

Citizen 15/10/92

ANC march plans: violence feared

Citizen Reporter

TENSION is mounting in Potgietersrus after threats by a group of farmers and townspeople to use violence to break up an ANC march into the town on Saturday.

The Boere Krisisaksie (BKA) have already issued a warning to Blacks in the town that should the march go ahead, a lot of people could die on the streets of Potgietersrus.

Blacks in the town where also urged to save their own lives and those of their families by not attempting to take part in the march.

At the same time members of the Conservative Party-led Town Council, have received threatening telephone calls for deciding not to oppose the march, in the interest of peace in the town.

Blood

The chairman of Potgietersrus' management committee, Mr Pieter van Niekerk, yesterday said he personally had little doubt that should the march go ahead, blood would flow in the streets of his town.

He hoped that reason would prevail, and that the ANC would call off the march.

"We are in a very difficult situation. If we oppose the march, the Blacks in the town would simply call a consumer boycott and in the interest of the town we cannot allow it.

selves to be intimidated by the ANC/Cosatu-SACP alliance to take part in the march.

"This is wrong because White people have not organised protest marches in Mahwelereng.

"It is dangerous because it can lead to battles and violence in the streets during which many can die," the BKA said.

It warned Blacks not to endanger their or their families' lives, by taking part in the protest march.

Political

The BKA said the main reason why it was against

the protest march and why they would stop it at all costs, were the fact that the march was politically-inspired, and aimed at provoking Whites in the town.

The resistance of Whites against mass action had grown to breaking point, which meant that the safety of the public and property could not be guaranteed.

The Boerekrisisaksie is known for its invasion of the streets of Pretoria two years ago, which effectively brought the city to a standstill for two days.

"On the other hand, if the march goes ahead, there is a real danger that violence could erupt and people would die. As it is, the march would serve no purpose, because we as a town have no control over the things that are being protested against," Mr Van Niekerk said.

Decided

The chief of the Civil Protection Unit, Mr Piet Lamprecht, has already decided in terms of powers delegated to him that the march can go ahead.

The Town Council has decided not to interfere in his decision, and to leave the matter to the chief magistrate in the area for a final decision.

The BKA said in a open letter to the residents of the Black township yesterday that they should not allow them-

IFP men end hunger strike

DURBAN. — The remaining 11 Inkatha Freedom Party members who are on a hunger strike at Durban's Westville Prison abandoned their action yesterday, according to IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet.

He said the prisoners had reviewed their fast after two meetings between the IFP, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok and a Justice Department official Mr Piet Kleynhans.

"The Council for National Indemnity had agreed to accommodate all IFP prisoners eligible for political indemnity in a mass hearing starting on December 6 which is expected to last two weeks."

— Sapa.

Cairo talks on visit by Buthelezi

CAIRO. — High-profile Inkatha Freedom Party officials discussed Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's imminent visit to Egypt with that country's Foreign Affairs Minister yesterday.

The IFP leader will visit Egypt to discuss his party's position on democracy talks.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and chief executive officer V J Matthews will be in Cairo until Saturday, the correspondent said. — Sapa.

Alliance has no Kempton Park case: Dawie

STRAND. — The newly-formed Freedom Alliance could not advance any convincing argument as to why the original Kempton Park negotiating council was not representative.

Cape National Party leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said yesterday.

Addressing party's annual Cape congress — probably its last before South Africa is divided into regions — he said there was no path for South Africa other than multi-party negotiations.

It was difficult to determine what the Alliance members really had in common.

The Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), with the Conservative Party in the forefront, stood for a White nation state (volkstaat) in which citizenship would eventually have to be determined by race and ethnicity.

Dr De Villiers said the question was whether Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President Lucas Mangope, of Bophuthatswana, approved this standpoint.

The strangest factor was that the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging was also part of the alliance.

This meant that Chief Buthelezi and Ciskei leader Brigadier Gqozo had now become Eugene Terre'Blanche's leaders.

— Sapa.

Three killings: Age saves man from death

PIETERMARITZ-

BURG. — A man was sentenced to life imprisonment and a further 52 years for the killing of three people and the attempted murder of two others near Mtunzini in February.

Mr Justice Hugo noted that Vusumuzi Bheki Zibani was a few days short of 18 when the offences were committed, and said he could for that reason not impose the death penalty.

But for his youth, "the death sentence would have been a very real possibility", the judge said.

The sentences will run currently.

Zibani, "an active and avid member of the ANC", was found guilty of killing three people — Vusumuzi Mdletshe, Arthur Booysen, and Jacobus Swart — and attempting to kill Mr Nkosinathi Msweli, and his aunt Caloyeni Zibani.

He was also convicted on counts of unlawful

possession of a revolver and ammunition.

Booyesen and Swart were gunned down while they were picnicking with their wives next to the N2 highway.

Zibani's accomplice to the picnic killings, one Xolani, was reportedly arrested about four weeks ago, and could also be charged.

Zibani got life for killing Mdletshe; 20 years for helping to kill Booysen and Swart, 15 years each for the attempted murders, and two years and six months for the arms contraventions.

Judge Hugo said Zibani was an arrogant, self-opinionated young man who had shown no remorse or respect for the sanctity of human life.

He had left behind him a trail of blood and destruction, and "society urgently needs continuous protection from his actions."

Noting that there may have been political under-

tones in some of the attacks, Mr Justice Hugo commented: "There may have been a time when black political aspirations could not be adequately expressed in ways other than through violence... that time has passed, and all political parties are attempting to find solutions to the country's problems."

The judge said political

leaders have made passionate pleas to their supporters to desist from violence, adding the only future we have in this country is through political tolerance.

People who resort to violence are not only destroying their victims, but also the future of their countrymen, he added.

— Sapa.

Control of marches an attack on rights: ANC

MINISTER of Law and Order Hermus Kriel's threat to pass tougher legislation to control marches or protests in the run-up to the elections is an attack on a basic democratic right, the ANC charged yesterday.

In a statement in Johannesburg, the ANC said Mr Kriel has again demonstrated his inability to subject narrow party political interest

to the broader interests of the country.

"Kriel needs to be reminded that the creation of a climate for free political activity remains the domain of the Transitional Executive Council and not his political party."

The Minister's statement further revealed the scant regard the government had for basic democratic principles, the ANC added.

The organisation pointed out the Goldstone Commission, churches and structures of the National Peace Accord had developed broad guidelines that governed the conduct of mass protest.

"Neither Kriel nor his government has the legitimacy nor the credibility to unilaterally bring changes to these guidelines," the ANC said. — Sapa.

SA violence may sway Nobel Prize

OSLO. — ANC president Nelson Mandela and State President De Klerk are among favourites to win the Nobel Peace Prize today, but worries over violence in South Africa could swing the award to the Salvation Army.

Norwegian media — usually right in their forecasts — say guardians of the prize risk controversy by honouring South Africa's spluttering transition from Whites-only rule. They could play safe instead with the Salvation Army.

The answer will not be known until Francis Sejersted, head of the secretive five-member committee, walks into a room in the Nobel Institute and announces: "The peace prize for 1993 is awarded to..."

Altogether 120 candidates are vying for the award — 95 individuals and 25 organisations — including Czech President

Vaclav Havel and the Red Cross. The 1993 prize is worth 6.7 million Swedish crowns (R2.87 million).

"In my view it's far too early to award the Nobel Peace Prize to De Klerk and Mandela. And it's too late to give the prize to Mandela alone," said Mr Tore Eriksen, a researcher at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs.

He noted joint awards had been among the most controversial — such as in 1978 to late Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, and in 1973 to former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and late Vietnamese Communist leader Le Duc Tho.

The Salvation Army, founded in the slums of London in 1865 and now doing social and Christian work in 95 nations, was a front-runner for the 1992 prize, which went to Guatemala's Rigoberta Men-

chu, an Indian human rights campaigner.

An organisation has not won the award, named after Sweden's Alfred Nobel, since the UN Peacekeeping Force in 1988.

Geir Helljesen, a Norwegian television reporter who has correctly tipped the prize in every recent year, forecast Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk would win despite worries about violence in South Africa.

More than 1 600 people have died in political violence since early June, when democracy negotiators set next April 27 as the date for the country's first all-race elections.

Helljesen said the committee preferred individuals and had a strong anti-apartheid tradition. Archbishop Desmond Tutu won in 1984 and Chief Albert Lutuli, former ANC president, in 1960. Mr Mandela has been a perennial favourite for the award.

"I think there's a tendency to personify things and this may also have been the case with the Peace Prize," Geir Lundestad, director of the Nobel Committee, told Reuters.

"But there have been many worthy institutions which have received the prize and this will undoubtedly continue."

Kaare Kristiansen, one of five members of the committee, touched off speculation in Norway that the Salvation Army would win by telling Reuters this month that he did not believe the 1993 award would be controversial.

But one informed source said Mr Kristiansen, nominated to the committee by a Right-wing party, had argued against giving a prize to Mr Mandela alone. And as such, he might not view a joint prize to De Klerk and Mandela as "controversial". — Sapa-Reuters.

Cosag part two born of defeat and desperation

WHEN is an alliance not an alliance? When a group of desperate politicians bands together, and calls itself the Freedom Alliance.

The Freedom Alliance is essentially composed of the same collection of parties as the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) except that the alliance is formalised, whereas Cosag was a loose front.

Cosag did not get off the ground, and indications point to the internal contradictions of the new alliance rendering it crippled at birth as a united negotiating front.

Last week Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told other Cosag partners that the front had outlived its usefulness and it was time to form a new body — as if renaming something changes its essence.

Cosag was formed by Buthelezi in reaction to being left out of the government/ANC September 1992 Record of Understanding. The belief was that this matter had been ironed out by the time Buthelezi led Cosag back into the new formal negotiations in April.

However, things went awry when Cosag members became tactically divided and the Afrikaner Volksunie, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei did not

follow Buthelezi's lead in walking out of negotiations at the beginning of July.

The other three Cosag parties started to negotiate their own deals with government and the ANC secretly, while Inkatha was doing the same, ostensibly outside the process.

