

# Teachers, Pupils, (black) Bury Colleague (white).....

Colesberg was the scene of a most unusual funeral in the town recently when black teachers and pupils assisted a burial funeral for a white teacher colleague.

The funeral was for teacher Mr Thuis Oosthuizen who taught at Umso High School for several years, and died in his sleep in Colesberg at the time when schools reopened this year.

When teacher colleagues heard of Mr Oosthuizen's death, and that there were no arrangements for a service for his burial, they got together at the central town graveyard.

"This was probably the first time in the history of Colesberg that the black community buried a white person," said Mr Charles Gedazana, who taught with Mr Oosthuizen.

"Maybe this is the beginning of something good for both our communities," he added.

Pupils and teachers of two primary and of Umso Secondary formed a procession as a token of last respect. "We wanted him to have a proper funeral, beautiful to look at," Mr Gedazana said.



Mr Charles Gedazana, local teacher.

"Maybe this is the beginning of something good for both our communities," Mr. Charles Gedezana.



Local scenes in the 12 days water & services cuts. What did the cuts mean to people? Water, a local government responsibility, is to quench thirst, care for babies, the old & infirm; for personal health, township clinic health; cooking; personal & clothes washing; proper administration.

Printed & published by Maeder Osler & Oupa Mpekula. Photos Oupa Mpekula. Layout assistance Charles Mayaba. Toverberg Indaba, Colesberg, 5980.

## TOVERBERG INDABA

- To serve the entire community of Colesberg and surrounds.
- Independent; not party political.
- Not for private profits.
- Democratic and accountable to all.

• Ukusebenzela abahlali base Colesberg ngokubanzi nendawo eziyingqongileyo

- Lizimele — alimelanga qela lopolotiko.
- Alimelanga nzuzo zabucala.
- Lilawula ngokumelwa (Democratic) lixhomekeke kubo bonke abantu.

- Om die hele gemeenskap van Colesberg en omgewing te bedien.
- Onafhanklik; nie party politiek.
- Nie vir privaat wins.
- Demokraties en verantwoordig aan almal verskuldig.

Special  
Extra!

# TOVERBERG INDABA

March 1992.  
Special Extra 2.  
R0,30c

For us all!

Elethu sonke!

Vir ons almal!



Daily scene for 12 days: waiting for water to come through near the schools.

hot drama cooled behind-the-scenes.

## Water Flows Again!

**BINNE/INSIDE/  
NGAPHAKATHI!**

\* Dorpsingange

Binnekort!

\* Black teachers, pupils,  
Bury colleague.

\* Legal forum

Intimidasie.

\*Insert

Front organisation's

Local links!

\* Blanke vrese!

\* Local development

forum: "Masiphakame"

\* Feature: Toverberg view.



As all Karoo people know, water is the essence of life. For 12 days water was cut from thousands of Kuyasa people - whether or not they had paid. On the night cuts began, the civics proposed the first of a number of similar payment formulas. The council held out for 12 days, allegedly in attempts to break the consumer boycott, or was it to break the civics? After many meetings, and at the month's end, it was accepted service charges plus a surcharge would be paid. Water flowed, and a probable court action was avoided.

## Intimidation.

**Q:** During the boycott, everyone talks about intimidation. What is it?

**A:** Good question! The law says that if you kill, hurt or cause damage to another person, (or threaten to do any of these things), in order to change their actions or opinions, then you may be guilty of intimidation.

The law also says that if you force someone to change their actions or opinions by making them fear for their safety, their property or their jobs, then you may be guilty if intimidation.

So, in a boycott, you can be guilty if you want to stop somebody buying in a shop and to do this you hurt them or take away the things they bought - or even if you only threaten to do any of these things.

The law about intimidation has recently been changed and there is a lot of uncertainty about what intimidation is. For instance, in a boycott you may even be guilty if you don't directly hurt or threaten someone but you stop them from buying by making them frightened - even if you only stand outside the shop door and write down the buyers name. To be safe, a boycott supporter can ask people to support the boycott but should not hurt threaten or frighten them in any way.

This uncertainty about the intimidation law raises another interesting example. If a municipality cuts off the township water and so gets residents to pay their rent because they are frightened of dying or even because they are frightened of their fruit trees suffering damage, then maybe the municipality is guilty of intimidation! It makes you think, doesn't it!

## local development forum started

### "Masiphakame" ("Let Us Stand Up!").

A development forum for Colesberg has begun in Kuyasa.

