

THE NATAL  
**MERCURY**

# YESTERDAY'S MEN?

THE WEEKEND decision of the ANC to continue opposing the lifting of any sanctions against South Africa might well be seen as futile, especially with the European Community, meeting in Rome, having voted within hours to lift investment curbs immediately in recognition of President de Klerk's moves towards a new democracy.

Some might even say, without detracting from the significance of the decision, that sanctions were all but history anyway. Which was true, but mainly in the sense that trade barriers were already crumbling and the will of some of our trading partners to continue with them was wilting. Yet many complications remained.

Of more particular concern, however, amid the jubilation of Government, politicians, businessmen and South Africans generally, who have been hoping that more investment and trade would smooth the path to a more peaceful and equitable future, are the reasons for delegates persisting with such inflexible attitudes.

The simple fact is that the rank and file, grown increasingly militant at the apparent lack of progress towards releasing all political prisoners and the slow return of exiles, as well as feeling leadership was being sucked into impotency in the talks about talks by the Government, wanted to record their impatience as forcefully as possible.

No one should be mistaken about that, especially with the final message delivered by the Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, that 'our patience with this regime is running out'.

And the disillusionment runs deep. Looking closer one finds that the resolute commitment to maintaining both sanctions and redoubling 'mass action' was endorsed overwhelmingly by internal trade union leadership and grass roots delegates in spite of suggestions by the ANC's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and Mr Mandela that there should be a rethink on sanc-

tions and the efforts of other 'moderate' leadership that the initiative should not be 'lost to the other side'.

Which it has been to a considerable extent by the delegates' militant intransigence. And we've no doubt that when President de Klerk scraps the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and remaining discrimination the ANC will be under even greater pressure.

Which has both positive and negative possibilities for, while the President retains the initiative, it might well see the old guard of the Mandelas and Tambos lose much of their influence to a younger leadership less concerned about compromise and negotiation and more in tune with an increasingly militant youth, fed on the mythology of the armed struggle and obsessed with the meaningless claptrap of now discarded eastern European ideology.

There may be some who relish the thought of the early 'martyrs' getting their come-uppance. The ending of the ban on investment and the promise to end all sanctions when Mr de Klerk delivers on the Group Areas and Land Acts, too, is undoubtedly a major plus for peace and a setback for the ANC.

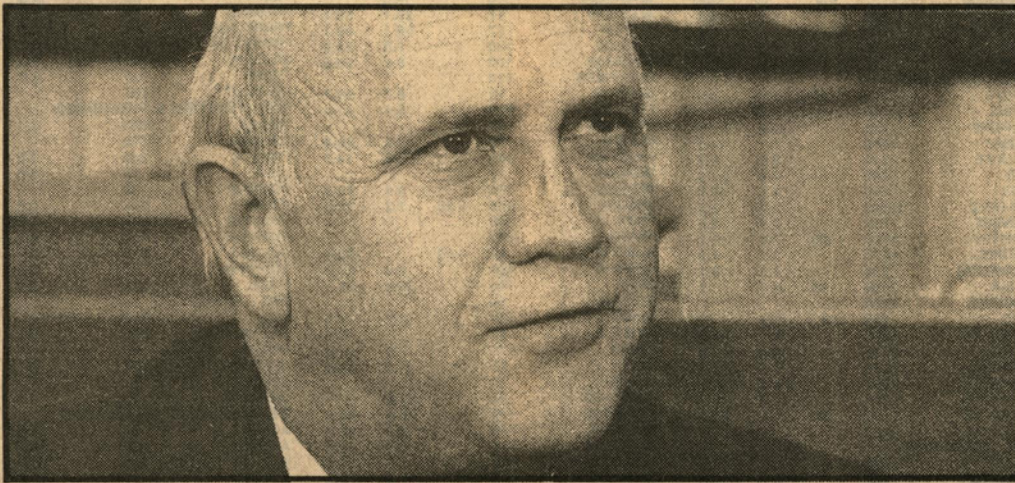
But that major shift narrows the options of the ANC, leaving them with 'mass' action as possibly their sole significant bargaining chip. And there is evidence enough of the potential for violence in that direction, with the risk unquestionably dramatically increased if the wiser heads of the old guard are brushed aside as yesterday's men.

All of which suggests to us that any remaining obstacles to talks be removed as swiftly as possible so that participation in negotiations can be widened to include all representative leadership and the real peace process begin. The longer that is delayed the more likely it will be that the various minorities find themselves across the table from people who demanded the sort of uncompromising decisions of the weekend. And where will that get us?



What is "Yes" standing for?