But Inkatha once again was not getting exactly what it wanted, and was being forced to make concessions. Inkatha/KwaZulu was moving closer to an agreement with government where some issues in the negotiated interim constitution could be changed by a two-thirds majority, and others, including increased powers and functions for regions, being entrenched.

Inkatha was also almost ready to forgo its insistence on the KwaZulu/Natal constitution being adopted as a fait accompli, accepting that all regions should have the same constitution until elected regional legislatures had negotiated their own constitutions within the bounds of the constitutional principles.

Outnegotiated again, Inkatha cried foul, claiming government and the ANC were seeking to divide the Cosag partners. The squeeze was also being put on Bophuthatswana

BILLY PADDOCK

and Ciskei in bilateral meetings to concede on reincorporation in exchange for guaranteed entrenched regional powers and functions.

Buthelezi saw his chance — arguing that the way around this was for all partners to withdraw and form a united negotiating team under a new organisation.

The Freedom Alliance came into being, but its seed was planted more than two months ago because, ever since Inkatha and the CP walked out, Buthelezi and his advisers had been attempting to forge a new body within Cosag demanding a new negotiating forum as the current process was "fatally flawed and could not be rescued", as Codesa had been.

The common factor binding the alliance is still the parties' objection to the Record of Understanding and being "manipulated" (read outnegotiated) by the ANC and government.

It is difficult to see how the Freedom Alliance is going to negotiate a new constitutional dispensation as a united front. The CP and Afrikaner Volksfront will still not accept any

member who is not white, and they demand a white Afrikaner homeland.

Alliance executive chairman Rowan Cronje acknowledges that this is a fundamental difference and a problem, "but we are negotiating within the organisation.... What others have not been able to achieve in more than 40 years, we will do in less than a month".

However, perhaps the CP and the AVF realise, or will come to realise, that without Inkatha they are out on a limb. Having signed the alliance manifesto rejecting racism, they may have to pay Buthelezi's price — forgoing a racially exclusive homeland for something closer to what the almost defunct Afrikaner Volksunie accepted: a subregion with no racial laws but where Afrikaners can hold on to their cultural identity.

The manifesto reveals nothing new and it is evident that negotiating a new constitution is not top of the Freedom Alliance's agenda. Derailing the negotiation process and the April 27 elections is the main objective.

However, the same crucial question remains — can Inkatha be pulled in and, if it cannot, how does a

new coalition government deal with it and the greater instability and violence that will result?

This is where a referendum, on the basis suggested by the ANC, could have more weight. Negotiate a constitution that addresses all the major concerns of Inkatha and the right wing of the NP, granting regional autonomy, and pass it through Parliament on the understanding that it will be submitted to a plebiscite. Then call a referendum.

If the result, as President F W de Klerk and his advisers believe, clearly demonstrates Buthelezi's and the right wing's lack of support and still fails to pull in Inkatha, the president could exercise his last option, reluctant as he is to do it — cut off Buthelezi's financial lifeline.

He can go to his right wing, which is rendering him impotent to act against Buthelezi, and say: "I have gone all the way to appease him but to no avail. Now I have no alternative but to clamp down on him because we cannot go back on reform."

Red Alert columnist Joe Slovo has requested temporary leave of absence because of pressure of work at the World Trade Centre.

COMMENT

Our land

LAND is a critical issue for the new South Africa, and it is as well that it is being debated now, well ahead of the election of a new government.

Just how emotive the subject is was shown in the quick response from the Transvaal Agricultural Union this week to the address by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to the Land Redistribution Options conference. Though Ramaphosa's speech was measured and dispassionate, the farmers warned against "irresponsible statements" that could create expectations leading to unmanageable conflict.

There is no question of expectations being created — they are already there. The more radical groups demand "the return of our land", and nothing less. Their approach is reflected in the controversial slogans about settlers and farmers. While the official ANC line is more moderate, it accepts a special responsibility to resolve the land issue. In Ramaphosa's words, "the claim to restore land rights is part of our history. If we turn our backs on the land question, we are no longer the ANC".

So if white farmers are prepared to die for their land — as indeed they are — and restoration of land rights is a key policy element for the ANC, is conflict inevitable? Not if emotions can be tempered, and everyone is involved in finding solutions.

The ANC, as the major political group representing black constitu-

ents, has an awesome task. It is the potential future government, so its responsibilities stretch beyond its supporters to the wellbeing of the country as a whole. Apart from avoiding racial conflict, it has to ensure that South Africa can feed itself, and that the vast potential of the agricultural sector is finally realised through the optimum use of the land.

Judging from the number of questions posed by Ramaphosa in his speech — summarised on this page yesterday — the ANC has looked long and hard at the job ahead, and it is working on the answers. There will certainly be judicial procedures through which dispossessed people can be recompensed, and a wider land reform system aimed at creating employment and improving productivity. The ANC is nevertheless aware there will be cases where physical restoration of land may be "inappropriate" and that other forms of compensation will be necessary.

No matter how sensible and fair such procedures are, they will falter unless there is widespread and open consultation in devising them. It is essential that all affected groups should be involved in the land reform debate, and that the agricultural unions, especially, should not turn their backs on those they see as enemies. They must be convinced there is no plan to drive them off their farms, and that it is in their own best interests to listen, talk and help find acceptable solutions, however difficult this may be.

Higher rates likely for all, ANC warns

GAVIN DU VENAGE

BLACK and white communities will have to pay substantially higher rates and service charges once local authorities are amalgamated, ANC local government head Thozamile Botha says.

After market-related charges were levied in black areas and the cross-subsidisation of white ratepayers fell away, both communities would pay more. Botha told the Transvaal Local Government Association congress in Randburg yesterday.

The ANC wanted a single tariff structure applied uniformly in each "amalgamated" municipal area. This would eliminate cross-subsidisation.

Not everyone would pay the same tariff, he said. Poorer communities and specific groups such as the elderly and unemployed would still have to be subsidised.

Botha alleged that whites had long enjoyed the cross-subsidisation of property rates by electricity and other tariffs.

Whites would have to pay a market-related price to maintain their standards. However white areas would not be expected to carry township reconstruction costs alone. Instead, money would be raised on local capital markets, through metropolitan levies and state subsidies.

Botha said tariffs in most black local authorities were based on out-dated valuations. Reassessments could mean increases of as much as 200%. However, likely resistance to big increases meant they would have to be phased in gradually.

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Be a party

WE agree with State President De Klerk that the African National Congress should convert itself into a democratic political party "stripped of its uniforms and its weapons".

Mr De Klerk told Parliament: "I am not prepared to co-operate with the ANC as it now is and to sit with it in a government of national unity."

"The realists within the ANC must place its feet firmly on the road to peace and reconciliation and totally wrench it loose from its own past of violence and violent struggle."

We have suggested on several occasions that the time has come for the ANC to cease being a liberation movement.

It claimed to have suspended the armed struggle, but there is enough evidence to show that Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), its military wing, is still active, training in Transkei and operating against Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu.

The ANC has also refused to give up MK's arms caches.

Mass action, used as a means of rallying the masses behind the ANC and putting pressure on the government to meet the ANC's demands, is nothing less than a revolutionary method to destabilise the country and soften it up for an ANC takeover.

Meanwhile, the ANC and its allies, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu, talk in grand terms about democracy and how their only aim is to bring about a non-racist, non-sexist democracy.

It never seems to strike the alliance that its actions are the antithesis of democracy.

Democrats do not blackmail a government by staging general strikes, illegal strikes, mass marches and other forms of so-called protest when the country is being reformed at breathtaking pace and the future was being negotiated — and must still be negotiated — on a multi-party basis.

Democracy is not suspending negotiations until you get your own way on the release of "political" prisoners, the fencing of hostels and the banning of dangerous weapons.

Democracy is not taking part in township warfare in which your opponents are killed by the hundreds.

Democracy is not trying to topple the leaders of Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu by staging dangerous marches that must inevitably lead to the killing of people used as cannon fodder.

Democracy means ending the armed struggle totally, ending underground activities, ending mass protest and relying on negotiation to achieve a satisfactory settlement of constitutional issues.

Then, when there is an election in which all races take part, the ANC, like every other participant, must rely on its ability to convince voters to support it and not on intimidation.

In other words, the future must be decided by ideas and political platforms, by talking and not fighting, by respecting the viewpoints of others while putting forward your own.

Indeed, one of the worst aspects of the interference by the United States and other governments is the assumption that we have a politically aware and practised population like they have in their own countries, and that parties and organisations need only say they are democratic and they are.

What, in fact, has been happening is that there is a power struggle between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, which are both responsible for the wars in the Transvaal and Natal townships, with the ANC meanwhile using other revolutionary practices to achieve its aims.

If, of course, the ANC became a political party, it would lose the financial backing of Scandinavian and other countries which support the ANC as a liberation movement, but will not involve themselves in a political battle.

Nevertheless, the ANC is well-funded and will at some stage have to change into a political party, otherwise it will not be able to organise and present itself to the electorate as one. Like State President De Klerk, we believe it must make the change now.

The Citizen

15/10/92

Unrest death toll doubles in past week

THE death toll in unrest-related incidents had almost doubled in the past week, according to the latest weekly report on repression by the Human Rights Commission.

The report said there were 63 deaths and 67 injuries, almost dou-

bling the previous week's figure of 36 deaths.

There was a shift of violence back to the PWV area with 41 deaths recorded in the region.

The last time such a high figure was re-

corded in a seven-day period was in the week July 29 to August 4 this year. The worst area in the PWV was Alexandra where 18 deaths took place.

The Natal death toll had remained more or less constant, the report said. — Sapa.

70

KATHRYN STRACHAN

became trigger-happy, and it is better to let them go," he said.

A large percentage of the people counselled had been traumatised by their involvement in violent incidents such as shoot-outs, bomb explosions and accidents, and many had seen colleagues killed.

Most of the problems were in the PWV region, Natal and the western Cape.

Kooriz said policemen felt isolated after being stationed far from home, often in unrest areas. Black policemen particularly encountered social rejection.

