

SOUTH AFRICA:

THE COUNTDOWN TO ELECTIONS



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FOCUS ON THE VIOLENCE IN NATAL

With the recent fall of the governments in the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei homelands, the government of the "self-governing" homeland of KwaZulu remains as the last significant stumbling block in the way of a relatively peaceful transition to democracy in South Africa.

In a recent speech before the KwaZulu parliament, the leader of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi reiterated his hardline stance when he threatened that war would result from the election being contested without the participation of his government's party, the Inkatha Freedom Party. Inkatha continues to oppose the election and has therefore chosen not to contest it.

Analysts believe that Buthelezi is less vulnerable to the outside pressure that caused the collapse of the governments in the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana as a result of the fact that he enjoys more popular support in KwaZulu than did his counterparts in the other two homelands. In particular, he has successfully appealed to the nationalist sentiments of the least educated of the predominantly Zulu population of KwaZulu. He has also reportedly worked to stimulate and reinforce fears of a Yugoslavia style "ethnic cleansing" plan being perpetrated against the Zulu people under an ANC-led government.

As a result, tensions in the KwaZulu/Natal area are mounting and that area has now become a central focus of officials charged with creating a climate in South Africa that is conducive to a free and fair election. On Wednesday, March 23rd, Justice Johann Kriegler, Chairman of the Independent Electoral

Commission ("IEC") met with leaders of the homeland to discuss the establishment of election structures and polling sites within the homeland's borders.

It was reported in the March 24th edition of the Johannesburg-based *Star* newspaper that at the meeting, Buthelezi offered "conditional cooperation." For instance, he has reportedly agreed to make government buildings and personnel in KwaZulu available for polling purposes provided they are not needed for "essential services." However, he warned that the KwaZulu government would not accept liability for anything that happens to government personnel who volunteer to work at the polling sites. Kriegler was later jeered loudly by members of the KwaZulu legislature when he appeared before them at a parliamentary session.

Kriegler's visit comes in the wake of a report which alleges that Zulu chief Calalakubo Khawula, Inkatha's Deputy Floor Manager of the KwaZulu parliament threatened death to anyone who dared to vote in KwaZulu in defiance of Inkatha's election boycott. Another Inkatha member who was reportedly disturbed by the Chief's behavior submitted a sworn affidavit to the IEC in which he alleges that Chief Khawula, in a speech before Inkatha followers on February 11th, announced his intention to provide firearms to Inkatha members "to be used against people who will vote."

Meanwhile the high level of violence in the Natal province continues unabated. In this edition of *Countdown*, we turn the spotlight on the political

violence in Natal as seen through the eyes of the Johannesburg-based Human Rights Commission ("HRC") the most widely known and well respected violence monitoring organization in South Africa. What follows are excerpts of a report prepared by the Natal branch of HRC on the political violence in Natal during the month of February.

COMMENT ON STATISTICS

The death toll [in Natal] for February (180), as with January's toll of 172, is comparatively lower than the figures recorded in the last months of 1993 (Nov-222; Dec-228). Despite this, passions are running very high in the province: continued attacks and uncertainty have created a high level of frustration and tension. The role of the police and of independent and international monitoring groups has played an important role in curbing violence in some areas. During the month of February, there were 2 major massacres (the murder of 10 or more persons in one attack) and 2 incidents in which 7 people were killed [at one time]. Violence aimed at targeting election activity has increased.

FOCUS ON THE MIDLANDS

The midlands area recorded the greatest number of deaths in Natal for the month of February. Four large attacks occurred in this area in February.

Richmond

Richmond lies in the heart of the Natal Midlands, on the Pietermaritzburg/Ixopo road. On the 6th of February, 12 people, including 6 children and 4 women, were killed when they were attacked by about 20 men in the ANC-supporting Masunkazane area, near Richmond. According to the ANC, the attackers were IFP (Inkatha) supporters from the IFP stronghold of Patheni who had been involved in previous attacks. Monitors in the area alleged that the same vehicles belonging to IFP members were frequently seen in both Ixopo and Patheni and these vehicles had been seen in Patheni prior to the attack. The ANC has pointed these vehicles out to monitors in the past, saying they feared that ammunition was being transported to and from Patgebu. However, the IFP denied these allegations saying that the attack was linked to an internal ANC conflict in Richmond.

