



March 26 1994

(exactly one month before the election!)

CAMPAIGN UPDATE #2

A Project of
The Africa Fund

Dear Friend,

I am just back from a week long campaign with Nelson Mandela in the Northern Transvaal. I visited South Africa with Bill Lynch, former Deputy Mayor of New York City, who was invited by the ANC to assess and strengthen their "get out the vote" campaign.

Campaigning openly and freely against the hated apartheid regime was in itself quite an experience. And to see President Nelson Mandela surrounded by crowds of up to 50,000 people, young and old, excited, enthused and charged with hope was unforgettable. Many had walked up to 20 miles to be at the rallies. Seeing 75-year-old Mandela who was supposed to spend the rest of his life in prison, so energized by the support of his people that his step was that of a young man is something I will never forget as long as I live.

As the elections get closer, there have been a number of breakthroughs which have created a greater possibility for a free and fair election being held on April 26-28.

After years of autocratic and fascist rule, Chief Lucas Mangope, leader of the apartheid-created Bophutatswana homeland, was overthrown by his own people. Of all Pretoria's puppets, Mangope was supposed to be the strongest, richest, and the meanest. But strikes by civil servants, hospital workers, television and radio personnel, and even his own police brought him crashing down. The people of Bophutatswana wanted to be incorporated back into South Africa and allowed to vote in the first democratic election, and nothing was going to stop them.

As Mangope was sliding into oblivion, he called upon his so-called Freedom Alliance partners, especially the Neo-Nazi right-wing Boers, to come and save him and his crumbling empire. And in a major turning-point in this election campaign, three of these right-wing Afrikaners were shot dead by Mangope's own soldiers. The Afrikaners who had proudly come to Bophutatswana to restore apartheid were killed by the people they claimed they came to rescue. They left humiliated under the escort and protection of the South African Defense Force.

A few days later, President Mandela rode into town on the shoulders of thousands who came to the first ANC election rally in Bophutatswana described as the country's biggest so far.

The fall of Bophutatswana left the Ciskei and KwaZulu as the last two homeland hold-outs against the election. As I began writing this report, news came that another apartheid "strong-man," Ciskei's General Oupa Gqozo was dethroned after his civil servants also turned against him. At last the Ciskei is again part of South Africa and its people will participate in the April election.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's civil servants have announced their intention to begin their strikes against his autocratic rule this coming weekend.

We need your help to make sure that the people of Natal can exercise their right to vote. Chief Buthelezi has openly threatened to disrupt voting among the Zulu people. He cannot be allowed to succeed.

You can send an urgent fax message to State President F.W. de Klerk and demand that he protect the people of KwaZulu so that they exercise their democratic right to vote on April 27. Send your fax to (011) 27-12-323-3982. Here's a sample message: "President de Klerk, Pretoria, South Africa, I demand you protect the people of KwaZulu so they can vote..." Please send us a copy of your message so we can share it with other South Africa Election Watchers.

On March 15, both Bill Lynch and I held a working briefing session for Congress which was attended by several Members and some 60-70 staff members. We were joined by Bethuel Maserumule, Regional Secretary of National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (COSATU) who was visiting the U.S.

Among the recommendations made by Bill Lynch was that Congress consider providing funding for transportation on election day. There is no public transportation available for Black people outside of the major cities. On election day, there will be about 10,000 polling stations for 22 million voters placed at least five miles apart. Many people may never vote because they cannot walk the long distances, especially in the rural areas where distances will be even greater.

South Africa Election Watchers are continuing with their actions.

● **April 17-27 is Let Freedom Reign Week.** I urge you to use this week for demonstrations, vigils and celebrations supporting the end of apartheid. Many denominations, including the Baptists, the Lutherans and the Presbyterians, are organizing on-going prayer circles. Among those actions already planned include:

● **In Duluth Minnesota, Margy Ward and Minnesotans Against Apartheid are blanketing their state with election radio programs.**

● **April 17 The Newark Presbytery is holding a teach-in on South Africa.**

● **In Chicago, Joan Gerig and Carol Thompson of ELCA and CCISSA will hold vigils at the South African Consulate on April 26-28.**

We have already received hundreds of petitions which we will deliver after the Easter break. And by the time you receive this letter, Jennifer Davis, Executive Director of the Africa Fund and I will have left to join hundreds of observers from around the world who will be going to the South African election. We will be reporting to you from South Africa.