Fears of political changes and uncertainty about their future in the police force

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With only 24 psychologists for a force of 112 000, many policemen were being trained in the basic skills of counselling and "debriefing" their colleagues after a traumatic event. Debriefing involved using all the senses to relive the experience, as well as talking about it together.

In an attempt to ensure that policemen could cope with the rigours of their jobs, the SAP recently initiated a far more stringent selection process for applicants.

Koortzen said the police force was previously the obvious place for people who could not find jobs elsewhere, but the barrage of tests for IQ and aptitude, as well as for suicide and aggressive tendencies, would change the fabric of the force.

As the SAGE psychological support services had been set up only in the past two years, counsellors faced the difficult task of treating trauma that had accumulated over many years. It was vital that people were treated within two to three days of a traumatic event, he said.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said: "These horrifying figures are indicative of how hard the police work and the difficult conditions in which they operate." There was no police force in the world that faced such "superhuman challenges" as the SAP. The combination of the changes in the police force and the wider changes in society, coupled with the violence, left the SAP in a unique situation.

"Very few people realise the sacrifices our police are making on a daily basis for peace," he said, adding that the community needed to be more supportive of the police.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT NP alliance

DR Dawie de Villiers' disclosure that the National Party is engaged in discussions which could lead to possible alliances with other parties is an interesting one.

Dr De Villiers, who is the Cape leader of the National Party and the NP's chief negotiator at the Kempton Park talks, told the party's Cape Congress that the NP did not want to walk alone, but rather link up with parties which shared its aims.

"The NP is not a go-it-alone party," he said. State President De Klerk, from the outset, favoured an alliance of moderates, which, of course, would include Black moderates.

However, it is clear that Blacks are not allowed to be moderates, since they risk having their houses burnt down, or are subjected to other forms of intimidation, if they are.

And both the NP and the Democratic Party have found that the townships — or at least some of them — are no-go areas for their canvassers and it is impossible to hold meetings there without them being broken up.

The idea of an alliance of moderates seems to have faded in recent months, with the party divided between those who favour a link-up with the Inkatha Freedom Party and those who think the NP should go it alone.

Events must have given some urgency to the attempts to get an alliance going.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is a founder-member of the Freedom Alliance, consisting of the IFP, the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Volksfront, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

This development has affected the Kempton Park negotiations, which have become virtually a two-hander between the National Party/government and the ANC.

The government has had to adopt the idea of parallel agreements with parties and organisations outside the Kempton Park talks.

But it is unlikely to be able to sell any agreement to the Freedom Alliance as a body, and will have to seek parallel agreements with individual parties and organisations.

The reason is the FA consists of a variety of parties, from Black organisations to the ultra-Right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The CP would not be seen dead with the National Party — and the same applies to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Ciskei and Bophuthatswana might be agreeable to an alliance if the constitutional dispensation was to their liking. Bophuthatswana, like KwaZulu, wanting autonomy.

The Democratic Party has declared more than once that it will not agree to an alliance with the National Party or any other party.

The key to an alliance, then, seems to be the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The government appears keen to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's desire for regional autonomy, since it has always insisted on a strong devolution of power to the regions.

The ANC, however, wants a strong central government with lesser powers for the regions — and Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC president, has made it clear that the ANC will not make any more concessions on this issue.

To get the IFP into an alliance with the NP, it would be necessary to encourage it to break with the Freedom Alliance.

Having just been involved in setting it up, Chief Buthelezi may be unwilling to pull out. On the other hand, if the government can find a way to satisfy Chief Buthelezi's demands, there is no reason why Chief Buthelezi should reject an alliance with the NP.

Chief Buthelezi may have a problem in associating with the Far Right-wing extremists who are part of the Freedom Alliance.

Association with the Far Right may also deny the IFP much-needed funds for fighting the election.

Thus, although it would at this point seem unlikely for the NP to form an alliance with the IFP, there are factors which suggest that this is not an impossible aim.

If the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana also joined the alliance, the chances of winning a substantial number of Black votes would be greatly enhanced.

Conversely, fighting the election alone would affect the chances of the NP playing a strong role as chief opposition party in a government of national unity.

NOBEL TWINS: State President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela are joint winners of the 1998 Nobel Peace Prize. Former South African winners are Chief Albert Luthuli and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The coveted prize is a crowning achievement for the two South African leaders who have been steadfastly negotiating towards a new South Africa. It also represents a major boost for the fragile peace process.

Six more killed in E Rand townships

EAST RAND BUREAU

Six people were killed in East Rand townships last night and today, police said.

Police said a man was shot dead at Unit S in Tokoza.

Another man was burnt to death in Ndebele Street in the same township.

A man was shot dead in Joe's Restaurant in Daveyton.

The bullet-riddled body of another man was found in Letsogo Street in Tokoza.

Two more bodies were recovered by police in Tokoza today.

A police spokesman said a woman was hacked to death in Nkozi Street.

The body of a man with gunshot wounds was found in Nguni Street.

In Daveyton, a group of 10 people barricaded the Vereening/Sentra Rand railway line with a concrete slab, police reported.

An engine driver, F J Roos, saw the slab but was unable to stop in time.

Damage to the engine is estimated at R30 000.

Homelands crisis deepens

Gazankulu, Venda also in financial difficulties

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
PRETORIA BUREAU

The financial crisis in the homelands is deepening.

After revelations of Lebowa's financial chaos, The Star learnt yesterday that Gazankulu is also experiencing financial difficulties. And in Venda the government is trying to recover R5,5 million in pensions paid in error to five civil servants.

Gazankulu sources said "desperate cost-cutting measures" were being introduced to save the homeland from bankruptcy in the months before the 1994/95 budget allocation is made.

The Education Department alone is down R72 million, and has instructed school principals to "privatise their schools" and, if necessary, retrench staff to reduce the salary bill. Similar exercises are being followed by other departments.

At least 2 500 unqualified teachers stand to lose their jobs at the end of the year, but will be able to apply for posts in April.

In Lebowa, meanwhile, claims of about R60 million have been received from suppliers to the homeland's government. These are being processed.

Plans are also being made for Regional Affairs Minister Andre Fourie to meet the Lebowa Interdepartmental Action Co-ordinating Forum next week to

DESPERATE cost-cutting measures are needed to rescue homelands — with shortfalls of millions — from bankruptcy

discuss grievances.

Yesterday about 60 000 striking civil servants warned of a boycott of white businesses in and around Lebowa if the crisis with South African officials was not speedily resolved.

They also demanded that 14 dismissed Works Department employees be reinstated and that no white-owned company which was owed money by the Lebowa government be paid until casual workers received their overdue wages.

A spokesman for the Regional Affairs Department told The Star that hundreds of casual workers would probably be paid soon.

The Venda civil servants have been ordered to repay the R5,5 million within 21 days or face legal action. They got the money last year as a result of incorrect calculations made when the Venda government pension fund was privatised.

Letters of demand from the country's Pension Implementation Committee had been sent to them, Venda Public Servants' Coalition Committee chairman Alidzulwi Muvhango said.

Not concrete

THE critical-to-hostile response evoked by Housing Minister Louis Shill's announcement of discounts on all State-funded housing should not be read as a thoughtless sour-grapes reaction by opponents who have less to offer.

While the policy extends undeniable benefits to a huge number of families, the Government's inflation of the tally of new beneficiaries suggests that it is as much concerned with hype and image as with the housing problems of the poor.

A closer look reveals that about half the one million beneficiaries claimed by Shill in fact qualified for precisely the same discount more than a year ago. Only 18 000, we learn, have yet made use of it.

Somewhere there is a great gap between promise and delivery; between expectations raised and those fulfilled.

Small wonder that the ANC levels accusations of political point-scoring, the Conservative Party talks of vote-buying and the Urban Foundation questions the State's priorities. It is very legitimate to ask, as do the foundation and the ANC, why Shill unilaterally rode roughshod over negotiating forums.

The Star

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Disquieting questions

De Klerk must order a judicial investigation into the Transkei raid.

PRESIDENT de Klerk and Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee are emphatic: last week's SADF raid on a house in Umtata was based on accurate intelligence and was justified as a pre-emptive strike against an imminent Apla attack.

But the controversy refuses to subside, largely because the victims included pre-pubescent boys who — on the admission of the SADF — did not shoot at the raiders and who were therefore not killed in a shootout.

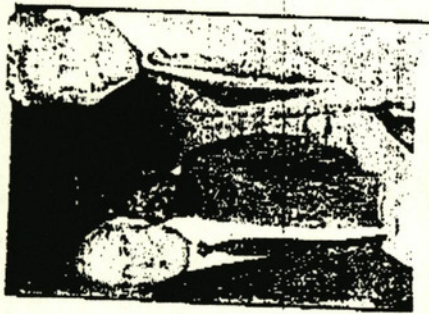
Lawyers for Human Rights has carried out its own on-the-spot investigation. Its report heightens misgivings and suspicions about the raid. LHR investigators deduce from the locality of the bullet holes that the attackers shot downwards and that the victims were killed while they were lying down. They note, too, that the wounds of the eldest victim were in the back of his body and that the youngest was hit 18 times.

The prima facie evidence points to pitiless killing, in violation of reported orders to the commandos to avoid deaths and, instead, to capture prisoners and bring them to South Africa.

To address the disquiet many South Africans feel — including people appalled by the murderous attacks on white civilians attributed to Transkei-based Apla fighters — De Klerk should appoint a special judicial inquiry to investigate, and report rapidly on, the Umtata raid. It should also test De Klerk and Coetsee's conviction that the raid was justified.

The terms of reference should further include whether the house was used as an Apla base and whether, as alleged by the Ministry of Defence, Apla is recruiting juveniles for its "war" against South Africa's white "settlers". By the same token, Transkei's Bantu Holomisa must be urged to assist the inquiry instead of being obstructive as he was during Judge Goldstone's probe into Apla.

FW and Mandela get Peace Prize



Joint victory
... F W de
Klerk and
Nelson
Mandela
follow in the
footsteps of
Albert Luthuli
and Desmond
Tutu as South
African
winners of
the Nobel
Peace Prize

Oslo — ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk were today awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for working to dismantle apartheid.

