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ANC march plans:
violence feared

Cltizen Repornter

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

The Boere Krisisaksie
(BKA) have already is-
sued a warning to Blacks
in the town that should

the march go ahead, a lot :

of people could die on the
streets of Potgictersrus.

Blacks â\200\230in the town
where also urged to save
- their own lives and those
of their families by not at-
tempting to take part in
the march.

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

Blood

The chairman of Pot.
gictersrusâ\200\231 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.

â\200\234We are in a very diffi-
cult situation. If we op-
pose 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.

â\200\234This is wrong because White people have not organised protest marches in Mahweicreng.

â\200\234It is dangerous because it can lead to battles and violence in the streets during which many can die,â\200\235 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 Bocrekrisisaksie is known for its invasion of the streets of Pretoria two years ago, which effectively brought the city to a standstill for two days.

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~_ _

â\200\234On 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 us a
town have no control over
the things that are being
protested against,â\200\235 Mr
Van Niekerk said, :

Decided

The chief of the Civii
Protection Unit. Mr Piet.
Lampreche, has already
decided in terms of pow-
ers 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 chjef
magistrate in the arca for
2 final decision,

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

IFP men end
hunger
= strike &4

DURBAN. â\200\224 The re-
maining 11 Inkatha Free-
dom Party members who
are on a hunger strike at
Durban's Westville Pris-
on abandoned their ac-
tion yesterday, sccording
to IFP spokesman Mr Ed
Tillet.

He said the prisoners |
had reviewed their fast |
after two meetings be-
tween the IFP, Corvectio- .
nal Services Minister .
Adriaan Vlek and a Jus-
tice Department official :
Mr Piet Kleynhans.

â\200\234The Council for Nat-
ional Indemmry - had
agreed to accomodate
all IFP prisoners cligible
for political indemnty i
a mass hearing starting on
December 6 which is ex-
pected to last two weeks.â\200\235

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THE CITIZEN, FRIDAY 15 OCTOBER 1993

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Cairo talks
on visit hy
Buthelezi

CAIRO. ~ High-pro-
file Inkatha Frceedom
Party officials d:scussec!
Chief Mangosytay Bu-
thelezi's Imminest vis;
to Egypr with that coun.
Iryâ\200\231s Foreign Affajrs
Minister yesterdav.

The IFP leadar will
visit Egypt to discuss his
partyâ\200\231s position g
democracy talks,

IFP nationai chair-
man Dr Frank Mdialose
and chief exccurye offi-
cer V' J Matthews will
be 11 Cairo unty Satue-
day, the correspondent
sald. â\200\224 Sapa

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Mitterrand's deep

sympathy for

PARIS. â\200\224 Nelson
Mandela yesterday
met French President
François Mitterrand
who he termed "o long
time friend of the
people of South Afri-
â&a;

Following an hour of
talks with Mr Mitterrand.
Mr Mandela told report-
ers that the French presi-
dent â\200\234has o very deep
sympathyâ\200\231 for the econ-
omic problems faced by
post-apartheid South
Africa,

â\200\234We come out here, as
we did with the Prime Mi-
nister, seeing that our
problems have been se-
riously considered,â\200\235 e
said, referring to his car-

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

A

â\200\224 Mandela

later meeting with French
Prime Minister Edouard
Balladur.

Mr Mandela briefed M:
Mitterrand on the politi-
cal situation in - South
Africa and said he was
optimistic regarding the
outcome of multi-racial
elections. due in April
next year. Elysee Palace
officials said

The French Govern-
ment and business com-
munity had earlier as-
sured Mr Nelson Mandela
yesterday of more and
stronger support for the
new South Africa.

Foreign Minister Alain
Juppé emerged from a
lengthy breakfast with the
African National Con-
gress president saying:
â\200\234He is a man [have long
admired.

"I told him we were ready to help with (next year's) elections and then, along with our European partners, contribute to the very important economic work that will be needed."

Mr Mandela welcomed the pledge from France's conservative government, traditionally more

open to liberation movements than the former Socialist administration, ousted in March,

"I have got the assurance that the help we've received from France will continue," the ANC leader said.

"They are very keen to facilitate the democratic process... We have an enormous problem of reconstruction and development and we have the full support of the French Government in this regard."

Mrs Juppe said France was ready to send observers to South Africa's first all-race elections, set for April 27, and help prepare the millions of Blacks who will vote for the first time,

Mr Mandela, looking a bit strained after a tour that has taken him to the United States, Belgium, Portugal and Britain, said he was confident French companies would increase their investments in South Africa,

"We have the support of industry in this country," he said after several

meetings with industrial

and business leaders as

French Finance Minister

Edmond Alphandery. The leader of the

French employers' association

ciation, Fiancors Perigot,

satd on Europe | radio
that he would tuke u dele-
gation of 40 French busi-
ness leaders to South

i Africa in November for

mectings with Me Mande-
la and, President De
Klerk,

â\200\234Yes to investment in
South Africa. we say. We
are already preseat but
we must boost our pres-
ence,â\200\235 Mr Perigot said.
â\200\224 Supa-Reuter,

Alliance ha
Kempton p
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Park TESOtiting counqi)
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DAY 15 OCTOBER 1993

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48 noÂ¢ FEPresentative
Cape Nationg| Party leyy.
Â¢r Dr Dawije de Villiepy
said Yesterday.

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mal Cype Congreys

ity {ast before
rica s divideg
ions â\200\224

T than
multi-parey Negotiations.

It way ditficly to deter.
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Membery n
Commonp.

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White RIS
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Dr Do Viiliery SUIId the

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Three killings: Age
saves man from death

PIETERMARITZ-

BURG. A man was
sentenced to life im-
prisonment and a further
52 years for the killing of
three people and the at-
tempted murder of two
others near Mtunzini in

. February.

Me Justice Hugo noted

that Vusumuzi Bheki Zi-

bani was a few days short
of 18 when the offences
were committed, and said
he could for that reason
not impose the death pen-
alty.

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 and
Vusumuzi Mdletshe, Ar-
thur Booysen and Jaco-
bus Swart and attempt-
ing to kill Mr NKosinath
Asweli, and his aunt Cae-
thy e Zalwant,

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 10
the picnic killings, one
Xolani, was reportedly
arrested about four weeks
ago, and could also be

charged.