Peace


Dumisani S. Kumalo
Projects Director

Enclosures



INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY
20 MARCH 1994

the facts

De Klerk's blind eye to slaughter

A Project of
The Africa Fund

THOUSANDS of black South Africans would still be alive today if President F W de Klerk had responded with a will to the mountains of evidence put before him over the years supporting allegations that a "Third Force" within the state was orchestrating township violence.

That is the scale of the political neglect and the human tragedy that emerges from the finding of Judge Richard Goldstone, released on Friday, that Colonel Eugene de Kock, of the security police, assisted by three police generals, hatched a plot in 1989 to arm and train Inkatha loyalists to kill ANC supporters.

Since Inkatha, with the backing of the South African police, unleashed a wave of violence on the Johannesburg townships in mid-1990, four months after Nelson Mandela's release, some 7,000 have died in the area.

Then there is Natal, Zulu country, where the Inkatha-police axis precipitated a small civil war in 1986, which still rages

and has claimed a similar number of victims.

The violence has been the greatest obstacle to political reform since Mr de Klerk began formal negotiations with the ANC in May 1990.

After the 1992 massacre at Boipatong, when Inkatha, assisted by the police, slaughtered 42 innocent men, women and babies, the ANC called off all talks with the government and left South Africa on the brink of anarchy.

Even today, with elections less than six weeks away, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi continues to threaten war. Democracy, stability and prosperity all remain in the balance because "the Zulu nation", he says, will fight to prevent the elections from denying him the power that he acquired under apartheid.

"The Zulu nation", code for the Inkatha mafia and humble folk fooled or terrorised into supporting him, has been exposed as the criminal instru-

ment of a larger, more sinister mafia working within the white state. The majority of the Zulu people have known for a long time what Mr de Klerk, government officials and most of the South African media failed, with their apartheid blinkers, either to see or to want to see. Which is why, as the polls show, most Zulus support the ANC.

Judge Goldstone's document reveals that Colonel de Kock, of the police counter-intelligence unit, C10, paid Inkatha's Transvaal chairman, Themba Khoza, an informer's wages and supplied him with a vehicle to distribute AK-47s, grenades and other weapons among his hostel-based terror squads. De Kock used his police network to obtain the guns, which came from Namibia and Mozambique. Inkatha paid him for the guns.

Khoza was originally recruited by a C10 officer. C10 paid his legal costs after he was arrested in September 1990 by honest policemen, in possession of a bootful of weapons moments after a massacre of 48 ANC supporters in Sebokeng. A magistrate acquitted him of unlawful possession of firearms.

Khoza, who is in his late thirties, became rapidly perceived as the incarnation of evil in the eyes of ANC officials in the Johannesburg townships, after the dead started piling up in Soweto, Kagiso, Katlehong, Alexandra and Thokoza in August and September 1990. He would always appear on the scene within minutes of a massacre or a rampaging raid by Inkatha hostel-dwellers.

The reason why in many of the townships the violence has ebbed in the past 18 months is that the hostel-dwellers have come to realise that Khoza and his lieutenants — two others of whom were mentioned in the Goldstone document — have been manipulating their fears, leading them into "wars" nobody in the townships wanted.

Judge Goldstone unearthed *prima facie* evidence, besides, that under the command of the deputy commissioner of the South African police, General Basie Smit, and the chief of counter-intelligence, General "Krapppies" Englebrecht, De Kock deployed black policemen and Inkatha members to carry out the notorious train killings. Between August 1990 and August 1992, more than 300 black commuters were gunned down or stabbed to death on their way to or from work.

De Kock also organised crash courses in the use of guns and grenades for Inkatha men, often drawn from the East Rand townships where the violence raged long after it had died down elsewhere in the Johannesburg area. In the past year, 1,800 people have died in the East Rand.

Similar collusion has been going on in Natal since the mid-1980s when the state security apparatus identified Inkatha as the perfect surrogate to wage war against ANC Zulus. The relationship worked so successfully because of the harmonious confluence of political interests. It was a case of "my enemy's enemy is my friend".

Of course, the ANC hit back. Mandela's supporters are guilty of an untold number of atrocities, too. But it is undeniable that, had Inkatha and its police friends not started the violence, thousands of victims would still be alive.

Mr de Klerk may now either pay the price at the polls for his supine lack of concern for black life, or, given the un-naturally forgiving nature of South Africa's black population, benefit from having done something, however late.