Initiator, Mr Charles Asia, told us the forum was because there were so many needs.

"Since we have so many people unemployed, and also many people who have skills to offer - by developing themselves there will be

## Intimidasie. regsforum..inkundla yomthetho



**V:** Met 'n boikot aan die gang, hoor 'n mens baie van Intimidasie. Wat is dit?

**A:** Goeie vraag! Die wet sê dat as jy iemand doodmaak, seermaak of andersins kwaad aandoen (of dreig om hierdie dinge te doen) ten einde hul gedrag of opinie te verander - dit is intimidasie.

Die wet sê ook dat as jy iemand laat vrees vir hul veiligheid, besittings of werk, om sodoende hulle te dwing om hul gedrag of opinies te verander - dit is intimidasie.

## News! Indaba! Nuus!

### \* Early negotiators!

Recently students at UMSO high stayed away from classes on behalf of a student from the Ciskei who had not been admitted. The Parents Association opposed this. Students "want to weigh their strengths in negotiation skills," said a parent.

### \* Men only?

Special council parking arrangements for heavy vehicles out of the town centre are being made.

### \* SDR gelde - betaal plaaslik.

SDR gelde kan by die plaaslike munisipale kantoor betaal word.

### \* Kerkstraat reparasies.

Die raad verwag dit sal in dié maand begin. (Voor die skaapfees asseblief!)

Gedurende 'n boikot, dus, is dit intimidasie as jy mense wil verhoed om by 'n winkel te koop deur hulle aan te rand of hul inkopies te breek of weg te neem. Selfs al dreig jy net om dit te doen.

Die Wet op Intimidasie is onlangs gewysig en daar heers nou baie onsekerheid oor die misdaad. Dit is nou moontlik dat jy skuldig kan wees al skep jy net vrees in 'n koper sonder om haar aan te rand of te dreig. Om veilig te wees kan 'n boikotondersteuner mense vra om 'n boikot te steun maar hulle geensins dreig, seermaak of selfs bang maak nie.

Sedert die nuwe wetswysigings kan 'n werkgewer of ouer, byvoorbeeld, hom of haar maklik onwetend aan intimidasie skuldig maak. En as jy die wet streng interpreteer kan 'n munisipaliteit wat mense se water afsny hom ook aan intimidasie skuldig maak.

Dat laat jou dink, né?

### \* Min kragonderbrekings!

"Ons het onlangs kables vervang en ander werkies klaar gemaak vir beter kragvoorsiening" sê mnr J. Barnard, stadsklere. "Ons is baie tevrede met vooruitgang op hierdie stadium."

### \* Another word on water.

Mnr Johan Barnard, stadsklere: "Ons verkoop die dienste aan die Kuyasa Dorpsraad... Ek wil ook sê dat ons vir die inwoners voel. Ons kry jammer vir dié wat betaal pligte nakom."

"It's a case of without the money we can't run the show. We have nothing against them. There are of the best people in Colesberg who have had their water cut off."

answered.

Mr Asia went on to say that the process was more important than the product, though a "sensitive balance" between the two should be kept. The forum was "essentially about the people and community, for proper development to be effective."

help with the problem of unemployment."

What does he mean by 'development'?

"It is about the creation of opportunities and the opening of doors to a better quality of life. It is about sustainable economic growth within a sustainable political condition," he

## Grondwetlike ontwikkeling

“Ontleed 'n mens die inhoud van dit wat as blanke vrese bekend staan, is dit duidelik dat 'n groot deel daarvan met wantroue verband hou.”



Willie Esterhuyse

## Blanke vrese

DIE afgelope maand het verskeie politieke leiers, selfs in buiteparlementêre kringe, melding van blanke vrese gemaak. Die vraag is gevra, onder andere deur mnr. Nelson Mandela, wat gedoen kan/moet word om blanke vrese te ontfont.

Of die woord "blanke vrese" 'n houdbare woord is, of selfs 'n woord wat 'n getroue weergawe van die gevoelens en toekomsverwagtings van talle witmense is, word vir die doeleindes van hierdie artikel daar gelaat. Dit is wel nodig om daarop te wys dat dit nie net witmense is wat bekommerd is oor die toekoms nie. Dis 'n taamlik algemene verskynsel onder talle Suid-Afrikane wat graag 'n toekoms van relatiewe vrede, stabiliteit en voorspoed wil hê.