Zibani got life for kill-
ing Mdletshe; 20 years for
helping to Kkill Bouysen
and Swart, 15 years each
for the attempted mur-
ders, and two years and
six months for the arms
contraventions,

Judge Hugo said Zibuni
was an arrogant. self-
opinionated young man

who had shown no re-

spect for the
sanctity of human life.

He had left behind him
a trail of blood and de-
struction, and the society
urgently needs contin-
ued protection from his
actions.â\200\235

Nouane said there may
have been political under-

tones. He said that at the at-
tacks, Mr Justice Hugo
commented: â\200\234There may
have been a time when
black political aspirations
could not be ade-
quately expressed in ways
other than through viol-
ence. . . but time has
passed. And all political
parties are attempting to
find solutions to the coun-
try's problems.â\200\235

The redress of political

leaders have made pro-
sionate pleas to their sup-
porters to desist from vi-
olence, adding that the only
future we have in this
country is through politi-
cal tolerance

People who resort to vi-
olence are not only de-
stroying their victims, but
also the future of their
countrymen, he added.

â\200\224 Sapa.

DAY 15 OCTOBER 1993

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Control of marches and
attack on rights: AN

MINISTER of Law and

Order â\200\230Hernus Kriel's -

threat to pass tougher
legislation to control
marches or protests in
the run-up to the elec-
tions is an attack on a
basic democratic right,
the ANC â\200\230charged yes.
terday.

In a statement in Jo.

hannesburg, the ANC
said Mr Kriel has demon-
strated his inability
to subject narrow
party political interest,

to the broader interests
of the country.

â\200\234Kriel needs to be re-
minded that the crea-
tion of 3 climates for
free political activity re-

mains the domain of the :

Transitional Executive
Council and not his poli-
tical party.â\200\235

The Minister's state-
ment further revealed
the scandal: regard the
government had for
basic democratic prin-
ciple. the ANC added.

said. â\200\224 Sapa.
; by A

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

â\200\234Neither Kriel nor his
soverament has the
legitimacy nor the crag.
itbility to unilateniiy
bring changes to these
guidelines.â\200\235 the ANC

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CITIZEN, FRIDAY 15 OCTOBER 1993

SA violence may ~
sway Nobel Prizes

OSLO. â\200\224 ANC presi-
dent Nelson Mandela
and State President De
Klerk are among fa-
vourites to win the No-
bel Peace Prize today,
but worries over vio-
lence in South Africa
could swing the award
to the Salvation Army.

Norwegian media â\200\224
usually right in their fore-
casts â\200\224 say guardians of
the prize risk controversy
by honouring South Afri-
caâ\200\231s spluttering transition
from - Whites-only rule.
They could play safe

instead with the Salvation

Army.

" The answer will not be -

known until Francis Se.
jersted, head of the sacre-
tive five-member commit-
tee, walks into a room in
the Nobel Institute and
announces: â\200\234The peace
prize for 1993 is awarded
to .1 â\200\234
Altogether 120 candi-
dates. are vying for. the
award â\200\224 95 jndividuals
and 25 organisations â\200\224in-
cluding Ceech President

Vaclav Havel and the
Red Cross. The 1993
prize is worth 6,7 million
Swedish crowns (R2.87
million).

â\200\234In my view it's far too
early to award the Nobel
Peace Prize to De Klerk
und Mandela, And it's
100 late to give the prize
tc Mandela alone,â\200\235 said
Mr Tore Erksen. a re-
searcher at the Norwe-
gian Institute of Intemnat-
ional Affairs,]

He noted joint awards
had been among the most
controversial â\200\224 such as in
1978 to late Israeli Prime
Minister Menachim Begin
and Egyptian President
Anwar Sadat, and in"1973

to former US Secretary of

- State Henry Kissinger

Vietnamese
leader L=

and late
Communist
Duc Tho.
The Salvation Army,
founded in the slums of
London in 1865 and now

*doing social and Christian

work 111 93 nations, was a

front-runner for the 1992

prize. which went to Gua-
temala's Rigoberta Men-

chú, an Indian human
rights campaigner.

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

Geir Helljesen, a
Norwegian television re-
porter 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 viol-
ence since early June,
when democracy negotia-
tors set next April 27 as
the date for the country's
first all-race elections.

Helljesen said the com-
mittees preferred indivi-
duals and had a strong
anti-apartheid tradition.
Archbishop Desmond
Tutu won in 1984 and
Chief Albert Lutuli, for-
mer ANC president, in
1960. Mr Mandela has
seen a perennial favour-
ite for the award.

I think there's a ten-
dency to personify things
and this may also have
been the case with the
Peace Prize, Geir Lun-
destad, director of the

Nobel Committee, told
Reuters.

â\200\234But there have been
many worthy institutions
which have received the !
prize and this will un-
doubtedly continue.â\200\235 |

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

1993 award would be con- *

troversial,

But one informed
source said Mr Kristian-
sen,... 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 Mandcla as â\200\234contro-
versialâ\200\235. â\200\224 Sapa- Reuter.

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|Cosag part two born of defeat and desperation

WREN is an alliance not an ;lhm"
Wheas group of desperate -
cians bands together, and calls itself
the Freedom Alliance. A¢

The Freedom Alliance is manual-
ly composed of the same collection
of parties as the Concerned South
Africans Group (Cosag) except

X 3 2
and indications point to the internal
contradictions of the new alliance -

rendering it crippled at birth as a
unilateral negotiation from the 2nd of
Last week Inkatha President Man-

gosnthu Buthelesi told the other 231 Cosag
partners that the front had outlived
its usefulness and it was time to form
a new body 224 as well as renaming some-
thing changes its essence, :

Cosag was formed by Buthelesi in
reaction to his being left out of the
government/ANC in September 1992
Record of Understanding. The belief
was that this matter had been ignored
out by the time Buthelesi led Cosag
back into the new formal negotia-
tions in April. . :°

{ that .

QGM
(230 was a local trust ; 231j o

follow Buthelesi's lead in walking
out of negotiations at the beginning
of July. : & ,

The other three (,oslg p:n'tuu
started to negotiate their own deals
with government and the ANC se-
cretly, while Inkatha was doing the
same, ostensibly outside the process. -
..But Inkatha: once. again - was not

BILLY PADDOCK

and Ciskei in bilateral meetings or
concede on reincorporation in ex-
change for guaranteed entrenched
regional powers and factions.
Buthelesi saw his chance 224 argu-

getting exactly what it wanted, and*â\200\231~ ing that the way around this was for

; it was being -forced: to maxqâ\200\230m
< _sions. Inkatha/KwaZulu was moving" -
.- closer to an agreement with govern- .