Oslo — ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk were today awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for working to dismantle apartheid.

The announcement was made at noon South African time by the five-member Norwegian Nobel Committee which praised the work of the two leaders in trying to end centuries of white domination.

"From different points of departure Mandela and De Klerk reached agreement on a new principle for a transition to a new political order based on the tenets of one man one vote," said Francis Sejersted, head of the committee.

De Klerk is the first white South African to be honoured in this way. The country's other two Nobel peace prize recipients were former ANC leader Chief Albert Luthuli and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Mandela was due to address a press conference later today on the award. A delighted ANC spokesman said the ANC leader — who has in the past donated generously to the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe — might give "a substantial amount" of his share of R2,8 million to MK.

De Klerk said he was "deeply honoured" and that the award was "further international recognition to the process which South African leaders and the South African people began more than three years ago".

The prize — founded by Swedish poet-philosopher-scientist Alfred Nobel — is a crowning achievement for the two politicians.

It represents a major boost for the peace process and is a blow for parties trying to hold up the transitional process and next year's elections.

Mandela returned today from a three-week tour of the United States, Portugal, Belgium, the United Kingdom and France.

The prize is awarded to people who have "done the most or the best work for the abolition or reduction of standing armies and for holding and promoting peace congresses", as stipulated in Nobel's 1895 will.

The prizes are awarded annually on December 10, and each laureate receives a Nobel Gold Medal, a Nobel Diploma and the prize money.

According to Nobel's will, anyone proposing himself for a Nobel Prize is automatically disqualified. — Political Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICIANS

A to Z

A guide to over 100 key figures across the spectrum who are helping to shape the new South Africa

A special supplement to the WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN produced with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy

POLITICS is, first and foremost, about people. In the run-up to next year's elections, politics will focus on who makes it on to the party lists, who leads the parties, who runs the campaigns, who performs well on television -- and whether these individuals have what it takes to lead the country.

In transitional South Africa, there is a bewildering array of parties, individuals and institutions, making it difficult for observers or would-be voters to find their way around. Every week new faces pop up from exile, or prison, or the lower ranks of the various parties.

To help readers find their way through the crowd, the *Weekly Mail & Guardian* has compiled an A-Z guide of the personalities of South African politics: over

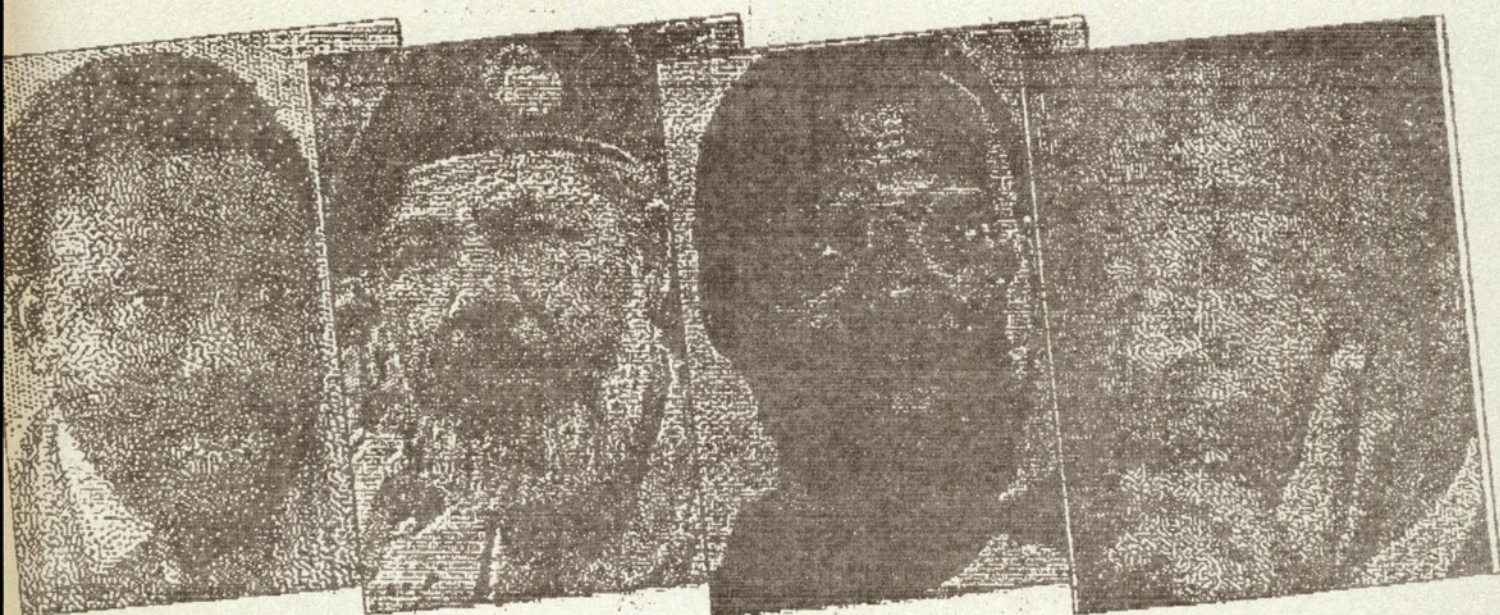
100 people who can be expected to be in the news -- for better or for worse -- during the election period.

It is not a comprehensive list. Given the unpredictable nature of South African politics, new faces will turn up unexpectedly and some of those we have chosen will fade into the background.

But the A-Z is our team of writers' best assessment of which men and women are likely to be important in the next six months. And we have aimed to offer an honest and straightforward account of the strengths and weaknesses of each.

The list is not made up just of politicians -- there are policemen, soldiers, lawyers, priests, unionists, civic activists and academics. We have, however, excluded some groups for reasons of space: business leaders, media people

Who's Who in pol



Some faces to watch: Ramaphosa, Terreblanche, Buthe, and, of course, De Klerk and Mandela

ALEXANDER, BENNY

The flamboyant general secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress is regarded as a streetfighter, but his star has waned since the PAC joined the negotiation process. A former unionist, he was schooled in Pan Africanism by PAC founder Robert Sobukwe, who was banished to Alexander's hometown of Kimberley. He joined the PAC underground in 1983 and

Compiled by Anton Harber, Barbara Ludman, Chris Louw, Stephen Laufer, Paul Stoker, Mendi waka Makhanya, Gaye Davis, For a Halfpenny, Carmel Rickard, Pat Sidley, Julia Belfon, Reg Rumney, Jan Toliaard, Farouk Chel'a, Jacqui Guiding and the Eastern Cape News Agency

This 38-year-old former Baptist deacon is highly articulate and eloquent. His militant swipes at the "settler regime" and Cinderella-pitched voice get the crowds going whenever he addresses rallies. But his unflinch-

With the Commonwealth secretariat since 1979, Arafat kept a close watch on the Lancaster House negotiations leading to Zimbabwe's independence and

The MP for Amanzimtoti has been embroiled in controversy the entire year, over the St Lucia mining issue, maladministration during his period in the Ministry of Transport, a black housing project near Durban and, most recently, the petrol price rise. President FW de Klerk has kept him on, probably for fear that he would lead a National Party defection to the IFP.

A former New Republic Party MP, Bartlett joined the NP in 1984 and was elected its provincial leader in 1989. He became the first English-speaker to be appointed to the all-Afrikaner cabinet. Bartlett (62) is likely to bow out of national politics but could remain an important regional player.

BOESAK, ALLAN

The Western Cape chairman of the ANC, who will be important to the organisation's attempts to win the coloured vote, is known for his Martin Luther King-like oratory and his extra-marital adventures.

He was catapulted into prominence when he led the charge to have apartheid declared a heresy and was named president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. He made the speech that led to the formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983 and his charisma and powerful speech-making played an important role in subsequent campaigns.

Security police exposed his marital infidelity in the early 1980s. In 1990, fresh revelations of a liaison with television producer Elna Botha saw him resign as minister and moderator of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church and surrender his post as leader of the World Alliance, while continuing to head the Foundation for Peace and Justice in Cape Town.

BOSHOFF, CAREL

Although considered the father of the Volkstaat Ideal, the urbane professor's influence in rightwing circles has waned considerably with the wider acceptance of the ideal among the rightwing.

Still clinging to the belief that such a homeland can only be possible in the relatively unpopulated northern Cape Province and that it must result from negotiations, Boshoff and his supporters have been overtaken by those proposing a Volkstaat in the Transvaal and Free State.

Boshoff is a former chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond and has forsaken a solid academic career as a theologian for politics. He is chairman of the Afrikaner Volkswag, a rightwing cultural umbrella organisation, and the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting, instrumental in setting up what is proposed to become the nucleus of an Afrikaner homeland at Orania in the northern Cape.

Boshoff is married to a daughter of assassinated premier HF Verwoerd.

BOTHA, THOZAMILE

After a swift rise to fame in Port Elizabeth civic and union structures during the mid-1970s, Botha suffered detention and banning and fled the country. His profile lowered in exile, where he studied for a PhD and chaired the ANC in the United Kingdom. But on his return in May 1991, he rose swiftly to a top position in the ANC.

Botha was elected head of the ANC's department of local and regional government and housing. He went on to play a key role in the Local Government Negotiating Forum, was a founding member of the National Housing Forum and was elected to the executive of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco). Very popular in the eastern Cape, hard-working and personable, Botha has been widely tipped to secure the local government and housing portfolio in the new government.



BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MANGOSUTHU

President of the IFP, chief minister of the kwaZulu homeland government and minister of the kwaZulu Police, Buthelezi must surely win the title of South Africa's King of Controversy. The current controversy is whether he is the peace-loving liberal democrat and leader of seven million Zulus he claims to be. But such issues have always dogged him: is he the hereditary chief of the Buthelezi tribe, or would his brother Mcebisi have taken the post had he not been fed to the police? Is he the "traditional prime minister" to the Zulu king, or is the post a recent creation? Is he a leader of the liberation movement, or is his record one of a collaborator? Is his organisation a perpetrator of violence, or the victim of ANC attacks?