On the one hand, he failed miserably to grasp the security-force nettle. On the other, he did pass the buck, with belated success, to Judge Goldstone, whose commission he appointed two years ago.

The door is now open for Mr de Klerk to send in his honest cops — of whom there are some — and the army to clean out Inkatha's Augean stable. If Mr de Klerk does not do this, many more will die before the elections are over. Either way, Chief Buthelezi's days on the political stage are numbered.

Chaos: scenes as thousands gather to attend funeral ceremony of assassinated ANC leader. "Third force" blasted.

Mandela rails at 'corrupt government'

Death plot points to 'Third Force'

SA judge begins inquiry into 'Third Force' violence

SA judge reveals top-level 'dirty tricks'

Army 'involved in township train massacre'

198 Broadway
New York, NY 10038
Tel: 212.962.1210

Editors Note:

Last week's Goldstone Commission revelations of high level government involvement in so-called "Black on Black" violence has shaken the De Klerk regime to its foundations.

However, the Clinton State Department is downplaying the apartheid government's "dirty war" against Nelson Mandela and the democratic movement. In an official March 21 statement, the United States "welcomed the timely action taken by President De Klerk to suspend those individuals implicated," and attributed death squad activity to "certain rogue elements in the South African Police."

But De Klerk's "timely action" comes too late for the 15,000 Black South Africans killed in state-sponsored political violence since 1990. Police complicity in terrorist attacks on democratic activists has been carefully documented and reported by South African human rights organizations and investigative journalists for years.

Far from being an underground operation by a handful of "rogue" officers, the following list of police and Inkatha officials named in the Goldstone Commission report shows that the death squads were created and supported by a national network of top police officials. As the report notes, this terror network had access to millions of dollars in government funds as it pursued its bloody campaign to prevent the transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa.

WeekendStar
March 19-20 1994

Those named in report

These are the people implicated in the report:

Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, SAP Deputy Commissioner: Allegedly commanded operations involving train and hostel violence.

Major-General Krappies Engelbrecht, SAP head of counter-intelligence: Allegedly commanded operations involving train and hostel violence; allegedly ordered destruction of IFP files.

Lieutenant-General Johan le Roux, head of SAP crime combating and investigation: Allegedly "had full knowledge of and was involved" in train and hostel violence.

Colonel Eugene de Kock, commander of Vlakplaas: Allegedly involved in violence aimed at destabilising the country; allegedly involved in manufacturing guns; allegedly received money from the IFP for weapons; allegedly led a group which killed four ANC members and an IFP member near Nelspruit in 1992.

Warrant-Officer Snor Vermeulen, former member of Vlakplaas: Allegedly manufactured home-made guns.

Warrant-Officer Lionel Snyman, former member of Vlakplaas: Allegedly manufactured home-made guns.

Warrant-Officer Dawid Britz, former

member of Vlakplaas: Allegedly manufactured home-made guns.

Themba Khoza, Transvaal Inkatha Freedom Party chairman: Allegedly received weapons.

Victor Ndlovu, IFP member: Allegedly received weapons.

Dries (Brood) van Heerden, former SAP officer and senior security official in Absa Bank: Allegedly arranged deliveries of weapons; allegedly involved in manufacturing of guns; allegedly recruited Themba Khoza.

Dougie Crow, Absa Bank employee: Allegedly assisted Van Heerden in arranging the deliveries.

Brigadier Beukes of SAP headquarters: Allegedly supplied false identity documents and passports.

Colonel Cronje of SAP headquarters: Allegedly supplied false identity documents and passports.

Willie Nortje, former Vlakplaas member: Allegedly involved in manufacturing guns.

Charlie Chate, former Vlakplaas member: Allegedly involved in manufacturing guns.

Chapples Klopper, former Vlakplaas member: Allegedly involved in manufacturing guns.

Vossie de Kock, East Rand Murder and Robbery Unit: Allegedly involved in manufacturing arms.

Koekies Koekemoer, East Rand Murder and Robbery Unit: Allegedly involved in manufacturing arms.

Larry Hinton, Durban Security Branch: Allegedly involved in manufacturing guns.

Laurie Wasserman, Durban Security Branch: Allegedly involved in manufacturing guns.

Andy Taylor, Durban Security Branch: Allegedly involved in manufacturing guns.

General Jac Buchner, former Kwa-Zulu Police Commissioner: Allegedly involved in manufacturing guns.

Willem Coetzee, East Rand Security Branch: Allegedly organised train violence in co-operation with Eugene de Kock.

