Conservative Party. He is trying
to put a respectable gloss on
CP policy. His task is as difficult
- as that undertaken by Alexander Dubcek,
the Czechoslovakian leader who tried to
- put a human face on communism nearly 25
years ago.
Every time Mr van der Merwe tries to
present CP policies in a reasonable light
as he did recently in a television interview ;
when he denied that CP policy was racist
- he is contradicted by CP leaders. The
harder he tries to deny that the CP is wed-
ded to apartheid, the more his colleagues
proclaim that the marriage is indissoluble.
- The most recent repudiation comes from
Andries Treurnicht himself. Dr Treurnicht
- has given notice that the CP would re-
instate the pass laws and Group Areas Act,
two cornerstones of old-style apartheid.
The inference is that the CP would try to
reintroduce many similarly obsolete laws,
including the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, to

.. which CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzen-

berg implicitly committed the party during
the Potchefstroom by-election campaign.
The truth is that there is a schism in the

CP's political soul, A struggle is raging

between those who want to modernise

apartheid and those who wilfully cling to
it. Both are unable or unwilling to learn the
lessons of the past 40 years: apartheid

any form is unworkable. - . - A e

- Mr van der Merwe leads the moder-
nisers and Dr Hartzenberg the hardliners.

. Mr van der Merwe is prepared to negotiate
; with the ANC for a smaller but not too
+ small white fatherland; Dr Hartzen-
berg favours partitioning South Africa into

. a white state and tribally based black

states on the basis of the National Party's

7 discarded 1975 proposals.

. Dr Treurnicht shambles about, veering

- first in one direction and then another,
! blinded by the dangerous illusion that the

- collapse of the Soviet Union proves that
. apartheid is an idea whose time has come.

- "Apartheid, if only he would listen to the

millioas of South Africans around him, has
hadit.1" SR ARt K

The Ster 42 g

â\200\230Who Wduld :
Startg s e
bloodbath9>:

By Patrick Lanrepee

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2l 5how gromg py Tretrâ\200\224-|
nicht described cp policy as
â\200\234the love of 4 peo

people of ftsele
and not hatreq of ath

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Storiesâ\200\235 abg
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ad lead tg the
replacement of Mr de Rlerkâ\200\231s
admini

ation by 2 black com. i
ST regime. : /Âf
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The St

â\200\234Transitional |
executive
' â\200\230,;necessa'ryâ\200\231

Political Reporter

A transitional executive structure should initially be appointed by Codesa. y
This is one of the resolutions in a draft document, currently before the Codesa working group on transitional arrangements, which is to be discussed by the principals of the 19 delegations . .
- In terms of the working document, the group agreed that there was a need for transitional arrangements. -~
. â\200\234An important aspect of such arrangements will be the creation of a transitional executive structure,â\200\235 the document said.
" The discussion document will be used as a point of departure for further discussion.
~ Codesa agreements would have to be legislated by Parliament through amendments to the existing constitution and relevant legislation :
. The document said other aspects of the interim arrangements still needed to be discussed, The committee is to meet again next week,
& â\200\230Sunset clausesâ\200\231 could be 2 hours â\200\224 Page 14

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â\200\230negotiations harder,

Pretorla crackdown leaves

B,/ Peter Youwghusbend
THE WASHINGTON TIMES 1

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The South Afri-

can governments harsh security
.crackdown on the United Demo-

cratic Front and 16 ather . anti-
apartheid organizations has left so

much scorched earth that many ob-
servers fear little basis is left for
NCgo uons with black leaders on

the nation's future.
.Fresident Pieter Bothâ\200\231!"
p&;!;&itaki!lg efforts to create a "na-

-tional councilâ\200\235 as a forum for discus-

sion on & fncw constitution seem to
have been sacrificed.
â\200\234Certainly, President Botha has
blown his own national council clean
u â\200\230of the waterâ\200\235 said John Kane-
~man, executive director of the
th African Institute of Race Re-
ons, Â¥, .. There is very little real