Either way, Buthelezi used the kwaZulu homeland to build up a formidable power base in the 1970s and 1980s. However, he refused to enter into political deals with the government until Mandela was released and the ANC unbanned. In recent years, severely damaged by revelations of covert police and Military Intelligence support for him during the 1980s, Buthelezi has given up his claim to be a national leader and moved to secure his regional power base with a combination of ethnic nationalism aimed at a traditional constituency and liberalism aimed at white supporters.

The threat to his homeland power base posed by the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) led Buthelezi into partnership with the white rightwing in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) and, more recently, in the Freedom Alliance.

Once secure in his partnership and likely election alliance with the NP, Buthelezi was deeply affronted by last year's Record of Understanding between De Klerk and Mandela, which doused his dreams of recognition as a third and equal partner in negotiations. He has, however, used a mixture of uncanny political guile and threats of violence to ensure attention is paid to his views, particularly his demand for strong regional powers under a federal state.

He holds the Guinness Book of World Records entry for the longest-ever speech, a 400-page effort delivered over five days in the kwaZulu legislative assembly.

CAROLUS, CHERYL

As a politically correct candidate (an extremely able black woman who will be able to attract the elusive coloured vote), responsible for the health, education, human resources develop-

ment and arts and culture portfolios for the ANC's national working committee, Carolus is assured of a high position on the organisation's list of nominees for the constitutional assembly and a ministerial position in any ANC-led government.

A teacher by profession, Carolus (36) began her climb to national prominence in the Western Cape

overlooked for hon. Bench.

He is a member, constitutional committee, served on the tech, drafting the Interim, Chaskalson was a, the Namibian Con, bly and played an, in the drafting of t, constitution.



Rowan Cronje ... feisty warrior for lost causes

committee and the national executive of the UDF. She was part of the ANC delegation which met the government in May 1990 and the South African Communist Party appointed her to its interim leadership group.

CASSIM, FAROUK

By switching from Solidarity in the House of Delegates to the IFP early this year, Cassim salvaged his political career from the throes of death. Eager for Indian votes, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi immediately appointed Cassim to the IFP central committee, negotiating team and election committee.

Cassim is breaking new ground for the IFP, canvassing for Indian support and establishing contact with potential funders in the Arab world. If Buthelezi contests and wins elections, he is likely to reward the suave Cassim with a top post in government.

CHASKALSON, ARTHUR

This eminent and widely respected advocate is tipped for a position on the constitutional court and is even a front-runner for its presidency. He recently retired after 15 years as founding director of the Legal Resources Centre, during which time he led many of the most important legal challenges to apartheid and cemented a reputation as one of the country's most formidable legal minds. Like a number of his colleagues, Chaskalson was systematically

CHIKANE, FRANK

As a general secretary, influential South African Council of Churches leader, task of taking his through this period drawing the more churches back into leading the church. He is struggling an image of the "at prayer" and re-making and media. Chikane was so Black Consciousness on the campuses (1970s), his education interrupted by detention he trained as a papal Faith Mission defrocked because activities. He was reinstated and no black section of the church.

His allegiances United Democratic 1980s and he was general secretary.

CORBETT, MICHAEL MCGREGOR

Since becoming 1989, Corbett new tone to Division. He had wings for several government extension of Chief Justice of notorious (tion, beyond his But so successful been in winning

OMO, OSCAR

In the fringes of politics since his resignation as general secretary of the Inkatha Freedom Party in 1990, Dhlomo shot back into the political light soon if, as is speculated, his the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

is well suited to serve on the , having earned the respect of political parties and non-governmental organisations for his partisanship. He has done so through his work in the role for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD), which he founded after quitting the IFP.

omo (49) was the IFP's chief tator at the kwaZulu/Natal a and was also involved in tations with the government the ANC's unbanning.

he left, the IFP lost its more ace. Dhlomo has never spoblicity of his reasons for g, preferring to build a repu- of independence and non-anship.

OM, FRANK

is features tend towards the cherubic, but when it comes to tracking down criminals udling those within the police s tough and uncompromis- w a colonel, 44-year-old n started as a beat constable, ing a national figure when ke the Trust Feeds case. His tion for integrity and even dness has taken him to the one Commission as an galor, and the South African ould be well advised to er him a model for a new of detectives oriented s serving the community.

4, ALEC

ademic economist Alec rth (45) is one of those ehard, overworked and



Bobby Godsell — enhanced perceptions of business as partner

underpaid white unionists who battled state adversity through the 1970s and 1980s to build the union movement.

General secretary of the Federation of South African Trade Unions, a forerunner to the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Erwin has been content to play a backroom role as national secretary for education in the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa).

He is an influential economic thinker, shaping the rapidly changing economic thinking of the union movement.

Once a doctrinaire socialist, he is at the forefront of the labour movement's attempts to mitigate capitalism rather than rebuild the economy from scratch. He has opted for participation in the consensus politics of the National Economic Forum, appearing on public platforms with Dr Japie Jacobs and Anglo American's Bobby Godsell.

He is active in the industrial

Strategy Project of Cosatu's Economic Trends Group and plays a role in the African National Congress-constructed Macro-Economic Research Group.

FELGATE, WALTER

Probably the most controversial politician among white members of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Felgate has become prominent because of his uncompromising style at the Kempton Park negotiations. The bearded anthropologist is largely blamed for the IFP's decision to withdraw from the constitutional talks.

White liberals in the IFP do little to hide their dislike of Felgate, complaining that he holds too much sway over IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelet. But he is an astute survivor.

Felgate (52) is a former African shareholder for the R&B Tinog-Zinc Corporation in London. He is a member of the IFP's central committee and a board member of the Inkatha Institute.

GEORGE, MLULEKI

Vice-president of the National Olympic Sports Committee (Noesa), member of the Communist Party and of the leadership in the African National Congress Border region, in the 1980s this founder member of the United Democratic Front fell foul of Ciskei security laws, spending long periods in detention — a not unfamiliar phenomenon after five years on Robben Island.

He emerged as a powerful and influential sports administrator when he led a breakaway group from the South African Council on Sport (Sacos). The sports movement was divided on political ideologies and George spearheaded the Congress tradition that later formed the National Sports Congress (NSC), of which he was first president.

GERWEL, GERT JOHANNES (JAKES)

Tipped to become education minister under a new government, Gerwel assumed the position of rector and vice-chancellor of the University of the Western Cape in 1987 and immediately announced his intention of turning it into an intellectual home of the left. While these words would later return to haunt him, he succeeded in creating significant space for opposition to apartheid during the years of the Emergency.

Born in the rural district of Somerset East in the Cape on January 18 1946, Gerwel's early years saw him walking to and from a local farm school before being sent to boarding school by parents who refused to allow their impecunious to interfere with their desire to see their child educated.

In a brilliant academic career, Gerwel graduated cum laude from the institution he would later head and earned a doctorate in literature and philosophy magna cum

laude from Brussels in His politics of black con- protests at l while lectur as a "bush c people and t ionary whil to experie though per as the gover which saw it Gerwel pl in the days e served on t of the ANC b He holds tw chairs the Co Principals ar boards of a r and social a tions.

GINWALA, I

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She returned 1991 at the ag years in exile, official in Tanz Mozambique a dom. Of stern er countenanc fer fools gladly

GODSELL, BOBBY

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A must before April 27th '94

VOTING FOR A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

The electoral system to be chosen for the new South Africa is one of the most important decisions that will be made. It will determine how the new South Africa will be governed. The choices available for South Africa are: 1. First Past the Post (FPTP) 2. Proportional Representation (PR) 3. A combination of the two. The PR system is the most popular choice, as it ensures that all groups in the population have a fair chance of being represented. It also allows for a more stable government, as no single group can win a majority. The FPTP system, on the other hand, can lead to a government that does not represent the majority of the people. A combination of the two systems could also be a viable option, as it would allow for a more balanced representation of the population while still ensuring that a single group can win a majority.

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FOR LOCAL PEACE MON

Groenewald who engineered the formation of the AVF and played an instrumental role in the formation of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

A former fighter pilot and military attaché, Groenewald was born in 1937 on a farm in the western Transvaal. He joined the Air Force in 1955, rose to the rank of major general and was appointed security advisor to the State Security Council by PW Botha in 1982. He was chief director of Military Intelligence in the mid-1980s, went on to the Bureau for Information, and retired in 1990.

He has avoided the common falling of trying to be king of his own heap, electing to work behind the scenes — and thus continuing to exert influence on strategy without being forced to act as public flack-catcher.

GWALA, HARRY

A political dynamo, he has been as a hardliner who places little faith in negotiations.

Nelson Mandela tried unsuccessfully this year to force this thorn in the ANC's flesh to resign as its Natal Midlands chairman.

Gwala points out, however, that he is in tune with the grassroots: many believe he is the most popular ANC leader in Natal/kwaZulu.

A political animal since 1942 when he first joined the Communist Party and later the ANC, Gwala never opted for exile. His Umkhonto weSizwe activities led to a life sentence in 1975. He was released in 1989.

The old-style communist has indicated that he does not want to serve in a future government. But he may yet be found spitting fire this time across the parliamentary floor.

HARTZENBERG, FERDINAND

Hartzenberg is the leader of the Conservative Party and chairman of the Afrikaner Volksfront's executive council.

His election to the leadership of the CP after the death of Arthur Treurnicht earlier this year was widely seen as a sign of the rise of the militants, and observers expected a split in the party. But while following a hard-line tack, the leadership's change to a more affirmative style has consolidated its support, with Hartzenberg unabashed about contact with previously shunned organisations such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Active in politics since student days, he was elected National Party MP for Lichtenburg in 1970. Six years later he was appointed deputy minister of development and in 1979 was promoted to CP.

HEYNS, JOHAN

A successor of the Dutch Reformed Church, he is a leading figure in the church known as "the National Party at prayer".

He was born in 1928 on a farm in the Free State and educated at Potchefstroom and in Amsterdam. He became moderator of the church at a crucial synod in 1986: led by Heyns and others, the church moved significantly away from its past, admitting apartheid may not have been a good idea.

