

2 September: Zakhele Tutani assaulted and killed by Inkatha supporters in Bambayi

3 September: Siphwe Maphumulo (23) killed by Inkatha supporters in Inanda

14 September: Some students expelled from Enzoosha higher primary school, Newtown (for calling a strike to mark the banning of COSAS) returned with outsiders and set the school alight.

15 September: At a meeting held to oppose the attempts of one councillor Mlambo to extend his control of Enachobeni, an attack allegedly made by Mlambo and supporters. Two people were killed, including Mlambo's 18 year old son and many shacks burnt down. About 200 people fled.

15-20 September: Fighting between Mlambo faction and opponents continued; security forces allegedly dispersed comrades but took no action against the others. Two further deaths.

16 September: Students demanding an SRC at Siyathuthuka school, Newtown, expelled by principal. Their appeals to be allowed to write exams turned down. Comrades retaliated by attacking and petrol bombing the school.

16 September: Bongani Selby Goba (19) attacked by amabutha near his home in Newtown and killed; Bheki Majoia (23) attacked and killed at Inanda Mission.

17 September: House of Catherine Ntombela in Enachobeni destroyed by fire

20 September: House of Jodwa Shabalala attacked and looted.

20-28 September: At least five youths killed by amabutha in Amawothi and Afrika areas. The clinic at the Gandhi settlement treated many others for injuries.

30 September: Two sisters killed by the amabutha; mother stabbed, in hospital. The amabutha apparently believe that all students, especially if they attend schools in KwaMashu, are UDP.

30 September: Seven houses burnt down in Amawothi, including that of Sthemiso Nathonjwa owners fled. Ten youths beaten up.

1 October: In Amawothi, two houses, of Sabatha Ngceshu and Nkosinathi Ndlovu, destroyed by fire.

1 October: Nkululeko Ngobo (26) attacked and stabbed in Newtown. Died in King Edward Hospital on 14 October.

October: Vigilantes stopped taxi and dragged out one Mth. Swili Domingo Nathonjwa (14), member of the Inanda

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Youth League and suspected of UDF sympathies, and killed him.

6 October: Amabutho attacked Phambeleni high school, believed to shelter UDF supporters.

6 October: In Amawothi, a matric pupil at Isibonelo high school in Kwamashu, Finest Mkhize, raped and stabbed to death by vigilantes. Her father was badly injured and their house burnt down.

13 October: Group of alleged UDF supporters stabbed four Inkatha members in Newtown. One was a 60 year old man, Mr Mboyisa, who was stabbed seven times. The amabutho chased the group away before calling ambulances and security forces.

15 October: Four hundred men forced to a meeting in Odiameni called by a councillor, Nyathikazi. Told they had to fight the comrades, and that every house would have to pay R10 to get muti (medicine) so that they would defeat the amaqabane.

16 October: Four people seriously injured in clashes

19 October: In Odiameni, announcements made over megaphone that people have to pay R5 to help to defeat the amaqabane. Inkatha now runs an office in this area, where previously the comrades were strong. One Inkatha leader, and major landlord, Rogers Ngcobo, is reputed to be the key figure.

19 October: In Emshasafe and Bambayi areas, the Pondo people have refused to join Inkatha and have also resisted attempts to have their councillor Sibindi ousted and an Inkatha one appointed in his place.

21 October: In Odiameni, several houses petrol bombed.

22 October: Hundreds of women rounded up and forced to march to a meeting called by Mlaba, Nyathikazi's induna. On same day, several houses burnt down.

24 October: Home of Danisa, a COSATU organiser, surrounded by amabutho, reputedly working for Nyathikazi. Danisa managed to escape.

26 October: Mlaba and his amabutho attacked the Shembe church, injuring amaqabane who had taken refuge there; one boy of eight or nine killed. The SADF dispersed the amabutho, then forced the youth out and sjambokked them.

