

day March 15 1988

# Exile will challenge claims by Mr X1

## Evidence on ANC faulty, court told

By Jo-Anne Collinge

BETHAL — A secret witness, who says he was once part of a regional military command of the African National Congress and is now a constable in the South African security police, was told yesterday that he was giving evidence on ANC structures of which he had no direct knowledge and was basing his claims on incorrect hearsay evidence.

The challenge came from the defence in the treason trial of Mr Acton Mandla Maseko, Mr Simon Dladla and Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim which is being heard in the circuit court at Bethal before Mr Justice Daniels.

Defence counsel Mr Leonard Gering challenged the witness, identified only as Mr X1, saying the ANC's Mr John Nkadameng would challenge evidence that he (Nkadameng) was chairman of the Senior Organ of the ANC between 1980 and 1982.

### SENIOR ORGAN OF THE ANC

Mr Nkadameng would also contradict evidence by Mr X1 that Mr Ebrahim had been a member of the Senior Organ, an ANC structure based in Maputo.

Mr X1 responded to Mr Gering's submission, saying: "Well, John Nkadameng would be lying."

The defence submitted that Mr X1's information on the Politico-Military Committee (PMC) — founded in 1983 after the Senior Organ was disbanded — included the following defects:

- The chairman of the PMC was not Mr Nkadameng

(as Mr X1 had said) but one of three men, Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Joe Slovo or Mr Thomas Nkobi.

- The deputy chairman of the PMC was not Mr J Jele, as the witness had testified, and his correct first name was Josiah, not Johannes, as Mr X1 had said.

- The defence stated that Mr Simon Makana (known to the witness by the name Nkokeli) and Mrs Ruth Mompothi had never been part of the PMC as the witness claimed.

### INTERVIEW WITH TOP MAN

Mr Gering said the basis for his instruction on these matters was, among other things, an interview with Mr Jacob Zuma of the ANC. It is common cause that Mr Zuma was a member of the PMC.

During the course of these submissions, Mr X1 replied: "Well, I have told this court what I knew about people I personally knew. You see I was personally there and (to Mr Gering) I never saw you there."

When questioned about whether he was ever on the PMC or in attendance at its meetings he conceded he had not been "but I was serving in structures under the PMC".

The three accused have pleaded not guilty to the main charge of high treason and to alternative charges which include eight counts of attempted murder arising from landmine blasts in the Eastern Transvaal in April and June 1986.

Mr Ebrahim, who is described in the indictment as a key figure in ANC regional structures in Swaziland, was kidnapped from Swaziland in December 1986 and brought to Pretoria where he was detained.

The trial continues.

SOWETAN, Tuesday, March 15, 1988

# COLLEGE SENDS 700 HOME OVER STAYAWAY

THE future of more than 700 students at the Mgwenya College of Education in KaNgwane is in the balance following the suspension of classes three weeks ago.

According to a spokesman for the students, classes were suspended on February 23 after a week-long boycott of lectures. The boycott, he said, was in protest against the refusal to recognise the Students Representative Council (SRC).

"Problems started after the introduction of the prefect system at the college. The school's governing council refused to recognise the SRC saying it was unconstitutionally elected," the spokesman said.

The students then resolved that all academic activities be suspended until the SRC has been recognised as their representative body.

Mr D E Mauku, spokesman for KaNgwane's Department of Education, yesterday confirmed that classes had been suspended at the

college. He said the students wanted to impose an unconstitutionally elected SRC on the authorities.

"We advised them that the rector of the college, Mr William Ndlala, was to have been involved in

the election of their representative. We also explained to the students that they would have to attend lectures while their grievances were being looked into.

"It was therefore decided that classes be

suspended after they refused to comply with the regulations governing the college. We felt that they were not prepared to learn but to organise boycotts," Mr Mauku said.

Circulars in which

parents are asked to undertake that their children will adhere to regulations have already been sent out to them.