Dat hierdie hele kwessie vir die grondwetlike proses van groot belang is, met watter woord 'n mens ook al daarna verwys, is wis en seker. Dit het immers alles te make met die klimaat van politieke vertroue wat daar in die land bestaan. En dié is nie baie hoog nie.

Vertroue val natuurlik nie soos reën uit die lug nie. Dit word geskep deur die optrede en uitsprake van byvoorbeeld leiers asook deur die wyse waarop juis daardie probleme wat mense bekommerd maak - en hulle regstreeks raak - hanteer en beantwoord word.

Een van die talle uitdagings waarvoor ons vanjaar staan, is dan juis ook die kwessie van vertroue-bou. In dié verband moet onthou word dat die neerskryf van 'n grondwet op papier 'n taamlik eenvoudige saak is. Waaroor dit uiteindelik gaan - en dit is waar die kwessie van vertroue ter sake is - is of dit wat op papier staan ook in die "harte" van ten minste die meerderheid burgers geskryf staan, om dit geëyk te stel.

Net politieke romantici dink daar loop nie 'n breë stroom wantroue deur ons land nie. Iets daarvan het selfs by Kodesa na die oppervlak gekom. Dis 'n wantroue wat veral tussen swart- en witmense lê, gegee die politieke geskiedenis van hierdie land. Dit word bowendien baie ingewikkelder gemaak deur dié feit dat SA deur uiters hoë vlakke

van politieke onverdraagsaamheid gekenmerk word. Ons is nog baie ver van 'n element waarsonder geen demokrasie kan bestaan nie, naamlik 'n kultuur van politieke verdraagsaamheid.

Ontleed 'n mens die inhoud van dit wat as blanke vrese bekend staan, is dit duidelik dat 'n groot deel daarvan met wantroue verband hou. Vakansiegesprekke oor die kwessie van blanke vrese het aan die lig gebring dat die volgende redes daarvoor aangevoer word:

- 'n Regering wat uit 'n meerderheid swartmense bestaan, sal nie in staat wees om reg en orde te handhaaf nie. Veral blankes sal in die nuwe staat onveilig wees;

- So 'n regering sal nóg bevoeg nóg bereid wees om standarde te handhaaf. Die land sal 'n tipiese Derde Wêreldland word. Lewenspeile sal daal. So ook opvoedkundige peile. Meriete sal nie die deurslag gee nie, maar "baantjies vir boeties" - veral in die staatsdiens;

- Witmense sal baie van dit wat hulle swaar verdien het, verloor. Regstellende aksies, herverdeling van rykdom en selfs vorme van nasionalisasie sal wel plaasvind, watter gerusstellende versekerings daar ook al gegee mag word;

- Die "massa daarbuite" sal voorrang deur die staat geniet. Mense met middelklaswaardes en lewenspeile sal in diskrediet wees. Hulle sal as "uitbuiters" beskou word;

- Die "gans wat die goue eiers moet lê" sal uiteindelik nek omgedraai word. Pensioenskemas van veral witmense sal ook in die gedrang kom. So ook gratifikasies;

- Heksejagtery moet nie uitgesluit word nie. Die "massa" sal aandrang dat witmense vir die sondes van apartheid betaal;

- Die ANC-alliansie het 'n dubbele agenda. As die alliansie moontlik die eerste algemene verkiesing wen, sal hy sy eintlike agenda onder die tafel uithaal;

- Daar kan nie op die internasionale wêreld gereken word om na die "belange van witmense" om te sien nie.

'n Mens sou op al hierdie punte teen-

argumente kon gee. Dit sal egter slegs van akademiese waarde wees. Wat 'n mens ook al van hierdie punte mag sê, hulle is en bly baie reëel in die wyse waarop talle witmense die politieke proses beleef. Hulle vertolk, om dit so te stel, 'n diepbeleefde eksistensiële kommer. Dit was trouens opvallend hoeveel van die gespreksgenote die moontlikheid van emigrasie geopper het.

Dit sou immoreel wees om nie te sê dat daar wel rede tot kommer is nie. Geen demokratiseringsproses verloop kommersy nie. Dit is en bly 'n risiko. Daar is egter geen ander opsie nie. Daarom moet daar ernstig gewaak word teen 'n kultuur van pessimisme en fatalisme. So iets ondermyn kreatiwiteit en die vermoë om 'n situasie te verander.