4 Nov: Graham Nonjiko (20) shot and killed while attending a funeral.

11 Nov: Siphwe Mtshali (19) stabbed to death by Inkatha, Newtown A.

18 Nov: During vigil for a dead comrade a group of people was attacked by members of the SADF. Comrades from Makhuta and Lamontville got lost when they tried to escape & were then attacked by Inkatha. One man was killed.

18 Nov: Ivan Mlungisi Ngcobo (21) shot and killed at night by men in balaclavas, Emathendeni

24 Nov: Sifiso Nzama (15) assaulted & killed by vigilantes near his home, B section.

24 Nov: A youth known as 'Teenager' (14) was attacked and stabbed to death when getting off a bus in B section.

24 Nov: 3 brothers (16, 18 and 20) were shot and killed. Their uncle (52) was injured in the same incident and died in hospital on 6.12.88, Hambanathi

1 Dec: Fika Zuma (14) was shot by vigilantes while standing on the road near his house.

2 Dec: Bongani Goloshe (22) killed by 'Amabutho' at about 5.30, Amawuti

3 Dec: A brother and sister, Wanderboy Khumalo (31) and Thembi Khumalo (26) killed and their house burnt in Bambayi

4 Dec: Bheki Zungu (12), Kliniek Mswalini (12) and Right Mathe (19) were stabbed, abducted and later found dead in Inanda.

5 Dec: Nomvula Mavundla and a woman were shot and taken to King Edward hospital

8 Dec: A busload of vigilantes from Lindelani attacked people in Newtown & searched houses for 'comrades'. They threatened that this was just the beginning of an operation to rid the area of UDF, NOW and COSATU supporters. Many people were injured

9 Dec: Doyi Hofmeyer Mboyi (42) accused of hiding youth in his home, stabbed and shot dead.

9 Dec: Numerous attacks on young people by vigilantes and houses petrol bombed.

9 Dec: Rev. Makhoba and his family attacked and forced to flee their home in Amawuti. Another priest, Rev Mbuyazwe is killed in an attack.

11 Dec: Mr. Mthembu's house burnt down

15 Dec: Announcements made over megaphone calling people to a meeting on Sundays: anyone who did not attend, it was said, would be regarded as a comrade and wiped out. There would be house to house searches.

16 or 17 Dec: Thokozane Makhoba (26) attacked and killed near his home

18 Dec: A young boy from 'Tin Town' attacked by vigilantes in Newtown & allegedly 'chopped to pieces' with knives & assegais.

18 Dec: Following an Inkatha 'prayer' rally in A section hall, which was addressed by Rogers Ngcobo MP and Jamile Mlotshwa MP, the Thenjekwayo house in Newtown A section was attacked by amabutho, allegedly led by Albert Ganda Masinga. Raymoth Mandlakayiso Thenjekwayo(40), from Umlazi who was visiting, was stabbed and shot dead, while his brother Gabriel Thenjekwayo (40ish) a Dunlop shop steward survived 4 bullets. The family had to flee.

25 Dec: Thimkosi Nxumalo (16) shot and killed at about 6pm

25 Dec: Dlokwakhe Hlongwa (17) shot and killed

25 Dec: Sakhile Nkoskhand Ndawonde (18) shot dead in Emachobeni

1st week January, 1989: There were many reports about attacks and petrol bombings of houses in clashes between squatters/ Inkatha and township/UDF. Amongst the dead reported were: Mrs. Ngema and her son Themba Bongimusa Ngema (25), Mrs. Fikile Shandu; Mr. and

Mrs Dlamini; Thoko Ndlovu

9 Jan: Mangametu Mthimkhulu (56) shot and killed by Amabutho

14 Jan: Ishal Malabira Mpungose (14) stabbed to death in Ntuzuma in the evening. The body was found on the road next to Sondelani H P. school.

14 Jan: A woman was hit and kicked by about 16 soldiers who were asking her where she kept hidden weapons. They allegedly came back three times.

