



# Security forces under heavy fire

BY NORMAN CHANDLER

Durban — Security forces enforcing the state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal came under extensive fire when a patrol clashed with unknown men near KwaMashu yesterday.

The incident, in which one man was killed, came as the number of SADF troops in the province was increased to 2 400.

A war of words broke out between the IFP and the Natal Joint Security Committee following the shooting.

The SADF said a hail of bullets sent soldiers and police running for cover in Ntuzuma near KwaMashu outside Durban. In the resultant battle a 19-year-old man was killed and four others were injured, the SA Army said, adding that the dead teenager was heavily armed.

The IFP said the dead person was a 13-year-old boy who was shot dead by soldiers.

Thirty-nine murders were reported in KwaZulu/Natal at the weekend. The Joint Security Committee reported 29 murders

from midnight on Friday to 6 am yesterday. The KwaZulu Police reported 19 murders for the same period. Five more people were killed yesterday.

Fighting continued in KwaMashu and Bhambayi early today, and at least one person was killed.

The death toll since the state of emergency was declared on March 31 is nearly 170.

The army said more than 300 shots had been fired at the security patrol.

It was the first firefight involv-

ing the security forces in KwaZulu/Natal since the Skukuzi summit of leaders on Friday.

There are now 2 400 troops in place in the province to maintain law and order in terms of the state of emergency regulations, with more likely to be drafted in as a result of the month-long national call-up of white Citizen Force soldiers which takes effect from Friday.

The call-up was announced two weeks ago as a security measure.

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THE STAR, TUESDAY, 12/14/94



Hopes that Kissinger, Carrington can bridge gap

# KwaZulu in defiant mood

## POLITICAL STAFF

The KwaZulu government appears determined to defy the new dispensation and continue operating if its constitutional demands are not met.

KwaZulu's Deputy Minister of Works Velaphi Ndlovu said from Ulundi yesterday that it would be business as usual for the homeland government on April 29 if the Inkatha Freedom Party plays no part in the election.

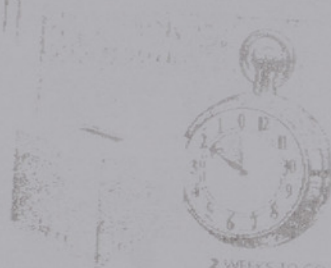
"Who will come to Ulundi to tell our government to disband if we do not take part in the election?" he asked defiantly.

Ndlovu's comments come after hints from a senior IFP member that the party might be planning a last-minute bid to contest the election if it gets its way in initiatives to bridge differences over the Interim Constitution.

International mediators began arriving in South Africa today in a bid to resolve the KwaZulu election impasse.

The seven-member mediation panel will convene tomorrow at an unknown venue to begin its task. Its terms of reference are being finalised this afternoon by

## PROPOSED date of next summit meeting could be moved forward from Friday



the IFP, the ANC and the Government, which has decided to become part of the mediation process.

Said Ndlovu: "The present KwaZulu government will continue until our demands are met. The KwaZulu government will disband if it takes part in the elections. If it does not take part, then it will continue."

"Any government elected without IFP participation will be

illegitimate because it was not chosen by a majority in KwaZulu/Natal and also because it will have been chosen at the barrel of a gun because of the state of emergency."

Ndlovu said the IFP wanted to take part in the election but could not do so without a solution being reached. "We are not interested in pacts with other parties. We want the powers entrenched by law."

A senior and prominent IFP member told The Star yesterday that it would be premature to rule out the IFP's participation in the election, even at this late stage.

He pointed out that the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) had recently indicated that it may still be possible to change ballot papers for provincial elections in KwaZulu/Natal and the PWV region to include the IFP.

Last night, however, IEC officials said it may now be too late for amendments to even the provincial ballot papers.

However, the IFP source — a party moderate in favour of contesting the election — said progress at this week's second four-

man summit of leaders would be critical to a decision.

The second summit may be moved ahead from Friday, which was the date initially agreed on. This depends on progress in the task force created by last week's Skukuza summit.

The task force met throughout yesterday and has presented proposals to the respective party leaders.

The responses will then determine whether the task force has to meet again or if the second summit can be held immediately.

The international mediation team consists of Henry Kissinger, Lord David Carrington, former Chief Justice of the US Court of Appeals Leon Higginbotham, German political science Professor Paul Kevenhorster, Professor Jean Antoine Lapointe of the University of British Columbia in Canada, Bombay High Court judge Mr Justice H K Bhagwati and Mr Justice Antonio in Pergola of Italy.

Lord Carrington flew into Johannesburg this morning ahead of the rest of the team.

(Report by C. Whitfield and H. Grange of 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg, and R. Trean, 98 Chapel Street, Durban.)

THE STAR, TUESDAY, 12/4/94

1994/04/12 08:15:00

# Mediation starts after parties reach agreement

THE launch of international mediation got off to a late start last night, but with the good news that top ANC, government and Inkatha Freedom Party negotiators had only hours earlier agreed on draft terms of reference.