Failure to comply with the information contain-

ed in the circulars would be an indication that students were not interested in furthering their studies at the college, he said.

The parents have until March 21 to respond to the circulars.

## Students protest 'refusal to recognise their SRC'

## Buthelezi's grim message about reform standstill

*Daily News*  
THERE was not a "snowball's chance in hell" of reform getting off the ground under the current state of emergency, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said today.

Opening the sixth session of the fourth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the Chief Minister said he had never in his life felt as "alienated" from the State President, Mr P.W. Botha.

Mr Botha was represented by the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen,

*15/3/88*  
**Political  
Reporter**

at the function. Dr Buthelezi said he was pleased to welcome "a man of integrity" such as Dr Viljoen, even though the National Party had stopped the reform process dead in its tracks because of its fear of the "lunatic right-wing fringe".

In a hard-hitting address he said there seemed scant hope that Mr Botha would rise above adversity

to get a "meaningful reform programme" off the ground.

However, he said, he would dread the day if he had to do "the bidding of the masses" and abandon a willingness to compromise and lead his people in "practical non-violent action".

In a country so fraught with tensions, conflict and confrontation could occur even during non-violent action if there was no way forward as far as fundamental change was concerned.

Position deteriorating, says Von Weizsaecker

# Warning of change in Bonn attitude to SA

*Business Day. 15/3/88*

**HARARE** — Bonn is reappraising its policy of firm opposition to economic sanctions against SA after Pretoria's latest crackdown on internal opposition, West German President Richard von Weizsaecker said here yesterday.

"The position in SA is deteriorating," he told a news conference as he wound up a six-day state visit.

"It is the government in SA that makes it more difficult for other countries to go on asking for peaceful dialogue."

He cited West Germany's abstention in a March 8 vote in the UN Security Council on sanctions against SA as a departure from Bonn's previous line.

"This position . . . has to be and will be understood by the SA government as a clear signal," he said.

Von Weizsaecker, in Zimbabwe on the third leg of a four-nation African tour, said plans by SA to bar anti-apartheid groups from receiving financial help from abroad would be another blow against peaceful reform.

Political correspondent ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that a spokes-

man for Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said government could not comment on Press reports that Bonn was re-assessing its anti-sanctions policy because of the crackdown on opposition groups in SA.

The spokesman said Botha, who was in Geneva, would not comment on statements made by Von Weizsaecker until the precise text had been received.

Von Weizsaecker went on to say he had hoped to meet World Alliance of Reformed Churches leader Allan Boesak and anti-apartheid activists Beyers Naude while in Harare.

But their trip coincided with new curbs against the churches by the SA government.

## Responsibility

"In view of the high level of tension between the SA government and the churches, these leaders took the decision not to come to Harare," he said. "I am very sorry about this."

He said that, as an active member of the German protestant church before becoming President, apartheid "tramples underfoot my personal

concept of Christianity in its responsibility for the world, for society and for fellow human beings".

He added Bonn would also step up efforts to persuade France and the United States to revive joint Western diplomatic efforts for the independence of Namibia.

The West German leader said his formal talks with Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe focused on developments in SA.

Zimbabwe had called on West Germany to sever economic and trade ties with SA as part of the international sanctions campaign to end Pretoria's policy of racial separation.

Von Weizsaecker said SA's recent banning of internal opposition groups seeking peaceful change signalled rapidly worsening conditions and represented a severe blow to hopes for peaceful reform.

The Bonn government's policy towards SA was influenced by these and other developments.

"Our posture cannot be described as deep frozen, not taking account of developments," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

# The contradictions that spawn violence

The chilling thing about the macabre killing of funeral undertakers in Soweto last week was that it could have happened to anybody.

Worse still, anyone of us could have been responsible for what seemed like senseless murders caused by a rumour.

