

A 2945

OAU may fund ANC, PAC voter education

21.6.93
CAIRO. — Special voter education funds might be given to the ANC and PAC, if the Organisation of African Unity accepts recommendations by its liberation committee.

A report issued at the weekend suggests a fund be established to channel money directly to the ANC and the PAC for voter education.

The two organisations already receive continuing support from the OAU's liberation fund which has a shortfall of nearly \$15 million (about R45m).

ANC representative Mr Stanley Mabizela said he had emphasised the importance of support for the election. — Sapa

Armed struggle issue casts shadow over talks

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. A show-down over a declaration on the suspension of the armed struggle looms tomorrow at the 26-party negotiating council at the World Trade Centre.

Pan Africanist Congress negotiator Patricia de Lille said yesterday that the PAC would not sign the declaration but was prepared to sign an amended form of the document.

Constitutional Development Minister and chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer served notice on Friday that the government would tomorrow urge the council to take a decision on the participation of parties refusing to commit themselves to the declaration.

The declaration, which flowed from the deadlocked talks between the PAC and

government, was discussed on Friday but a decision has been deferred until tomorrow.

The government is insisting that the PAC suspend its armed struggle, while the organisation has said it will discuss only the "mutual cessation of hostilities".

The declaration will not only involve the PAC and government, and may be signed by all 26 parties.

The declaration states that parties will "commit/recommit ourselves to seize/suspend any form of hostilities, arms struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives and in the resolution of political differences".

The PAC amendment added: "... parties with armed formations, including the regime, to meet within days and with a view of reaching an agreement on what happens to the soldiers

and weapons and the effective means to supervise compliance with the cessation from all sides".

The three meetings of the negotiating council last week struggled to gain momentum, but on Friday a more accommodating spirit prevailed.

In spite of a walkout by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) last Tuesday, negotiators discussed general constitutional principles, constitutional principles pertaining to regions and the right to self-determination.

The council will have to decide within the next four days on two vital issues which caused the walkout — whether the transition should be a single or a two-phased process and Cosag's demand that the multiparty negotiating forum draft a final constitution which will be put to a referendum.



Mr Nelson Mandela (left) and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at one of their rare meetings.

Mandela, Buthelezi to meet on Wednesday

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The meeting which violence-torn South Africa has been waiting for will be held near here on Wednesday.

In a dramatic breakthrough last night, church leaders announced that African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi were to talk face-to-face for only the second time in three years.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is flying home today from Europe to co-chair the meeting with the presiding bishop of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

The meeting was to have been held at Bishopscourt, Archbishop Tutu's official residence in Cape Town, but the two parties suggested the new venue because, to save time, it would be more convenient to hold it near Johannesburg.

It will be the second meeting since Mr Mandela was released from prison in February 1990. The first was on January 29, 1991 in Durban.

Since then the country has been in a spiral of violence, which has seen hundreds killed in clashes between Inkatha and ANC followers.

But political rivalry between the two parties goes back about eight years, during which an estimated 15 000 people have been killed.

Archbishop Tutu called on all Anglican bishops to hold a prayer vigil on Wednesday.

The Anglican leader leaves Oslo today and is expected to arrive in Johannesburg tomorrow.



The Argus

LIBERTY
AND PRESS
FREEDOM

Editor-in-Chief:
A P DRYSDALE

Deputy Editor:
J C B HOBDAV

122 St Georges Mall,
Cape Town, 8000
Telephone: 488 4911

A vital meeting for peace in SA

IT is indeed welcome news that, at long last, a meeting will take place on Wednesday between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Much of the credit for this must go to church leaders Bishop Desmond Tutu and Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

In spite of their repeated calls for peace and occasional expressions of a willingness to meet, the distinct impression has been of the two men avoiding each other — since January last year — while playing politics in the negotiating process.

There is little doubt that the leaders of the ANC and Inkatha are two of the most important role players in this process. It is an inescapable fact that most of the bloodshed in the country has occurred between their followers, especially in Natal and in the Transvaal.

It is therefore urgently necessary for them to discuss issues such as free political activity and above all the need for tolerance of the views of others. Also up for discussion are the thorny issues of the public display of weapons, the fencing of hostels, and the position of Umkhonto We Sizwe and the Kwazulu police.

There is no time for political point scoring or attributing blame to each other or each other's movements. The overriding need is to stop the violence and to get the different groups to be tolerant of each other's points of view — and to get this message across to all their followers.

PAC's moment of truth

THE Pan African Congress will remain in the multi-party negotiations as long as its participation is in the interests of the country, says its president, Mr Clarence Makwetu.

If he and his followers are sincere, the PAC will sign the declaration tomorrow committing all 26 organisations at the talks to suspending the armed struggle and other forms of violence.

With an election likely within 10 months, it is increasingly urgent to create conditions that will permit a free and fair test of strength in which the broadest spectrum of political opinion is represented. Recently, there have been encouraging signs that this can be achieved, but there are elements which continue to sabotage progress towards this ideal.

21/6/93

White union defiant over an ANC government

Daily News

JOHANNESBURG: A white South African communications and electrical union has warned it will not accept the "handing over" of its facilities to an ANC government.

The Postel Union, which says it represents white post office, telecommunications and electrical workers, warned that many of the country's strategic companies were unable to function without its white technicians.

It told President F.W. de Klerk: "Do not tempt us to demonstrate our abilities.

"We will not accept the handing over of all our structures and the Afrikaner nation to a communist-influenced Mandela government," Postel said in a statement.—Sapa

16/1/11

16/1/93

ANC leader tells commission of execution and beatings in camps

N1 MERCURY 21/6/93

JOHANNESBURG—A man had been executed and two others beaten to death by exiled members of the ANC, the organisation's deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma told the Mot-suenyane commission into abuses in ANC camps at the weekend.

He testified that Jabu Zikalala had been executed after being sentenced to death by an ANC tribunal. Mr Zikalala had supplied the SA government with sketches and photographs which had led to the bomb-

Mercury Correspondent

ing of the ANC's Katenge camp in Angola.

Mr Zuma, who served as ANC intelligence chief from 1987 to 1991, said he was aware that Thabo Twala had been beaten to death in the "Sun City" jail in Zambia in 1989 and a man known as "Mahlatini" had died as a result of a severe beating at Pango camp in Angola in the early 1980s.

The camp's commander, known as "Mahamba", who

had participated in the beating of Mahlatini, had subsequently been exposed as an enemy agent, he said.

But 11 others, alleged to have died while in the ANC's exile structures, were alive and well.

Mr Zuma handed the commission a list of their current occupations and whereabouts, including some of their addresses and telephone numbers. One of those listed was the ANC's chief representative in Japan, Mr Jerry Matsila.

16/1/11

Commission told of ANC camp killings

B/day RAY HARTLEY 21-6-92
A MAN was executed and two others beaten to death by exiled ANC members, ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma told the Motsuenyane commission into abuses in ANC camps on Friday.

Zuma testified that Jabu Zikalala had been executed after being sentenced to death by an ANC tribunal. Zikalala had supplied the SA government with sketches and photographs which led to the bombing of the ANC's Katenge camp in Angola.

Zuma, who served as ANC intelligence chief from 1987 to 1991, said he was aware that Thabo Twala had been beaten to death in the "Sun City" jail in Zambia in 1989 and a man known as "Mahlatini" had died as a result of a severe beating at Pango camp in Angola in the early 1980s.

The camp's commander, known as "Mahamba", had participated in the beating of Mahlatini and had subsequently been exposed as an enemy agent, he said. But 11 others, alleged to have died while in the ANC's exile structures, were alive. Zuma handed the commission a list of their current occupations and whereabouts.

He said he had compiled a second list of 17 people who had last been seen when they had been infiltrated into SA by the ANC. "We believe that someone has to account for these people and that someone is the SA government," he said.

Former security policeman Capt Dirk Coetzee had told the ANC that police had "burned people to ashes" to get rid of evidence and to avoid taking them to court, he said. The ANC had infiltrated the police in various centres and had used police information to expose several government infiltrators.