Wat veral beklemtoning verdien, is dat die werklikheid van blanke vrese nie verontagsaam kan word nie - veral nie in die onderhandelingsproses soos dit vanjaar vorm sal aanneem nie. Dat iemand soos mnr. Nelson Mandela in die openbaar na die kwessie van blanke vrese verwys het, moet as 'n wins beskou word. Tot baie onlangs was slegs die naam van die woord blanke vrese iets wat die politieke bloeddruk in buiteparlementêre kringe hoog laat styg het. Daarvan kan persoonlik getuig word.

Mnr. Mandela se voorstel dat daar moontlik, soos in Zimbabwe, aan "blanke setels" gedink moet word as 'n voorlopige maatregel, was miskien nie een van sy goeie idees nie. Dit vertolk wel sy begrip van 'n probleem wat baie ernstiger is as wat voorheen gedink is.

Wat ook duidelik is, is dat talle witmense van goeie wil nog nie voorbereid is op die veranderinge wat daar in SA wag nie. Aanpassing by verandering, veral van die omvang wat in SA wag, spreek nooit vanself nie. Dit is 'n leerproses. Van hierdie leerproses het daar nog weinig tereg gekom in SA. Dit sal dringend aandag moet geniet. Hopelik sal vanjaar ook 'n jaar wees waarin blanke vrese doeltreffend ontfont sal word en ons sal bou aan 'n klimaat van vertroue.

- Prof. Esterhuyse is verbonde aan die Nagraadse Bestuurskool van die US.

## Front organisation

insert page one.

### "Grew into a monster."

The Adult Education Consultants (AEC), was "spawned by Military Intelligence" and "grew into a monster whose tentacles spread into every corner of South African society between 1986 and this year when it was disbanded."

So says the Weekly Mail national newspaper which has spearheaded months' long investigations now before the Goldstone Commission on public violence.

What is more, the newspaper claims the AEC has already spent

more than R150 million taxpayers' money - and that "funding for the various regional fronts formerly under its umbrella will continue until 1994 at an additional cost of up to R20 million to the taxpayer."

The Weekly Mail has also published extensive information which it says "uncovered links between (AEC) activities and violence", as well as information on a top-level Military Intelligence/AEC/Inkatha linkup. Masked alleged hitmen have also given evidence



ABOVE: Man at the centre of it all, Dr Louis Pasques. He signed the Colesberg farmers' union "labour course" certificates. BELOW: Two of the hit men, allegedly recruited by Inkatha for black-on-black violence, who have given evidence. (photos Weekly Mail).



This month's investigation by Mr Justice Goldstone's standing commission of inquiry into violence and intimidation has some (fortunately slight!) links with Colesberg.

The investigation is into a military intelligence front organisation, Adult Education Consultants (AEC), which has also been active in this area (from at least 1988 to 1991).

(We have many pages of published revelations available to interested readers - space here permits only a bare outline.)



Dr Ben Conradie, a senior East Cape front man until he took legal action against the network last year.

## Dream, for some. Nightmare, for many.

The organisation Adult Education Consultants (AEC), according to documentary and witness evidence, is revealed as the key front organisation for Military Intelligence since 1986.

Its activities have now become a nightmare for many.

AEC, known locally as "ADED", has now turned itself into two new organisations, while many of its countless other front organisations in a countrywide network still function.

It operated partly under cover of "normal" activities, such as courses, lectures, seminars, donations.

It now seems clear that AEC was instrumental in:

- \* training, funding and teaching many people of whom numbers became part of a "Third Force" of hitmen and murderers;

- \* at least part of the story around the deaths of thousands of black South Africans especially in Natal and on the Reef;

- \* at least part of the conflict and murder which is still taking place in the country;

- \* at least part of the internal disruptions in hundreds and hundreds of black communities throughout the country. Many of these disruptions continue today.

Its aim, according to some senior officials and participants, was often to engender conflict between rival black organisations. In some cases organisations were "created" to achieve this.

insert page two.

## Some Local Reactions...

There is a variety of local response to the news of the fronting operation. A selection included:

- \* "...it is all a question of perspectives.../...I feel we were badly used.../...When I saw the army vehicles I turned and left the course.../...I think they did a good job of informing us.../...I have known all along that these people were sinister.../...We must not forget they also did positive work.../...Like the system of apartheid, this is another "mistake", when will they learn, admit, apologise, undo?/...they, like communists, used means to achieve an end..."