I took a drive around Soweto the Saturday after five undertakers' employees were hacked to death and set on fire. I was struck forcibly by the contradictions that make such inexplicable acts of violence, based on nothing but rumour, come about. There are more than 20 townships that form Soweto. Most of them, while they have a depressing physical uniformity, are cheerful and almost joyful on weekends.

There was this strange cheerfulness after the entire Soweto had been shocked by the deaths of five people. There had been a rumour that a witch-hunt was on for all funeral undertakers, which would mean the cancellation of dozens of funerals which form the celebratory ritual of township life on weekends. People were going about in their usual bouncy fashion as if they did not have a care in the world.

## Hidden population

Life goes on almost at a deliberate up-tempo, perhaps because the houses are so close to each other; one township slips almost comfortably into the next.

This is an almost seamless spread of habitation made striking these days by a number of features that starkly define the contradictions.

Orlando East, Diepkloof and Meadowlands are particularly striking in this. A whole hidden population has suddenly sprung up — the result possibly of the repeal of influx control and pass laws regulations. Every other three or four-room house in these townships has a shack or a warren of tiny shacks fighting for air in the pocket-sized yards. And just as the shack phenomenon seems to fade out in Mofolo Central you drive into the night-mare shacktown, Mshenguville.

This is a collection of shacks teetering crazily into a little spruit adjacent an old golf course. The shacks sprang up almost overnight after the former mayor of Soweto, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, sold land to desperate home-seekers for R35 a plot. The place took its name from Tshabalala's Zulu clan name Mshengu. It has become something of a festering scar smack in the middle of the hurly-burly of mixed-up townships.

*The STAR 15/3/88*  
**Aggrey Klaaste looks for the cause of the brutal murder of five undertakers' employees in Soweto**

For just as your amazed gaze takes in the shack township, you are taken aback by one or two lovely little cottages, tiled-roofed, neatly painted, almost straight out of any, white suburb. And here the contradictions become bizarre. With people earning more money, and the 99-year leasehold making money available from the banks for mortgage loans, many enterprising residents have put together astonishingly pretty houses in the midst of the overall squalor.

As as you drive around Soweto you will be struck by the final sociological contradiction that makes grisly murder so easy. On the outskirts of Soweto to the south, north, east and west there are elegant townships self-consciously sporting ostentatious names like Selection Park and Prestige Park. These townships, whose expensive houses sometimes have double garages and sparkling swimming pools, are a stone's throw from the shacks.

## Uncacceptable

In many ways people are desperately trying to lead normal lives under totally unacceptable conditions. Rich and poor, doctor and labourer, are thrown into each others' laps because of things like the Group Areas Act. The more affluent black class is springing out of the trap by buying homes in expensive white suburbs. In the meantime the violence simmers under, sometimes leaps over, these townships like the sudden outbreak of an epidemic. The violence is halted by tough state action as in 1985, '86, '87 and more often by shock from otherwise decent plainly unrevolutionary folk.

The killing of five people this time caused general dismay. People in various ways tried to understand, could not understand, why a rumour could set off such violence. This total helplessness and inability to understand the complexity of their situation often leads to violence that feeds on violence. Like petulant children we hit out blindly. We hit out almost crazily at our kith and kin.

There are several identifiable sub-cultures in places like Soweto — thugs, the unemployed, the so-called Comrades who are sometimes drop-outs from school plus a score of "societies" or "clubs" looking after everything from funerals to weddings. Some of these sub-cultures assumed a prominence during the unrests of the past few years. They were then wiped off their turf by political organisations or students.

When things become somewhat stable as now, these sub-cultures try to re-establish, reassert their lost ground. Thus there are attacks by gangsters on schoolchildren. Schoolgirls are kidnapped from class, sometimes raped. These are the ingredients for more violence.

My drive through Soweto brought a powerful revelation, a shocking reality to my mind. Because of the various contradictions, because of the inexplicable social forces impacting on the lives of otherwise decent people, not one of us is free from guilt. In other words, nobody can escape the temptation one day to take to the streets with the mobs and kill innocent people.