However, final acceptance depended on the parties' principals, who were expected to meet their negotiators last night.

The draft was finalised at a meeting in Pretoria yesterday afternoon, attended by, among others, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Constitutional Development Minister Roel Meyer and In-

katha's Ben Ngubane.

"I have a copy of the draft in my pocket," government negotiator Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said at the launch of the mediation last night. The seven-man mediation team arrived in SA yesterday.

Sources said President FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela did not join Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the function because the terms of reference had not been finally adopted. Foreign Minister Piik Botha represented government and deputy secretary-general Jacob

DAVID GREYBE

Zuma the ANC.

Schoeman said government would join the ANC and Inkatha at an Eastern Transvaal corporate retreat this morning if the principals agreed to the proposed terms of reference.

"We are not prepared to mediate for the sake of mediation."

He said the draft did not tie mediation, or its outcome, to a postponement of the elections as demanded by Inkatha.

It also clarified how the results of medi-

## on terms of reference

ation would be implemented, whether it was concluded before or after the elections. And negotiators had agreed that parties taking part in the election "will not be hindered by those who decide against participation".

Schoeman said if agreement was reached on an accord on constitutional issues, the constitution-making body would implement it after the elections.

Negotiators from all three sides said the future of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini would also be dealt with.

However, in a prepared speech read at

the launch, Buthelezi put a damper on expectations that he would agree to the draft, again linking negotiations to the elections.

"We hope that through the work of the mediators a door can be opened to ensure that Inkatha can rejoin the electoral process on an equal footing with all other political parties."

He called for a new spirit to emerge from mediation — "a spirit of a miracle".

Inkatha knew that the purpose of international mediation was to facilitate a constitutional compromise, but that "ought to

## Mediation

form the basis for a broader political settlement and reconciliation."

"We look at mediation with expectation and trepidation, in the hope that this last attempt may avert an impending disaster in our country."

Former US secretary of state, and spokesman for the mediators, Henry Kissinger gave an upbeat message, saying the mediators could only "marvel" at SA leaders' efforts to overcome their differences, and how close they were to a deal.

"Sometimes in negotiations people put

forward a bargaining position and then go back step by step to their real position. In the limited time available, could I ask everybody to begin with their best position. We in turn will make every effort to bridge the remaining differences," he said.

He spoke of the "extraordinary achievement that is just ahead of us".

"They (ANC, Inkatha and government) have invited us to close the remaining gaps," Kissinger said.

Report by D. Greybe, TMC, 11 Dagbort St, Job

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## Experts join probe into gun-running

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The investigation team probing the recent Goldstone Commission report implicating senior police officers in alleged gun smuggling to the IFP has been joined by a number of experienced criminal investigators.

Team head, Transvaal Attorney-General Jan D'Oliveira, said in a statement that the team was still receiving documentation from the commission — and much of it was being translated for the benefit of the two international members of the team.

"The criminal investigation can now commence in earnest," he said.

The foreign experts on the team are Colonel Jiles Aubry, of the Paris Police security branch, and assistant commissioner of the Zimbabwe Police Francis Mapuranga. Human rights lawyer Arthur Chaskalson SC is also on the team.

The Goldstone Commission investigation names top SAP officials, including Generals Basie Smut and Johan le Roux, as being allegedly involved in arms smuggling to the IFP in Natal.

The initial time period given for the investigation team to complete its work — two weeks — has now lapsed. It is expected the probe will take several weeks to complete.







THE STAR, TUESDAY, 12/14/94

BY JOHN SODERLUND

Maritzburg — "What meeting?" said Super Zuma, ANC leader in Khanya Village.

He had no knowledge that the first of the Independent Electoral Commission's Operation Access projects in the troubled Natal Midlands was to take place in his village last Friday.

Operation Access was started a month ago to give political parties the opportunity to campaign in areas which were hitherto inaccessible.

In any such projects, the IEC,

# IEC trying to give parties

after consultation with the local leadership, takes representatives from several political parties into the difficult area under police protection and a strong IEC presence. Each party is given about 10 minutes to campaign.

But the comments of Zuma and fellow villagers suggested that the IEC is preaching to the

converted with its Operation Access blitzes planned for the KwaZulu/Natal region.

"I don't know anything about this meeting, but we don't mind anyone coming in here to campaign — just like we would like others to do for us in other areas," said Zuma.

Khanya Village, part of the Cedara Agricultural College,

comprises about 400 people, roughly 300 of whom spread themselves out on the local soccer field to hear the DP, the African Democratic Christian Party, the Freedom Front and the PAC put their cases.

The village is almost entirely ANC supporting. That is why there is no violence there, explained a local policeman.

## access to hot spots

The parties told voters what they were going to do if put in power. The audience applauded politely after each speaker.