Goodluck Mpungose, who was arrested by the ANC as an infiltrator, had lured Natal UDF leaders out of hiding during the state of emergency by offering to sprinkle them with herbs that would protect them against the police, he said.

The commission heard evidence for the last time on Friday. It will sift through 2 000 pages of evidence from 45 witnesses, and report directly to ANC president Nelson Mandela.

16/11/11

EMGUNGUNDLOVU. -
Umnikazi wesitolo esida-
yisa izinhlobo ezahluke-
ne zokudla usecele uku-
ba alesule icala lokweba
abelibeki umkhuzi wom-
butho woMkhonto weSi-
zwe eMgungundlovu
ngesonto eledlule.

Lokhu kudalulwe
ngolwesiHlanu yimene-
nja-jikelele yakwaPick 'n
Pay eNatal, uMnuz. Mi-
ke Limbouris.

UMnuz. Ntela Skho-
sana, umkhuzi wombu-
tho woMkhonto mapha-
kathi neNatal, ubekwe
icala emuva kwesehlaka-
lo esenzeke ngeSonto
eledlule kwaPick 'n Pay
kuLongmarket Street,
eMgungundlovu.

UMnuz. Skhosana
uvele enkantolo isikha-

Wesula
icala

shana, kodwa akukho
macala afundelwe wona,
ngokusho kommeli we-
ANC, uMnuz. John Jef-
freys.

UMnuz. Jeffreys uthe
uMnuz. Skhosana use-
mangalele unogada ose-
benza kulesisitolo ngeca-
la lokushaya.

UMnuz. Skhosana
ubonakale evuvukele iso
langasokunxele. Yilesise-
hlakalo esenze ukuba ku-
bekhona izingxoxo pha-
kathi kukaPick 'n Pay ne-
ANC.

UMnuz. Limbouris
uthe bayadabuka ngalesi-
sehlakalo wathi ngenxa
yalokhu bayaxolisa.

Cape Times 21 June 1993

Workers' role in talks hailed

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa on Saturday hailed workers for helping to propel the negotiation process forward.

Addressing an SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union conference, Mr Ramaphosa said: "The central role workers have played in mass struggles linked to the negotiations process, has driven the process forward."

On agreements reached between trade unions and employers to meet workers' immediate

needs, he warned: "There is a danger that agreements reached today could inhibit a future democratic society from introducing measures aimed at far-reaching transformation."

Mr Ramaphosa said a programme of socio-economic transformation should be hammered out in consultation with other mass formations.

The programme would succeed only if it was mass-driven, given

opposition from "all sorts of hostile forces which want it to fail, both locally and internationally".

He said there was no contradiction in a strongly democratic and independent trade union deciding to support a political party.

Any union that distanced itself from the key political issues and actors gave up its ability to significantly influence the political direction the country took. — Sapa

Negotiators selling out — Winnie

JOHANNESBURG. — Newly elected South African National Civics Organisation chairwoman Mrs Winnie Mandela attacked the multi-party negotiations forum on Saturday, saying it lacked democratic participation as practised by trade unions and civic organisations.

Mrs Mandela was addressing a National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa regional congress in Germiston.

"Negotiations will always be discredited and viewed with suspicion until the people on the ground are involved," she said.

"I am not opposed to negotiations in principle, but I am opposed to the selling of my people in the name of negotiations. Negotiations must be representative of the feelings of the people."

Mrs Mandela said political organisations must obtain grassroots mandates before changing strategies.

"If the mood of the people is 'Kill the Boer, kill the farmer', it does not help for their leaders to try and say 'Sorry Baas ... what they really mean is 'Kiss the Boer, kiss the farmer'."

"If the leaders do this they are not representing their followers, but their own selfish hunger for power," she said.

The ANC recently withdrew the con-

troversial chant, after whites complained it was inciting racial murder.

Mrs Mandela said South Africa was threatened by poverty and economic deprivation, high levels of violence and crime, and the lack of involvement of ordinary people in the resolution of the political situation.

● A group of women led by the suspended executive committee of the ANC PWV Women's League yesterday called for the reinstatement of the committee and its leader, Mrs Mandela.

Calling themselves "concerned" women of South Africa, the group gave July 4 as the date by which the committee should be "unconditionally" reinstated.

In a press conference at the Mandela's Orlando West home, spokeswoman Ms Nompumelelo Madlala said that should the committee not be reinstated on that date, the group would call for a national congress of the Women's League.

The committee was suspended in March last year following a leadership row.

Ms Madlala said the participants at the negotiations were not "communicative" with the masses, who only got information about the deliberations through the media.

Mrs Mandela was not present at the briefing, but had apparently earlier attended the group's meeting. — Sapa

2 Cape Times, Monday, June 21 1993

FW: 'Black vote surprise'

PIETERSBURG. — The National Party had the third largest support base in the black community and was going to produce a "tremendous surprise" in the elections, President F W de Klerk said at the weekend.

He and Transvaal party leader Mr Pik Botha enthused over voter support at a media conference following a mostly black

NP rally at the showgrounds here.

The crowd of about 6 000 had been a "wonderful kick-off" to show that the NP was truly a national party, said Mr De Klerk.

"This was a very important day." Black support for the NP had been written off by many of the commentators.

"But we are convinced black support (for the NP) is growing. There is a great potential to unlock."

This potential was based among moderates who wanted peace, progress and opportunity.

"They realise those who threaten you today will run rampant with the lives of South Africans tomorrow." — Sapa

Cape Times 21 June 1993

Support up, say PAC

PAC officials claim growing support in the Western Cape after their June 16 rally drew almost double the audience that attended an ANC gathering.

According to estimates, the crowd at the Khayelitsha PAC rally, which was addressed by Mr Benny Alexander, was 10 000-strong while about 5 000 people turned up for an ANC rally addressed by Dr Allan Boesak at the Guguletu stadium.

PAC organising co-ordinator for the Western Cape Mr Sisa Mhambi claimed yesterday that PAC support was growing significantly in coloured areas as well.

Mr Mhambi ascribed the PAC's support in Khayelitsha to the ANC's "failure to address civic issues" there, and the fact that "they (the ANC) have been fighting against each other, and people don't like that".



MOKABA SPEAKS ... ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba addresses about 2 000 people outside the Guguletu Civic Centre yesterday afternoon.

Picture: FANIE JASON

Call for interim local govt

JOHANNESBURG. — An urgent call for interim local committees whose functions should be determined by the new Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF) was made at a weekend summit involving 200 delegates from the African National Congress PWV regional alliance and the SA National Civics Organisation.

Delegates at the summit decided that only a constituent assembly should draw up a new constitution for local government.

It also wants local government negotiating forums to make recommendations on constitutional matters only to the constituent assembly and the Local Government Negotiating Forum.

"All present and future negotiation forums such as the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber, Pretoria Metropolitan Chamber and Vaal Metropolitan Chamber should be restructured along the lines of the LGNF." — Sapa

MANDELA TO MEET BUTHELEZI

Church leaders in the chair

CAPE TOWN. — Inkatha Freedom Party president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, will meet for talks chaired by Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Archbishop Desmond Tutu on Wednesday.

Archbishop Tutu will be returning from Europe for the talks.

Bishop Mogoba, presiding bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, and Bishop Michael Nuttall, Dean of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, said in a joint statement that the meeting would take place in the Johannesburg area at a venue still to be announced.

The two leaders were initially invited to meet at Bishopscoort in Cape

Town, but their parties suggested that in view of time constraints, it would be more convenient to hold the meeting in the Johannesburg area. The church leaders had agreed to this.

"This meeting is the result of much hard work by many people in both the political parties involved. We should like to place

TO PAGE 2

Leaders to meet

FROM PAGE 1

on record our appreciation for the sense of urgency with which both parties have treated the matter.

"We also issue an appeal to all people of faith for their prayers for the meeting."

ANC spokesman, Carl Niehaus, said the meeting was long in the offing and there had been a lot of preparation.

He was unable to indicate the agenda, but stressed the issues of free political activity throughout South Africa, the carrying of dangerous weapons and the fencing of hostels "would clearly be under discussion".

Asked about these issues, IFP Central Committee member, Mr Walt-

er Felgate, said they were old politics and Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela should get on with things that really mattered.