16 Jan: Leo Ndlovu was attacked and seriously wounded ; admitted to King Edward Hospital

18 Jan: Mr. Mazibuko (early 30's) was stabbed by comrades. 11 wounds.

21 Jan: A man stabbed to death; reports of arson attacks on houses

27 Jan: Mandla Ngubo (23) shot by police in Amahlongwa, whilst on the run from the police at Lamontville

29 Jan: Michael Themba Dhlamini (20) stabbed to death in Inanda.

**Black Sash Natal Coastal Region  
Repression Monitoring Group**

**An analysis of conflict in Inanda**

**Paper prepared for Annual Conference, Mariannhill,  
March 1989**

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Introduction

Even with the heavy restrictions in force on the flow of information, it is clear that violent, life-losing conflict has become endemic over much of the Natal/KwaZulu region. Hundreds of people have been killed, thousands injured or displaced as their houses have been attacked or destroyed.

It would be wrong to attribute this widespread violence to a single cause. Each area has its local tensions, history of grievances, internal conflicts, which often determine who is on which side when battle lines are drawn. (1) But it is when localised problems are added into broader, bigger, more common conflicts that the mix becomes explosive. It is undeniable that one such issue is the deep political/ideological division between those adhering or claiming affiliation to a UDF or COSATU position, and Inkatha, which seems to brook no opposition whatever to itself. The periodic drives by Inkatha to sign up new members - and the concerted resistance displayed to them - have frequently precipitated contained tension into uncontained violence.

We have chosen to focus on but one of many flashpoints of violence in the region (2) - Inanda, near Durban - to illustrate the point that one needs to examine the buildup of local grievances, as well as their combination with broader political struggles, to appreciate fully the nature of contemporary violence in the region. '

Inanda - a description

Inanda is a densely packed, untidy, sprawling informal settlement north west of the city of Durban, that stretches for many undulating kilometres. It grows visibly by the day, as shacks are erected on any vacant pockets of ground.

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1 See the RMG's Bulletin (three issues of which have been released to date) and also the work of Gwala on Pietermaritzburg (Transformation 1988) for examples.

2 Other areas particularly hard hit in recent months have been Mpumalanga, Hammarsdale, KwaNdengezi, KwaDabeka, KwaMakhutha, Ntuzuma. (Sunday Tribune 20/11/88)

No-one is certain how many people live there; between three quarters and one million would probably be a reasonable estimate. Although to an outsider the sea of shacks seems uniform and unremitting, the hilly terrain separates the Inanda complex into a series of small neighbourhoods. Some are decades old and well established, others new and socially uncemented. Religious groupings, such as the Amanazaretha at Ekuphakameni, occupy distinct areas, while others are reputed to 'belong' to specific ethnic groups.

As is the case in informal settlements across the country, Inanda's people have to cope with almost no basic facilities, and there is crushing pressure on the few resources that are available. There is a tarred road running all the way through Inanda, and some dirt roads or tracks winding between the shacks; there are a few shops, mostly general stores; there are some schools but these cannot possibly cope with the number of schoolgoing children in Inanda; there is a police station, a post office, and a clinic; except for the few houses and shops that are linked to electricity, an inky darkness envelops the area at night. Water can be bought at one of several points dotted along the main road, or when the rivers are flowing, water can be carried up from the valleys.

A substantial proportion of Inanda's population is made up of people who have spent all their lives in the city, and who have been either unable or unwilling to live in formal African townships, two of which border on Inanda: Ntuzuma and Kwamashu. (Phoenix, and Indian township, also abuts Inanda.) However, a growing number of people, especially in the past decade, have been rural people, who have lost their tenuous connections with the land and trekked townwards.