" ment where some issues in the nego-
tiated interim constitution could be
changed by a two-thirds majority,

â\200\234and others, including increased

wers and functions for regions, be-
militarised

in which was also almost read
forgo its insistence on the wa-
Zulu/Natal constitution being adopt-

â\200\234ed as a fait accompli, accepting that

. all regions should have the same con-
stitution until elected regional legis-
â\200\234latures- had negotiated their own
- constitutions within the bounds of the
constitutional principles.
Thenegotiated again, in which (ba

However, many members when - cried foul, claiming government and

Congress members -became tactically <
divided and the Afrikaner Volksfront,

Bophuthatswana and Ciskei did not :

the ANC were seeking to divide the
the partners. The ' squeeze was
also making part of Bophuthatswana

~~@all-partners to withdraw and form a
" united negotiating team under a new
organisation. b2

The Freedom Alliance came into
. being, but its seed was planted more
than two months ago because, ever
since Inkatha and the Ciskei walked out,
Buthelesi and his advisers had been
attempting to forge a new body with-
in Congress demanding a new negotiat-
ing forum as the current process was
â\200\234fatally flawed and could not be res-
cuedâ\200\235, as Codesa had been.

The common factor binding the
alliance is still the parties'â\200\231 objection
(to the Record of Understanding and
being â\200\234manipulatedâ\200\235 (read out nego-
tiated) by the ANC and government.

It is difficult to see how the Free-
dom 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 home-

{and.

Alliance executive chairmanâ\200\235

Rowan Cronje acknowledges that this is a fundamental difference and a problem, â\200\234but 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 monthâ\200\235,

However, perhaps the CP and the AVF realise, or will come to realise, that without Inkatha they are out on 4 limbs. Having signed the Alliance manifesto rejecting racism, they may have to pay Buthe'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 Allianceâ\200\231s agenda. Derailing the negotiation process and the April 27 elections is the main objective.

However, the same crucial question remains â\200\224~ 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?

â\200\230This 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 Buthe'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 Buthe's financial lifeline.

He can go to his right wing, which is cowering behind him impotent to act against Buthe, and say: â\200\234I have gone all the way to appease him but â\200\230to no avail. Now I have no alternative but to clamp down on him because we cannot go back on reform.â\200\235

CJRed Alert columnist Joo Slove
has requested temporacy leave of
absence because af pressure of
work at the Warld Trade Coentre.

S DAY, FRIDAY 15 OCTOBER 1993

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COMMENT
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Our ._|Ã©nd

AND s a critical issue for the .ents, has ap awesome task. It is the
pew South Africa, and it ijsas potential future government, S0 its
well that it is being debated responsibilities stretch beyond its..
now, well ahead of the election supporters 0 the wellbeing of the
of a-new government. coux}dti'y as a3 lvvhc>â\200\2301Â\$:li Aepa{t h:x;oxtxx
st h i : avoidiog racial cooflict, 1 0
w; ,â\200\231sâ\200\234s,â\200\230ho&â\200\230; f;ntxt:: eq;?:ksâ\200\230;gg;co;;: ensure th
at South Africa can feed
from the Transvaal Agricultural itsel, and that the vast potential of

Union this week to the address b the agricultural sector is finally

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramy realised through the optimurn use of

aphosa to the Land Redistribution the land

Options conference. Though Rama-

phosaâ\200\231s speech was measured and

dispassionate, the farmers warned vesterday

against â\200\234jrresponsible statementsâ\200\235 =

trat could create expectations lead- long and hard at the job ahea%hand |

ing to unmanageable conflict. it js worxiog on the apswers. There
There is no question of expecta- Bml ce.;;-amly behi Jgdxqial pxâ\200\230oc:Ã© 2

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Troups demand e s systeso aimed 8Â¢

B i and mothing less. Theif ap- e iâ\200\230iâ\200\230?s-â\200\230gy?Â»ï-\201â\200\234â\200
\230,,â\200\230&â\200\231Ã© e

S A ing productivity. lhe never-
proachis reflected in the coptrover- theless aware there will be cases

sia] slogans about settlers and far- Shval i ;
B rs. While the official ANC lize s ;â\200\230;;reb;hâ\200\230:;;;;gtg;:Â\$Â°*;;; Il
more moderate, it accepts 2 special - gtner forms of compensation will be--
responsibility to resolve the land peccary.

â\200\230:f;â\200\230;;%g ï-\201;{g?gqu . ri:tgt; e No roatter how sensible and fair
of our history. If we turn our backs guch procedurch AE% they will tat

on the land question, we are 6o long: ter unless there 15 widespread and
er the ANCâ\204¢. : open cozsultation in devising them. -

i It is essential that all affected
So if white farmers are prepared ~ groups should be involved in the
to die for their land â\200\224 as ind land reformn debate, and that. the }
they are â\200\224 and restoration of land agricultural vâ\200\230unions,"._e'speciany,;'.
â\200\231Ã©
rights is a key policy element for. should zot turn their backs on thosaâ\200\231
the ANC, is coonflict ipevitable? Not they see as enemles.-'rhgy must bÃ©â\200\230â\200
\230
if emotions Â¢an be tempered, and convinced there i3 lo plan to drive *

everyone is involved in finding them off their farms, and that it is in their own best interests to listen, solutions. in their own best interests to listen, The ANC, as the major political group representing black communities however difficult this may be. | help find acceptable solutions.

ge. ST 100

BUSINESS DAY, FRIDAY 15 OCTOBER 1993

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Higher rates lik
for all, ANC war

GAVIN DU VENAGE

BLACK and white communities will have
to pay substantially higher rates and ser-
vice charges once local authorities are
amalgamated, ANC local government
head Thozamile Botha savys,

After market-related charges were lev-
ted in black areas and the cross-subsidisa-
tion of white ratepayers feil away, both
communities would pay more, Botha told
the Transvaal Local Goverament Associ-
ation congress in Randburg yesterday.

The ANC wanted a single tariff strye-
ture applied uniformly in each â\200\234amalga-
matedâ\200\235 municipal area. This would elimi-
nate cross-subsidisation.

Not everycne would pay the same tariff,
he said. Poorer commun:ties and specific
groups such as the elderly 2nd unemployed
would still have to be subsidised.