I ;tm:huhnal negotiation going on
between the government and black
â\200\230organizations â\200\224 and, given the secu-
rity clampdown, mw even dimier

_prospects than there were a week
P :

agoâ\200\235
. Clamping down on radicals makes

said. â\200\234The list of restrictions that
black arganizations will demand to

be tifted before they negotiate with

the government is now that much
longerâ\200\235

â\200\234Having painstakingly obtained
his mandate from whites to share

-power with blacks, Mr. Botha has

gone and put himself into a position
where he cannot Åçven Qhare a table
with blacks to talk about power-
shaiï-\201ng,â\200\235 Mr. Kane-Berman said.
Even the guvernment concedes
that damage has been done to the
negotiating process,
â\200\234The clampdown will un-

â\200\230doubtedly have a negative effect in
the short term,â\200\235 said Stoffel Van der

" Merwe, deputy minister of constitu-

tional .development. Mr Van der

not easier, he.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu

Merwe has been given the specific
task of getting negotiations gomg.

But he added; â\200\234In the long term
we will be able lo recoup our losses
and go beyond what might ntherwisc
have been possible.â\200\235

[Anglican Archbishop Desmond
Tatu and other religious leaders
called vesterday for a sweeping cam-
paign of defiance against the re-

strictions, the Associated Press reported. Several prominent ministers told their congregations that the church would become more active in opposing apartheid and called for a church-led campaign against the crackdown.)

In the past three years the Pretoria government has conceded two important facts â\200\224 that apartheid must go and that a constitution granting a sharing of political power with blacks must be negotiated with

black leaders,

These concessions have been ac-

â\200\230with blacks in limbo

3 Completed by columnar in or relax :

ation of major apartheid practices, such as the infamous immorality and mixed-marriages â\200\230acts, forbid-

ing sexual intimacy and marriage between the races, and the Group Areas Act restricting the movement of blacks around the country.

But the government has not moved much beyond that. Mr Botha has been criticized for what is widely regarded as a slowdown of his reform program.

An integral part of the reform would have been the national council and exploratory talks with black leaders. But Mr. Botha has been unable to persuade credible black leaders to join him at a conference table.

It had been hoped that Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the chief minister of Kwazulu and leader of 6 â\200\230million Zulus, would join the national council.

But Mr. Buthelezi told The Washington Times over the weekend:

â\200\234I have told the South African government that I cannot join any debate on a constitutional future until [ANC leader Nelson] Mandela

and other political prisoners are -

freed. I still stand by that, but now that all these organizations have been banned, the situation has become even more difficultâ\200\235

Political observers here believe the new security measures were mo-

tivated, in the main, by Mr. Botha's fear of the Afrikaner political right and the possibility of defeat for his National Party in approaching by-elections unless he can demonstrate tough security measures.

â\200\234New security clampdown was necessary to keep Botha in the saddle of power,â\200\235 said Mr. Kanc-Berman. The new security measures â\200\234are no doubt partly aimed at minimizing losses on the rightâ\200\235 such as the Conservative Party, he said.

Qon compliments of

â\200\224

Gognen

-

- Freeing the air

: THE SPECTACLE of the Government

ing to protect the SARC from

precisely the interference, manipulation

and intimidation which the Government

employed down the years is richly ironic,

Nevertheless, the protection is n :

"No government, now or later, should be

permitted to treat a public-service broad-

casting system as a Propaganda machine.