At the end of the rally, an ANC representative arrived, distributed ANC pamphlets and led a well-supported ceremonial burning of rival party literature.

The meeting was to all accounts initiated by Cedara Col-

lege management, was conducted on Cedara-owned land, and most of those present were Cedara staff — hardly an inaccessible area, scoffed one of the local peace monitors.

Plans for visits by Operation Access to hotter spots, such as KwaMashu near Durban, are not on the cards, said Operation Access national director Francois

Lambrecht.

In short, they are just a little too inaccessible, he explained.

"If the local people offered too much resistance, the IEC won't go in there," said Lambrecht.

Several attempts to obtain access to trickier areas in the Natal Midlands had been unsuccessful, he said.

But Zuma explained that the

majority of Khanya residents were resolute three weeks ago that they would not vote. They believed that the management of the college, which had until recently banned the wearing of party-political T-shirts, would fire anyone who voted.

The fact that the same white bosses had organised voter education at the behest of the local ANC allayed those fears.

Almost all residents spoken to said they would not vote.

In this lay Operation Access's most obvious benefit, said Zuma.

(47 Smeat St., Johannesburg)









Setbacks in KwaZulu/Natal could trigger the start of a long and draining Maoist-style guerilla war, writes Keith Campbell

## Will emergency succeed?

A state of emergency has been declared in Natal/KwaZulu. Yet it may be to no avail. Whether by accident or design, the Inkatha Freedom Party and Zulu monarchists (it is not clear which has appropriated the other) have arrived at, or manoeuvred themselves into, a position from which they can launch a Maoist-style protracted guerilla war.

The key element is the organisation of a clandestine political network which links the party to the people and brings the people under the control of the party. The target population has to be rural, for only the small populations of villages and hamlets are suitable for such political penetration.

Moreover, such "politicisation" must initially escape the notice of the authorities. Remote rural areas with difficult access, where government authority is, at best, weak, and where there is usually much poverty and many grievances, are the classic areas where insurgents following the Maoist method start.

The successful penetration of such populations is a slow, patient process. In Peru, the *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) movement spent 10 years working among the peasants of Ayacucho province before launching their campaign of violence.

Once the political underground has developed to a suitable stage, the party can create armed elements. In the classic case of China and Vietnam, these came to form an impressive pyramid ranging from part-time village guerillas at the bottom, through fulltime "regional forces" to a peak of elite "main forces", equipped and trained to fight (and win) conventional battles — as at Dien Bien Phu.

Elsewhere, such as in the cases of Zanu in Rhodesia, and *Sendero* in Peru, much simpler arrangements were made. But they are still most effective.

These armed forces give the party a coercive element, allowing it to attack directly the administration, subvert the law, destroy order, undermine the economy and eventually de-

moralise the State and its supporters so that they collapse.

More than just a military victory, Dien Bien Phu was a psychological victory that persuaded the French they could not win. The 1965 Tet offensive was a military disaster for the Viet Cong, but a psychological triumph; the American people were so shocked by the scale of the offensive that they concluded the war was unwinnable and the pressure to withdraw the troops became irresistible.

Everything, however, stems from the clandestine party organisation, which always seeks to expand itself until the war is won. The front of party control and the front of violence are not congruent; the latter lags well behind the former.

The above is a very brief outline of protracted war. Even so, it should be clear that the IFP/royalists are well placed to conduct such a conflict.

Uniquely, they have been able to organise openly and legally, but the end result is the same. To go to war, they merely have to go underground.

### Significant element

They have already established their control over a significant element of the Zulu population, creating areas where the ANC dare not go.

This has nothing to do with the IFP's control of the KwaZulu administration; the Bophuthatswana government was totally unable to prevent the ANC from operating in its territory. It is to do with the party organisation and support base. The IFP/royalist support, coming from the indunas and peasant farmers, is the ideal population base for the waging of protracted war.

That the IFP/royalists do not represent all, or even a majority, of Zulus, is irrelevant. The Viet Cong only represented a minority of South Vietnamese; *Sendero* represents only a small percentage of Peruvians. All movements using Maoist techniques start out with minority support; as they succeed, they convert this into majority support through both coercion and persuasion.

And the IFP/royalists are well placed to increase support in the long term for they have appropri-

ed all symbols of Zulu nationhood.

The 5 000 men who have reportedly received some "self-defence" training in KwaZulu are ideal for part-time village guerillas in the Viet Cong mode; the 200 or so that received better training in Caprivi could form the nucleus of regular guerilla units.

In these circumstances, government authority cannot run in the IFP/royalist heartland in Natal; it does not matter who is sitting in Ulundi — or Maritzburg, for that matter. An ANC election victory in Natal would be an empty victory. Conversely, the rebels would be well placed to strike from their "liberated zone" at Natal's critically important lines of communication from the Reef, putting the government yet further on the strategic defensive and causing enormous economic damage for little effort.