These included improving the relationship between the two leaders and the organisations, as well as finding a way forward at negotiations, he said.

"The agenda is still being discussed and has not yet been finalised," Methodist Church spokesman, Ruth Coggin, said.

Archbishop Tutu's spokesman, Mr John Allen, said, however: "The objective is peace."

National Peace Committee chairman, Mr John Hall, said the meeting was a major step in the right direction. "It clearly shows the power of the church in South Africa," he said. — Sapa.

Negotiators selling out — Winnie

JOHANNESBURG. — Newly elected South African National Civics Organisation chairwoman Mrs Winnie Mandela attacked the multi-party negotiations forum on Saturday, saying it lacked democratic participation as practised by trade unions and civic organisations.

Mrs Mandela was addressing a National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa regional congress in Germiston.

"Negotiations will always be discredited and viewed with suspicion until the people on the ground are involved," she said.

"I am not opposed to negotiations in principle, but I am opposed to the selling of my people in the name of negotiations. Negotiations must be representative of the feelings of the people."

Mrs Mandela said political organisations must obtain grassroots mandates before changing strategies.

"If the mood of the people is 'Kill the Boer, kill the farmer', it does not help for their leaders to try and say 'Sorry Baas... what they really mean is 'Kiss the Boer, kiss the farmer'."

"If the leaders do this they are not representing their followers, but their own selfish hunger for power," she said.

The ANC recently withdrew the con-

troversial chant, after whites complained it was inciting racial murder.

Mrs Mandela said South Africa was threatened by poverty and economic deprivation, high levels of violence and crime, and the lack of involvement of ordinary people in the resolution of the political situation.

● A group of women led by the suspended executive committee of the ANC PWV Women's League yesterday called for the reinstatement of the committee and its leader, Mrs Mandela.

Calling themselves "concerned" women of South Africa, the group gave July 4 as the date by which the committee should be "unconditionally" reinstated.

In a press conference at the Mandela's Orlando West home, spokeswoman Ms Nompumelelo Madlala said that should the committee not be reinstated on that date, the group would call for a national congress of the Women's League.

The committee was suspended in March last year following a leadership row.

Ms Madlala said the participants at the negotiations were not "communicative" with the masses, who only got information about the deliberations through the media.

Mrs Mandela was not present at the briefing, but had apparently earlier attended the group's meeting. — Sapa

2 Cape Times, Monday, June 21 1993

FW: 'Black vote surprise'

PIETERSBURG. — The National Party had the third largest support base in the black community and was going to produce a "tremendous surprise" in the elections, President FW de Klerk said at the weekend.

He and Transvaal party leader Mr Pik Botha enthused over voter support at a media conference following a mostly black

NP rally at the showgrounds here.

The crowd of about 6 000 had been a "wonderful kick-off" to show that the NP was truly a national party, said Mr De Klerk.

"This was a very important day." Black support for the NP had been written off by many of the commentators.

"But we are convinced black support (for the NP) is growing. There is a great potential to unlock."

This potential was based among moderates who wanted peace, progress and opportunity.

"They realise those who threaten you today will run rampant with the lives of South Africans tomorrow." — Sapa

Cape Times 21 June 1993

Workers' role in talks hailed

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa on Saturday hailed workers for helping to propel the negotiation process forward.

Addressing an SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union conference, Mr Ramaphosa said: "The central role workers have played in mass struggles linked to the negotiations process has driven the process forward."

On agreements reached between trade unions and employers to meet workers' immediate

needs, he warned: "There is a danger that agreements reached today could inhibit a future democratic society from introducing measures aimed at far-reaching transformation."

Mr Ramaphosa said a programme of socio-economic transformation should be hammered out in consultation with other mass formations.

The programme would succeed only if it was mass-driven, given

opposition from "all sorts of hostile forces which want it to fail, both locally and internationally".

He said there was no contradiction in a strongly democratic and independent trade union deciding to support a political party.

Any union that distanced itself from the key political issues and actors gave up its ability to significantly influence the political direction the country took. — Sapa

THE constant rupturing of SA's democracy talks may have as much to do with ignorance as it does with political principle.

SA's problems are unique but not very unique. They have been confronted in Spain and they have been solved. South Africans know little about Spain, and in all the effort to redesign SA only one man, a lonely Nationalist MP, has actually come to Madrid. He stayed two days.

But as Mangosuthu Buthelezi's representatives harrumphed out of Tuesday's talks in Kempton Park, a political replica of the Zulu leader (only this time Catalan and white) was preparing to be asked to help Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez form a government. Without him, the country can probably not be governed for long.

Spain is a prosperous, safe, stable, democracy now, but in 1976 and 1977 — soon after the dictator Francisco Franco had died — it was a cauldron of hatred and fear.

If people were split into those who had supported Franco and flourished under his rule, and those who had fought, or whose families had fought, on the losing side in the civil war at the end of the '30s. They had been discriminated against, and regions ill-treated by Franco, particularly the Basque country and Catalonia, were threatening secession. Similarities with SA today are imperfect, but compelling nevertheless.

Spanish transition from dictatorship to democracy was long too. Franco died in November 1975 and the country approved a new constitution at the end of 1978. That document, drawn up in just the atmosphere of haste and uncertainty SA now hunkers down under, has proved to be a powerful glue.

Spaniards were ambitious for their country, but even at the start they had figured out something that is still not clear in Johannesburg: it is not realistic to try to create a federal state out of a centralised one. Feder-

al states are formed by more or less equal partners (witness Australia, the US and the former West Germany). Where the partnership is unequal or forced (witness Germany now with its poor eastern regions joined on, or the failing efforts to create a federal Europe around the EC), economic divergences simply make union impossible.

But with Catalonia and the Basques threatening to secede, the fathers of the Spanish constitution did what Spaniards always do when pressed. They judged it.

All 17 of the country's regions would be given autonomy, from Catalonia — the equivalent of, say, Natal — to the wine-growing region of La Rioja about as big as QwaQwa. The fudge is that not all the autonomous regions are equally autonomous. Catalonia, the Basque country, Galicia and Andalusia were given special treatment for being traditionally self-governing (and, in the case of Andalusia, for being big).

Statutes of autonomy of these four regions were negotiated in Madrid and voted on in regional referendums. Each is different. The Basques

collect their own taxes. The Catalans and the Basques both have police forces, though Basque police have wider powers.

The Andalusians have a massive health service. Through the '80s, as these regions grew into mature political entities, it became clear to the national government that they had to be taken care of politically as well. Barcelona got the 1992 Olympic Games. Seville in Andalusia held the World's Fair. Each cost the central government billions of dollars.

Smaller regions negotiated a separate form of self government under which powers would be transferred more slowly from the centre. But once again, some regions have spurred ahead, pressing for greater powers, while others (mostly the poorer) have clung to Madrid, asking for little power and lots of money. The point, though, is that democracy is well served and the system is fair and open. Jordi Pujol, leader of the Convergencia i Unió (CiU) party that runs Catalonia, does not have a God-

given right to power in the region. He has to fight for it at the ballot box.

There are elections to the autonomous parliaments every four years. In Catalonia, the CiU wins these most of the time, just as Inkatha would probably win in Natal. But it is often a close run thing with the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) of Prime Minister Gonzalez always a close second. But the CiU's loyalty is to its region. In national elections, the socialists usually collect more Catalan votes than Pujol.

If you put the PSOE and the CiU up against each other, the fit with the ANC and Inkatha is uncanny. The key to the success of the Spanish experiment is that Pujol would have to accept a PSOE victory in regional elections. And that, thanks to the money the central government threw at Barcelona for the Games, may just happen next time. Would Buthelezi allow an ANC government in Natal if it won an election there?

For his part, Pujol is about to collect a fat reward for playing by democratic rules. In the general election in June the PSOE lost its overall parliamentary majority in

Madrid. In the same election the CiU won 17 seats; just enough to restore Gonzalez's majority.

It has taken since 1978 for an election to deliver him this power-broking role, but Pujol is now preening himself in preparation for being called upon to help provide Spain with a stable government. In return, he will demand the earth and probably get it — more autonomy, a Catalan bank, the right to hold onto 15% of taxes raised in the region.