Botha alleged that whites had long en-
Joyed 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 expect-
ed to carry township reccasiruction costs
alone. Instead, money would be raised on
local capital markets, through metropoti-
tan levies and state subs:dies.

Botha said tariffs in most black loca)
authorities were based on out-dated valu-
ations. Heassessments could mean in-
creases of as much as 200%. However,
likely resistance to big increases meant
they would have to be phased in gradually.

OCT 15  \200\23192

@3:45 VOS-IFFP 444 3198

THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

iaa

WE agree with State President De Klerk that the African National Congress should con-

vert itself into a democratic political party -

 \200\234stripped of its uniforms and its weapons \204 .

Mr De Klerk told Parliament:  \200\234I am not prepared to co-operate with the ANC as it now is and to sit with it in 2 government of national unity.

 \200\234The 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. \200\235

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. ;i

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 2c-
. tions 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  \200\224 and must still be negotiated  \200\224

on a multi-party basis.

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T2y tÂ\$\\ st =y

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, Bophutbatswana and KwaZulu by staging dangerous marches that must inevitably lead to the killing of people used as cannon fodder. .. ' A

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. e

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. ot

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. . â\200\230

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.* ~ 7" =" "

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...Unrest death toll
â\200\230doubles in past week

THE death toll in un-
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"PWV arca with 41
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the, PWV was Alexan-
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The Natal death :on
had remaived more or
lusconmnt,thenpon

said. â\200\224~Sapa. ..

Y, FRIDAY 15 OCTOBER 1993

J100 policemen re

MORE than 700 policemen were declared medically unfit for service last year because of stress-related psychological disorders, and the SAP expects the figure to be far higher this year.

Most of the policemen who were put on early retirement were officers, including five generals and 23 brigadiers.

SAP psychological support services section head Maj Pictet Koorizen said the overwhelming pressures facing policemen also meant that suicide had become a major problem in the force.

About 110 policemen committed suicide last year -- a rate 22 times higher than the national average. Of these, 43% were

[.
Police

exhausted by stress. They also felt confused and disorientated after being constantly harassed, many policemen were being criticised from the political quarter, and trained in the basic skills of counselling

praised by another for the same deed. 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,

and the police force was pre-emptive. Craig Kolze said: "These days the obvious place for people who are indicative of how hard they could not find jobs elsewhere, but the barrier and the difficult condition, regardless of their aptitude, as well as for suicide and aggressive tendencies, a world that faced such * would change the fabric

As the SAP psychological support ser-

[KATHRYN StRachan =

blacks, whose job pressures were compounded by their social isolation and their victimisation by the community.

Policemen declared medically unfit due to stress-related disorders received full pensions and medical benefits for life, which cost government \$234 million in 1995.

Koortzen said most of the policemen assessed suffered from post-traumatic stress, including depression and anxiety, that had become so intense they could no longer fulfil their functions.

"Once the anxiety reaches such a level they become too nervous to shoot, or they

tire early because of stress

became trigger-happy, and it is better (o
let them go,â\200\235 he said.

A large percentage of the people coun-
selled had been traumatised by their in-
volvement 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.

Koortzen said policemen felt isolated
after being stationed far from home, often
in unrest areas. Black policemen particu-
larly encountered social rejection.

Fears of political changes and uncer-
tainty about their future in the police force

1)To Page 2

[J From Page 1

of the force,

operate.â\200\235 There was no

challengesâ\200\235 as the SAP. The
changes in the police f

With only 24 psychologists for a force of

and â\200\234debriefingâ\200\235 their colleagues after a
traumatic event. Debriefing involved us-
ing all the senses to relive the experience,
as well as talking about it together.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman

portraying figures

1 the police work

03 in which they

police force in the

"superhuman chal-

combination of the

force and the wider

changes had been set up only in the past two changes in society, coupled with the vio. -

years, counsellors faced
of treating trauma (that
over many years, It was
were treated within two t
traumatic event, he said,

had accumulated

the difficult task hence, left the SAP in a unique situation,

) "Very few people realise the sacrifices
vital that people our police are making on 3
to three days of a peace.â\200\235 he said, adding

daily basis for

that [the community

needed to be more supportive of the police.

THE CITIZEN, FRIDAY 15 OCTOBER 1993

Â«

THE CITIZEN

COMMENT |
NP alliance

DR Dawiz d2 Villiersâ\200\231 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 NPâ\200\231s chief negotiator at the Kempton Park talks, told the partyâ\200\231s Cape Congress that the NP did not want to walk alone, but rather link up with parties which shared its aims. . S

â\200\234The NP is not a go-it-alone party,â\200\235 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 â\200\224 or at least

. some of them â\200\224 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. â\200\230 :

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 Buthelez'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 govern-
ment of national unity. D T

RO R UER

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THE STAR, FRIDAY 15 OCTOBER 1992

NOBEL TWINS: State President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson joint winners of the 1998 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 negotiating towards a new South Africa. It also represents a major boost for the fragile peace process.

THE STAR, FRIDAY 15 OCTOBER 1988

Milham\200\231on-pir(s
illegals live
on the Reef

NBY CYRIL MADLALA

Police say there are more than
a million illegal immigrants on
the Reef and they are losing the
battle to stem the flow.

It's like pouring water
through a sieve, said Sergeant
Willem Lottering of the SAP's
Aliens Control Unit.

This year, the cost of deport-
ing these illegal immigrants is
likely to surpass the R3,5 mil-
lion which the Department of
Home Affairs spent on deporta-
tions last year,

Most of the aliens are from
Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

In a bid to stop the influx, the
authorities have reopened a
chapter of SA history. In scenes re-
miniscent of the old apartheid
days, yellow police vans ply the
streets of Johannesburg and sur-
rounding suburbs and town-
ships. People are arrested for
failing to produce their identity
books.

Over five years the number of
aliens deported has increased by
87 percent, from 44 225 in 1988

A sharp increase was regis-
tered between 1991 and 1992.
When the figure rose from 61 345
to 82 750. By far the greatest
number come from Mozambique
(74 percent in 1982), followed by
Zimbabwe (14,5 percent) and Le-
sotho (7,5 percent).

> More reports - Page 13

THE STAR, FRIDAY 15 OCTOBER 199

e ipâ\200\224â\200\224

Six ' more killed in
E Rand townshi

B EAST RAND BUREAV

Six people were Killed in East
Rapd townships last night and
today, police said.

Police said a man was shot
dead at Unit Sin Tokoza.