One of the striking elements of protracted war is its profound asymmetry: the insurgent does not need significant military training or tactical leadership to wage it. But the security forces need to be highly trained and well led to counter it.

What about the finance for such a struggle? That is no problem; the insurgents can impose "revolutionary tax" upon their supporters, and extract protection money from farmers, shopkeepers and businessmen.

What about external support? It used to be thought that this was essential for a successful insurgency, even of the Maoist type; but, again, *Sendero* have proven that this is not so. However, in the case of Natal, the huge arms bazaar of Mozambique is just next door.

If this analysis is correct, it suggests that the IFP/royalists are in a far stronger position, and the present Government and ANC in a far weaker position, than generally realised.

This is not to say that the IFP/royalists will engage in protracted war, only that they can. And, if they do, 20 years from now historians and journalists may be puzzling over how the present Government and the ANC managed to so totally misread the signs.



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The Electoral Act stipulates the result may not be announced less than 48 hours and more than 10 days after polling.

"The result will be announced ... closer to the two day mark. The tallies from the various voting stations will come in piecemeal and be electronically transmitted to the headquarters, but the the overall result will be formally announced by me at Gallaghers Estate in Midrand."

The announcement the nation will be anxiously waiting for will entail a pronouncement on the number of votes drawn by each party, the names of candidates going to the national assembly and the provincial assemblies, and the validation or otherwise of the election as free and fair.

"That will effectively end our job. There are side possibilities, such as the election in province X being found not to have been substantially free and fair, and we would have to organise a re-run. Or, God forbid, the election for the whole national assembly is found

not to be free and fair."

If the election is declared invalid in a single province, a re-run would have to be held within 70 days. A nullified national election would have to be re-run within 12 months, according to the Electoral Act.

In the interim, the elected administration would govern.

But Mr Justice Kriegler studiously avoids "doomsday" considerations. He quotes neo-Marxist philosopher Gramsci "You should have a pessimism of the intellect, but an indomitable optimism of the will."

"I would just like to say that this is the first election we're having, and it's not going to be anywhere near as good as the fifth. This isn't Sweden or Massachusetts. This is Africa, and we're going to run a pretty good South African election — and I think that's what the electorate expects.

"Of course, it's a very difficult job, and we're not going to do it perfectly, but we're going to do it. That's what it boils down to."

## What you will do on day

Mr Justice Johann Kriegler explains what to expect at your voting station.

- The voting stations will be open from 7 am to 7 pm on April 27 and 28. The stations will take many forms, but the same equipment and staff will be present in all of them.
- Your enabling document will be checked by an IEC official, who will then check both hands under an ultra-violet light to ensure you have not previously had your fingers inked.
- Ink is sprayed on to your fingers and you are issued with a ballot paper, which is stamped with the stamp of that particular voting station and folded.
- You move a few paces to a voting

booth, which is designed in such a way that what you do in there is your business.

- The booth is a set of screens and a working surface, and contains a pencil on a string. You will mark your ballot paper and fold it, before showing the stamped side of the paper to an official so he is assured the paper is the genuine article.
- You then place the ballot paper into the ballot box through a slot and proceed to the official handing out the second ballot papers and follow the same procedure.
- The ideal is that voting will be a linear process, with more voting booths than lines of officials — because of the bottlenecking which is bound to occur at the voting booths.



# Seeking a 'consensus of discretion'

**I**wouldn't like marble halls and chandeliers. It wouldn't fit. If people vote under baobab trees in Venda, that is fitting and proper," says Mr Justice Johann Krieger, the BEC chairman.

The imagery is both apt and revealing as to what can be realistically expected on the day we've all been waiting for — April 27.

The judge is upbeat about the preparations throughout the country, bar KwaZulu.

# The Star

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## Opting for prudence

*The TEC initiative to deal with police pay grievances is timely.*

**T**HE anticipated decision by the TEC to nearly treble the daily allowance paid to policemen during the election period is prudent rather than profligate. The expected increase — from R22,50 to R61,50 — will help to avert a threatened strike by members of the SA Police Union.

Sapu's strike threat, prompted by anger at the much higher pay for members of the new National Peacekeeping Force, is manifestly dangerous. If the strike goes ahead, it will remove up to 20 000 men from duty in the final days before and during the election, thus placing an additional burden on the already overstretched Defence Force.

The dissatisfaction of Sapu members is, moreover, reinforced by anger over salaries in the rival union, Popcu. If discontent in the two unions converges into a single strike, the result could be calamitous for the election.

Continuing attacks on policemen exacerbate the anger. The number killed during 1994 is already more than 50. The perils facing police are illustrated by events at the weekend: three police "informers" — a derogatory label for men who may have been helping the police solve a heinous crime — were killed and a police officer wounded in an ambush in Daveyton, Benoni; two constables were wounded, one critically, in another suspected ambush in Bramley, Johannesburg.