In the meantime, 16 other autonomous communities are rubbing their hands at the thought of a weakened central government depending on one of their kind for help at the national level. The whole process of regionalisation will be speeded up. This is going nowhere towards federalism, but who cares?

The Spanish model is flawed in an almost perfect way in that it recognises that people have local and regional loyalties but that some are just more powerful than others politically. Spaniards would argue that there is no reason why the Boland should not have autonomy, but that it would be silly to give it the same powers as Natal.

And all Spaniards, even those who use the threat of secession to squeeze more money out of Madrid, know the system works because the internal unity of the regions is brilliantly served by having a centre to complain about and blackmail.

SA already has the mix of powerful national and regional political parties to make adopting and adapting the Spanish model quite feasible.

But South Africans need to come to Spain in much bigger numbers and learn about it. And the Spanish embassy in Pretoria (*por favor!*) needs to get Pujol and his Basque and Andalusian colleagues out to SA quickly. They are already in the future and it works just fine.

C Bruce, the Financial Times correspondent in Madrid, grew up in Umtata.

Post-Franco Spain can teach SA a lot about regionalism

PETER BRUCE in Madrid

Bop condemns bid to destabilise education

MMABATHO. — The Bophuthatswana Government yesterday condemned the attempt by a group this weekend to encourage students and pupils to return to educational institutions before the end of the mid-year break.

This was clearly another element of the campaign announced recently by the African National Congress-alliance to destabilise Bophuthatswana and render the country ungovernable, it said in a statement from Mmabatho.

"(Students) should know that the leaders and instigators of this campaign are already qualified, are being well paid for what they are doing, and therefore have nothing personally to lose from these actions.

"These dark agents should have learnt by now that the Bophuthatswana authorities are simply not going to tolerate their brand of destabilisation." The statement was a public warning that any illegal action, including attempts

to occupy government property such as schools, "will be dealt with, with all the legal resources at our disposal".

The government said it had the overwhelming support of the community in this matter.

"The community is becoming increasingly angry at the current campaign to disrupt Bophuthatswana's proud and successful education system."

Bophuthatswana schools would remain closed for the mid-year

holiday up to July 13, it emphasised.

• Bophuthatswana Police blocked a march by ANC supporters on the South African Embassy on Saturday, and the government announced eight marchers had been arrested.

"Police reported that they had taken eight people in as a preventive measure during the course of the morning," the Bophuthatswana Government said in a statement. — Sapa.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Expel PAC

IT will be interesting to see whether the Pan Africanist Congress is kicked out of the multi-party negotiations tomorrow.

The government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, says the tactics of the PAC to negotiate and conduct an armed struggle at the same time can no longer be tolerated.

State President De Klerk told a passing out parade of police recruits in Pretoria on Friday that the negotiators of a new constitutional dispensation would insist that any political party which killed police and civilians should stop doing so if it wanted to be part of a negotiated settlement.

Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, said the government would have no other alternative but to press for the expulsion of the PAC from the talks if the movement did not lay down its arms.

The PAC, however, told the negotiating council it could not support a draft declaration which called for the immediate cessation of hostilities by all parties to the negotiations.

It tabled, instead, an amended resolution which insisted on a mutual cessation of hostilities once the council had agreed that a "legitimate government will be established through the election of a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution".

The PAC has resisted all pressure to end its armed struggle.

It has called for the mutual cessation of hostilities between itself and the government, as if the government, prime mover for a negotiated and peaceful settlement, is engaged in a war on the PAC, which is ridiculous.

The truth, of course, is that the PAC seeks political gain for itself by continuing the armed struggle.

It knows that the ANC is losing support among the radicalised youth because it has suspended its armed struggle in favour of a settlement.

The ANC leaders are smeared as sellouts.

A few months back, the government refused to talk to the PAC because of the attacks on Whites by its armed wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army.

This decision was rescinded so that the PAC could join the negotiations.

The police swooped recently on the PAC and APLA and there was a row over the arrests. This was taken up in the negotiating council, with Mr Kriel having to defend the crack-down.

The fact that specific charges have been made against at least 19 of the people arrested did not satisfy Mr Kriel's critics, who think nothing must be done that can affect the PAC's participation in the negotiations.

APLA is continuing to kill policemen — it claimed last week that 90 security force members had been slain this year — and to attack farmers and other civilians. This doesn't disturb Mr Kriel's critics.

As far as they are concerned, the PAC must be kept in the talks, no matter how many people APLA kills, which is a ridiculous state of affairs.

Mr Meyer told the council that a decision should be taken tomorrow on what to do with those parties who refused to endorse the declaration calling for the immediate cessation of hostilities.

The ANC's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, warned: "They (the PAC), should understand it as the last opportunity to get this declaration adopted."

PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, gave his answer at the weekend. The PAC, he said, would remain in the negotiations as long as its participation was in the interests of the country.

It would not be kicked out of the talks, he said.

He is obviously certain that whatever demands the government makes, the PAC will remain in the negotiation.

We hope he is wrong.

The government should seek the PAC's expulsion if it maintains its intransigence — and the ANC and its allies should support this move.

If the PAC is allowed to go on with its armed struggle, the declaration is meaningless.

It is time, then, to call the PAC to order and to demand that it suspend its armed struggle.

Chiefs, drums, dancers at new-style NP rally

Political Correspondent

PIETERSBURG. — South African history never recorded such events in the past, commented Gazankulu's new Chief Minister chief Samuel Nxumalo at a National Party rally on Saturday.

Indeed, few could argue.

Chiefs. African drums and traditional dancers, slick young drum majorettes, balloons and brassbands under the sunny new carnival colours of the National Party was a somewhat new experience for regular political camp followers.

Stranger still when

the day's festive events got off to a singing start by a few hundred black supporters waving the new NP poster flagettes to the rousing strains of Nkosi sikele iAfrika. And missing were the shining Mercedes cavalcades — President De Klerk and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha followed each other into the show-ground stadium on the open back of four-by-four pick-up trucks.

They were met by ululating youths and ample ladies in a variety of colours outdazzled only by the truck-load of balloons released over the crowd, each one issued with plastic de-

signer party buttons and a meal ticket.

Mr De Klerk was clearly revelling in the new politics of the Great North, as Mr Botha preferred to call it in his opening address.

The party had bussed the crowd in from all corners of Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda. At last count 85 buses, with more still on their way, organisers said.

The Mercedes brigade that came brought a college of chiefs from their traditional territories to attend a special meeting in a large exhibition hall before the start of the outdoor public rally. — Sapa.

Black NP support to be tremendous surprise: FW

PIETERSBURG. — The National Party had the third largest support base in the Black community and was going to produce a "tremendous surprise" in the elections. State President De Klerk said on Saturday.

He and Transvaal party leader Pik Botha enthused over voter support at a media conference following a mostly Black NP rally at the Pietersburg show grounds.

The approximately 6 000-strong crowd had been a "wonderful kick-off" to show that the NP was truly a national party, said Mr De Klerk.

"This was a very im-

portant day." Black support for the NP had been written off by many of the commentators.

"But we are convinced Black support (for the NP) is growing. There is a great potential to unlock."

This potential was based among moderates who wanted peace, progress and opportunity.

"They realise those who threaten you today will run rampant with the lives of South Africans tomorrow," Mr De Klerk said.

"The NP gives notice

today that what was started here will be repeated across the country."

The goal was to ensure that each and every voter knew, whatever any intimidator did, that when he entered the polling booth that his vote was secret.

"If we can ensure this, we give a tremendous surprise to those who think that the NP only has support in communities other than Black.

"We are the third biggest party among Black South Africans. After the

ANC it was only the IFP and the NP which showed double-figure percentage support in research results."

Mr Botha said the meeting was the largest, by more than three times, he had ever addressed in the Northern Transvaal. The second largest was broken up by the AWB in 1986.

The ANC's attempts over the past three days to intimidate supporters into staying away was only 10 to 15 percent effective, he said.

• The National Party saw an honourable place for traditional leaders in a new constitutional dispensation, State President De Klerk said.