- Until the promised legislation to Intro-

DO means clear whether the NP plan goes

far enough. However, it is clear what the

' problem is, Generations of eahinet minis-

' independence of the SABC. When President

'P'W Botha disliked TV's version of events,

he actually phoned the director-general to

- dictate the content of 3 national news bul-

letin. : :

A truly impartial and knowledgeable ti-

bunal would go a long way towards keep-

ing the SABC honest, But it would aj-

- Inost certainly fail if it had to deal with

.. -broadcasting the old guard, who are

' steeped in 2 tradition of subservience. Not

' We await with interest the specific propos-

o Ale from the Covmuu;e_i\202t On that score,

08703

' 92

08:12 B4 3198

'Tâ\200\235hz,

formally objected {o the

" whitÃ@s-only referendwm
.. â\200\234interfering with pro-

gressâ\200\235 at Codesa.
The working group on

. transitional. arrange-
' " ments yesterday decided

to meet on Monday but
not to modt Ã@n March 16

or \Iarch 17 â\200\224 thedayof

S =
Codesa being hampered ~ Labour

_ Pohnml Reporter
â\200\230The Labour Party has-

VoS I F P

the referendum.
LP spbkeman and

- representative at the

working group, Peter
Hendrickse, said that at
last week's meeting of
the group â\200\224 the first
since the announcemernt
of the referendat â\200\224 as-

surapces were given by
tho Covornmaent that tha

referendum would not

- sa's work -

and March 17, in terms -

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1,1/3 [Cĩ-\201z

have 21 impact on Code-

The LP then formallyr
cbiected to the decision:
that no meeting wounld.
take place oo March 16+

of Codesaâ\200\231s stand;ng

(Paats UY L WLy, 1 S33ET dTee

Jotamesoury)

Qoor

06703192 08:11 . 444 3108, - YOS I F.P

h*?, Sfi~\201r C}/S/Ci?_
| â\200\230PAC chlef no longer
reqmred at inquiry

| Pan Africanistâ\200\231 Cnnngress presdent Clarence

. Makwetu will not be requ.red to appear before

thÃ© Goldstone Comrmission of Ingniry into Publie

. Vieleuce and Intimidation, commission chair-
b man Mr Justice R J Goldstone said yesterday.

: Izz.stead, the ccmzsssoa is constdering wheth-

" er the issue which led to Mr Makwetn's highly
EEes pubuc.\sed refusal to appear before the comms

' .. sion shonld itself be the snbject of 2aa mqmrj

; "Lnn. a demsxon is taken and the terms of
reference for such an inquiry have been fnma-
lised, rhe commission considers it would be in-
appmpr*aÂ»e to enforce the attendance of 3 wit-

Â© ness from only one group wmch may have rele-
. vant ei~\202dence. .

. â\200\234To do so could give rise to a perceotxon of
", pardality on the part of the commission,â\204¢ Mr
. Justice Goldstone said,

But he gave notice tbat, shm.ld such an mqmry
be â\200\230held, the commzssmn would not hesitate to
use its power 10 â\200\230. ompe. the attendance of any-

. one considered by it to0 have information and
- who refmed to appeaf voluntarily. â\200\230

â\200\234Tï~\201e primary endeavour of the commission
is to put 21 end to the violence which is plaguing
our country. It is a cause for regret that the PAC

AT wrwilling to joln in that enterprise oa the pre-
. texÃ© that the commissicn has no xeglb.mâ\200\234cv ke
said,

In re_ference to â\200\231m- â\200\230Makwetu's refusal to zp-
pear before the commission, he said an informal
--approach bad been made to Mr-Makwetn. - â\200\224

â\200\234Informal discussions have been held with
other parties. The PAC chosÃ© to make a publie
issne of the approach made to it.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa.

[illegible]

interview with Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order about allegations that a large number of the 300 special constables sent into the fray in the strife-torn Maritzburg area have strong Inkatha links.

=â\200\224h Mr Burrows reaction
4 follows claims that about
70 of the 300 could be
Inkatha members and
that one â\200\224 Special
4Constable Weseni -
Awetha â\200\224 is nanied as
second respondent Ain an
application- for an inter-
dict to prevent him,
two. others and his
father, Mr Abdul
Awetha, from killing
people in the area.
His father is an Imbali
councillor and senior
member of Inkatha.

supporters of using the
applications for court

interdicts as a means of !

propaganda. .