Policemen, frequently abused as "oppressors" by radicals, are if anything exposed to greater dangers than members of the Defence Force and Peacekeeping Force. Glaring disparities in salaries cannot be justified.

On the positive side, Nelson Mandela has begun to urge the public to co-operate with the SADF and the SAP. He includes the SAP when he praises the security forces.

Rogue policemen must be removed, but the SAP as a whole deserves more than abuse and inadequate pay-cheques.



*No 'lost continent' despite ethnic troubles*

## Africa not beyond salvation

**T**he horrors being perpetrated in Rwanda and Burundi will, sadly, reinforce a widespread view that Africa is a lost continent, so barbarous, so deeply sunk in tribal conflict and so remote from European concerns that nothing can be done to help it. Rescuing the lives of white nationals is about the only reason for becoming involved.

This may be uncomfortably near the truth where some African countries are concerned. Certainly the ancient enmity between the Hutus and Tutsis, which is at the heart of the conflict in Rwanda, is beyond hope of early resolution. The slaughter of Belgian members of a United Nations force only highlights the helplessness of foreigners.

### Patchwork

In any attempt to rank the world's trouble spots according to their potential to benefit from outside help, Rwanda and Burundi must rate low.

But Africa is not uniform. It is a patchwork of more than 50 states, struggling to find ways of containing the pressures of ethnicity within existing frontiers.

In this respect it is becoming a paradigm for the rest of the world, for many of its colonial frontiers are as illogical or unrelated to ethnicity than those of former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union.

In a recent paper for the International Institute for Strategic Studies,

Kamal Shehadi writes that the one remaining global ideological dichotomy is between "ethnic pluralism and ethnic isolationism". He argues that the survival of democracy depends on re-examining the doctrine of self-determination and developing more flexible approaches to concepts of sovereignty and inviolable frontiers.

He is right. One of the most useful contributions the international community can make to world peace is to work against the tendency to equate the right of self-determination with the right to form an ethnically homogeneous state. This is a recipe for continuing conflict and for stagnation in those few areas where the ethnic homogeneity can be achieved.

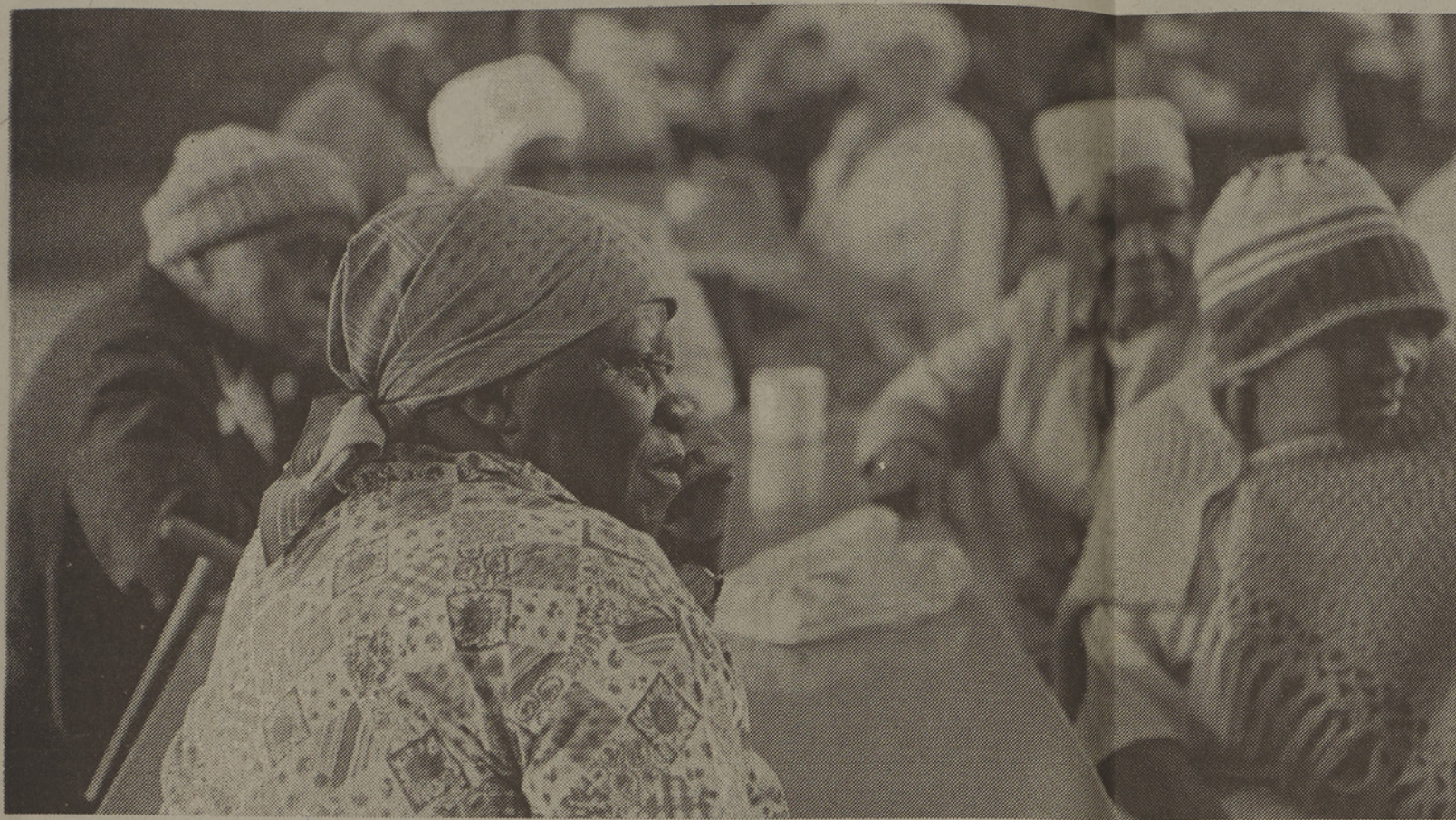
Democracy alone is not the universal answer, majority rule too often means the domination of one tribe, religion or ethnic group by another.