"There is a new National Party that is growing by the day because it has support in each and every region of South Africa.

"It is a National Party because it embraces all the peoples of South Africa."

His speech came at the end of a long programme in which traditional dancing and traditional chiefs were mixed with enthusiastic addresses by community leaders and youths cheering "vivas" for Mr De Klerk and his party.

The State President addressed mostly local issues in his speech and said he had listened to the chiefs and the positions put by traditional leaders and believed the present situation had to be improved.

"There is an honourable place for traditional leaders in a new constitutional dispensation. We now have the opportunity to put right the mistakes of the past and we are prepared to do so."

— Sapa.

Natal farm workers shot dead

PIETERMARITZBURG. — Two people were killed and three others injured when gunmen opened fire on a Natal farmer taking his workers home on Friday night.

The two women farm workers killed at Phaa-theni near Richmond were Ngondeni Zunguu, 48, and Zotini Shabalala.

Patience Mpulo, 37, and Nikaani Mkhize, 27, suffered serious injuries and were still at Edendale Hospital.

Richmond farmer Robert Gemmell, 35, who was struck in the leg, was treated and discharged from a city hospital.

Police have made no arrests, but said the motive for the shooting was political. — Sapa.

ANC's election campaign soon to 'gain momentum'

Citizen Reporter

THE election campaign of the African National Congress, which officially began at the beginning of this month, would soon be gaining momentum, senior spokesman Cari Niehaus said yesterday.

The election campaign would follow the same lines as that of any other party now that the target date of April 27 next year had been established, Mr Niehaus said.

The ANC would "slightly modify" its logo and use a picture of its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, in the campaign.

The ANC's general council meeting, held in Munenberg, Cape Town, last week, took decisions on several important details following the National Executive Council meeting about two weeks ago.

Mr Niehaus said the campaign would be divided into several phases and would kick off with aspects such as voter education, personal house-to-house visits for

every possible voter in the country, and handing over policy documents to each of those potential voters.

"The broad framework has been established, but now the nuts and bolts have to be sorted out by workshops at regional level to get the necessary structures into place and seeing to it that they are working smoothly."

Regional co-ordinators and voting officers would be appointed to address the unique needs of their communities.

Phase One, broadly known as the preparation phase, commenced on June 1 and will last until August 31. Phase Two, which would incorporate the election campaign itself, would begin on September 1 and last until December 10 of this year.

• The ANC's Working Committees will today decide how best to implement the National Executive Committee's decision to ban the "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" chant.

ANC women's grouping wants Winnie back

A GROUP of women led by the suspended executive committee of the ANC PWV Women's League, yesterday called for the reinstatement of the committee and its leader, Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Calling themselves "concerned" women of South Africa, the group gave July 4 as the date by which the committee

should be "unconditionally" reinstated.

At a Press conference at the Mandela's Orlando West home, spokesman, Ms Nompumelelo Madlala, said that should the committee not be reinstated on that date, the group would call for a national congress of the Women's League.

The committee was suspended in March last year

following a leadership row.

"Mama Winnie has been cleared of all her charges by the court. We therefore call for her return and that of the entire executive committee. We also call for full representation of women and the masses at large in the current negotiations at the World Trade Centre," Ms Madlala said. — Sapa.

ANC: Assembly to decide local govt

ONLY a constituent assembly should draw up a new constitution for local government, according to one of the resolutions adopted at a weekend summit involving 200 delegates from the African National Congress PWV regional alliance and the SA National Civic Organisation.

Delegates at the summit, held at Midrand, north of Johannesburg, also decided that local government negotiating forums should only make recommendations to the constituent assembly and

the recently formed Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF) on constitutional matters.

Interim local committees should, as a matter of urgency, be formed and their functions be determined by the LGNF.

"All present and future negotiation forums such as the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber, Pretoria Metropolitan Chamber, Vaal Metropolitan Chamber (should) be restructured along the lines of the LGNF." — Sapa.

ANC, PAC may get OAU funds for poll

CAIRO. — Special voter education funds might be given to the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress, if the Organisation of African Unity accepts recommendations by its liberation committee.

A report issued on Saturday night suggests a fund be established to channel money directly to the ANC and the PAC for voter education.

The two organisations already receive continuing support from the OAU's liberation fund which has a shortfall of nearly \$15 million (R48 million) in outstanding contributions.

ANC representative Mr Stanley Mabizela said: "We asked the OAU to come out and assist us just as they assisted Zimbabwe and Namibia when it came to voting because our people don't know how to vote and need education."

The report also recommended the OAU extend the mandate of its observer mission in South Africa until the elections. — Sapa.

Crucial week ahead for negotiators as

NEGOTIATORS face a crucial week in constitutional talks as they try to make adequate progress to report back to the parent body on Friday, while avoiding an irreparable confrontation that could see another walkout by some parties.

ANC and government negotiators are resolutely pursuing their goal of getting the negotiating forum to agree on Friday to the establishment of a transitional executive council — despite strong opposition from the Concerned South Africans Group. There are indications that the Cosag parties want the meeting to be postponed or, failing this, plan to walk out if the provisional election date of April 27 is ap-

proved by "sufficient consensus".

It is widely expected that the CP will walk out this week as it becomes increasingly evident that it will not be able to negotiate a separate Afrikaner homeland under a confederal option.

After seven weeks of negotiating, the parties have set a contested provisional election date; have broad agreement on general constitutional principles; a report on fundamental human rights; draft legislation on an independent electoral commission and media commission that still requires debate; and broad agreement on combating violence.

A senior government source said that as

BILLY PADDOCK

a result of last week's events when the Cosag parties walked out after spending a full day filibustering on an agenda item, the negotiating council was way behind schedule. Friday's meeting was tied up with the council trying to resolve the problem between government and the PAC.

Government and the ANC will want to send their leaders to Philadelphia next week with an agreement on a transitional executive council and a firm election date so that US President Bill Clinton can announce the lifting of remaining sanctions.

SIMON BARBER reports from Wash-

parties threaten walkouts

ington that Clinton's plan to unveil a major package of proposals designed to bolster the SA economy when he awards freedom medals to President F W de Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela in Philadelphia on July 4, remains conditional on agreement being reached on a firm election date and the creation of a transitional executive council.

The package is expected to include the removal of all remaining economic sanctions at federal level — most importantly the US veto on IMF and World Bank lending to SA — according to diplomats and US officials.

Clinton will also call on state and local

authorities to remove their restrictions on US investment in SA, and announce that he will be urging leaders of the G-7 nations to co-ordinate what one US official called a "significant mobilisation of resources" for post-apartheid reconstruction.

Clinton may also say that he is urging agencies like the Export Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to step up efforts to promote SA trade and investment.

One option under review is the provision of government guarantees that would encourage US pension funds and other institutional investors to invest in SA "recon-

□ To Page 2

Walkouts

struction bonds" designed to raise capital for housing, education and transport.

The negotiating council meets three days in a row from tomorrow. The first day is likely to be spent catching up on the reports from the technical committees.

The debate on the process that will be followed in drafting a final constitution is likely to result in heated debate as the Cosag parties reject the establishment of a transitional executive council and elections for a constituent assembly.

The government source said he could not understand what Inkatha was up to because it had agreed in bilateral meetings with government to the two-phased process. On May 28 Inkatha's Walter Felgate had confirmed this in the presence of the full Inkatha delegation.

"We then had a further meeting with the ANC on May 29 where we came to an understanding on the nature of this process and we could then move a resolution on June 1 that instructed the technical committee to draft regional powers and func-

tions on the basis of a two-phased process."

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has since reneged on this agreement and government is trying to devise a strategy that will keep Inkatha to its word.

An ANC-allied negotiator at the weekend said he was "extremely cautious" about what they could achieve this week and warned that there would still be a great deal of filibustering from the Cosag parties.

He said there had been a request to Kwa-Zulu to drop its formal statement that they would enter into "constructive filibustering", but this had been to no avail.

"We will have to find a way to restrict the opportunities available to them to continue this strategy and forge ahead. If the crunch comes then it must come and they will have to face the consequences."