The "road to Damascus" conversion of this intensely political creature took 25 years. Still, participation in the ecumenical movement has largely been denied his church because of its apartheid ties.

Heyns will retire at the end of the year from a professorship at the University of Pretoria but will continue with his involvement in "cultural organisations".

Those admitted to are the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings and the Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns.

Not admitted is his senior membership of the Afrikaner Broederbond.

HLOHLESA, BANTUBONKE

Released from detention in April 1987, Major-General Bantu Hlohlisa seized power in Transkei in a bloodless coup eight months later. The 38-year-old military ruler has since established himself as a key critic of the South African government and a voice for its opponents, in the process often drawing the wrath of Pretoria. Yet he has also refused to align himself directly with either the African National Congress or the Pan Africanist Congress.

How sharply Hlohlisa's path diverged from that of former ruler George Mahabane became clear when he advocated Transkei's reincorporation.

A "comrade general", who joined the SACP from the

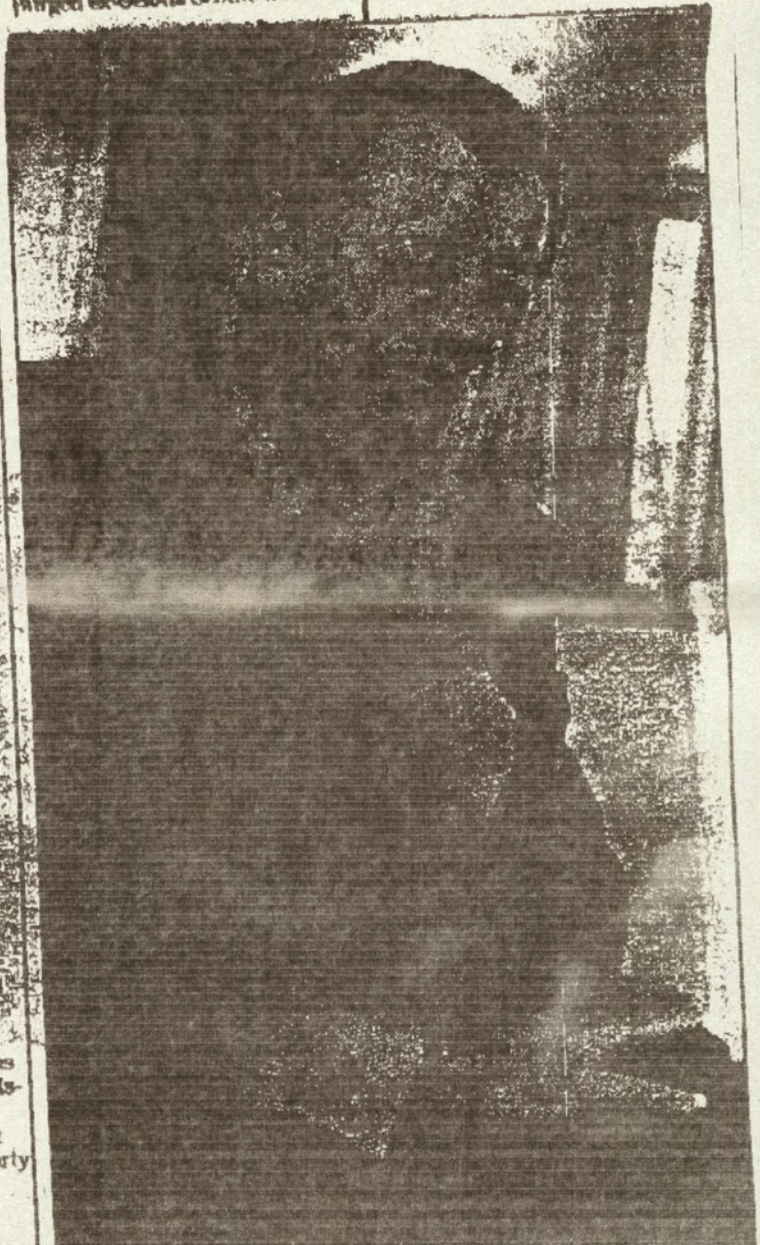
on militant protest action against the government. He has returned when the IFP is showing signs of militancy for a very different reason.

He is the IFP's leading media spokesman in Durban — an appointment moderates pushed for in the hope that it would keep hardliner Walter Felgate out of newspaper headlines.

The PAC's director of publicity and information from 1979 to 1984, he looks as if he would be more comfortable behind a computer than in front of a camera.

He is, perhaps, more comfortable in his other roles: serving on the IFP's election committee and acting as its constitutional adviser.

Jiyane earned his BA in political science at the University of California at Los Angeles before taking on a demanding joint PhD/JD programme at Yale Law School, which he completed last year.



Derek Keys ... the consummate deal-maker

Transkei Defence Force, he has long been a problem for South Africa: his exposure of the Grootwe military signal, for example, led to the reopening of the inquest into the 1985 death of this eastern Cape activist.

A friend of the late Chris Hani and of Nelson Mandela, he has widespread support among the youth and is known for an "open-door" policy and consultation, particularly concerning negotiations. He rose swiftly in the military, from lieutenant in 1978 to commander of the Transkei Defence Force nine years later.

JITYANE, ZIBA

In a major coup for the Inkatha Freedom Party, Jityane rejoined the organisation early this year after leaving it in 1978 to join the Pan Africanist Congress and carve out an academic career in the US.

His decision to return to his political roots is ironic: chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, he left because of its failure to embark

JORDAN, PALLO

Jordan is the foremost leftwing thinker inside the ANC but outside the SACP. He has impeccable leftwing credentials, but has always been strongly critical of the Communist Party. His fiercely independent thinking has not always been well received, and he was detained for six weeks by the ANC's security department in the early 1980s. However, his intellectual leadership and strategic input ensures that his voice carries weight within the ANC.

Jordan comes from an intensely political family, with both parents prominent in the Non-European Unity Movement. Since receiving history degrees from the University of Wisconsin and the London School of Economics, he has worked for the ANC in various capacities: head of Radio Freedom and head of research before moving to information and publicity.

As the current head of the Department of Information and Publicity, Jordan (51) will play a

Special supplement to
Weekly Mail & Guardian,
October 1993

POLITICIANS 1 to Z

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MANDELA, WILHELMINA

Although she resigned all her positions in the African National Congress last year and was suspended from office in the Women's League's PWV region, this fiery and determined woman is likely to remain an influential and divisive figure in the ANC. This is because she has shown a talent for mobilising grassroots support and unequalled commitment and ruthlessness.

Although her reputation has been tainted by controversy in recent years, the decades in which she bravely stood by the ANC and her husband, despite banishment, imprisonment and persecution, will not be forgotten in a hurry.

Mandela has won significant support in the poverty stricken, strife-torn townships of the East Rand, where her militant rhetoric is well received. The Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal has also been a steadfast support base and pushed Mandela on to the national leadership of the South African National Civic Association.

Her split with the ANC started in February 1989, when the United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions condemned her involvement in the kidnapping and murder of young activist Stompie Seipei. She was later convicted of kidnapping and accessory to assault.

Her differences with her husband, in particular her disagreement with his more accommodat- ing approach, became apparent soon after his release and they announced their separation in April 1992.

with African National Congress attempts to organise in the area and repeatedly closing Bophuthatswana University — one of the best of the homeland campuses — because of student demonstrations.

He has relied a great deal on the support of Pretoria, who sent troops to reverse a coup in the late 1980s, and Sun International, which has used his homeland as a casino base.

Mangope (69) was born in Zeerust and trained as a teacher.

MANUEL, TREVOR

This Cape Town activist's appointment to head the African National Congress' economic department came as a surprise in 1992, given his lack of experience in the field. He faced a tough task, having to develop a pragmatic and realistic economic policy in the face of tough criticism and competing demands from the business community and the ANC's union and communist party alliance partners.

However, he rapidly made him- self a vital element of the organisa- tion's economic strategy, quickly familiarising himself with the debates and networking extensiv- ly.

This has made him a key policy adviser to Nelson Mandela and central to ANC attempts to win over local business and interna- tional investors.

Manuel will be well placed on the ANC's election list, given Man- dela's determination to show coloureds they have a home in the ANC. If Manuel (37) does not get a ministerial position, he is a definite for a senior civil service post.

political style and his personal obstinacy, has prevented Marais and the HNP from ever capitalising on these feelings.

Marais is a lover of poetry, with TS Eliot and John Keats among his favourites. A prolific author himself, he has also translated Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* into Afrikaans and is a connoisseur of fine wines and cuisine, and a breeder of budgies.

MARCUS, GILL

Her years in exile were spent clipping South African newspapers for the African National Congress, discussing radical politics, and making sand- wiches in Knightbridge's best lunchtime hangout, activities which all seem to have left their mark. The clippings service became Shell House's Department of Information and Publicity, the radical politics have been honed to fit the upcoming election cam- paign, and from the sandwich shop comes a passion for hard work and long hours which has made Marcus an important figure in the ANC's election preparations.

Given the choice, she'd get out of politics once Nelson Mandela is president, says Marcus — but those around her cannot imagine a passion capable of competing for her attention. She criss-crosses the country tirelessly, training ANC media workers and voter edu- cators, accompanying "Madiba" on his forays into the provinces.

MATTHEWS, JOE

The son of the famous ZK Matthews, Cape leader of the ANC in the 1950s, Joe Matthews (64) has come a long way since his days as national sec- retary of the African National Congress Youth League. As chief exe- cutive officer of the IFP, Matthews has earned a reputation for his argumentative debating style and almost complete lack of diplomacy.

His background as a communist (sentenced twice under the Sup- pression of Communism Act) makes his joining of the IFP some- thing of a surprise. But his friend- ship with Mangosuthu Buthe dates back to their years at Fort Hare University from 1948.

He left the country for Basu- toland in 1960 and, after stints in England, Holland, Botswana and Canada as a member of the ANC's external mission, Matthews returned to South Africa in 1991. In Botswana he served as assis- tant attorney general.