The UN is increasingly aware that peace in many areas will depend less on the presence of blue berets than on constitutional arrangements, election systems and even frontier changes that help people of different races or beliefs to live together.

Africa is one of the least promising places in which to develop plural societies, but South Africa is trying, and if it is successful the example may carry. Meanwhile, it is more helpful to see Africa's ethnic problems in their global context rather than to dismiss them as an inevitable barrier to the progress of the world's poorest continent. — The Independent News Service







To prepare for South Africa's first open elections, set for April 26 through 28, a large-scale voter-education effort is being conducted among blacks who have long been denied the ballot. Gloria Mvulane, a resident of the Soweto Home for the Aged, listened to a lecture last week.

## South Africa Tries to Prepare Those It Denied Vote

Continued From Page A1

and "Make Your Mark" election quiz shows on TV, and in euphoric liberation ads worthy of the glossy yearnings in Ronald Reagan's "morning again in America" commercials. One shows a bright huge voting-X pattern of a throng of multi-hued humans moving lushly across a green and promising national landscape.

It is a ubiquitous message, from programmed cassettes on black workers' jitney vans to the fading primacy of the white Afrikaner-run television channel where a Wagnerian singer booms clunky two-step jingles about a future that will somehow prove grand for all. "We're gonna have a ball!" she croons and sways and grins to the tune of "After the Ball Is Over."

The message is not monolithic, for the voter education drive is directed at all sorts of problems. One pitch, emphasizing the secrecy of the ballot, is designed to undercut husbands' attempts in traditional tribal areas to dictate their wives' choice. Other messages warn against scheming tribal chiefs who are demanding patronage tithes as the price of franchise, and against white overseers who are confiscating their black farm workers' identity cards to hinder voting.

Cautions toward fairness rain down endlessly in the media. There are the sitcom family morality tales of the popular comic actor, Joe Mafela, spokesman for the Chicken Licken restaurants. There are the theater tableaux of Black Sash, the highly respected women's protest group. All the hurried innovations of democracy's mechanics — from ultra-violet hand dye at the ballot box to an 18-party potpourri of options on the first of two paper ballots — are being explained to the 22 million eligible voters, especially the black majority long denied a fair and thoughtful franchise.

### A Rite of Transformation

But the overall point of the voter education drive, costing somewhere beyond \$30 million, is that the vote is not merely about a leadership choice, but about a people's passage to a higher phase of democracy and national definition. "Heal Our Land" is the slogan under an X of crossed Band-Aids. It is an imprimatur on liberation. The likely result, the

choice of Nelson Mandela as national leader, is well known, but not the volume of turnout in ratifying a transformed nation.

"It is a grand, purificatory moment in which the nation is to pass through a membrane of history from darkness to a sunlit upland," wrote Simon Barber in *Business Day*, relishing with sarcasm the TV commercial blitz, including one showing a patriar-

### Lectures and advertising urge people to use a new freedom.

chal old man walking miles to vote, clutching the hand of his grandchild.

#### A Long Walk to Freedom

In fact, Mr. Wolpe saw just such a tough old man climb three hours down from his mountain home to join a hamlet crowd of 250 for a practice vote at the elections van. South Africa is in just such a state, trembling somewhere between the wondrous reality of the first-time voter facing the fullest choice, and the Utopian dreams of the modern media's motivation arts.

"This was real heart-and-soul stuff," said Linda Radford, account director on some of the most lyrical ads for the local J. Walter Thompson advertising agency. "The task was daunting," she said, noting professional crews were more integrated as they filmed idealized ethnic portrayals that would have been treasonous in the recent past.