*â\200\234â\200\234An application for an
interdict does not mean

Â® From page 1
that any crime has
beeÂ©n committed or that
there is even any evidence
of a crime.

â\200\234The issue should
notdbe prejudlced

:Nelther is a single
application a yardstick to
measure the whole
squad.â\200\235 .

Brigadier Mellet sald
the sconstables were not

â\200\234scieehed for affiliations
to a cultural organisation

- but â\200\234they were properly

screened for any criminal
historyâ\200\235.

- The whole purpose of
the exercise was to recruit
Zuli¬\201Â©speaking people
who had grown up' in the
arÂ©d and knew the area
and" Were known by the
people of the area.

gave the assurance

with Inkatha

be used only in a sup-
plementary role to the
SAP.

â\200\234The SAP will always
be in charge with at least
a warrant officer in
command,â\200\235 he said.

It was learned yester-
day that Mr Weseni
Awetha went to Cape

Town for six weeks to

,1

train as a special
constable (kitskonstabel)
and is now deployed in
the cityâ\200\231s townships.

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: s\q{; piniSiblighted black squatter campâ\200\231*

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nd.theâ\200\231stick:can be fatal. :

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GOSMHEY Â» PÃ©

Eâ\200\231}_uf,n'do'z'Ã©rs';_zirid"Ai-?:i{i%'Ã©Ã©t_s"â\200\231"" :
i â\200\230In Crossroads, the rewards began avriv-

Aingishortly after the vigilantes' bloody vic:

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" NAMIBIA -

Joî¬\202annasbî¬\201ygâ\200\231 L
SOUTH
AFRICA

LESOTHO,

tory over the comrades In June 1936 (an.
outcome welcomed, if not outright orches-
trated, by Pretoria)â\200\235 Government_ bull-
dozers and architects'moved in to beginan-
ekpenstve and much-ballyhooed ipgrading
program. The charred shagks were cleared
â\200\230dway, and the former battlefield Was lev-
eled to make way:for'realâ\200\231 houges. Army

â\200\230tgns werc set up jovagedmmodate home-
. less. vigilante ,;'sxxppqgteggzgï¬\201tlnnjng waterâ\200\235
and 'flush -tofleets. wete brought in for the
Â»first: tline, Planisi werg drawn for soccer
. fe]ds, clinics Afid-schools;; White members,
+0f theâ\200\231 South: â\200\230AfricansDefenseâ\200\231 Force â\200\230even
distributed Bibles: wiitus ;
4 Â£'Our â\200\230church. people were very happy
abgut â\200\230that,â\200\235 says Mry Gell.'/'We want our
â\200\230people to know: that the defense force s
â\200\230ol friefid. And the' police, . 100. We must
:gveraach other.'â\200\235 | iigcieit o
-4 {Rut the transformation of Crossroads is
i alsQ gpreading hate, particularly in the di-
' rÃ©@tton of Mr, Ngxohongwana Atlev chags
ing away' the â\200\230comrages, -Mry Ngxobong:

- wafia, who' once. supporied the anti-apart,

1 'heid - United Dgex_))oc;ii_t_igâ\200\235 I;"rm)â\200\230t , Was'recog-
it nized by:the government 'as {he'leader of
gc;g551'oads and'glven the powek toallocate
gÃ©â\200\230thgifruits of the upgrading program, With
% hls patronage,at his, disposal, he, controls
eyary aspect of township life â\200\230from:inside
. higiwell-guarded â\200\230compound. g A

1Â\$ As.a result, Mr. 'Ngxobongwanaiisfgeï¬\201-

erally desplsed as a government sellout by
â\200\230thÃ©ithousands he drove out of Crosstoads,
. aswell as by the broader aiitl-apartheid

trigvemnent. They accuse him of cooperat-
- inggwith the government in exchange for.
- Influence: GRS g,

i34y That man ls such a fool," says Sophia!
-:Bengeg & former Crossroads resident who