MATSEPE-CASABURRI, IVY

This thinker, feminist and pri- vate person has shot to the forefront this year as a sur- prise choice to head the new SABC, arguably one of the most



Metalworkers at its formation in 1987, while still in detention under a treason charge. He remains general secretary of the largest trade union in the country, but will leave next year to run for parliament.

Mayekiso is also the president of the South African National Civic Organisation, where he specialises in the provision of low-cost housing. He is likely to continue in this field if he gets to government.

He spearheaded the formation of the Alexandra Action Committee in 1985, which organised the community into yard, block and street committees to oppose local councils and laid the foundation of civics around the country.

Mayekiso (45) is also a central committee member of the South African Communist Party.

MBEKI, THABO

After a brief spell on the edges of the African National Congress leadership, Mbeki recently shot to the fore again when he was elected national chairman.

His diplomatic experience, political acumen, eloquence and personal charm are likely to offset the most frequent criticism of him: as a jetsetter, he represents an ANC leadership losing touch with the grassroots.

Mbeki's background is an unusual mixture of strong family influence (as son of ANC stalwart Govan Mbeki), academia (MA in economics from Sussex University) and military training (in the Soviet Union in 1970). He left the country in 1961 after a short spell in the underground and, after his studies, represented the ANC in London, Botswana, Swaziland, Nigeria and Lusaka. He became best known as president Oliver Tambo's right hand man and was frequently the ANC's most visible diplomat in face.

As head of the ANC information department and later international department, he played a key role in the international campaigns of the 1980s. He returned in 1990 to be part of the ANC's Groote Schuur talks team. He is 51.

MCCAULEY, RAY

He has risen from an almost unschooled bodybuilder, who left school in Standard Eight and came third in the 1974 Mr Universe competition, to a Pentecostal clergyman with political clout.

His one congregation church, Rhema, has one of the largest single congregations in the country and was once noted for its belief that all the ills of the world, including apartheid and poverty, would be healed by fervent prayer.

His congregation is non-racial, his leadership charismatic and his theology conservative. His easy communication with whoever he talks to has made him well liked despite some official disdain for his church and his own lack of sophistication. He has pulled his church across the political spectrum, accepting criticism that his church supported apartheid, and has since played a mediating role on the political playing field.

MDLALOSE, FRANK

One of the few true gentlemen of South African politics, the urbane Mdalalose won the respect of some of the Inkatha Freedom Party's harshest critics for the calm and conciliatory tone of his contributions to negotiations. In bilaterals with other parties, the IFP national chairman has consistently taken a moderate line, often to be overruled by his principals in Umlund.

A medical doctor, Mdalalose has served in the kwaZulu government since 1978 and is a close confidante of Mangosuthu Buthelezi. It is widely hoped that he will assert a moderating influence on his leader after Inkatha's decision to join forces with the Conservative Party.

His modesty belies a sharp sense of humour and an acute intellect. He obtained BSc and BEd

degrees from the University of Fort Hare, and an MB, ChB from the University of Natal. Mdalalose (61) is one of many senior IFP leaders who received their early political training from the African National Congress: he was a member of the ANC Youth League from 1950 to 1960 and only joined the IFP in 1975.

MEIRING, GEORGE

It is not without irony that the new chief of the South African Defence Force, who takes office next month, will oversee some of the most momentous changes in the history of the South African military. With a reputation as a no-holds-barred opponent of the African National Congress and its military wing, he will be responsible for the integration of thousands of Unkhonto weSizwe cadres into the SADF.

Like his predecessors, Meiring has signed a three-year contract, but few observers believe that he will serve out the full term. As an army general, he has the advan-

MLABA, ZIBUSE

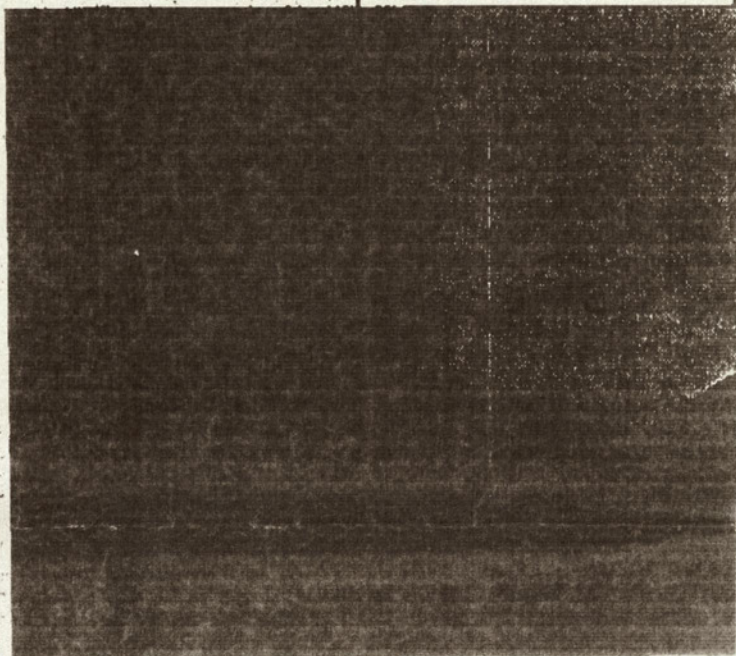
As the only Zulu chief who is a regional African National Congress leader in Natal/kwaZulu, Mlaba holds the key to the organisation's success in winning rural voters in the province.

The boyish-faced Mlaba earned the ire of the Inkatha Freedom Party a few weeks ago when he organised a mass rally to demonstrate Zulu support for the Transitional Executive Council and the April 27 elections.

A shy person, Mlaba prefers working behind the scenes, travelling through rural areas to woo chiefs.

Mlaba has, for instance, successfully negotiated the launch of a R10-million water project in his area of kwaXimba. His support has paid dividends for the ANC: his branch is the second largest in the Midlands.

At 38, he is also the Natal secretary of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).



Judge Ismail Mohamed — obvious candidate for high judicial office

tage of commanding the loyalty of the largest and hitherto politically most engaged section of the military. But once the transition has been completed, an ANC-led government is likely to ease him out in favour of a general with stronger democratic credentials.

MEYER, ROELS

Unassuming and quiet, Meyer has come into the public limelight the past year as government's chief negotiator, taking over from his cabinet colleague Tertius Delpoit after the failure of Codesa II. Both are lawyers, but while Delpoit preferred drawing a line in the sand, Meyer is a proponent of the behind-closed-doors coming-to-terms approach.

Accepting that there were only two major parties and that most of the other participants would follow in their footsteps allowed Meyer and his counterpart in the African National Congress, Cyril Ramaphosa, to get on with their work.

It also led to accusations by Meyer's more conservative cabinet colleagues that his relationship with Ramaphosa was "too cosy".

Meyer was not always known as a leading vertige. He openly supported the detention of youths during the State of Emergency, when he was deputy minister of law and order. At the University of the Orange Free State — where he completed his BCom and LLB degrees — he was national president of the conservative Afrikaanse Studentebond. Later he became national chairman of the Junior Rapportryers.

Meyer (46) was elected to parliament in 1979. His short stint as minister of defence (from August 1991 to May 1992) was marked by allegations that he was not accepted by the Defence Force's tough guys.

MODISE, JOE

Unkhonto weSizwe's commander since 1965, Modise has been praised for his professionalism by all sides negotiating the integration of the ANC's armed wing into the South African Defence Force, including top SADF generals. Despite never having commanded regular forces, he is likely to be a major player in the future military.

Born in Doornfontein, Johannesburg, in 1929, Modise has led a life of militancy which took him from resistance to the Sophiatown removals via the treason trial to participation in MK's first acts of sabotage. He received military training in Czechoslovakia and the USSR, and was involved in the planning and execution of MK operations, including the Wankie campaign and the strategy of "armed propaganda" after 1976.

He came in for mild criticism recently by the Motswaganyane Commission into torture at ANC camps, but this looks unlikely to affect his future role.

MOGOMA, STANLEY

The 60-year-old head of the Methodist Church was converted to Christianity while in solitary confinement during a three-year sentence on Robben Island for Pan Africanist Congress activities.

He is also vice-chairman of the National Peace Committee and president of the Boy Scouts of South Africa. Both these positions have put him in a situation where he has been able to argue eloquently for the cause of peace and negotiations despite calls within the church and other groupings for a more radical approach. His is an influential voice for peace and is more able than most church leaders to communicate with radical leftwing lobbies.

outside of the glare of publicity. He is highly considered internationally and serves as information officer in the African synod of his church. With 3.5-million members in South Africa, his attitudes in the election will be an important influence.

NDLOVU, LOUIS

The bishop of Manzini, Swaziland, is due to take over as president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, which leads 3.5-million Catholics, in January 1994. Ndlovu, who was born in 1945 and grew up in Swaziland, was consecrated as bishop in 1985. He is one of the Servite Order and studied in Rome, giving him a fluency in Italian.

NEMADZIVHANANI, MAXWELL

Unless something goes drastically wrong,

Nemadzivhanani is bound to be one of the most prominent landmarks on the post-election scene. The Pan Africanist Congress' national organiser has all the makings of a rising star: a sharp mind, charisma, youth and powerful oratory.

A former South African Students' Organisation organiser in the northern Transvaal, Nemadzivhanani left the country in 1977. He studied economics in Australia but left his degree uncompleted to take up the post of chief PAC representative for Australia and the South Pacific.

While there he was arrested and charged with sabotaging the vehicles of the United States military attaché and a South African diplomat. After a marathon three-year trial, charges were eventually dropped, too late, however, for him to take up an appointment as PAC ambassador to the United Nations.

NGUBANE, BEN

The kwaZulu government's chief negotiator at Kempton Park, Ngubane was given the task of breaking the deadlock in bilateral discussions with the government's negotiating team in recent months. In spite of the breakdown in efforts to find a meeting of the minds, government spokesmen describe Ngubane's contributions as "constructive". Earlier, at the open sessions of the negotiating council, Ngubane's contributions were mostly of an intellectual nature.

The 52-year-old medical doctor is minister of health in the kwaZulu government. He has no history of political activism, but serves as a moderating influence in the IFP leadership.