The government source said while they would be attempting to push the pace of the talks this week, caution had to be the order of the day and "we must try and avoid a head-on confrontation".

□ From Page 1

No intimidation before NP rally, says ANC

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC yesterday denied it had intimidated people not to attend an NP meeting in the northern Transvaal at the weekend. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday dismissed the claim by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who accompanied President F W de Klerk to the meeting, that the ANC had attempted during the days before the rally to intimidate supporters into staying away.

Botha claimed intimidation had only been 10% to 15% effective, Sapa reports. Niehaus also alleged that there had been a low turnout for the meeting, although the NP said it was delighted with the size of the crowd.

"The low turnout is a direct indication that the NP is not accepted as a party of the future that will bring liberation to the people," Niehaus said.

However, De Klerk said on Saturday that the NP had the third largest support base in the black community and was going to produce a "tremendous surprise" in the elections, Sapa reports.

He and Botha enthused over voter support at a media conference after the rally held at the Pietersburg showgrounds.

The approximately 6 000-strong crowd had been a "wonderful kick-off" to show that the NP was truly a national party, De Klerk said.

"This was a very important day."

Black support for the NP had been writ-

ten off by many of the commentators, said De Klerk.

"But we are convinced black support (for the NP) is growing. There is a great potential to unlock."

This potential was based among moderates who wanted peace, progress and opportunity, said De Klerk.

"They realise those who threaten you today will run rampant with the lives of South Africans tomorrow," he said.

"The NP gives notice today that what was started here will be repeated across the country."

The goal was to ensure that each and every voter knew, whatever any intimidator did, that when he entered the polling booth his vote was secret.

"If we can ensure this, we will give a tremendous surprise to those who think that the NP has support only in communities other than black."

"We are the third biggest party among black South Africans."

After the ANC it was only Inkatha and the NP which showed double-figure percentage support in research results.

Botha said the meeting was the largest, by more than three times, he had ever addressed in the northern Transvaal. The second largest was broken up by the AWB in 1986.

Date for Buthelezi, Mandela talks

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC leader Nelson Mandela would meet on Wednesday, church leaders announced last night.

It is hoped that their long-awaited meeting will put the brake on SA's violence.

The talks, in the Johannesburg area at a venue still to be announced, will be chaired by Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Tutu is in Europe but will break his programme to return for the talks.

A statement from the Methodist Church and the Church of the Province thanked both parties for their hard work in arranging the meeting and placed on record "their appreciation for the sense of urgency the parties had shown. We... appeal to

all people of faith for their prayers."

Methodist spokesman Ruth Coggin said the agenda was still being discussed, while Tutu's spokesman John Allan said: "The objective is peace."

WILSON ZWANE reports that in an interview on Friday, Buthelezi said he had turned down an invitation to attend a summit of black leaders at Tutu's official residence, Bishops court, in November 1990 because of certain views Tutu held. However, those views had been addressed during Tutu's subsequent visits to Ulundi.

He said the agenda for the meeting was being dealt with by Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma. — Sapa.

● Picture: Page 3

Allies differ over trade union role

CAPE TOWN — Differences between ANC and Cosatu representatives on the role of trade unions in a democratic government's policy formation emerged during a weekend conference on worker rights organised by the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union.

ANC head of economic planning Trevor Manuel said trade unions should be concerned primarily with their members' interests and had a limited capacity to influence macro-economic policy formation. It was government's role, for instance, to determine the country's trade policy.

Manuel conceded that trade unions had inputs to make in macro-economic policy, but stressed that the coherence of that policy went beyond the concerns of trade unions and was a concern of government. This was so partly because trade unions represented the sectoral interests of their members, who were a privileged elite of wage earners relative to the unemployed.

Government had a definite role which could not be taken away, but what was important was who sat in government and whose interests were represented there.

Manuel did not believe that Cosatu should develop a "sweetheart" relationship with government after the election. A vibrant democracy required constructive tensions which did not disappear just because there was a tripartite alliance.

LINDA ENSOR

In reply, Cosatu's national negotiations co-ordinator Jayendra Naidoo said there was not one issue on which government could take a decision which would not affect workers. There was a need to find a clear mechanism by which government could operate with inputs from the labour movement as the challenges of the future could not be met by excluding labour.

He agreed, however, that government would play a role on a number of levels where the labour movement could not be involved.

Cosatu deputy general secretary Sam Shilowa said Cosatu would be involved jointly with a democratic government in the process of reconstructing and democratising society.

"We have a great interest in the economy and expect to play a permanent role in institutions such as the National Economic Forum, the National Manpower Commission, the Unemployment Insurance Fund and the National Training Board," Shilowa said.

He said trade unions might have to resort to strike action to ensure that worker rights were not tampered with by an ANC government.

Naidoo said Cosatu was negotiating a reconstruction programme and election platform with the ANC. The issue was not the ANC's track record but what rights workers would get in a new SA.

LETTERS

Not IFP slowing the process

Dear Sir,
BILLY Paddock's article on "Buthelezi the unpredictable" (Business Day, June 18) is really an unfortunate piece of "journalism". In particular, his claim that Buthelezi "wants to delay fighting an election for as long as possible" is a pathetic distortion of reality.

Paddock takes no note that:

□ At Codesa 1, the IFP proposed both the simplest and speediest transition to democracy. It was other parties that advocated a complex and tortuous process, not us.

□ Although we were party to Codesa 2's agreements, we certainly never envisaged the five-year delay in achieving democracy that the Nats and ANC later agreed to.

□ The IFP's present position remains as enumerated after the collapse of Codesa — that all negotiations, all transitional arrangements and the election itself should be finalised by the end of next year.

Quite how Paddock infers from this that the IFP is delaying the fighting of an election is beyond me. What we are fighting is the proposed NP/ANC delay in finalising the new constitution to some time between

1994 and 1999. This necessarily entails the IFP insisting upon certain preconditions being finalised before agreement on an election date. It is really a pity your newspaper is playing along with the NP/ANC notion of the IFP being a spoiler.

BEN NGUBANE
IFP Central Committee

PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000
Fax: (011) 836-0805

Offering new hope to the 'lost generation'

FILE YOUTH CORPS

FOR many of us, the mention of marginalised youth conjures up images of an unsalvageable mass of hopeless, unemployable youths, bent on torpedoing hopes of peace in their communities.

This concept remained unchallenged until the Joint Enrichment Programme (JEP), a youth marginalisation programme sponsored by the churches, commissioned CASE researchers David Everatt and Mark Orkin to investigate the "lost generation".

They found in the unemployed black youth a well of frustrated ambition and self-confidence, coupled with a surprising lack of vindictiveness despite the violence they had seen and suffered.

Steve Mokwena, the young and articulate projects co-ordinator at the JEP, has developed a deep interest in these youths. His quest is to find ways to harness their energy constructively in education and upliftment projects, to afford them a second chance at life.

Mokwena is certain it can be done and indeed, must be done if the new South Africa is going to succeed economically.

"The general perception is that youths who are disengaged from society or seen as 'lost' are the primary perpetrators of violence. My view is that violence is only a barometer to measure the level of frustration in a community.

"Now that we understand the motivations and the needs of

There are about three million young black people who face a bleak future if something is not done to re-incorporate them into productive society. Steve Mokwena is a key player in attempts to rescue them.



by Helen Grange

the youth, it is time to consolidate youth in a national forum which would engage various programmes of upliftment and job creation," he says.

To this end, the JEP's proposal to form a National Youth Development Co-ordinating Committee, involving all political parties, has been broadly accepted by political parties and business and is scheduled for launch in September.

Mokwena staunchly supports this idea, because until now projects by the Government and the private sector directed at black youth have been largely unco-ordinated.

"We lack an integrated approach. We need to put all the identified problems among township youth into an integrated whole, analyse the country's resources and strategise projects around that.

"This won't be easy. It may mean redirecting some projects to needs which are going unfulfilled. Many projects are traditionally not directed at the young, and change of attitude

is needed," he says.

Mokwena acts as a broker in identifying needs among marginalised youth, and then accessing resources to fulfil them. "Networking" is how he describes it.