Apothor mean was burnt to
death in Ndebele Street in the
same township.

shot dead in Joe's

Street in Tokoza.

Two
' vered by police in Tokoza today.

more bodies were reco- :

A police spokesman said &
woman was hacked to death in
Nkoz Street.

The body of & msn with gun-
shot wounds was found in Nguni
Street.

In Daveyton, & group of 10

ple barricaded the Vereeng-
ing/Seuntra Rand railway line
with a concrete slab

, police re-
ported.

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

Damage to the engine is esti-
mated at R30 000.

aâ\200\224

THE STAR, FRI

DAY 15 OCTOBER 199:

Homelands crisis deepens

Gazankulu,
Venda also
in financial
difficulties

B 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 dif-
ficulties. And in Venda the gov-
ernment is trying to recover
R3,5 million in pensions paid in
error to five civil servants.

Gazankulu sources said a\200\234des-
perate cost-cutting measuresâ\200\235
were being introduced to save
the homeland from bankruptcy
in the months before the
1994/95 budget allocation is
made. '

The Education Department
alone has down R72 million, and

has instructed school principals

to â\200\234privatise their schoolsâ\204¢ 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 suppli-
ers to the homelandâ\200\231s govern-
ment. These are being pro-
cessed.

Plans are also being made for

Regional Affairs Minister Andre Fourie to meet the Lebowa Interdepartmental Action Coordinating 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 Vends- 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.

THE STAR, FRIDAY 15 OCTOBER 1994

NOT concrete

HE critical-to-hostile response evoked

' by Housing Minister Louis Shill's an-

nouncement of discounts on all State-

tunded housing should not be read as 2

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, FRIDAY 15 OCTOBER 199<

e Star

. Established 1887
47 SAUER STREET, JOHANNESBURG 2000

Disquieting
questions

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

RESIDENT de Klerk and Defence

Minister Kobie Coetsee are emphatic:

last weekâ\200\231s 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 â\200\224 on the admission of the SADF â\200\224 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. [ts report heightens misgivings and suspicions about the raid. LHR investigators deduce {rom 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 â\200\224 including people appalled by the rmurderous attacks on white civilians attributed to Transkei-based Apla fighters â\200\224 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 â\200\234warâ\200\235 against South Africaâ\200\231s white â\200\234settlersâ\204¢. By the same token, Transkei's Bantu Holomisa must be urged to assist the inquiry instead of being obstructive as he was during Judge Goldstoneâ\200\231s probe into Apla.

i l i l D A e |

THE STAR, FRIDAY 15 OCTOBER 1995:

winners of
the Nobel
Peace Prize

footsteps of
Albert Luthuli

MAJOR boost for
negotiations process
as world spotlight
focuses on South
Africa

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 Nor-
wegian Nobel Committee which
praised the work of the two
leaders in trying to end cen-
turies of white domination. *
From different points of de-
parture 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,

Recognition

Klerk said he was deeply
honoured and that the
award was further recogni-
tional recognition to the pro-
cess which South African lead-
ers and the South African peo-
ple began more than three

years ago.
The prize was founded by
Swedish poet-philosopher-sci-
entist Alfred Nobel - it is a
crowning achievement for the

two politicians. 5
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, Bel-
gium, the United Kingdom and

France. :

The prize is awarded to peo-

| Bie who have done the most
i B the best work for the aboli-

on or reduction of standing
rmies and for holding and |

South African to be honoured |' moting peace odngresses; |
in this way. The country's |â\200\231 E:ostipulited In Nobel's 1895
other two Nobel peace prize will. ward
recipients were former ANC Tbe prizes are awarded an-
leader Chief Albert Luthull ang â\200\230nually on December 10, and
Archbishop Desmond Tutu, : each laureate receives a Nobel
Mandela was due to address - Gold Medal, 2 Nobel] Faplogia
& press conference latey Â¢ and the prize mopey. |
on the award. A delighted ANC According to Nobel's will.
Spokesman said the ANC lead. | anyone proposing himsel for @
eT â\200\224 who has In the past dog. Nobel Prize is automatically
ated generously to the ANC disqualified. â\200\224 Politieal Corre-
military wing Umkhonto we. spondent nd Sapa-Reuter.
Sizwe â\200\224 mijght give "3 sub-
stantial amountâ\200\235 of his share
of R2,8 million to MK,

heed of the committee.
De Klerk is the first white |'

wmantling aparthe

s honoured for Â¢1

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Leader

getf eace Prize

e | A special supplement to the WEEKLY MAIL & GUA
: AFRâ\200\231CAN = produbed th the Institute for Multi-Party DemÂç

3 Pl1Tâ\200\231 IA ; 100 people who tan be expeded o be in
the news â\200\224 for better or for worse â\200\224
during the election period
; ftis mod & comprehensive fist. Given
Âç tn!hapmfyï\201sts whoieadsvxe the unpredictable nature of South African
pari\201esWrunÃ@thempagns who | pofitics, new faces will tum up unexped-
= podtormÃ@ well on television - - and edly and some of those we have chosen
â\200\230:mmmmduabmma wil fade info the background. *
ek th ke the country But the A-2Z is our team of whittersâ\200\231 best
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across the spectrumn who are helplig - BEsER| the cfowd, the Weekly Mal & Guarian | and aca
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to shope fhe new South Afrlco e haÃ@bmmedanA-Zguvdeofmepef exchuded some groups fos reasons
of
~ . Bonai\201ï\201esofSwi\202\AMcanpom over | space: business leaders, media people

W :. I

Some faces to watch: Ramaphosa, Terreblanche, Butheled , MbÃ@_ï\201d. Qi\201d, of â\202-to
urse, De Klerk and Mandels

ALEXANDER, BENNY s s DT A S et
nqmn, general secretary of Cumpiled hy Anton Harher Barhara Ludmon; Che's Lniw Sleohexlatfe
r, Pa! Staber Mendh
the Pan Africarist Congress Is mfaÃ@lg waka hakhanya, Gaye Diws F Hatiqwee, Larme! Reghong;
Pat Sid'ey, Juig Betipn i\202eg
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B irce the PAC fotned the negottation umney, Jan Tatigard. Farmuk Chy 1. JacquiGoiding and
the Eastern CapeNews Asency
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Robert â\200\234-â\200\2343?""â\200\2315â\200\234â\200\231"- who was banished to swipes at
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Alexandes s homelown of Kimberley. He la-piiched voice get the croveds going when- | House
tegottalions leading to
Jotned the PAC underground in 1983 and - | ever he addresses rafilles. But his unflinch: { Z
imbatiwe's Independence and

The MP for Amanzimoti P\nw
been embroiled in controversies
entire year over the St Luda min
ing issue, maladministration dui-
ing 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, proba-
bly for fear that he would lead a
National Party defection to the
iFP. e % 200\230 Wi

A former New Republic Party
MP. Bartlett joined the NP in 1984
and was elected its i
leader in 1999. He became the
first English-speaker to be B3
appointed to the all-African cab-
inet. Bartlett is likely to bow -
out of national politics but could

remain an important mgkmal
player. LS

BOESAK, ALLAN 200\230

he Western Cape chairman

of the ANC, v.hn will be G

important (o the organisa-
tion's attempts (o win the
coloured vote, is known for his
Martin Luther King-like oratory
and his extra-marital adventures.