Colonel Roelf Venter: Allegedly asked one of the investigating officers, Major du Plessis, to join the Goldstone Commission to inform him and Engelbrecht of the commission's investigation.

Major Henning Brand: Allegedly asked Major du Plessis to give information about the Goldstone investigation to him.



South Africa Election Watch '94 A Campaign To Protect The Peoples' Right To Vote

A Project of
The Africa Fund

After centuries of racial oppression and suffering, South Africa's Black majority has finally won the right to vote. At the end of April Nelson Mandela will lead over 18 million Black voters to the polls for the first time ever. The latest opinion polls show Mandela's ANC winning two thirds of the vote in an honest election.

***But will Black South Africans really be able to vote,
and will their votes be counted?***

Pro-apartheid forces, inside government and out, are using violence and terror to disrupt voter education and campaigning and keep Black voters from the polls. Over 4,300 people died in political violence in South Africa during 1993 -- an average of 12 killings each and every day.

In addition, large areas of South Africa, including white farms and regions controlled by government-backed bantustan leaders are off limits to the ANC and other democratic parties. A heavily armed coalition of white ultra-rightists and pro-apartheid Black leaders, including KwaZulu bantustan leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, threaten all-out civil war if elections are held at all. Yet our government is silent about these threats to democracy.

YOU CAN HELP! BECOME A SOUTH AFRICA ELECTION WATCHER!

You can do your part to protect South African democracy right here in the United States through *The South Africa Election Watch Campaign*.

The Election Watch is a national network of activists, civil rights, religious, and trade union leaders, elected officials and anti-apartheid organizers who have signed up as Election Watchers to protect the peoples' right to vote. Election Watchers are concerned Americans who have pledged to serve their communities in their communities as advocates for genuinely free elections in South Africa. They receive bulletins, emergency alerts and action suggestions from The Africa Fund, keeping them up to date on critical developments in the South African election.

But most importantly, Election Watchers agree to ACT on reports of election violence and voter fraud by collecting petitions, organizing letter writing campaigns, educating their neighbors and advocating for effective U.S. action to end violence and electoral abuses.

Through education, advocacy and action, Election Watchers work to ensure that the United States puts its full weight behind a democratic South Africa now to prevent the kind of tragedy that befell Angola and Haiti, where elections were violently overturned by the losers.

With liberation so near, the oppressed Black majority needs our solidarity more than ever. The Election Watch campaign provides Americans with the information and resources they need to ensure that the millions of newly enfranchised Black South Africans can vote their conscience in peace -- confident that their vote will not be stolen by the white regime.

198 Broadway
New York, NY 10038
Tel: 212.962.1210

Sign Up and Act Now -- *FOR FREEDOM.*



SOUTH AFRICA ELECTION WATCHER PLEDGE FORM

A Project of
The Africa Fund

____ YES, I agree to be a **SOUTH AFRICA ELECTION WATCHER**. I will work to keep people in my area informed on threats to a free and fair election in South Africa.

Signed _____

RESOURCES FOR THE ELECTION WATCH CAMPAIGN

_____ *Voting in the Shadow of Apartheid - Questions and Answers on the South African Election* by Elizabeth Landis. 4 pages. Price: 35 cents each. Over twenty, 20 cents each.

_____ *The Struggle Continues: South African Women and the Vote* by Rachael Kagan and Lisa Lippman. 4 pages. Price: 35 cents each. Over twenty, 20 cents each.

_____ *ANC Women Candidates in South Africa's Liberation Election*. 4 pages. One third of the ANC candidates are women. This piece provides brief biographies of the top nine candidates. Price: 35 cents each. Over twenty, 20 cents each.

_____ *South Africa Election Watch BUTTON*. Three colors. Includes the Free the Vote logo on this letterhead. Price: \$1.00 each. Ten or more, 75 cents each. Fifty or more, 60 cents each. One hundred or more, 50 cents each.

_____ *A Personal Appeal by ANC President Nelson Mandela VIDEO*. 14 minutes. ANC President Nelson Mandela makes a personal appeal to the international community to support the elections in South Africa. Price: \$10.00.

Please indicate the quantity desired on the line before item. Add 15% postage and handling. (Foreign postage extra.)

Enclosed is \$ _____ towards the cost of being a *South Africa Election Watcher*.
_____ \$10.00 _____ \$20.00 _____ Other

\$ _____ for materials marked above, including 15% for postage.