This means working closely with alienated youths and their organisational structures, and undergoing a sensitive process of consultation to establish their requirements in education, skills and community participation.

Mokwena has noticed that funding is far more readily available if the projects are short-term. "But society must understand that education is costly. It is an investment in the future. There's a lethargy when it comes to long-term programmes."

At the same time, he has noticed a strong will to enhance youth initiatives. He is slightly sceptical about this. "People want to help, and sometimes want the label of being politically correct without understanding marginalisation. To

address this issue requires a great deal of commitment."

Mokwena will be co-ordinating a huge youth upliftment project — entailing weaving basic skills training into the school curriculum — to be launched in Soweto in August.

"The notion that you must either have matric or you have nothing is a very detrimental one. We want to put a skills package together to equip youths for life ahead, even if they don't complete their schooling."

Mokwena's interest in the marginalised sector grew out of a personal understanding of the background of township youths and a university education which led him to join the Wits Centre for the Study of Violence for a short while before starting at the JEP in 1991.

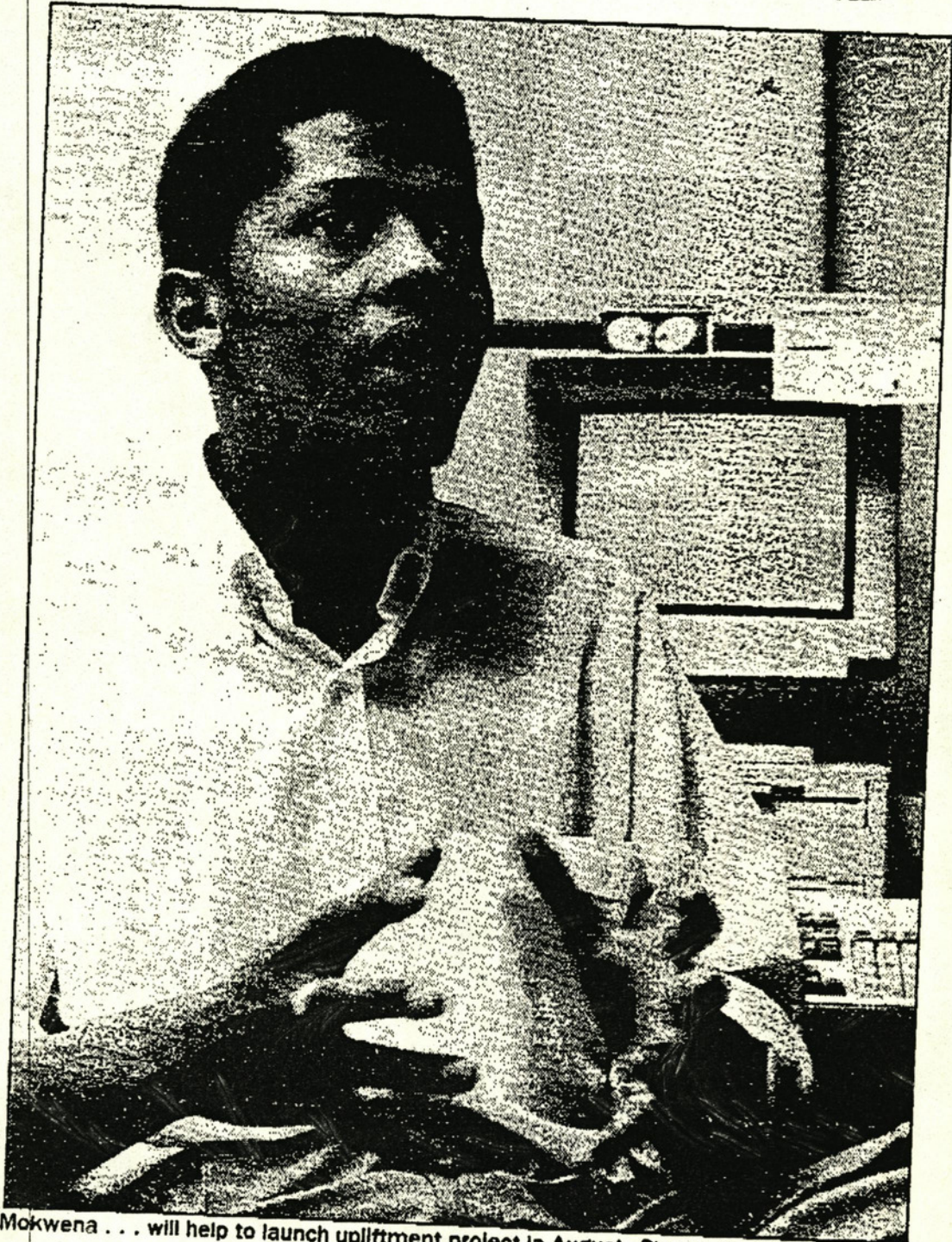
Challenge

"These issues are personal to me. Quite often, the people I am dealing with are close to me — a cousin, a neighbour's child. It goes beyond the numbers and you realise these are real lives.

"There are about three million youths out there who need urgent attention. Where do you start? Somebody, somewhere has got to begin to give.

"It will be a challenge to the new government as well as the private sector.

"I believe the problem can and must be tackled and resolved." □



Mokwena . . . will help to launch upliftment project in August. Picture: Stephen Davimes

The Star

Established 1887

Waiting for tourists

IN most countries, tourism has become the top industry. The United States, for instance, is this year expecting 50 million visitors who will spend about \$70 billion (R224 billion). That's money by anyone's standards.

But what about us? Everyone knows South Africa has the potential to become one of the world's leading destinations. Our climate is superb, our national parks are magnificent, our scenery highly varied and many of our mountain and coastal resorts first rate. The country also boasts an infrastructure unrivalled in Africa, and the costs are very reasonable by international standards.

There's another dimension worth mentioning: our country is relatively unexplored by overseas visitors who stayed away during the years of political isolation. The huge Far East market, for instance, is virtually untapped — and the people there love travelling. We should, therefore, be drawing tourists by the tens of thousands.

But, of course, people aren't coming in significant numbers. A survey by the South African tourism industry released last week told us what we could have guessed: violence is costing the tourist industry dearly.

Our hotels, already hard hit by reduced domestic business, are less than half full. There are currently not many incentives to improve or expand facilities. Yet we should be preparing for the future, for the good times that will surely come again. When sanity returns, visitors will come and they will want to see — besides the magnificence of the Cape, the Drakensberg and the wildlife areas — the jail which housed Mandela, the big hole of Kimberley, the battle sites of Natal and the traditional lifestyles of the African people. They'll want to buy gold and diamonds.

We've got so much to offer. Tourism, for its part, will bring much needed foreign currency and will help create badly needed jobs. That's all the more reason why peace in our land is imperative.

Advertising war over poll set to erupt

By Shirley Woodgate

The coming general election looks set to develop into a full-blown advertising war as the ANC steps up a print campaign ahead of April 1994 and the National Party signs up as the first client for top image-maker Saatchi and Saatchi's new local arm.

Ahead of the announcement of an election date, the ANC launched a sophisticated newspaper advertising campaign designed to draw attention to issues of the day, said spokesman Carl Niehaus.

The focus on education has been flighted by AMC, which Niehaus said was a subsidiary of top agency Hunt Lascaris TBWA.

Niehaus said it was necessary to inform the public about prominent topics.

The ANC's move into print advertising follows the recent launch in SA of Saatchi Saatchi Klerck and Barrett Communications Africa (SSK and B). Saatchi and Saatchi has handled the NP's election advertising campaigns since 1983.

Botha, De Klerk woo N Tvl blacks

By Dirk Nel
Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — President F W de Klerk on Saturday strongly denied claims that the National Party favoured a unitary state in the future political dispensation for this country.

Speaking at a press conference following an NP rally at the Pietersburg show grounds, De Klerk said: "We remain committed to a federal system, with strong regional government." The President claimed the ANC had moved closer to the NP position.

"In my opinion, federalism has already won the day; only the details still have to be worked out", he said.

Describing the Pietersburg rally as "an important occasion", the President said the event had shown the NP enjoyed wide support.