We also spoke to three of the main movers locally:

- \* Mr Abraham Kruger (chairman farmers' union labour group): "It is all a question of perspectives. Things are very different today. No I was not aware it was a front organisation linked to Military Intelligence."



Mr E. Viljoen, farmers' union chairman.

- \* Mr E. Viljoen (chairman of the local Farmers Union): "The labour course was subsidised by the SADF": "The SADF suggested the AEC to run the course." (Said in 1988 when questioned at a farmers' union meeting.)

When questioned for this edition, Mr Viljoen answered: "We had no idea it was a front organisation, or had Military Intelligence links. We took all the decisions on our own. Apart from a few tables and some infrastructure the army had nothing to do with the course."

links to black-on-black conflict, disruption, violence.

R150 million taxpayer money spent

R20 million budgetted for up to 1994!

## Some Colesberg Links

The controversial front organisation, AEC, is known to many people in Colesberg as "ADED."

Fortunately the nature of its activities in this area seems bland - compared to many other parts where its fronting as on "education and training" spread into fields linked to sowing of black-on-black conflict, training of some hit-squad murderers and much more!

It is well-known here, and nearby, to members of the local commando, white and coloured conscripts. Regular courses with the AEC version and perspective of propoganda and truth, were arranged.

Some commando members told us they "laughed off" the courses, others said they all-along suspected military intelligence was involved, some said that military intelligence "must be right", and others said they believed the ADED courses were informative, constructive, positive.

ADED is also well known to numbers of farmers. The local farmers



Mr D.H. Venter, former Hantam Commando leader.

- \* Mr D.H. Venter (leader of Hantam Commando at the time): "As bevelvoerder van die Hantam Kommando op daardie tyd was ek genader om logistieke steun te gee; uitrusting ens."

Speaking as a farmer, he said: "Ek is positief oor die kursus vir plaaswerkers. Dit het my mense goed gedoen. Op die einde van die dag het dit 'n baie heilsame positiewe uitwerking op ons mense gehad. Die kursus was tot voordeel van ons plaaswerkers."

union arranged AEC courses, at least in 1988, with promises of follow-up sessions. Some farmers' organisation in nearby towns also did so. The range of reactions from farmers to the courses were similar to those from commando members.

A number of (white) womanfolk in town and district attended special ADED courses. At the time there seemed more enthusiasm than scepticism.

Scores of farm labourers attended a course here, and a follow-up course in Graaff-Reinet showgrounds. Responses varied from those who felt the experience was worthwhile to those who dismissed it, to those who pulled out of courses because they said there was clear military involvement.

The front network was certainly active in very recent times here. We were told, for example, the Lowryville Primary School hosted courses by a front organisation of AEC and even received some money for its Std 7 education tour last year - much of the tour also arranged by the ADED front organisation, "Eduguide".

## Nuus! News! Indaba!

\* 23 Mei skaapfees!

Ander dorpe het reeds hul kersie-feeste, hul biltongfeeste, en hul mampoerfeeste. Nou kom die bekende skaapdistrik, Colesberg... ("Die Colesberger").

\* Trade Union/Civics clash?

It was interesting to see the local civics and trade union HOTELI-CCA having to sort-out a meeting at the same place and same time recently. Even more interesting was the union agenda (which was almost solely PAC geared) with a strong hint that it opposed the consumer boycott!

\* Another union?

The Food Council of SA (FOOC-SA), has put in a local appearance. It could be a meaty battle for members!

\* Budget yesterday?

The council's decision to restore water came at the end of the month - the civics will have its work cut out to persuade people who have already spent, to save in arrears, for arrears. Quite a surcharge for many!

The new gateways to this town, designed by local man Mr Peter Westoby for the south-west and north-east entrances, will be up by Easter, Mr Johan Barnard (Town Clerk) tells us.

These gateways define our common territory - within, we hope, all our people will have fulfilling lives.

This town is not a backwater! It has always linked with the mainstream of South Africa.

The gateways also connect us to this mainstream; welcoming neighbours, visitors, travellers, truckers, tourists, people in need of hospitality, rest or interest.

Within the gates, the difficult process of talks and negotiations, stalemates and agreements, is taking place. It would be an error, if not suicide, for anyone to think there might be an option or alternative to that process!