## Tutu calls on West to cut ties with South Africa

**ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu** said yesterday that the **United States, Britain and West Germany** should threaten to cut diplomatic ties with South Africa to protest its apartheid policies or face the violent prospect of another Lebanon.

The Anglican church leader wrote in the *New York Times* that cutting diplomatic ties with Pretoria would not cost jobs or lives but would have "profound psychological consequences" on the racist government.

"I want to issue a challenge to the American, British and West German governments. You say you are against apartheid. If you are, then make three demands of the South African Government," wrote Archbishop Tutu, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner who is head of the Anglican church in Southern Africa.

The demands were that South Africa lift its state of emergency, rescind restrictions imposed on anti-apartheid organisations and leaders and either prosecute in open court or

release anti-apartheid detainees, particularly children.

"If the Government does not meet these demands, you must cut diplomatic ties. That would not be a radical step to take in the circumstances. It's not going to cost jobs or lives. It would be a gesture, but a dramatic one with profound psychological consequences for those who wield power in South Africa," Archbishop Tutu wrote.

"Or do you want another Lebanon?"

The church leader repeated his belief in non-violence but said he was "filled with despair" that the United States and Britain could veto sanctions in the UN Security Council, decisions he called "all the more staggering in the light of the South African representative's arrogant challenge to the Security Council to 'do your damndest'".

Meanwhile, buffeted by sanctions and a falling gold price, South Africa faces a financial squeeze that could threaten its ability to keep up heavy repayments of foreign debt.

In the past three years, Pretoria has used the surplus on its balance of payments current account to repay about five billion dollars in foreign debt. But in January the account swung into deficit.

The unexpected deficit, the first since 1984, surfaced in customs and excise figures disclosed last week, sending an early warning signal to international creditor banks.

Trade has been hit by a 40 per cent drop in South Africa's exports to the United States in the first nine months of 1987 under the impact of anti-apartheid sanctions.

"I wouldn't say that there's a need to panic about debt payments, but there is certainly a need for caution," said Mr Mike Brown, an economist at stockbrokers Davis, Borkum, Hare Inc.

In the run-up to the national budget, to be presented to Parliament tomorrow, the shrinking balance of payments poses a dilemma for Finance Minister Barend du Plessis.

March

EVENING ECHO Wed. ~~Feb.~~ 15. 1988.

# Campaign to help a Zulu tribe

A ZULU diplomat has made a desperate plea for people to back a Southend businessman's mercy mission to help thousands of flood victims.

Mr Ben Skosana spoke out in the wake of South Africa's worst-ever natural disaster which killed 200 and left 600,000 homeless.

Torrential rains last autumn destroyed buildings, communications and agricultural culture.

Public affairs advisor David Eade, chairman of Clarence Road-based Palace Consultants, has launched a fund to channel aid into the crisis-hit Kwazulu province.

Mr Skosana, UK representative of Zulu leader Chief Buthezi, said: "I believe this fund is important in trying to rebuild the lives of our people."

"They have been making their own efforts to recover but they need more help."

"There are a number of people who are suffering the effects of the floods and there are still some who might be in a critical condition unless something is done soon."

The urgent plea came at a press conference at Southend Airport Motel to mark the fund's official launch.

Mr Eade, 39, hopes to raise money nationally and internationally for emergency relief and long-term development.

He said: "We hope to act as a catalyst to help the victims back on their feet."

Cash will initially go into home rebuilding and work will be strictly monitored by the fund's two field advisers in the disaster zone.

Mr Eade spent nearly three weeks touring poverty-stricken Kwazulu which consists of 26 districts scattered over eastern South Africa.

Mr Eade's project has already won backing from world-famous author Dr Alan Paton, Prince Gideon, a member of the Zulu royal family and British and European politicians.