"I predict a tremendous sur-

prise in the coming election, as the NP has become the most truly non-racial party in South Africa," he said.

When asked whether he was worried about the fact that whites attending the rally were completely outnumbered, Foreign Minister Pik Botha replied: "Not at all — we are not running our campaign along racial lines."

Intimidators

"Today we succeeded in our purpose, because the intimidators did not succeed in keeping the people away."

"This was an historic event; you did not hear any cries of hatred, or see any cars and houses burnt. It was a model for the rest of the country."

Traditional dances and shouts of "Viva de Klerk" marked the NP rally on Saturday.

About 6 000 people were bussed in from Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu to hear De Klerk and Botha. The two leaders received an enthusiastic reception

from the predominantly black audience, all sporting NP colours and waving party flags.

Among those who shared the platform with De Klerk and Botha were Gazankulu Chief Minister Samuel Nxumalo, paramount chiefs, and Indian and coloured community leaders. Marshals at the rally were mainly black NP members.

Addressing the large rally, De Klerk committed his party to the alleviation of unemployment, hunger and poverty. He also pledged to take steps to improve education and health services.

"We must get the economy to grow again. Only if more factories are built, if new soil is tilled and more cattle are bred, can we expect your situation to improve," he said.

De Klerk assured traditional leaders of an honourable place in the country's new political dispensation. He announced the appointment of Chief Chris Modiba, a former Lebowa Cabinet minister, as a Transvaal provincial executive member.

By Paul Bell
Labour Correspondent

Assist new govt, ANC urges unions

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has cautioned the trade union movement to ensure that its efforts to promote economic transformation do not hamper the work of a future democratic government.

Speaking in Cape Town at the weekend, he also encouraged trade unions to support political parties where this furthered their members' interests, saying there was no contradiction between this and the continued strength and independence of the unions.

Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) sources welcomed his statement, saying Ramaphosa had acknowledged that trade unions were not to be regarded by politicians as voting fodder.

The ANC, said the sources, was also clearly committing itself to going beyond an election programme to a coherent plan for economic reconstruction, and was binding itself to co-operation with the union and civic movements in developing and pursuing such a plan.

Ramaphosa, speaking at the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union conference in Cape Town, warned that where trade unions and employers were making agreements to address workers' immediate needs, unions should ensure that these initiatives did not place obstacles in the way of a future democratic government.

"There is a danger that agreements reached today could inhibit a future democratic society from introducing

measures aimed at far-reaching transformation.

"These initiatives are still taking place in a situation where political and economic power remain concentrated in the hands of a minority.

"We therefore need to be careful that the processes we are embarking on address peoples' immediate needs, but don't place blockages in the way of long-term change," he said.

A programme of socio-economic transformation would

have to be formulated, not simply as a programme of the tripartite alliance, but in conjunction with a wide range of democratic forces — "especially the mass formations which will have to play a large role in implementing the programme", Ramaphosa said.

Given the opposition of a range of local and international groups which would prefer it to fail, the programme would succeed only if it was mass-driven.

"Our mass formations — par-

ticularly trade unions, civics and others — will have to fully involve the people, together with the democratic state, and our international allies, in implementing and defending the programme," he said.

Ramaphosa also said there was no contradiction in a strongly democratic and independent trade union deciding to support a political party or organisation in the forthcoming election if its members believed such support would further their interests.

To this end, what workers needed most was strong independent unions which actively engaged in the political process.

We want Winnie back, say concerned women

By Stan Hlophe

The Concerned ANC Women's League (Cawl) yesterday called for Winnie Mandela's reinstatement as chairman of the PWV region and warned that if she was not reinstated, "the masses would take action".

Speaking at a press briefing at Mandela's home in Soweto, the Cawl executive committee said that it was giving the Women's League National executive committee until July 4 to meet its demands.

To show confidence in Mandela, Cawl said the recent Appellate Division outcome had vindicated its belief that she was unjustly tried by the media and "the ANC cabal".

"She is still the 'Moth-



Mandela ... "still the Mother of the Nation".

er of the Nation' and now we feel she has to resume her status," it said.

Meanwhile, Mandela, speaking in her capacity as the chairman of the South African National Civic Organisation at the regional conference of

the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa in Germiston, said at the weekend: "Negotiations will always be discredited and viewed with suspicions until the people are involved."

"I am not opposed to negotiations in principle, but I am opposed to the selling of my people in the name of negotiations."

"Negotiations must be representative of the feelings of the people."

"If the mood of the people is 'Kill the boer ... kill the farmer', it does not help for their leaders to try to say 'sorry baas ... what they really mean is 'Kiss the boer ... kiss the farmer'."

"If the leaders do this they are not representing their followers, but their own selfish hunger for power," she said.

Armed struggle showdown

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

A showdown over a declaration on the suspension of the armed struggle and the cessation of hostilities looms tomorrow in the 26-party Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said yesterday her organisation would not sign the declaration but was prepared to sign an amended version.

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer served notice on Friday that the Government would tomorrow urge the council to take

a decision on the continued participation of parties which refuse to commit themselves to the declaration.

The declaration, which flowed from the deadlocked talks between the PAC and the Government, was discussed in the council on Friday but a decision has been deferred until tomorrow.

The Government insists that the PAC suspend its armed struggle, while the PAC will only discuss the mutual cessation of hostilities.

However, the declaration can potentially be signed by all 26 parties in the council.

8 killed in violent weekend

East Rand Bureau

Eight people died violently in Katlehong and Ratanda at the weekend.

The body of John Khaba (28) was found in Katlehong's Zuma section yesterday. He had been shot in the back.

The body of Tiffany Nkosi was found with a gunshot wound in the head in Ndlazi section.

An unknown person was necklaced in Ramakanopi section and another died of stab wounds in Mavemela section.

Soon afterwards police found the bullet-riddled body of an unidentified man in Radebe section.

The body of Themba Mabasela (23) was found in Mandela Park. He had been stabbed in the throat.

An unknown man was necklaced in Mavimbela section and in Ratanda police found the body of Job Ngwenya, who died of multiple stab wounds.

Mandela, Buthelezi to meet this week

Go-ahead for peace talks

Staff Reporter

The meeting violence-racked South Africa has been waiting for is to take place near Johannesburg on Wednesday.

In a dramatic breakthrough last night, church leaders announced that ANC leader Nelson Mandela and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi were to talk face-to-face for only the second time in three years.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is flying home today from Europe to co-chair the meeting with the Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

The meeting was to have been held at Bishops court, Tutu's official residence in Cape Town, but the two parties suggested the new venue would be more convenient in view of time constraints.

It will be the second meeting since Mandela was released from prison in February 1990. The first was on January 29 1991 in Durban.

Since then, the country has been in a spiral of violence which has seen hundreds killed in clashes between Inkatha and ANC followers. Political rivalry between the two parties, however, goes back about eight years, during which an estimated 15 000 people have been killed, Sapa reported last night.

John Allen, Tutu's spokesman, told the media last night: "The objective (of this meeting) is peace."

No details of Wednesday's agenda, decided upon by a joint preparatory committee, have been released, but it is expected that issues such as free political activity, the disbandment of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, public display of dangerous weapons and the fencing of hostels will be on the list.

"The agenda is still being discussed and has not yet been finalised", Methodist Church spokesman Ruth Coggin said.

The ANC has until now brushed aside calls from Buthelezi for a meeting, saying it was unlikely the two individuals could solve the complex violence issue and that unless such a meeting was well prepared, it could exacerbate the situation rather than improve it.

The IFP's point has been that if Buthelezi and Mandela could publicly join hands and declare their commitment to peace and tolerance, this would go a long way to convincing their followers this was the path to follow.

In their joint statement, Mogoba and Bishop Michael Nuttall, Dean of the (Anglican) Church of the Province, thanked Inkatha and the ANC for their "hard work in arranging the meeting".

ANC and IFP spokesmen welcomed the news.

Carl Niehaus of the ANC said the meeting was long in the offing and there had been a lot of preparation.

Walter Felgate of Inkatha said Buthelezi and Mandela should "get on with things that really mattered" and not "old politics" — as he described some of the expected issues on the agenda.