

SOUTH AFRICA:

THE COUNTDOWN TO ELECTIONS



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"Those who oppose the democratic process are about to be overtaken by the process of history."

-Nelson Mandela last week in
Stockholm en route to Oslo.

ALL RACE TEC GETS UNDERWAY

On Tuesday, December 6th, the Transitional Executive Council ("TEC") began its work as the chief overseer of South Africa's transition to democratic rule. With the launch of the TEC, comes the first opportunity blacks have had to participate in governing the country.

Sixteen parties are represented on the Council with three additional groups of traditional leaders expected to join soon. Of the parties that participated in the Multi-party Negotiations Forum throughout that process, The Pan Africanist Congress ("PAC") and the Afrikaner Volksunie ("AVU") have opted out of the TEC. The installation of the TEC triggered the repeal, on Thursday, December 9th, of the United Nations oil embargo against South Africa.

Only one week old, the TEC has wasted no time in getting to the task at hand -- ensuring a peaceful transition to democracy in South Africa. In its first session, the TEC ordered the government to deploy police units to parts of the KwaZulu homeland where Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi serves as Minister of Police. They also ordered the Chief of the KwaZulu Police, Roy During to produce information material to the investigation into the existence of police hit squads in Natal.

As expected, these directives are being met with

defiance. Immediately following the issuance of orders by the TEC, During, apparently acting on instructions from Buthelezi, announced his intention to ignore the TEC. As a result, the TEC faces the possibility of having to force a showdown just days after coming into existence. On Tuesday, December 14th, the Council resolved "to take all steps, including legal steps, to ensure the [directives to During are] complied with."

The TEC has apparently averted another possible showdown -- this time with the National Party-led government's Police Minister Henus Kriel. In a meeting on December 9th with ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa and Chief Government Negotiator Roelf Meyer, Kriel vehemently resisted TEC orders to withdraw from black townships the Internal Stability Unit of the South African Police ("ISU"), whose actions in the townships have frequently been criticized as inflammatory and counter to anti-violence initiatives.

However, Kriel had apparently capitulated by the following Tuesday when he proposed to make dramatic changes to the present composition of the ISU, including changing the name, the uniform, adding blacks and women and reducing instances of an unnecessarily large presence of units at crime scenes.

IEC TO BE FORMED SOON

The formation of the Independent Electoral Commission ("IEC") was expected by the end of this week. More details on the IEC will follow in the next issue.

LEGISLATION ON HOMELANDS PASSED; OTHERS STILL PENDING

On Wednesday, December 15th, South Africa's white-controlled parliament voted to restore citizenship to an estimated 10 million black residents of the 4 nominally independent homelands Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, to become effective on January 1st, 1994.

While debate on the Electoral Bill has been completed, vote on the measure was postponed until next week when Parliament is also expected to vote on the interim constitution.

RIGHT WING SETS CONDITIONS FOR PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS

On Monday, December 13th, the Executive Committee of the right wing Freedom Alliance announced that its members will agree to participate in the April elections only after certain conditions have been met.

Specifically, among their demands are the repeal of the proposed two-year deadline for agreement on a permanent constitution and regional autonomy.

They have also demanded that the passage of the interim constitution as it was recently presented to Parliament, be postponed until the negotiations between the Alliance, the ANC and the government over self-determination for the various ethnic groups represented in the Alliance, have been completed.

Meanwhile, the most prominent member of the Freedom Alliance, the Inkatha Freedom Party, in a separate statement, denounced the TEC as "politically motivated . . . and contrary to the principles of natural justice." However, he left the door open for Inkatha participation in the elections when he announced that the Party would hold a special meeting in January to determine whether it would contest the elections.

White right-wingers also made separate pronouncements, including a Conservative Party declaration that the Orange Free State province would resist, by force if necessary, inclusion into a unified South Africa. The Afrikaners People's Front also announced its intention to establish a "white people's

state", complete with alternative government structures.