Generally, educational levels in Inanda are low and the rate of unemployment is very high (a survey some three years ago calculated it at 45% (3) and it has probably increased since then) especially among the youth, producing a 'bitter generation' (4) amongst a tenantry caught downward spiral of poverty. Moreover, it is structural as opposed to temporary poverty: 'the long-term poverty of individuals due to their personal or social circumstances' (5), mostly caused by lack of access to employment. Life is, therefore, a precarious business, a continual struggle. In such a circumstance, tenants, both young and old, may have a well developed sense of where the roots of their troubles lie and may have the capacity to defend their interests when these are openly

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3 Sutcliffe, M. and P. Wellings Attitudes and living conditions in Inanda: the context for unrest? (Durban, 1985)

4 Sitas, A. "Inanda, August 1985" in South African Labour Bulletin 11, 4, 1986.

5 Iliffe, J. The African poor. A history Cambridge, 1988, p.4.

unthreatened. But the important object is survival, rather than political affiliation. And survival can mean avoiding having to take sides in political strife, steering an independent course between the conflicting demands imposed by different factions. Thus, while there are of course those directly committed to a 'cause', there are also those who wish to evade, avoid, duck, as far as possible, in the interests of survival.

#### Inanda since the 1950s

The important fact about Inanda, which distinguishes it from many other informal settlements in South Africa, is that it is not in a bantustan - its official designation is 'Released Area 33', meaning it is destined for eventual incorporation in KwaZulu - and is built largely on privately-owned land, belonging to both African and Indian landholders. Here and there one can still see large, well-built homes, decaying mostly now, relics of a more rural lifestyle when landowners were farmers. The 1950s and 1960s were years of struggle to maintain commercially viable farming activities and when the promise of greater security presented itself in the form of rents from tenants, farmers willingly allowed settlement to occur on their properties. Shacklords, as they were to become known, were not only the owners but also effectively the rulers of the area, as no state department seemed willing to assume responsibility for it.

The urbanisation of Inanda began in the late 1950s and 1960s with the clearance of Cato Manor, an informal settlement much closer to the city centre. Large numbers of its African tenants were rehoused in the newly laid out KwaMashu township but many either did not qualify for or rejected this type of housing and moved just beyond KwaMashu to Inanda. From here it was still feasible to commute daily to town, as the bus routes had been extended in a north westerly direction to service the new township.

For the many landlords, some 'big' and several hundred 'small' ones, tenants brought a steady income. And for those who were also shopowners, tenants were also consumers. Whereas before these had been country concerns with a sluggish turnover, profitable markets were now growing on their doorsteps.

Particularly over the last two decades, the urbanisation of Inanda has accelerated massively as the backlog of township houses and the deterioration of rural areas have worsened. This very high rate of settlement has, as mentioned, placed severe stress on available resources but also on the inhabitants themselves, compounded by the state's general attitude that 'squatters' are illegal and ought not to be

there at all: this has produced a general anxiety about the future, which pervades all social interaction.

#### Crisis for a decade

For a decade now, one crisis after another has afflicted Inanda. (6) In 1979, at the onset of the worst drought the region had witnessed for years, the rivers dried up and there was as a result no water. A typhoid epidemic broke out. A group of interests - among them the army, the Urban Foundation and government departments of Health and Cooperation and Development (CAD) - intervened and provided an emergency water supply.

The state used the health/water pretext for its first attempts at forced removals, beginning in 1980. It owned small portions of land in the area - the result of its unenthusiastic attempts to acquire land in terms of the 1936 Land Act - and used these to establish a site-and-service scheme, a sort of do-it-yourself township, together with the Urban Foundation. Tenants from Amawothi, one of the worst-hit areas by both drought and typhoid, were the first targets for removal but other Inanda tenants could apply for participation in the scheme, as long as they were 'citizens of KwaZulu'. The idea was that participants would at first be permitted to build shacks, and then gradually construct a more sturdy structure to conform to minimum standards. Water points - one for every four houses - and pit latrines were laid on. The result was Newtown, formally declared a township in April 1982.

Several of the more influential landlords in the area objected strongly to the scheme, feeling that the state was interfering in their area of jurisdiction. When their attempts to stop the development of Newtown were unsuccessful, a few tried to take control of the 'representative' structure, a liaison committee, which had been set up by the Verulam magistrate. One of the largest landlords in Inanda, Rogers Ngcobo, became chairman of the liaison committee, of which Newtown residents seemed unaware; in the meantime they had organised their own residents' committee. The two structures were operating fundamentally at odds with one another.