Barry Gilder, one of the chief creative executives of the drive as communications chief of the Matla Trust, can talk in detail of fine tuning the message in such critical areas as radio, the most effective medium for reaching the black poor majority in rural and small-town areas. But he feels foremost is the campaign's overall spiritual dimension.

"It's like a kind of catharsis," he said, "Even for white people, who want an end to the uncertainties and the fear, the guilt and the anxieties."

Matla Trust, a nonprofit organization, was one of a score of groups in the Independent Forum for Electoral Education that began preparing for

the day of a free vote well before the Government's moves to dismantle apartheid put that on the horizon four years ago.

The campaign now includes hundreds of organizations operating through the forum, and through the Democracy Education Broadcast Initiative of media professionals, the Business Election Fund of private entrepreneurs, and the Independent Electoral Commission, the interim Government body which has taken an ever firmer hand to avoid postponement of the elections in the face of violence and resistance in KwaZulu, the homeland created under apartheid for the Zulu people.

Even with all the problems and confusion and protest violence in some areas, campaign directors hope for a turnout of up to 85 percent. Blacks are the most enthusiastic, while the racially frayed nation's mixed-race and Asian minorities are most ambivalent, reflecting a fear that they will remain in a political limbo, second to black majority power as they have been a secondary buffer for the white regime.

Countless foreigners are arriving to help get out the vote and monitor the election. Craig Charney, a Yale political scientist, has been here for several years, working lately as a broadcast news polling expert.

## Crackdown by Pretoria Barely Felt in Zulu Area

By KENNETH B. NOBLE  
Special to The New York Times

UMLAZI, South Africa, April 10 — Almost two weeks after the South African Government sent troops to the Zulu heartland to stem factional violence and protect voters in the country's first nonracial elections, an increasingly insecure populace here views the crackdown as having done little.

More than 150 people have been killed in the last week, an unusually high toll even for Natal province, where politically motivated violence is commonplace. With elections scheduled for April 26 through 28, this month's toll could match or surpass the record of 311 politically related deaths reported in March.

Each day some of the 3,000 troops assigned to Natal patrol this settlement, 11 miles from Durban and the country's second largest black township, after Soweto, Johannesburg's sprawling satellite city. But armored personnel carriers and foot patrols are seen so infrequently here that an inattentive visitor could travel all day through Umlazi without realizing it is under military occupation.

### A Fleeting Presence

"They drive by for about five minutes, and then they disappear," said Themba Robert Mapoya, who is so worried by the threat of violence that he and his neighbors rarely venture beyond the makeshift bunker they have built on an undulating muddy slope.

"What police? What state of emergency? It's all a joke," said one of Mr. Mapoya's neighbors, an elderly man who described how his wife was killed last week after being struck in the head with a knobkerrie, a spindly stick with a heavy burl end. It is a traditional weapon used by Zulu warriors.

Charred wooden beams, blackened concrete walls and a crumpled roof are all that remain of the house Mr. Mapoya built six years ago for his wife, mother and five children. Three weeks ago, in broad daylight, Mr. Mapoya said, his home and at least a dozen others nearby were besieged by supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party, which opposes the African National Congress of Nelson Mandela and seeks to maintain a separate Zulu homeland in Natal.

Mr. Mapoya, a 36-year-old Zulu who supports the African National Congress, said he was branded a traitor to the Zulu monarchy.

"Kill the Pondos! Kill the Pondos," Mr. Mapoya said the attackers cried, referring to a tribe that fought the Zulus bitterly in the 19th century. Often in factional fighting, the Zulu nationalists call their opponents "Pondos," regardless of their racial or ethnic origins.

The attack occurred near a police station, but Mr. Mapoya said the po-



Army troops patrol Umlazi, but their presence is muted.

lice did not respond. The 3,500-member police force in KwaZulu — the patchwork of lands designated as a Zulu homeland by apartheid — has been repeatedly accused of collaborating in political murders of Inkatha's opponents.

Given the latest unrest, and the apparent inability of the authorities to halt it, Mr. Mapoya is convinced that his days are numbered.

"I doubt that I'll be alive by Election Day," he said.

Stephanie Miller, the coordinator of the Umlazi Peace Committee, which mediates community disputes, agreed that a tide of death, arson and disappearances has swept Umlazi and large sections of Natal and that the authorities appeared to have neither the power nor the persistence needed to halt it.

### Army Presence Weak

"There have not been any detentions under the state of emergency," Ms. Miller said, "and quite clearly the army has not been very visible."

Even some police officials concede that the operation has been lacking in effectiveness.

"We are overstretched at the moment," said Maj. Margaret Kruger, a senior legal officer for the South African Police, but she added that an unspecified number of additional troops would soon be deployed in the rural hills of northern KwaZulu.