\$ _____ Total enclosed.

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone home: () _____ work: () _____

Fax () _____

ELECTION WATCH

No.3

March 1 - 16, 1994

A. INCIDENTS

In the first 16 days of March, the HRC received 26 reports of violence or intimidation linked to the election. This is more than the 17 recorded for the whole of February. Five people were killed and 4 injured in these incidents.

Election related incidents fall into 2 categories during this time period.

• 18 campaign related incidents. The NP have been the victims in 8 of these, the DP and ANC in 4 each and unidentified community members in 2.

• 8 incidents of general intimidation. NP officials or members have been victimised on 3 occasions, DP and ANC on 3 and general community members once.

• Perpetrators of intimidation span across the spectrum of parties with the ANC playing this role in 6 incidents, the IFP in 4, rightwing or conservative whites in 2, students in 4 and the NP, DP and Security Forces in 1 each. It was not possible to identify the attackers in other incidents.

Natal

• In the greatest affront to free election activity during this period, over 2000 IFP supporters occupied a stadium in Umlazi that had been booked for an ANC rally that day. One person was killed in mayhem surrounding this event and the ANC has lodged a complaint with the IEC. • In separate incidents, a DP official was killed and another threatened, allegedly by ANC members. • An ANC member was killed and another injured by alleged IFP member when they were putting up ANC election posters. • ANC members allegedly twice swore at and threatened NP members putting up posters. • IFP leaders prevented farmworkers from attending an NP rally addressed by F.W. de Klerk. • Employees of a company erecting an ANC billboard were shot at, allegedly by IFP members.

N Tvl

•NP supporters attending an election meeting addressed by State President de Klerk were harassed by a group of ANC supporters in Giyani. •In Messina, Security Forces dispersed a crowd of ANC supporters who were protesting outside a stadium where Pres. de Klerk was addressing an election rally.

PWV

•An ANC recruitment officer was harassed by alleged IFP supporters in Joubert Park, Johannesburg. •A meeting at the University of Pretoria being addressed by Constitutional Development Minister, Roelf Meyer, was disrupted by Right Wing students who threw eggs at the Minister.

Transkei

•Major-General Bantu Holomisa, ruler of Transkei and ANC election Candidate refused to allow the NP to open an election office in the homeland. Holomisa said that he was concerned for the safety of NP members electioneering in Transkei.

Western Cape

The DP has had 4 run-ins with tertiary educational institutions in this region. •At the University of the Western Cape (UWC) 2 DP officials were prevented from entering the offices of the SRC and later, the DP were forced to call off an election blitz after the University administration would not allow them to campaign out of doors. •DP leader, Tony Leon, was chased from the campus of the Good Hope College of Education by students holding ANC placards. •At the Cape Technikon, the DP was prevented from walking around the campus and campaigning by the administration who ruled that the party was to limit itself to a table with 3 canvassers. The DP has laid several complaints with the IEC regarding these incidents. •Communities in the Cape Flats have complained about the DP sending membership cards to people who had not requested to join the organisation. •In Elsie's River, an NP meeting to be addressed by the Deputy Minister of Welfare was disrupted by ANC supporters. •A person was injured by a body guard of ANC official Tony Yengeri during a rally addressed by Bantu Holomisa. •Reports have been received of an NP official and a police reservist using gangs to terrorise political opponents in Bonteheuwel. •In Robertson, a farmworker who had displayed an ANC poster on his wall was assaulted by 4 men.

OFS

•An NP official was killed and another injured in Tumahole when homes of NP officials were stoned and set alight. •People bearing ANC and DP flags disrupted an NP meeting in Brontville, near Welkom.

B. GENERAL

✕ The ANC lodged a complaint with the IEC over the name of the African Moderates Congress, complaining that the similarity in names would confuse voters. The IEC ordered the AMC to add the word 'Party' to its name to avoid this confusion.

✕ The IEC reported that it had received over 25 complaints of election offences up to the middle of March. Investigations are proceeding on these complaints.

✕ The Transitional Executive Council decided on 15 March that prisoners who have been sentenced without the option of a fine will not be permitted to vote in the election despite a concerted campaign by prisoners organisations and the approval of the IEC on this matter.

✕ Political parties that have difficulty accessing certain areas such as farms or certain townships can now canvass under a special IEC campaign called Operation Access. The IEC will organise with the relevant authorities and hold a rally at which several political parties will be able to address voters.