The state also began to play African against Indian landlords, by prosecuting the latter for unhygienic conditions on their properties, but leaving the former alone. In 1982 it also issued a structure plan for the future of the area, which made it clear that the removal of Indian landlords (as well as the numerous Indian tenants who

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6 Only a summary is presented in this paper. For the details, see Hughes, H. 'Violence in Inanda, August 1985' in Journal of Southern African Studies 13, 3, 1986.



and been living there for many years) would be a prerequisite for 'development'. 'Race relations' became a source of increasing tension thereafter.

In 1983, there was an outbreak of cholera as problems over the water supply persisted. Also in that year were a prolonged bus boycott which flared into violence on several occasions, and student boycotts of classes.

It was the students' struggle against inferior schooling that tipped Inanda into intense violence in August 1985. All over the country, students had been in the forefront of resistance to apartheid and their protests in nearby townships spilled over into Inanda and set the tinder of accumulating tensions alight. What have been described as 'lumpen' youth seem to have initiated the string of attacks against Indian targets in Inanda, although vigilantes from other areas were bussed in as well. In one week, all Inanda's Indian families had been turned into refugees, an estimated 20 people had been killed, and the Gandhi settlement had been destroyed along with some 42 Indian-owned shops and businesses, and as many houses.

It was the worst violence ever witnessed in the area. Residents were barely recovering from it when a large group of people, displaced from another conflict - a 'faction fight' between Pondo and Zulu sections on the south coast, at Umbogintwini No.5 - were relocated in the Bambayi area in tents. They are all Pondo people, still in tents and still uncertain of their future, about which there is a long, protracted court case in process. It has been adjourned until August of this year.

Through 1986, African landlords attempted to consolidate their position by establishing themselves as the 'legitimate leaders' of Inanda. Rogers Ngcobo, who had had an uneasy relationship with Inkatha for some time, made his peace with the organisation and began to organise a branch structure. He also seems to have been responsible for appointing several councillors in Inanda; there were never any elections for these positions and seemingly no formally organised body on which they sat. Some at least, as part of their duties, have been responsible for collecting rents and many double up as the local Inkatha branch chairmen.

In late 1986, a meeting was convened between various parties to discuss the upgrading of Inanda. One local community leader says he was excluded by Mr Ngcobo who was antithetical to any UDF (or tenant?) participation: as the informant put it, "Developers want people like Ngcobo - he is a businessman. What do we have to invest?" (7) Thus the upgrading which is going on - mainly in the form of home

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7. Interview, 20/2/89.

construction - has not been done in consultation with any representatives of tenant interests. Again, because of the individuals involved, Inkatha seems for the moment to have established itself as the organisation with which developers negotiate.

Apart from the more intrusive forms of power being exercised by landlords, the tenants had another 'natural' disaster to cope with in 1987: the floods, which ravaged many parts of Natal. Through the long, intense drought since 1979, many residents had built shacks on land which seemed dry; people had forgotten where the water courses ran. So when the rivers came down in raging flood, scores of flimsy structures were swept away, and many people drowned. Relief operations seem to have been as much a fiasco in this area as in several others, with complaints about the need to display an Inkatha membership card before aid would be given.

#### Immediate causes of the current violence

Perhaps precisely because the daily struggle for survival has been very difficult in the face of so many types of disaster in Inanda, political organisations have found the mobilisation of support there equally difficult. In addition, it is in the nature of things that landlord-tenant relations should be tense; it is hard to see how tenants could identify with the material interests of their landlords, except in the most general sense of both being permitted to remain in the area. Against this background, expansion of membership for Inkatha becomes a hard task as it is perceived to be so closely bound up with the designs of the landlords and their councillors. In Newtown, too, the issue of Inkatha membership has become tangled with the perceived interests of landlords to gain greater say in the township's three Sections. There is widespread evidence that strong-arm tactics have been resorted to, as a result of the landlords'/Inkatha's determination to secure control of the area and to protect it from what many of them call the 'rubbish' - more militant, radical organisations under the UDF umbrella, and COSATU.