OREALes 4 WOMeN's Sewing Cooperative ois
thegoutskirts of the township,â\200\230The govern- -
â\200\234mqgpptihas him now." Adds a local social:
â\200\234'wppker.who also used to live, in, Cross- |
roads; Jolnson is too much into the Y5~
tem. If I had a pun, I'd shoot him.â\200\235
Anii-government - emotion also runs
higher than usnal among the displaced
Crossroads residents, More than 3,000
squatter familties arc sulng the minister of
Jaw and order for 4 total of five million
rand, or \$2.4 million, alleging that police
contributed to the destruction of the squat-
ter camps by either taking part in or fail-

ing to stop the vigilantes' zation, Some witnesses say that police gave explosive devices to the vigilantes and sat by idly while vigilantes set fire to shacks. The police deny these allegations.

"The pacification of Crossroads has brought new problems elsewhere as well. Squatters driven out of Crossroads, for instance; have simply rebuilt their shacks in nearby townships, taking their frustration and anger with them.

' I recent weeks, a neighboring squatter camp called KTC has erupted in violence, with rival factions clashing over leadership and vowed to continue sponsoring upgrading plans. Suspicion is rife that the government is stirring up the trouble. .. -Bamuel Langa, a butider who lived in Crossroads before he was driven out, has a strong sense of having seen all this before. I don't know who, he says, but there is someone inside, someone with money, who, says, Please try to divide these people. I want to rule them.'

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A Unifying Force

The government, though, argues that its upgrading schemes are a unifying, calming force, and it is aggressively promoting them around the country. In Alexandra, the crowded and dirty township set amid the wealth of Johannesburg's northern white suburbs, the government detained anti-apartheid activists, smashed their organizations and then offered community upgrading. Under a 92 million-rand plan, Alexandra residents are getting telephones, electricity, storm drains, paved roads, and houses that they can own.

you cantiot have securlly in the lown-ships unless you have decent services," says u white on Alexandra's administration board, A cartoon pamphict explaiiing siGw to lok after*a flush toiletâ\200\235 was recently distributed in the township.

In Khayelitsha, a new township Iising out of the sand dunes east of Cape Town, the construction of a seaside resort, complete, with barbecue plts, was given a higher priority than most housing, And {n Botshabelo, . huge dumping ground [or displaced blacks In the Orange Free State, a modest improvement in physical services is being supplemented with spirttual upliftment; Before Christmas, the South African police distributed holiday greetings bearing the message â\200\234We arc here to help â\200\230you cnjoy the real spirit of Christmas.â\200\235

| Taking Advantage

| Meanwhile, in Crossroads, the battic for hearts and minds already seems to be won. Most residents still llve in shacks made of corrugated tron, plywood and cardooard signboards. But they have been told that somewhere there Is a place for them in the upgrading program, which will vesult in houses, runping water and'flush teilets for 35000 people. They can already see the fivst 40 houses that have gonÃ¢ Uup, and many of them sneak aver to take advantage of the water taps and teilets on the unfliished sites. - â\200\230

HWe're told the houses will be ready by winter, before the ralns,â\200\235 says middle-aged Crossroads resident who runs a fruit stand, â\200\234That will make us happy.â\200\235

In return for this happiness, all My Ngxobungwana and his supporters have to do is uphold their end of the bargain, â\200\234The comrades will never come back to Crossroads again,â\200\235 says Mr. Gell, @ confident

| smile prighting his face. â\200\234Qur mayor, he don't!like trouble.â\200\235

Mr.: Geli . sits vigllantly on a plastic chaln'atop aâ\200\231wide concrete slab, the foun-â\200\230dation for My, Ngxobongwana's new house, Next door, two rifle-toting guards patrol outside the shack where Mr. Ngxobongwana is sleeping.

., For now, the fighting is in KTC. Mr. Geli makes a sweeping motion with his hands, I the government asked us 10

â\200\234weep out KTC,â\200\235 he says, â\200\230â\200\230weâ\200\231d sweep it out, They're troublernakers there.â\200\235

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