He was catapulted into promi-

nence when he led the charge to
have apartheid declared a Heresy
and was named president of U
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 impor-
tant role in subsequent cam-

paigns.

Securily police his mar-
ital 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 Volkstaal ideal, the urbane professor's influence in right 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. He is chairman of the Al Volkswag, a rightwing cultural umbrella organisation, and the Afrikaner Vervuldstigting, the

menial in setting up what is proposed to become the nucleus of an Afrikaner Homeland in the northern Cape.

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

BOTHA, THOZAMILE -

After a swift rise to fame in the Elizabethan and

on strichitt during the

mid 1970s, Botha suffered defeat

Denri: \201: \x: xidi \202i \202lth; &..

ad)e, whmhestud [odlbr and chaired the ANC House of

Kingdom. But on Monday May] . 1991 he was sworn in as

tion in the ANC. VERNY

Botha was elected head of it

ANC's department of local and

regional government and minister. He went on to play a key role in the Local Government Commission

in Forum. was a founder; , . "x \200\230dnt?:f

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Special supplement to
The Weekly Mail & Guardian,

October 1993

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resident of the [FP, chief min-

ister of the kwaZulu home-

land and mins-
ter of the kwaZulu Police,
Buthelezi must surely win the title
of South Africa's King of Contro-
versy. The current controversy tells
whether he is the -1 b-
eral democrat mma?fmgm
nxi-\202\lhan Zulus hai-\201mahqysm be. But
such jsmies
hiifi: {5 he the hcredllymydm
the Buthelezi Hibe, or would his
brother Mcebisi have taken the post
had He not been appointed?
Is he the â\200\234traditionalsal
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a resident
the liberation movement, or is he m.
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kwaZulu-\202uEmmelmdmbmlupdd
fortnidable power Base in the
1970s and 1980s, However, he
â\200\230refused to enter mwpohu@ldce.h
with the went until Mardeza
was released and the ANC
unbanned. In recent years. severe-
ly damaged by revelations of covert
police and jim
support for him

bcanau&w

. hattersalissti aimed at a trademam
at white supporters.

7 The threat to his homeland
power base posed by the Trans-
vaal National 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 settled in his partnership
and likely election alliance with the

- { . NP, Buthelezi was deeply affronted

by last year's Record of Under-
standing between De Klerk and
Mandela, which doused his
gâ\200\230rgm of recognition as a third

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* paid to his views. particularly his

. demand for regiorml powers
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Tomigest -ever Â¢ 1. 8 400-page
effort dclniï¬\202m five days in the
kewaZulu legislathve assembly.

CAROLUS, CHERYL

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POLITICIANS B
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hent and arts and culture portfo-
lib& for {he ANC'a natiomal
committee. Carolus is assured ol a
high position on the organisationâ\200\231s
list of nominees for the constitu-
tional assembly and a mirdsterial
posilion in any ANC-led govern-
ment.

A leacher by profession. Carolus
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ship group.

CASSIM, FAROUK

By switching from Solidanily
in the House of Delegates to
the [FP early (his year, Cas-
sim salvaged his political carecr
from the throes of death Eager {or
Indian votes. Chiel Mangosuthu
Butheled Immediately appointed
Cassim (0 the IFP central commit-
tee, tregotiating team and clection
committee.

Cassim is breaking new
for the [FP, canvassing for (ndian
support and establis contact
with potential fundcr!;ui;lglm Arab
wurd. If Buthelezi contesis and
wins elections. he Is likely to
reward the suave Cassim with a

top post In government.

CHASKALSON, ARTHUR
eminent and widedy
respected advocate is tp,

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Homal court and Is even a front-
runner fot is presidency. He
recently retired afler 15 years as
foundtpg direcior of the Legal
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Rowan Cronje .. feisty warrior for lost causes

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CHIKANE, FRA%

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-president of the Nationg)
Olympic Spurts Committes
: (Nocsa), member of the Com.
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GERWEL, GERT
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: minister under 5 new govern.
ment, Gerwel assumesd the
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of the Urdversity of the Western

Cape in 1987 and immediately
statured his intention of turning
R into an intellectual home of the
left. While these words would later
return to haunt him, he ended up
in creating significant space for his party
opposition (especially during the 1970s). She resigned
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
primary school before being sent to a
boarding school by parents who
refused to allow their impecunious
children 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. Mirens has kept
and earned a doctorate in international
development studies from the University of

Stratford of Cosatu's Economic
and Social Development
committee in the African National
Congress's
Research Group, and

in the AD Ad Hoc

official in Tan.
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the IFP do little to
hide their dislike of Peigate, com-
plaining that he holds too much

over IFP president for fools gladly

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Demotratïc Party has the policies to
" @ encourage economic growth
Â® create jobs
Â® lower taxes
- @ improve education and healh care
@ protect human righls
3 t;; â\200\234Â® give government back to the peopis
If you think aboui Â\$Â¢
You're a Demoerat

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For more Information
on the DP contact:
(011) 394-6425 / (011) 836-9541
(031) 3094920 / (0331) 42-7692
: (021) 45-1420 1041) 52.1770
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Active In politics siuce student
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M for Lichienbnrg n 1970. Stx
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deputy minister of develapment
ated and in 1979 was promcted to_