NKHULU, WISEMAN

The former principal and vice-chancellor of the University of Transkei was appointed chief executive of the Independent

so convincingly occupied by Hani.

Nqakula's biography parallels Hani's in many ways. Both were born into devastatingly poor backgrounds in the eastern Cape, attending mission schools. Later, Nqakula took over the African National Congress underground built by Hani in Lesotho. But to see him as a carbon copy is to underestimate him.

Of intense, quiet passion, he has come a long way from a rural background as one of 10 children of an illiterate labourer and a washerwoman.

His simple, forceful advocacy of economic and political justice for ordinary South Africans has the ring of authenticity.

Challenged on socialism's realities, Nqakula, who spent time in the USSR and East Germany, says: "We believe it was bureaucracy which killed socialism. Which is why we feel that democracy must be the focus of our party. We are drawing on the experiences of the trade unions, which are steeped in democracy."

PATEL, EBRAHIM

The youthful general secretary of the Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union and co-architect of the National Economic Forum cut his labour teeth while in high school, where he ran a students' support committee for striking pasta workers.

He started a trade union for university workers while at the University of Cape Town and was elected its first general secretary in 1985; moved to the then National Union of Textile Workers in 1986 and became the general secretary of that union this year. But it is more his instrumental work in the NEF to watch in the next few years.

He convinced one of the first industry summits in 1991, where he presented well-received plans for the restructuring of the clothing and textile industries. Patel (31) was also one of two labour representatives who sat on the committee which drew up the founding documents of the NEF and he is also the chair of the NEF's short-term working group.

PIENAAR, SCHALK

Widely regarded as the militant voice of the Young Turks inside the Conservative Party, Pienaar was one of the main contenders for the role of deputy leader of the CP earlier this year.

Pienaar, currently an MP and CP spokesman on law and order, is expected to play an increasingly important role inside the CP, especially by virtue of his close links with the extra-parliamentary rightwing structures in the northern Transvaal.



Cyril Ramaphosa — breaking the deadlocks

POTGIETER, PIETER CORNELIUS

The 53-year-old moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church has a reputation for quiet, honest and straightforward conservatism. With a string of cum laude degrees behind him, he also holds the post of dean of theology, and surprised all those listening to the hearings for the positions of places on the SABC board when he said he had resigned from the Afrikaner Broederbond. He was appointed to the SABC board.

PRUIS, ANDRE

To the sceptics, this general is just another song-and-dance man, pulling public relations rabbits out of the hat while the vast body of the police force continue to act like thugs in uniform. To others, he represents the future of the South African Police — community policing, a service to the population which will, with time,

elections, hoping that it would lead to free political activity and votes for the ANC.

But Radebe's image as a man of peace has been questioned at times, such as when he resolutely defended Umkhonto weSizwe cadres arrested while trying to smuggle a huge arms cache into the region.

Radebe is a lawyer by profession, having graduated with a master's degree in law at the Leipzig University in East Germany in 1981. While he was on a mission to South Africa in 1986, Radebe was arrested and sentenced to 10 years on terrorism and other charges. He was released in 1990. Radebe is also a member of the South African Communist Party.

RAMAPHOSA, CYRIL

Ramaphosa has risen fast to the number two position in the African National Congress alliance, playing a key role in relations with the government and the steering of negotiations towards success. As ANC general secretary since 1991, he has also been important in reorganising the ANC and preparing it for elections. His main strengths are an ability to negotiate without damaging a grassroots reputation for firmness and a good capacity to use the media. His personal relationship with Roelf Meyer has been important in breaking negotiation deadlocks.

Ramaphosa comes from a black consciousness background. Born to modest beginnings, he studied law at the University of the North and later Unisa, and held positions in the South African Students' Organisation, Black People's Convention and the Students' Christian Movement. He spent long periods in detention in 1974 and 1976.

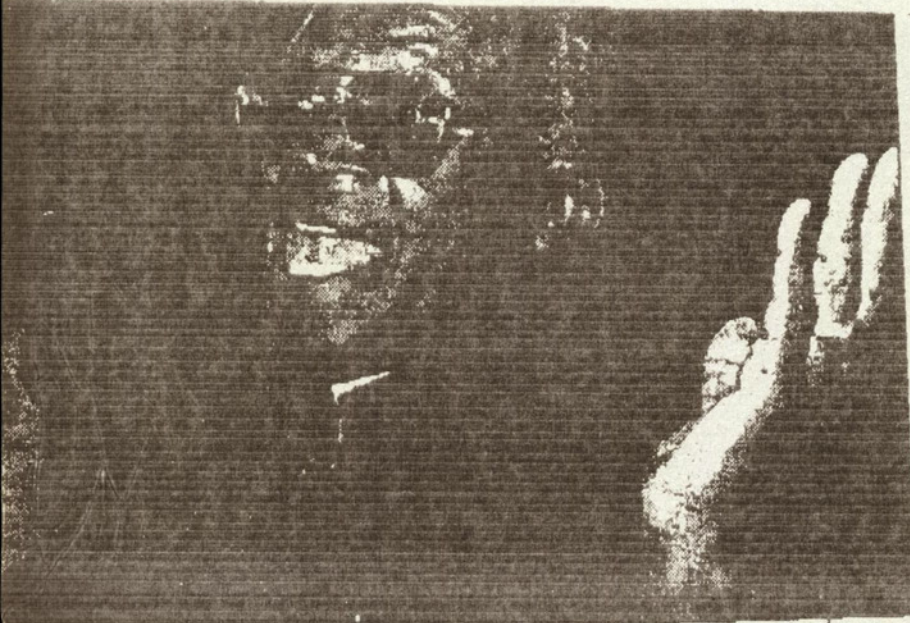
The Council of Unions of South Africa appointed him to form the National Union of Mineworkers, where he quickly proved his organisation and strategic abilities. He broke with black consciousness when he led the NUM into the Congress of South African Trade Unions and played an important role in union/liberation movement.



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to prominence from obscurity and subsequently cast as the prime rightwing's resur- in may still be trying to new role with that of and former South Force chief and an almost myth- among the white gh he has not adopted ent rhetoric of his col- times striking a concil- out of place in circles.

ended to study agri- engineering but a lack of d a switch of career and he SADF. In 1956 he ssioned as an artillery

chief of the army, a d in the mid-1970s, sonally took part in sev- y incursions into Ango- ve birth to his reputation r's general Viljoen was appointed e SADF. He retired live to breed cattle in the area, only recently active in rightwing poli-

LPNAGEL, ACHIM

ole of chief European munity observer in th Africa requires endless and tact, as well as a understanding of how to

Commonwealth colleagues, will play a key role in the run-up to elections — not just defusing situations which threaten the peace, but also training local peacekeepers such as monitors and mar- shals.

WESSELS, LEON

The only cabinet member seen on TV lifting a clenched fist and shouting "Viva" (he shouted "Viva negotiations" while talking to demonstrators outside the World Trade Centre). Wessels embraces the new South Africa wholeheartedly. He was the first senior Nationalist to apologise publicly for his party's racist past.

What makes the 47-year-old manpower minister's liberal pronouncements even more remarkable is the fact that he represents the working class constituency of Krugersdorp, normally not a haven of progressiveness.

Born in Kroonstad, Wessels was president of the conservative Afrikaanse Studentebond in one of its most conservative phases, from 1971 to 1973, while earning his law degree. But since joining the cabinet in 1988 as deputy minister of law and order, he has become progressively vocal in his rejection of racial discrimination. After the failure of Codesa II, he joined Roelf Meyer in the government's negotiating team, bringing debates back on track when negotiators wan-

dered off on side issues.

Before the present round of negotiations, Wessels took on the mighty farming industry, finally winning a protracted conflict to ensure basic employees' rights for farmworkers.

YENGONI, TONY SITHEMBISO

Yengoni was Accused Number One in one of the country's last major political trials before political organisations were unbanned in 1990. At the time, Yengoni, now regional secretary of the African National Congress in the Western Cape, headed Umkhonto weSizwe operations in the region.

Early involvement in politics, first as an adherent of the Black Consciousness Movement, saw this son of a working class Cape Town family sign up with the ANC's underground in 1976. He underwent training in ANC camps in Botswana, Zambia and Angola and earned a diploma in social science after studying in Moscow before becoming regional secretary of the South African Council of Trade Unions, based in Lesotho, from where he was sent to the Western Cape to take over the MK command.

Indemnified in 1991, he was elected to the national executive of the South African Communist Party the same year. He withdrew his 1992 candidacy for chairman-

ZUMA, JACOB

Close colleagues tell the story of Zuma's long uphill battle against illiteracy and the lack of any formal schooling as an indication of his intelligence, tenacity and flexibility, traits which continue to serve him well as African National Congress deputy general secretary. As one of the most senior figures of Zulu origin within the organisation, he is regarded as having a pivotal role in attempts to break Inkatha's stranglehold over King Goodwill Zwelithini and traditional leaders, and through them rural Zulus.

Although no longer formally involved with ANC intelligence, which he headed in exile, Zuma (50) is said to have kept several regional information networks going. He is favoured for high office by Nelson Mandela, but criticism by the Molsucnyane Commission of his failure to prevent human rights abuses in the camps in Angola may prove a stumbling block to his further political rise.

ZWELITHINI, GOODWILL

A seat on the royal throne at Nongoma is not what it used to be, as the eighth monarch of the Zulu nation found out the hard way after his uncle, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, wrote the monarchy out of politics in both the kwaZulu and Inkatha constitutions.

Zwelithini's flirtation with rebellion so vexed his powerful elder subject that, in 1979, Buthelezi castigated him in front of the kwaZulu legislative assembly, accusing him of conspiring to form an opposition party and of urging support for violent revolution. Buthelezi threatened to cut his stipend and, by 1982, Zwelithini was convinced he had no future — and certainly no income — without his uncle.

In the 1980s, as tensions flared between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front, Zwelithini found himself increasingly dragged through "the heat and dust of politics" by the same man who had seen to his exclusion from it. Now courted by the African National Congress as one hope of ending the conflict, Zwelithini has become the IFP's most closely guarded asset — and an essential key to electoral support among rural Zulus.

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