Palace Fund trustees were sending letters to nearly 600 churches in the Chelmsford and Brentwood dioceses appealing for help.

They have adopted the Zulu phrase "Izandla Ziyagezana" meaning "Help us to help ourselves."

If you can help with either donations or fund-raising events contact Michael Smith, General Secretary, Palace CD fund, Clarence House, 24 Clarence Road, Southend; phone Southend 353988.

# Pretoria <sup>TIMES</sup> and US meet on Angola <sup>15/3/88</sup>

From Michael Hornsby  
Cape Town

Mr R.F. "Pik" Botha, the South African Foreign Minister, and Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, held their first meeting in two years yesterday amid a flurry of diplomatic moves aimed at ending the 13-year civil war in Angola.

Western diplomatic sources here cautioned against speculation that anything as dramatic as a "breakthrough" was imminent, but said that the latest signs of movement were "modestly encouraging" after a prolonged deadlock.

The meeting between Mr Botha and Dr Crocker took place in Geneva and came less than a month after Mr Botha had dismissed American

Cape Town — Five black men and one woman charged with the murder of a black township councillor four years ago will be executed on Friday in Pretoria Central Prison, barring an 11th-hour stay of execution (Michael Hornsby writes).

Mr Prakash Diar, one of the lawyers for the Sharpeville Six, as they are known, said: "The last hope now is that we can persuade the Supreme Court to grant a stay of execution on the basis of evidence which we are now gathering which was not heard at the trial itself."

Last December the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein upheld their conviction for murder on the grounds that they had been members of a large crowd which killed the councillor.

mediation efforts in southern Africa as "totally irrelevant".

One of the main topics of discussion is understood to have been a new peace proposal the Angolans put to the Americans at a meeting last week in Luanda, the Angolan capital, where Cuban officials were also present.

According to Angop, the semi-official Angolan news agency, the proposal includes "a timetable for the withdrawal to the north (of Angola) of Cuban troops stationed in the south and their gradual total evacuation from Angola".

There are estimated to be between 35,000 and 40,000 Cuban troops based in the country at the request of Angola's Marxist MPLA Government in Luanda, which also receives substantial financial and military aid from the Soviet Union.

Pretoria, with the backing of the US, has long insisted on a total removal of Cuban troops as a condition for implementing UN resolutions calling for the independence of Angola's southern neighbour, the South African-occupied territory of Namibia.

Recently, however, Pretoria has gone further and called for Unita, which could not survive without South African military support, to be included in a coalition government in Luanda. A little more than a week ago General Magnus Malan, the Defence Minister, publicly proposed such a deal to Moscow, suggesting Afghanistan as the possible model.

It is not the first time that Angola has offered a phased withdrawal of Cuban troops. The timetable has previously always been too protracted to be acceptable to Pretoria. The details of the latest proposal are not yet known, but are thought unlikely to differ greatly from previous offers.

# S. African forces push deeper into central highlands

Jill Jolliffe  
in Cuemba, central Angola

**A**NGOLAN government troops are coming under heavy pressure in the central highlands as South Africa steps up an offensive to enable its ally, the Unita rebel movement, to penetrate deeper into the country.

In a new phase of the 13-year-old war, there are also signs that the rebels are receiving South African and US military supplies directly through nearby Zaire.

A military commander, Major Walter Freitas Gomes, showed foreign journalists material captured from the invading force, including South African-manufactured vehicles, chemical weapons, and the first American weapons shown to foreign observers since the Reagan Administration began supplying arms to Unita in 1985.

These included anti-tank missiles which he said had entered Angola from the Kamina base in Zaire as part of a US aid package which also included Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

The commander said government troops in the area had seen what they assumed to be white South African officers from local observation posts during the current operations.

The Cuban-backed MPLA Government said last week its troops had killed 180 Unita soldiers directly supported by South Africa in a three-day battle in the area.