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HEYNS, JOHAN
secssor of the Dutch
Reformed Church. hels a
teading Agure I the church
Frown ag the Natoral Party at
He was borm In 1928 on a farm
Int the Free State and educated 71
Polchefstroom ard In Amsterdam.
fe became wodaalor of the
church at 2 arudal synod i 1986:
fed by Heyns and others, ke
chrurch moved sl tly away
fror It pad. admutting apay theid
may not have been a good idea.
The â\200\234road to Damassâ\200\235 conves-
sion of this ntensely political gea-
ture took 25 years. Siili, participa-
tkon In the ecwgnendeal movement
has largety bect: denied bis cdinirch
because of s sparthedd Hes.
Heyirs will retire at the end of the
year from a profcссорship at the
University of Pretorta but will on-
tirrue with his irvotverperd In â\200\234cul-
{ural organtsationsâ\200\235.
Those admitted (o are the Fed-

eraste van Afrikaanse Kul
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Akadcmie vir Welerssap en Kuns.
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A friend of the lale Chitls Hand
and of Neleon Mandela, bx has
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He rose swiftly in (he military, from
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JORDAN, PALLD
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thinker Insde the ANC bul
vuiside the SACP. He has

lmpeccable leftwing credentials,
bul has always boen stroogly oritl-

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feroely Independent thinking has
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e Cï¬\201ï¬\202y 1980 However, s
toiclectual lendership = irale-
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Jordan comes from an irferscly
political Eamily, with both parents
lt i the Non-European
Unity Moverment. Since receiving
history degrees from the University
of Wiscons=in ard the London
Schoot of Ecomomic, he has
worked for Uhe ANC in various
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urlon in e country, but will leave

Mayekiso is also the president of

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He spearheaded the foruiation of

conumnittees to oppost local coun-

Mayekiso (45) Is also a oibral

MBEKI, THABO

of the African NaUonal Con
gress leadership, Mbekl

when he was eleclcd natioral
chalrmean

His diplomatic experience, polid-
cal acumen, and per-

most frequent criticlsm of bim: as

ts an ANC

leadership losing touch with the

grassroots.)

Mbeki's

Isan

Govan Mbeki), academia (MA in
economics from Sussex University)
and military

Until in 1970 He left the country
in 1961 after a short spell in the
underground and, after his stud-
ies, represented the ANC in Lon-
don, Botswana, Swaziland,

and Lusaka He became best

known as president Oliver Tambo's .

(right-hand man and was frequent -
likely the ANC's most visible diplomat -

but face. -

As head of the ANC Information
department and later International

department, he played a key role -

the international campaigns of the
1980s He returned in 1990 to be
part of the ANC's Groote Schuur
talks team. He 19 51.

(in the Soviet

Special supplement to
The Weekly Mail & Guardian,
October 1993

degrees from the University of Fort
Hare, and an MB, ChB from the
University of Natal, Mdletsi (61) is
one of many senior IFP leaders
who received their early political
training from the African National

: he was a member of the
ANC Youth League from 1950 to
1960 and duly joined the IFP in
1975, :

MEIRING, GEORGE

It is not without irony that the

new chief of the South African

Force, who takes office

next month, will oversee some of
the most momentous in
the history of the South African
military. With a reputation as an un-
hindered of the
African National and it

military wing, he will be responsible for the integration of thousands of Umkhonto 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 advantage.

MCCAULEY, RAY

He has risen from an almost unknown bodybuilder, who left school in Standard Eight and came third in the 1974 Mr Universe competition. to a Pentecostal clergyman with political doubts. His one-congregation church, Rhema, has one of the largest Sunday congregations in the country and is noted for its belief that all the sins of the world, including apartheid and poverty, would

be healed by fervent prayer.

His Union 1 non-radical,

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. E

MDALALOSE, 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

tions. In bilateral talks with par-

ties, the FP national chairman has

consistently taken a moderate line, often to be overruled by his principals in Uudidi :

A medical doctor, Mdalalose has served in the KwaZulu government since 1978 and is close to

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Party.

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the largÃst and hitherto pobtically
most section of the mill-
tary. Bul orrce the transition has
been completed, an ANC-led gov-
ernmient 15 lkely to ease him out In
favour of a gentÃyal with stronger
democratic credentiats.

MEVER, ROELF o .
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has come tnio the public
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Codesa [I. Both are lewyers, bul

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It also led {0 accumatiotss by
Meyer's more copsetvative cabinet
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Free State â\200\224 where be
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Rapportryera.

Meyer (46 wae Herded to pariia-
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miniater of defence (from szgm!,
1991 o May 1992} was by

allegabons that he was not accepted -
ed by the Defence Force's tough
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PUUTlle\NS

MLABA, ZIBUSE
5 the only Zulu chkl whotsa
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 demon-
strate Zulu support for the Transi-
tional Executive Council and the
April 27 elections.

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

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

At 38, he is also the Natal secre-
tary of the Congress of Traditional
leaders of South Africa (Contrale-
&al

judicial office
MODISE, JOE

fikhonto weSizwe's com-

mander since 1985, Modise

has been praised for his pro-
fessionatism by all sides in
the integration of the
armed wing into the South African
Defence Force, including top SADF
generals. Despite never having
commanded large forces, he is

likely to be = major player in the
future infantry.

Born in Johannesburg, Johannes-
burg, in 1929, Modise has led a
life of militancy which took him
from resistance to the Sophisticated
Terror via the reason trial to
participation in MK's first acts of
sabotage. He received military

training in Czechoslovakia and the
USSR, and was heavily involved in the
planning and execution of MK
operations, including the Wankie
campaign and the strategy of
armed struggle. He was arrested in 1976
" He came in for military training
recently by the Motsuerryan Com-
mission of torture at ANC
tamps, but (his looks unlikely to
affect his future role

SOQONA, STANLEY

was a 30-year-old head of the
-8 Methodist Church was con-
verted to Christianity while in
solitary confinement and a
three-year sentence in 1971 in
Island for Pan Africanist Congress
activities.

He is also vice-chairman of the
National Peace Committee and

one of the Boy Scouts of
South Africa. Both these positions
have put him in a position where
he has been able to argue effec-
tively for the cause of peace and
negotiations despite calls within
the church and other groupings for
a more radical approach. He is an
influential voice for peace and is
more able than most church lead-
ers to communicate with radical
leftwing lobbies.

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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
firstly 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.

NEMADZIVHANANS, 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's national organiser has all

the makings of a rising star. a

sharp mind, charisma, youth and

| powerful oratory.