It is not that local people are inherently predisposed towards any political position other than Inkatha: the immediate alternative, the UDF, was always weak in the area, even before its banning. Its strongest support was - and remains - young people in youth congresses, eg. Inanda Youth Organisation (IYO), which would explain the 'comrades' attacks on some schools whose principals refused to recognise SRCs and more recently, who have been implementing departmental directives about the exclusion of certain categories of students. The UDF's other main presence in Inanda has been in the branch of the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW). Other groups, like the Inanda Civic

Organisation, which aims to help tenants with problems and organise self-help groups, admit a painfully slow increase in numerical support.

The current wave of conflict, in which over 50 people have already been killed, began in March 1988, with a series of meetings called by Inkatha in various parts of Inanda. Organised by local councillors, they seem to have been designed to test the loyalty of residents to Inkatha: those not attending meetings would be considered actively opposed to it. At least one of the meetings, in Newtown A, was attended by the notorious vigilante leader from the nearby settlement of Lindelani, Mandla Shabalala, accompanied by vigilante supporters. The latter caused some bloodshed as they disrupted a soccer match - the players evidently choosing their game over the meeting. Dissatisfaction with the councillor, Mr Zondo, resulted in a later meeting to call for his resignation - which call also resulted in the residents of A section being regarded as 'UDF'. (What vigilantes and those associated with them understand by 'UDF' would make an interesting - and perhaps revealing - study.) Vigilante attacks in the area thereafter intensified - men of all ages involved but a large proportion of them young men - the main targets being suspected UDF sympathisers in IYO, NOW, and students who were attending schools in the townships (who were as such believed to be 'UDF'), as well as COSATU members. Counter-attacks by 'comrades', mostly armed with stones, also intensified. The killings and injuries, and the arson attacks on houses had begun.

Similar experiences were related by people in other parts of Inanda. In some places, meetings were supplemented by house-to-house searches for Inkatha membership cards (at a cost of R5-00 each). In areas such as Ezimangweni, R2-00 donations were extracted to pay for the vigilantes, and in Skoko, money was also demanded 'for road restructuring'.

As the violence escalated and spread to other sections of Newtown, Machobeni, Skoko, Ezimangweni, Amawothi, Afrika, Depot and Bambayi, from August 1988, (8) so too did pressure on residents to take sides. As family members or friends were attacked or killed, as funeral proceedings were disrupted, so the possibilities of retribution increased. The opportunities for steering a path between contending factions have narrowed considerably. One possible way was to flee, and some 200 refugees (including many 'comrades') were living temporarily in Ntuzuma by September, most of them from Machobeni. The trouble with this course of action was that refugees were regarded by local councillors as

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8 A detailed list of incidents would merely be a repetition of information contained in the RMG's Bulletins. Refer to relevant excerpts in appendix 1 for a chronological account.

'traitors' and their houses 'resold' to supporters, for anything upwards of R10-00, reputedly. The violence and dislocation have meant a loss of livelihood for many who have tried to operate in the 'informal sector', eg. shoemakers, panelbeaters, fruit sellers, etc.

In October, certain councillors in the Depot, Nhlungwane, Odlameni and Emshasafe areas embarked on recruitment drives to augment their vigilante forces. In the Odlameni area, for example, the councillor Mr Nyathikazi called 400 men to a meeting. They were told that each household would be required to pay R10-00 to buy 'medicines' for use in fighting the 'comrades'; it would make the vigilantes invisible. The ensuing attacks, designed to enforce vigilante control, resulted in another wave of refugees.

Many residents found it very frustrating to claim to be able to identify their assailants and then to find that the local police refused to take statements from them; in fact, the local police at Inanda have largely denied any 'unrest'. One resident said, 'we go to the Phoenix SAP and not Inanda SAP because Inanda SAP never helps us'. In addition, there were many claims that the security forces stood by and did little to protect people from attack - and that if they did anything at all, they disarmed the 'comrades' and left the vigilantes.