### Possible Ground For Agreements.

- \* Progress depends on continued discussions, not merely at "crisis times"...
- \* Progress cannot be overnight, but must be as urgent as can be arranged...
- \* Backlogs and differences can be identified - specific services, needs, amenities, relative gaps in experience and skills of local government, training through acceptable agencies...
- \* People should pay for services, on a reasonable basis...
- \* Especially basic services such as good water, clean air, healthy surrounds, sanitation, are local government responsibilities...
- \* The process of local talks is taking place in the context of national talks; but local content and solutions are a priority...
- \* The framework can only be one town, one municipality, one tax

- base. This can only be on a non-racial basis...
- \* Special attention is needed for the very inadequate business base of both Kuyasa and Lowryville. The central town commercial area, which can only survive if all customers come first, has community responsibilities as well...
- \* Short-term problems need an interim structure, possibly the proposed forum (after proper discussion). Long-term problems need a mechanism for planning and work...
- \* Qualities of compassion and sensitivity are essential. There are enough leaders who share a concerned concentration about the issues. They are likely to appreciate the importance of exercising Patience/Listening / Understanding / and the minimising of personality and style differences.

## A Closer Look...



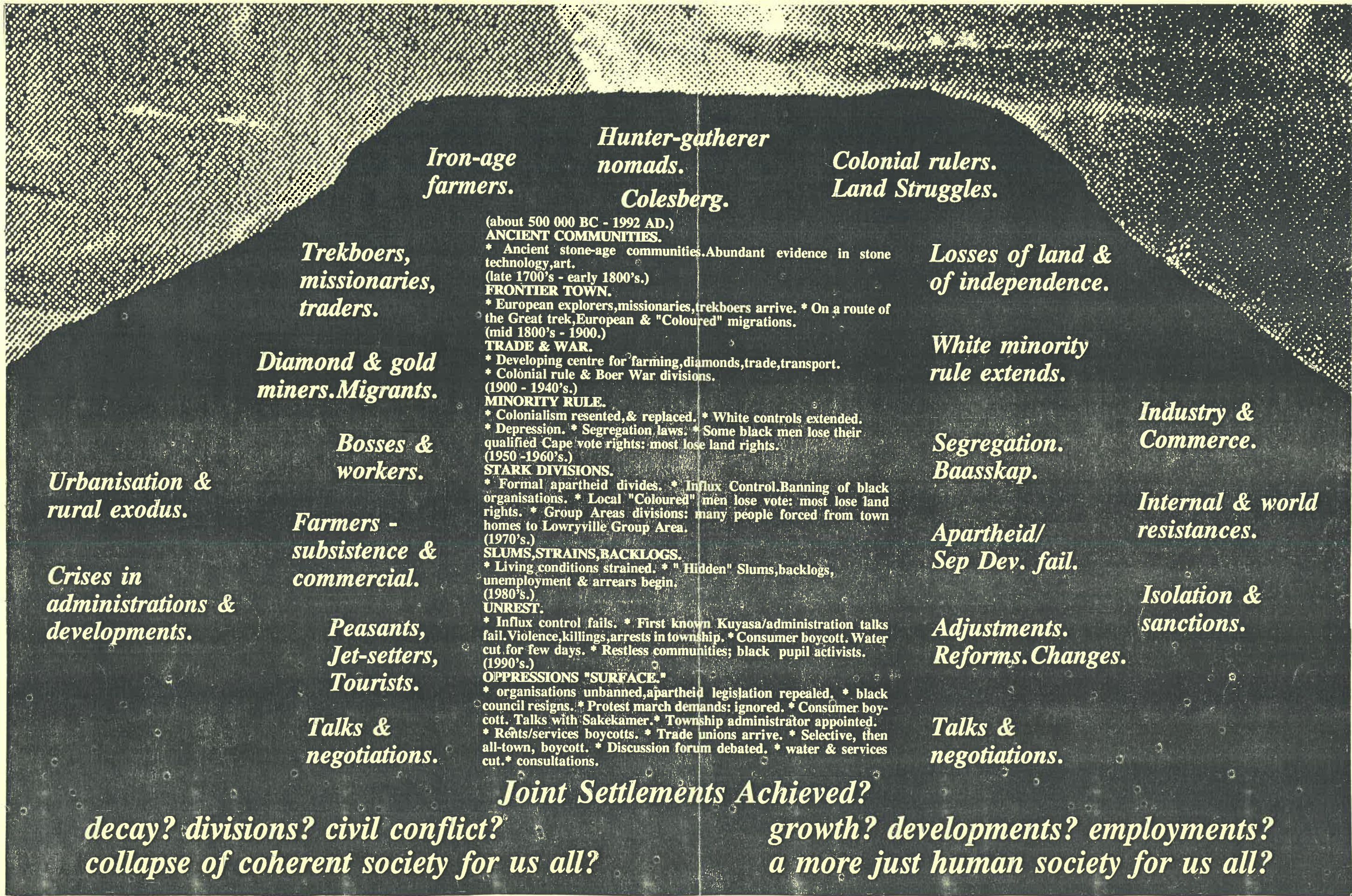
### Possible Ground For Disagreement.