Residents of Cuemba are suffering the effects of a food shortage provoked by the war. The International Red Cross, which normally distributes supplies here from its base in Huambo, has not entered Cuemba since last September, when the crash of one of its planes led to the suspension of relief flights.

The Angolan Government claimed the plane was shot down by Unita, but independent sources in Luanda said an inquiry had failed to establish the cause of the crash, in which six died when the plane exploded in mid-air. Relief flights were resumed in February to most areas, but not Cuemba, where military authorities refused to authorise the Red Cross to enter.

The first team of foreign journalists to arrive in Cuemba were transported here in a light transport aircraft from the provincial capital of Kuito, with the crew manoeuvring to avoid anti-aircraft fire.

In a communique issued from Lisbon, Unita had earlier claimed to have destroyed the Cuemba airstrip, but it is intact.

However, local officials confirmed that the town of Munhango, 40 miles to the east towards the Zaire border, on the Benguela railway line, is in Unita hands. Munhango is the birthplace of the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The population of Cuemba is hungry and dressed in rags, with some children showing signs of advanced malnutrition.

Meanwhile, on the southern border with Namibia, South African forces using heavy artillery are backing Unita in a bid to capture the strategic base of Cuito Cuanavale. The continuing Cuito Cuanavale battle appears part of a new strategy to allow Unita to penetrate deep into Angola with air support from South Africa.

The 37,000-strong Cuban force backing the MPLA Government has avoided direct contact with Unita or South African forces in recent years, but it may now play a more direct role in the fighting, and there is ample evidence of the Cubans' battle-readiness in the Cuemba region.

## 10 INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Unita leader says 'secret negotiations' could end war

# Angola rebel chief hopeful of peace

GUARDIAN 15/3/88

Reuter in Jamba, Angola  
and AP in Geneva

**N**EGOTIATIONS could soon end the 13-year-old Angolan civil war, the rebel leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi said, but he vowed he would not stand down to clear the way for a peace settlement.

Dr Savimbi revealed a complex web of negotiations involving South Africa, the Soviet Union, the US, and Angola when he met reporters at his bush headquarters on Sunday.

"This year, 1988, is going to change the face of our country," he said. "Everybody is talking to everybody else."

Dr Savimbi, the leader of the pro-western National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), said he discussed a joint strategy for negotiations at a secret meeting with the South African President, Mr P.W. Botha, in Cape Town.

Dr Savimbi insisted that when real negotiations started, he must be present.

Hopes of a breakthrough in peace efforts have been fuelled by a weekend meeting between

US and Angolan officials in Luanda and by news that the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, is meeting the US Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Chester Crocker, and other US representatives in Europe this week.

Mr Botha's press secretary, Ms Mari Botha, said Mr Botha and Mr Crocker were to hold talks at the South African diplomatic mission in Geneva. It was their first meeting in two years. She said the talks were open-ended and that no details would be released before they finished.

Dr Savimbi dismissed speculation that South Africa, his backer in the guerrilla war against the Soviet-supported Marxist government in Luanda, might be ready to drop him. He also dismissed an Angolan statement that the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) would be willing to talk to Unita, but not to him.

"I will be there. When you are talking about Unita, you are talking about Savimbi."

The rebel leader also disclosed that he recently met Mr Crocker, Washington's chief mediator on Angola.

"South Africa is not trying to drop Unita. Everything is going very well," he said. "We were officially informed by the South Africans that they will start talking to the MPLA. Talks are going on right now. South Africa is talking to America, the Angolans are talking to America. And when it comes to the Russians, everybody is talking."

Angola and Cuba agreed this year in meetings with Mr Crocker that the estimated 35,000 Cubans backing Luanda's army against Unita should be withdrawn.

"The Cubans and the MPLA have accepted the idea of the total withdrawal of the Cubans. What remains is for the Cubans and the MPLA to set a timetable of months for withdrawal," Dr Savimbi said.