In December, there was evidence that many 'comrades' who had fled Inanda were returning, this time armed with weapons more lethal than stones. Correspondingly, the December/January period - school holidays - seems to have been earmarked for another concerted 'cleanup' by vigilantes. (There is some evidence that 'kitskonstabels' being paid a few rands a day, had been moved into Inanda in December, too, and were siding with vigilantes.) Outside agencies watching the situation called on the police to intervene, fearing the results of the inevitable clashes. All through December, there seemed to be official reluctance to take any action. As the violence did indeed intensify, seemingly involving vigilantes from Lindelani as well as Inanda, and opposed to them so-called 'comtsotsis' engaging in extortionist practises, as well as other young 'comrades', increasing numbers of deaths were reported. (9) Newtown and Odlameni were the worst-affected areas; fighting also spilled over into certain sections of Ntuzuma where Inanda people had fled.

In mid-December, Rogers Ngcobo convened a meeting - he called it a 'prayer meeting' - in Newtown A, at which, as before, everyone in the section was warned that they would be regarded as 'comrades' if they failed to attend. During the meeting, some 100 armed men patrolled the section,

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9 See report in Sunday Tribune 11/12/88

killing one man and injuring many. The killing - of Raymoth Thenjekwayo, brother of a NUMSA shop steward, Gabriel Thenjekwayo, who was badly injured in the attack - has resulted in one of the very few cases from the conflict to reach court. A vigilante leader, Ganda Masinga, has been charged with the murder. Rogers Ngcobo has already announced that Inkatha will investigate Masinga's case only if he is found guilty; in the meantime, he is blaming 'UDF infiltration of the South African Police for casting suspicion on Masinga's character'. (10)

An added twist to the conflict at this time seems to have been the manipulative promises made by vigilante leaders to their supporters that if they flushed 'troublemakers' out of Newtown, they could move into the homes thus vacated. For shack dwellers, this must have seemed the easiest - or only - way to acquire decent housing. 'It is a fight between the haves and the have-nots', one resident explained. (11) There was retaliation by the 'haves', who closed off access to bus stops, water points, the clinic and even schools, to those from the shanties. NDM MP Peter Gastrow noted after a visit to the area that 'Clearly the struggle for resources is major factor in the fighting here...it is a powder keg situation if one community is cut off by another from critical resources'. (12)

By early January, the township manager of Newtown (who seems to have been very ineffectual in dealing with councillors and their actions up until then) called on the local SADF headquarters to intervene in Inanda, after pressure had been exerted on him by residents, mainly delegations of women, to take firm action. It was only after an appeal to Pretoria that, on 5 January, 'a strong force of SADF soldiers moved into the troubled Inanda Newtown area', setting up a temporary camp there. (13) It is a telling comment on the way township conflicts have gone since 1984, that, at a press conference called by NOW in late January, township women declared that they were happy that the army was now protecting them; 'the people are now able to sleep'. (14) This appears to have been something of a PR coup for the state: the aggressor in so many township conflicts has been treated here as the hero. The cause of the problems - the state's inability or unwillingness to provide resources and a basic standard of decency for a substantial proportion of Durban's population - has in the process been displaced on to those who themselves are, in many ways, either products of, or parasites feeding off, the acute shortage of resources in Inanda.

10 Report in The New Nation 6-15/2/89

11 Daily News 5/1/89

12 Weekly Mail 20-26/1/89

13 Daily News 5/1/89

14 Daily News 20/1/89

The presence of the army seems to have caused splits within the ranks of Inkatha; no longer are its leading figures able to exercise their own forms of 'law enforcement' in Inanda. In Newtown, a split has been reported between Rogers Ngcobo and the local councillor, Jay Kuzwayo, (15) - Kuzwayo reportedly did not attend Ngcobo's meeting in December; another rift is reputed to have opened within Mr Nyathikazi's group (who had been viciously active in late December and early January in Newtown).

The killings and violence may have abated, but have not stopped. As in all the other areas of this war-torn region, real social calm will only ever come if the grievances of the different communities are addressed. They are grievances which cannot be dealt with by the occupation of armies, for armies cannot eliminate poverty.