There have been suspicions of right-wing involvement in the incident, but the SAP Criminal Intelligence Service ("CIS") denies this, claiming the incident is strictly related to tensions between two ANC-supporting clans.

An international monitor who visited the area the day after the attack and who observed political leaders at the scene of the attack commented, "there is no reality except expedient political gain. . . and the victims have become minor players in an ugly political drama." The massacre in Richmond is yet another case study of an incident in which a complexity of factors are at play and where the power games of modern politics lie adjacent to traditional feuds.

Creighton

Creighton is a small town on the border of the Ixopo district, on the Bulwer road. In a neighboring rural village called Mahlele, on the 18th February 1994, 15 ANC supporters, including 12 children, were killed when gunmen opened fire and then stabbed the occupants of a hut. The deceased were youths who had volunteered to put up posters for a voter education workshop organised by the Ixopo branch of the ANC. The workshop was to take place in Creighton on the following day and the youths had spent the day putting up posters and were seen singing and toyi-toying up and down the streets of Creighton until late that evening. They were then told to sleep together that night in a deserted, roofless hut in the village. The attack occurred at midnight. AK-47, shotgun, R-1 and 9mm cartridges were found at the scene.

The attack took place on the border of the Ixopo district where there has been ongoing intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. The IFP organizer of Ixopo, Dumisani Khuzwayo, the Ixopo IFP Youth Brigade leader, Thulani Dlamini, Richmond IFP chairperson, Paulos Vezi and Bulwer IFP leader, Gamantu Sithole, were arrested in connection with the killings. They appeared in the Ixopo Magistrate's court on 2 March 1994 where their application for bail was denied.

Taylor's Halt

Taylor's Halt lies in the Vulindlela magisterial district, west of Pietermaritzburg. Here, on the 20th of February, 7 IFP supporters, including a 4-year-old

child, were shot dead in the Ntembeni area. The group [was] returning from an IFP Youth Brigade rally held in Taylor's Halt which was addressed by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Two international police experts were appointed by the Goldstone Commission to conduct an investigation into the massacre. In addition to the massacre, another 6 IFP commuters travelling to the rally were injured in 2 bus ambushes.

FOCUS ON KWAMTHETHWA

The KwaMthethwa district lies in Nseleni, just north of Empangeni. Violence between ANC and IFP supporters in the area has been of a low intensity but relentless. Nine deaths were recorded here in February. Much of the recent violence has been in the Mabhuveni reserve - a largely ANC supporting area.

The IFP has alleged that an ANC "hit-list" of IFP members has been circulated in the area. The home of one of those named on this alleged list was destroyed in a petrol bomb attack on 9 February. The IFP alleged that the man had received a number of death threats. On 13 February an ANC member returning home to Mabhuveni from an ANC rally in Ngwelezane was shot and killed, allegedly by IFP supporters.

On the 20th February, the ANC launched the KwaMthethwa Youth Brigade branch and on the same day the IFP held a rally. One person was killed near the site of the IFP rally, allegedly by IFP supporters shortly before the rally began. A second man was shot and killed at the rally. The IFP said he was shot because he was an ANC spy from outside the area. The ISU (Internal Stability Unit) said the man was an IFP member but because he was not a local person he was not recognised and was suspected of being a spy. After the rally IFP supporters returning to their homes allegedly burnt down at least 7 homes. The following week 6 people were killed in Mabhuveni.

FOCUS ON NDWEDWE

Ndwedwe is a large, scenic, rural area which occupies part of the "Valley of a Thousand Hills." Twenty deaths and at least 28 incidents of house burning were recorded in February. As a result, there are hundreds of refugees, and schools and shops were forced to close. Following recent fighting, the region is at present largely dominated by the IFP,

except for Sonkombo where the ANC are still active. Of the 20 killed, 6 were identified as IFP supporters, 4 as ANC supporters and 3 were perceived ANC members in Sonkombo. The affiliation of the other victims has not been established.