- \* There are differences in style and in aspects of democracy. Is there a willingness to genuinely understand and work with the differences?
- \* Inevitably, on all sides, there will be some "goal shifting." Must this be a reason for stalemates?
- \* Systems which have led to the gaps and backlogs need to go. Is the urgent need to replace the Bantu Authorities system recognised?
- \* Availability of funds, bridging finance, development money, are critical. Will there be a readiness for all to look, together, at options, planning and priorities.
- \* "Outside" role players are here. Will local people be able to stand for local points?
- \* Mutual suspicions, hidden agendas etc are here. Can these be done away with, or sidelined?
- \* The Interim Measures Act is

- unacceptable to many. Will this framework be insisted on?
- \* Differences in style, in workings of democracy, in personalities, in "power games" exist. Will qualities of compassion / understanding / patience / etc be able to override these?
- \* Temptations to work so as to "divide and rule" are apparent. Will there be enough clear vision from leaders to avoid this?
- \* Organisations such as the Sakekammer, and possibly churches, seem to have a "neutral" position. Can the process afford to have so-called "neutral" organisations which could otherwise make sound inputs?

looking from a distance...

Toverberg View (500 000 BC to 1992).



*Iron-age farmers.*

*Hunter-gatherer nomads.  
Colesberg.*

*Colonial rulers.  
Land Struggles.*

*Trekboers, missionaries, traders.*

*Diamond & gold miners. Migrants.*

*Bosses & workers.*

*Farmers - subsistence & commercial.*

*Peasants, Jet-setters, Tourists.*

*Talks & negotiations.*

(about 500 000 BC - 1992 AD.)

**ANCIENT COMMUNITIES.**

\* Ancient stone-age communities. Abundant evidence in stone technology, art.

(late 1700's - early 1800's.)

**FRONTIER TOWN.**

\* European explorers, missionaries, trekboers arrive. \* On a route of the Great trek, European & "Coloured" migrations.

(mid 1800's - 1900.)

**TRADE & WAR.**

\* Developing centre for farming, diamonds, trade, transport.

\* Colonial rule & Boer War divisions.

(1900 - 1940's.)

**MINORITY RULE.**

\* Colonialism resented, & replaced. \* White controls extended.

\* Depression. \* Segregation laws. \* Some black men lose their qualified Cape vote rights: most lose land rights.

(1950 - 1960's.)

**STARK DIVISIONS.**

\* Formal apartheid divides. \* Influx Control. Banning of black organisations. \* Local "Coloured" men lose vote: most lose land rights.

\* Group Areas divisions: many people forced from town homes to Lowryville Group Area.

(1970's.)

**SLUMS, STRAINS, BACKLOGS.**

\* Living conditions strained. \* "Hidden" Slums, backlogs, unemployment & arrears begin.

(1980's.)

**UNREST.**

\* Influx control fails. \* First known Kuyasa/administration talks fail. Violence, killings, arrests in township. \* Consumer boycott. Water cut for few days. \* Restless communities; black pupil activists.

(1990's.)

**OPPRESSIONS "SURFACE."**

\* organisations unbanned, apartheid legislation repealed. \* black council resigns. \* Protest march demands: ignored. \* Consumer boycott. Talks with Sakekamer. \* Township administrator appointed.

\* Rents/services boycotts. \* Trade unions arrive. \* Selective, then all-town, boycott. \* Discussion forum debated. \* water & services cut. \* consultations.

*Losses of land & of independence.*

*White minority rule extends.*

*Segregation. Baasskap.*

*Apartheid/ Sep Dev. fail.*

*Adjustments. Reforms. Changes.*

*Talks & negotiations.*

*Industry & Commerce.*

*Internal & world resistances.*

*Isolation & sanctions.*

*Joint Settlements Achieved?*

*decay? divisions? civil conflict?  
collapse of coherent society for us all?*

*growth? developments? employments?  
a more just human society for us all?*