ANC PLEDGES TO INCLUDE WOMEN ON NOMINATION LISTS

The African National Congress has pledged to ensure that a minimum of one-third of all candidates it submits for nomination are women. According to the ANC, "one of the legacies of apartheid and patriarchy has been the absence of women in public office, not least within the ANC itself. This situation is undemocratic and cannot be allowed to prevail in the new South Africa."

The ANC's closing date for nominations for regional and national lists was December 13th. A regional list conference will follow on December 18th and 19th. The provincial conferences will be held on January 16th and the national conference on January 22nd.

A resounding victory last week for Nelson Mandela's estranged wife Winnie, in her bid to become President of the ANC Women's League, will substantially enhance her chances of securing a top spot on the ANC national list and perhaps even a cabinet post.

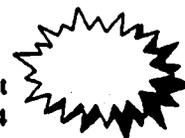
VIOLENCE MONITOR

In the most widely publicized incident of political violence this week, a band of white men in camouflage uniform ambushed 2 cars carrying black passengers. The attack left two people, a 21 year-old man and an 11-year old boy dead. Two of the survivors sustained severe injuries.

According to the Johannesburg-based Human Rights Commission, survivors reported that the attackers spoke Afrikaans and had asked their victims whether they were members of the ANC before they assaulted them. In another white on black attack, four white men allegedly fired into a crowd of black workers, injuring one woman.

Flashpoints

The HRC this week reported that political violence resulted in 74 deaths compared to 58 during the previous week. Again, the PWV region and Thokoza and Katlehong in particular, remain the worst affected areas.



SECURITY FORCE WATCH

Goldstone Commission Admits Existence of Hit Squad

In a report released this week, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation finally acknowledged the existence of hit squads in the Natal Province. According to the report, "the fact that hit squads are operating in South Africa cannot seriously be doubted. . . . In the past few days credible evidence has come to the knowledge of the Commission of a hit squad which at the time of its activities consisted of members of the KwaZulu Police ("KZP")."

Allegations of the existence of a hit squad composed of members of the KZP date back to February 1992. At that time, Mbongeni Khumalo, a former Inkatha official testified before the Goldstone Commission that in 1986, KZP members were trained at a base on the Caprivi strip in northern Namibia by the South African Defence Force. In his testimony and later in an interview with a Lawyers' Committee staff member, Mr. Khumalo claimed that the trainees were trained in paramilitary tactics and taught to view liberation movement organizations as "the enemy."

Consistent with Khumalo's testimony, the Goldstone Commission reports that recently uncovered evidence "establishes the high probability that a hit squad consisting of five KZP policemen has been responsible during 1992 and 1993 for the murder of no less than nine people including leaders and members of the ANC."

South African Peace Force by Election Time Doubtful

Observers from the Commonwealth have publicly expressed doubts over the prospects for the establishment of an effective peacekeeping force by April. According to Peter Stevens, Chief Superintendent of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa, "the national peacekeeping force has yet to be formed or trained. . . . I doubt it will be on the ground by the time of the election."

In a report released by the Commonwealth Mission on Tuesday, December 14th, the observers cited as one of the chief obstacles to timely deployment of the force, the substantial time necessary to train a force

that will be drawn from such diverse sources. Under the current plan, members of the South African government forces, ANC and possibly PAC forces and homeland troops will be integrated into one national peacekeeping force. With only four months to go, the training period for the force would be limited to two to three months in order for the force to be in a position to participate in the process of creating an environment conducive to holding free and fair elections.

VOTER ATTITUDES MONITOR



The South African pollster Markinor recently released the results of its most recent survey of potential voters living in metropolitan areas. According to Markinor, when asked which party they would vote for, 54% of whites named the National Party as either their first or second choice.

The Democratic Party tied with Inkatha as the second most popular party among whites at 22% when combining the first and second choices. The Inkatha figure increased significantly from May.

The Conservative Party showed a decline in popularity, dropping from 17% of white support in May to 14% in October/November.

Among metropolitan blacks, the ANC was the overwhelming favorite with 76% of that population selecting the ANC as its first choice and 82% selecting it as either their first or second choice. The PAC came in second with 4% choosing it as their first choice, followed by the NP, IFP and South African Communist Party ("SACP") with 2% each.