Ndwedwe has been plagued by periods of intense political fighting in the past. The recent outbreak of violence followed the slaying of the ANC's Ndwedwe leader, Mr. Milton Meylwa in January this year. Attempts to mediate in the conflict have been fruitless up to now as the ANC refuse to disclose the identity of their local leaders for fear that they will be killed. The IFP leader for the area is Mr. Phineas Mfayala, a KwaZulu MP.

GOLDSTONE IMPLICATES POLICE IN VIOLENCE

It has long been suspected that the violence in African townships in Natal and elsewhere has been fomented if not orchestrated by officials within the South Africa Police pursuant to a plan to destabilize and undermine cohesion within the African community.

On March 18th, after 2 years of investigations, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation finally acknowledged the possible involvement of a so-called "third force" in the violence when it released a report which makes allegations of high level police involvement. In particular, allegations in the report include:

- gun running by police to men involved in hit squads, the illegal manufacture of weapons, the issuing of false documents and passports and the orchestration of violence to destabilize the country.
- the provision of arms to members of Inkatha.
- that Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal leader Themba Khoza was recruited as a police informer, and was supplied with arms for distribution to Inkatha supporters in hostels around Johannesburg.
- there is "convincing evidence" that "elements in the KwaZulu Police have been and are still involved in hit squad activities in Natal and also in the Transvaal."
- that there is *prima facie* evidence that policemen

and Inkatha members carried out killings on trains (between 1990 and 1992) in which more than 300 black commuters were killed.

- that evidence of the operations have been destroyed on the orders of senior police officers.

Following the publication of the report, President F.W. de Klerk suspended the three high level police officials who were implicated in the report. -EM

HRC REPORTS ON ELECTION RELATED ACTS OF INTIMIDATION

In Natal and the rest of South Africa, the HRC has reported that acts of intimidation in connection with the elections are on the rise. In its report on the period between March 1st and March 16th, the HRC reports having observed 26 instances of political intimidation in connection with the upcoming election. In some of the more serious incidents, in Natal, 2000 IFP supporters prevented the ANC from holding a rally in a stadium that it had booked for the event. One person was killed in the clash between ANC and IFP supporters. Elsewhere in Natal, a Democratic Party official was killed and another threatened, allegedly by ANC supporters; and an ANC member was reportedly killed and another injured allegedly by an IFP member while they were putting up ANC election posters. In other parts of the country, a National Party official and a police reservist have reportedly been using gangs to terrorize political opponents in Bonteheuwel in the Western Cape; and in the Orange Free State, a National Party official was killed and another injured when the homes of National Party officials were stoned and set on fire.

In an attempt to address the problem of political intimidation, the Independent Electoral Commission has initiated a program called Open Access in which the IEC will assist political parties in gaining access to problem areas for the purpose of campaigning.

Specifically, the IEC will hold meetings with those individuals or groups perceived to be blocking access to parties in order to get them to agree to hold rallies in their areas in which views of all political parties would be aired.

PRISONERS GIVEN RIGHT TO VOTE

The Transitional Executive Council announced on March 23rd that it has reversed its decision not to allow all prisoners to vote in the forthcoming elections. The decision affects an estimated 125,000 prisoners who will now be able to vote on April 26th.

The decision follows events in which 21 prisoners died and more than 100 were injured in rioting in jails on March 21st in connection with protests over the TEC's previous decision not to allow prisoners who are serving sentences without the option of a fine to vote. -EM

The Lawyers' Committee wishes to thank the Human Rights Commission for permission to reprint portions of its February report on the violence in Natal.

This newsletter includes articles reprinted from the London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement's newsletter, "Election Monitor." Articles that have been reprinted from "Election Monitor" are identified by the "-EM" symbol.

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the facts

De Klerk's blind eye to slaughter

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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 "Krappies" Englebrect, 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.

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'

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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 Kopper, former Vlakplaas member: Allegedly involved in manufacturing guns.

Voessie 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.