"The Russians now seem to be saying they would prefer a negotiated settlement to continuing war."

Dr Savimbi took the salute at a parade marking the 22nd anniversary of Unita, originally formed to oppose Portuguese colonial rule and fighting since independence in 1975 for a share in the government of Angola.

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## NEWS FOCUS

# No end to Maritzburg 'war'

POLICE unrest reports reflect a reduction in the number of violent incidents in the Maritzburg "war" between Inkatha and UDF supporters.

According to one estimate, 57 people were killed last month, compared with at least 115 in January.

But observers — such as PFP Natal Inland region director Radley Keys and Peter Kerchoff, of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa), say the quieter period does not mean peace.

Kerchoff said the fact of recent violent incidents in the Pinetown area show that, if anything, the conflict could be spreading. The increased security force presence in Maritzburg has reduced the level of violence, but so has bad weather.

There appear to be a number of serious obstacles to real peace:

□ Government's restrictions on one side in the peace negotiations; the

effective banning of the UDF and Cosatu, the banning of UDF president Archie Gumede and Natal Midlands chairman A S Chetty; and the continued detention of Natal Midlands secretaries Martin Wittenberg and Skumbuza Ngwenya, have destroyed the chances of any further peace talks soon.

## Discussions

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet has said the organisations and individuals concerned may apply for restrictions to be lifted so they can participate in peace talks, but their lawyers say there is little likelihood of this while court chal-

lenges to the bannings are being considered or proceeded with.

The mediators in the negotiations, the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, have had discussions with Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, and with the UDF and Cosatu, but without concrete results so far.

□ Perceptions in the communities of partisanship by the police: police say both sides have accused them of biased actions, which they deny. However, a number of recent cases have involved further accusations of police siding with Inkatha.

Concern has also been expressed over cases where Inkatha "warlords" and people identified in attacks on individuals have not been arrested or prosecuted. Mellet replies that police

## ROGER SMITH

investigations are hampered by the "intimidation factor" as people have been afraid to come forward to give evidence.

Another recent controversy has centred on the recruitment of known Inkatha supporters as "kitskonstables" (special police constables).

## Calls for calm

Keys said the basic problem was that the law must be seen to work.

He believed certain policemen were maintaining a professional atti-

tude, but others "make mistakes".

□ Apparent inability of organisations involved in the conflict to control or discipline their supporters: leaders on both sides have made calls for calm and restraint, but the killing has continued.

The UDF/Cosatu have been hampered by the detention of senior members and more recently by bannings, which have made it almost impossible for the leadership to maintain contact with grassroots supporters.

In Inkatha's case, senior local Inkatha member Vitus Mvelase said in court papers: "Even if the members of a certain branch of Inkatha had actually gone on the rampage, there is very little the disciplinary committee can do in terms of the (Inkatha)

constitution: firstly, it does not have the capacity to police these events and to bring the culprits to justice, and secondly it does not have the deterrent force to have any such effect."

## Retaliation

He said if Inkatha members were to act "in self-defence against an attack by radicals," no punishment was called for. In other statements, Mvelase has made it clear "self-defence" can mean retaliation.

□ Attitudes of the organisations towards each other: that Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu were bound to clash goes almost without saying. The ques-

tion, as the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce has put it, is one of limiting the conflict so it does not involve the kind of violence and appalling loss of life seen so far.

The problem in relations as far as the UDF is concerned is a perception, voiced in various statements, of Inkatha as being in the government camp, undemocratic and prone to coercion, intimidation and violence.

On the Inkatha side, statements by Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi show the UDF/Cosatu are perceived as an internal wing of the ANC.

Inkatha has insisted since December that the question of the UDF/Cosatu's attitude towards it must be addressed in peace talks including the national leadership. Not long after the UDF/Cosatu indicated a preparedness to meet this demand, the bannings interrupted the peace process.

Given lack of progress in overcoming the crucial stumbling blocks, there is no peace in sight.