A former South African Student 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

HGUBANE, BEN

e kwaZulu governme^{nt}\200\231s
l chief negotiator at Kempton

Park. Ngubane was given the task of breaking the deadlock in bilateral discussions with the government\200\231s 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 a\200\234constructive\204ç. 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,

NKUMNLU, WISEMAN
l\202\21 former principal and vice-chancellor of the University of Transkei was appointed chief executive of the Independent

so convincingly occupied by 7
Many.

Ngakula's biography parallels Hanlon's in many ways. Both were born into devastatingly poor backgrounds in the eastern Cape : attending mission schools. Later, Ngakula took over the African National Congress underground - built by Hanlon in Lesotho. But do not see him as a carbon copy or 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 an socialism's realities, Ngakula, who spent time in the USSR and East Germany, says: a\200\234We believe it was bureaucracy which killed socialism.\200\235 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.\200\235

PATEL, EBRAHIM

"1\he youthful general secretary
of the Southern African ' + ~
Clothing and Textile Workers'
Union and co-architect of the - 2
National Economic Forum cut hisâ\200\235
labour teeth while in high school, ~
where he ran a studentsâ\200\231 support -
committee for striking pasta work-
ers, -

He started a trade union for ve-
versily workers while at thÃ© Uni-
versity 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 * ~ Â°
years, :

He convened one of the first
Industry summits in 1991, where
he presented well-received plans
for the restructuring of the cloth- *

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 :
being regarded as the mili-
tant voice of the Young
Turks Inside the Consecu-
tive Party, Pienaar was one of the
main contenders for the role of
deputy leader of the CP earlier this
year in

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

o N e |

Cyril Ramaphosa _ breaking
the deadlocks

POTGIETER, PIETER
CORMELIUS

53-year-old moderator of
the Dutch Reformed Church
has a reputation for quiet,

homest ared straightforward con-
servatism. 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 h for the positions o
places on the SABC board when he
said he had resigned from the
Afrikaner Broedebond. He was
appointed to the SABC board.

PRUIS, ANDRE
the sceptics, this general is
" Just another song and-dance
man, public relations
rabbithood out of the hat while the
vast body of the police force contin-
ue to act like thugs in uniform. To
others, he represents the fisture of
the South African Police - a com-
munity policing, a service to the
population which will, with time

ool

OUILALA I o8 A vhbess taan - s -y
elections, hoping that it would lead
to free political activity and votes
for the ANC,

Bul Radebe is imaged as a man of
peace has been questioned at
Umes, 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 profes-
sion, having graduated with a
master's degree in law at the
Ludwig University in East Ger-
many in 1981. While he was on a
mission to South Africa in 1986.
Radebe was arrested and sen-
tenced to 10 years on terrorism
and other charges. He was
released in 1990. Radebe is also a
member of the South African Com-
munist Party

RAMAPHOSA, CYRIL

amaphosa has risen fast (o
the number two position in
the African National Con-

gress alliance, playing a key role
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 Roell Meyer has been impor-
tant in breaking negotiation dead-
locks
aphosa comes from a black

consciousness background, Born
to modest beginnings, he studied
law at the University of the North
and later Unisa, and held position:
in the South African Students' Organi-
sation. Black People's Con-
vention and the Students' Christ-
ian Movement. He spent long peri-
ods 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 organ-
isation 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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4 a swilch of career and
e SADF. In 1956 he
sgloned as an anï¬\202lm'

chief of the army, a
d in Lhe mid-1970s,
sonally took par In scv-
incursions inlo Ango-
e birth to his reputation
'g general
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b SADF. He retired ve
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LPNAGEL,

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Commonwealth Ã©olieagues, will
play a key role In the run-up to
clections â\200\224 not just defuging situ-
attions which threaten the peace, .
but also training local peacekeep-
era such as monliors and mar- -
shals.

WESSELS, LEON

Â¢ oniy cabmel member seen

on TV lifing a clenched fist

and shouting â\200\234Vivaâ\204¢ (he shouted â\200\234Viva negotiationsâ\200\235 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 KwaZulu-Natal, 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 walled

deved off on mid-level issues

Before the present round of negotiations, Wessels took on the mighty farming industry. finally

MMM@tmir-\201cxj oconliict o ensure employees' rights for

farmworkers.

YENGONI, TONY SITHEMBISO
genl was Accused Number
One in one of the country's
last major political trials
before political organisations were
unbanned in 1990. At the time
Ye, now 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
{n Botswana, Zambia dand Angola
and earried a diploma In aocinl 5ol
ence afier studying ird Moscow
before becoming v secretary
of the South African Council of
Trade Unions, based in Lesotho,
from witete he was sent lo Lhe
Western Cape to take over the MK
commard.

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

PRâ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

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ZUMA, JACDS

lose eolleapues tell the story
Crxf Zuma's long uphill battle
against tlifteracy and the
tack of any formal schooling a< an
fredication of his Inteliipence,
tenacity apd fexibility, alts which
aomitinue to serve him well as
African Natlonal Congress deputy
general secrelary. As one of the
most sentor fpures of Zulu origin
within the organisalion, hels
regarded as having a plvotal role lo
attempts to break Inkatha's stran-
ehold over King Coodwill
Faelithint and traditional leaders
ard through them rural Zulus.
Although no lopger formally
Invotved with ANC inteliigence,
which he headed tn extle, Zuma
{50} Is said to have kept several
onal information networks
Fzslngâ\200\230 He is favoured for high office
5y Nelsou Mar 1 1
h),â\200\231the Molsuenvane Commission
of his fallure to prevent human
rights abuses in the camps In
Angola may prove a sl o
hlock to his further polltica

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| ZWELITHINI, GOODWILL

seal an the royal throne al

Nongoma Is not what it

used to be. 3s the eighth
monarch of the Zulu nation found
oul the hard way afier bis uncie
Chief Mangnsuthu Butbelezi.
wrote the monarchy out of politics
In both the kwaZulu and Inkalha
constitutions

Zwelithin's flirtation with rebel
Hlonkhele so vexed his powerful elder
subject that, in 1979, Ruthless
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
Buthelesi threatened to cut his
stipend and, by 1982, Zwelithin
was convinced he had no future
and certainly no income â\200\224 without
his uncle.

In the 1980s, as tensions flared
between Inkatha and the United
Democratic Front, Zwelithin
found himself increasingly dragged
through â\200\234the heat and dust of polit-
icsâ\200\235 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, Zwelithin has become
the IFP's most closely guarded
asset â\200\224 and an essential key to
electoral support among rural
Zulus.

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available in English, Afrikaans Zulu,

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