One of the most nettlesome issues, she said, was trying to enforce an emergency decree that prohibits the carrying of weapons. Last Tuesday the authorities tried to confiscate machetes, spears and other weapons from members of a crowd of 20,000 Inkatha supporters who gathered to march in Empangeni, about 90 miles north of Durban. But they soon gave up, rather than inflame an already volatile situation, Major Kruger said.

## Kissinger Will Help Mediate Dispute Over Zulu Homeland

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 11 — After 17 years on the diplomatic sidelines, former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger has agreed, along with Lord Carrington, the former British Foreign Secretary, to help mediate the fierce dispute in South Africa between the African National Congress and Zulus who want an autonomous homeland.

Mr. Kissinger, who served as Secretary of State and national security adviser in the Nixon and Ford Administrations, will fly to South Africa this week in what some experts call a long-shot effort to end the strife that threatens to undermine that country's first all-race elections, from April 26-28.

Mr. Kissinger's critics often call him a war criminal for directing the bombing of Cambodia two decades ago. But Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, and Chief Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, the Zulu leader, have invited Mr. Kissinger to mediate because they remember the role he played in the 1970's in helping bring peace and independence to Zimbabwe and Namibia.

"When you're an accomplished leader you want to deal with people who have proven themselves in many different areas," said Chester A. Crocker, the top African affairs specialist in the Reagan Administration. "There aren't many Henry Kissingers in the world."

Mr. Kissinger and Lord Carrington will lead an international team of seven mediators, several of whom

are experts in constitutional law.

Among the major issues they will seek to resolve is the Zulus' demand for significant autonomy under the new South African constitution. At a minimum, the Zulus want the constitution to be amended to allow for a loose federal arrangement that provides autonomy for the KwaZulu black homeland in Natal province. Another issue under dispute is what the status of the Zulu monarchy will be after the elections.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, which is headed by Chief Buthelezi, is boycotting the elections, saying the constitution allows the central government to dominate the regions. But A.N.C. officials argue that Chief Buthelezi fears he will be marginalized and wants to make sure the constitution guarantees him a power base.

### Could Last 10 Days

Mr. Kissinger, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973 for his role in ending the Vietnam War, refused to comment today on his decision to mediate. He is scheduled to leave for Johannesburg on Tuesday, and South African officials said the mediation effort could last from two to 10 days.

Besides Mr. Kissinger, the other American mediator is Leon Higginbotham, a retired judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit in Philadelphia. The other four mediators are Judge H. K. Bhagwati of India, Judge Antonio La Pergola of Italy, Paul Kevenhoerster, a professor at the Institute of Political Science at the University of Muenster in Germany, and Jean-Antoine Lapointe of Canada.





# The Argus

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## Daunting task for The 7

**I**T is an unenviable, and seemingly insurmountable, task which awaits the seven "wise men" who arrive today to mediate in the constitutional deadlock between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

So little time remains before the election, so much hinges on settlement of the dispute which keeps the IFP out of the election.

All parties will focus on the ability of this highly experienced team to steer the fragile, ongoing negotiating towards an amicable solution.

With with veteran campaigners such as Lord Carrington, a former British foreign secretary who helped steer Zimbabwe to independence, and Dr Henry Kissinger, a former US secretary of state who pioneered shuttle diplomacy, along with a team consisting of judges, academics and constitutional lawyers, there is no shortage of lateral thinking.

It has been a cornerstone principle in negotiations so far that internal leaders resolve their own problems. But all efforts to resolve the complex issues over Natal/KwaZulu have failed.

Thus it is more in hope than in expectation that the seven wise men are called on to help. And, right now, South Africa needs all the help it can get from its friends.

## Foreign funds and the ANC

**W**HATEVER the findings of the ANC probe into international donations to its coffers, these should be made public without delay.

According to reports, the cooperation of Mrs Winnie Mandela, a stalwart of the Women's League, was sought.

While a further internal investigation is under way and the ANC has given an assurance that new financial safeguards have been introduced, this will do little to diminish public disquiet.

Mrs Mandela is a member of the ANC's national executive and may be considered for a senior position in a government of national unity. As such, there should be no cause to doubt her credentials.

The ANC should expedite its investigation, and swiftly make public its findings in the national interest. Not only would this be fair to Mrs Mandela herself, but it would counter suspicion about the accountability and efficiency of the ANC, and reassure foreign interests.

Unresolved matters of this kind could be gravely detrimental to the country as a whole.

## Airlines crash

**A** GREAT many travellers who came to appreciate the service and comfort of Flitestar will lament the airline's demise. So will thousands of others whose first adventures abroad began with the no-frills discounted flights of Luxavia. For, sadly, Flitestar brought its elder sister down with it.

The collapse proves that even in a "deregulated" business environment, there is no way private enterprise can compete fairly with so-called "privatised" former utilities if the state continues to underwrite their losses, as is the case with South African Airways.

(Political comment by A P Drysdale, T J Patten and H S Robertson, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).