However, the SACP jumped ahead of the PAC when the first and second choices were combined. Twenty-seven percent of blacks identified the SACP as either their first or second choice, ahead of the PAC with 22%, the NP with 10% and the IFP with 3%.

U.N. FINALLY GETS NOD FROM TEC

In its first session, the TEC adopted a resolution of the Multi-party Negotiating Council requesting that the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the European Community, the Organization of African Unity and individual governments provide election observers for the April 27th election. The resolution

specifically calls for the groups named "to provide a sufficient number of international observers to monitor the electoral process." The TEC also has appealed to the UN to coordinate all international observers and to ensure that their deployment is effectively coordinated through close cooperation with the Independent Electoral Commission.

Foreign non-governmental organizations ("NGOs") planning to send observer teams to South Africa and to register formally with the IEC as election observers, are requested by the TEC to work closely with South African counterpart NGOs. Finally, the resolution "[e]xpress[ed] the hope that all international observers and other observers from South African and foreign Non-Governmental Organizations would co-operate closely in the performance of their task to monitor the electoral process at all stages."

There has been an immediate response to the TEC's resolution calling for the UN to play a co-ordinating role in observing/monitoring the elections. The UN Electoral Assistance Unit has sent a "Needs Assessment Team" which arrived in South Africa in early December. -EM

CONFERENCE ON MONITORING HELD

From December 8th-10th, the Multi-party Negotiating Council and a group of domestic non-governmental organizations convened a National Conference on Election Monitoring and Observing. The Lawyers' Committee participated on the conference planning committee. At the conference, an agreement was reached that local observer groups should seek to empower the IEC by seeking to strengthen its monitoring function. Conference attendees identified two possible means of achieving that objective.

Specifically, local groups could either work within the IEC as monitors employed by it, or play a supportive role outside the commission through frequent consultations and advice about local electoral conditions. The conference did not agree on a single approach to dealing with the IEC.

Conferees did, however, establish an interim committee to report conclusions and recommendations of the conference to the Commission and explore ways of moving forward. The committee is

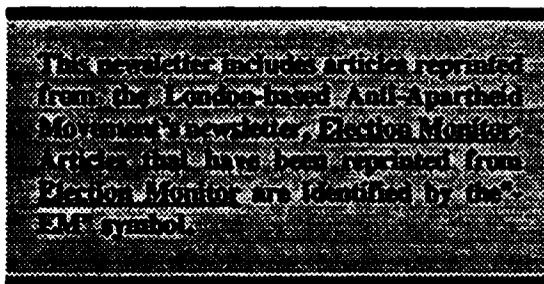
comprised of representatives of the religious community, business, local NGOs and trade unions. Foreign NGOs, represented by the Lawyers' Committee, and international inter-governmental organizations were asked to participate as observers.

U.S. BUSINESS/CIVIC INITIATIVE AWARDS FIRST ELECTIONS GRANT

The South Africa Free Elections Fund ("SAFE"), a non-profit organization headquartered in New York, has awarded R1,000,000 to the Ecumenical Assistance Trust for Voter Education. SAFE was created six months ago by a group of American business and civic leaders as a vehicle through which funds could be channeled to support "high impact, non-partisan voter education initiatives."

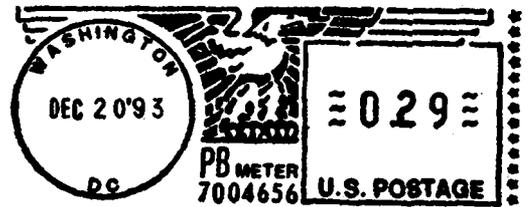
According to SAFE, the R1,000,000 will be used to support "intensive media campaigns targeting voters in small towns and rural areas with the extensive use of radio, television and videos in indigenous languages."

Founding members of the SAFE Board of Directors include Dr. Anthony O'Reilly, Judge Leon Higginbotham, Theodore Sorensen, Jewell Jackson McCabe and Wilma Mankiller. So far the group has raised \$2.7 million with a target of \$10 million.



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