# your choice



## PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK

**P**RESIDENT De Klerk said today that he was asking for a "Yes" for justice and a "Yes" for a better South Africa in tomorrow's referendum.

In a special pre-referendum message he said tomorrow was a day of decision.

"For the white voters of South Africa it means that they must take the most critical decision in the modern history of our country. It is a decision that could make or break South Africa. No-one will escape from its consequences. Therefore no-one can afford to sit uninvolved on the sideline.

"Tomorrow's referendum is not an election. It is not about political parties or personalities. Also not about complaints or grievances. It is about a choice between progress, or a return to the mistakes of the past.

"The future of everyone who votes is at stake — more so the future of their children is in their hands on March 17.

"We who will vote on March 17 must, however, also know that we not only hold the future in our hand. There are more than 20 million other South Africans who are also, and who want to be, part of South Africa and who are anxiously waiting for a "Yes". For them a "No" vote will mean rejection — a slap in the face.

"There are also others who have an interest in the result of March 17 — and South Africa needs them. There are many intending investors who are

waiting for a "Yes". If it is "No" they will not invest. Those who have already invested will withdraw. There are friendly governments worldwide who base their friendship on the trust that reform will work. A "No" will end that friendship.

"For every white South African the moment of truth is here. A "No" vote cannot achieve justice. White security cannot be built on injustice, racism, discrimination and unworkable segregation dreams, only on the truth and reality which tell us all:

"Your hope, your prosperity, your safety, your security are locked up in your ability to reach with all who are irrevocably part of South Africa an agreement, to come to an accord, to reach an understanding about a new constitution.

"This can only be achieved through reform and negotiation. This can only succeed if we say "Yes" for a just solution that can work.

"I ask no-one to say "Yes" to surrender, suicide or a "winner-takes-all" constitution. I am asking for a "Yes" for survival. I am asking a "Yes" for power sharing and not for domination. I am asking for a "Yes" for the maintenance of values and standards, for long-term stability, for honourable cooperation, for conciliation and peaceful coexistence, and for true democracy."

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)

## NATIONAL

### SA now ready to rejoin Unesco, says FW

PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

PARIS. — South Africa is "willing, able and ready" to resume its role in the United Nations agency Unesco, President De Klerk said here last night after receiving Unesco's Houphouet-Boigny peace prize jointly with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

In a ceremony symbolic of the growing co-operation between them, the two leaders together received the award in Unesco headquarters from Unesco director-general Mr Federico Mayor and the head of the jury which awarded the prize, Dr Henry Kissinger.

Both recipients then addressed Unesco — marking the first time in many years that a South African head of state had addressed a UN body.

It was an ironic moment. The two South Africans stood to accept the award before an array of flags representing nearly every nation of the world — except that of South Africa, which has not been a member of Unesco since it walked out in 1955.

Explaining why Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela had been selected for the award, Mr Kissinger said the role of a good leader was to take his people from where they were to where they had never been.

No two world leaders symbolised this achievement more than Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk.

you can take people to all sort of places where they were not before, and it may not mean peace



THE NATAL

## MERCURY

## YEAR OF LEARNING

THE BLACK MATRIC pass rate of 36,4% announced yesterday has confirmed gloomy predictions that it would be the lowest ever. And as the 230 000 pupils who wrote the DET exam last year read the dismal results posted in schools all over the country, it would not be surprising if some of them again vented their frustration on school property and equipment.

But looking at the prospects for black education, there is also reason to believe that last year's appalling failure rate could be a sort of catharsis of anger, or the passing of a dark cloud heralding a brighter future.

Failure is hardly surprising when, according to the DET, nearly one in every four school days was effectively written off due to stayaways and boycotts as pupils marched, teachers downed chalk, and even parents staged sit-ins to protest against what they saw as an inadequate response to the needs of young blacks who heeded the National Education Co-ordinating Committee's 'back to school' call at the beginning of the year.

Even this change in the nature of protest, disruptive though it was, was some advance on the disastrous 'liberation before education' campaign of previous years, in which pupils were cynically used as shock-troops in the struggle, producing a 'lost generation' that is now largely unemployable.

Though there is still some

confusing ambivalence about the role of youth in the struggle, responsible organisations, including the ANC, are now strongly urging a policy of 'education for liberation'.

Having gazed into the heart of darkness in smouldering classrooms and seen the futility of militant pupil activism and blind rage, strong community-based bodies, such as the Soweto Education Co-ordinating Committee which drew 800 residents to a weekend meeting in one of the most troubled areas, are now passionately determined to make 1991 a 'year of learning'.

Particular emphasis is being placed on community action to protect schools against thugs, establish joint parent-teacher-pupil associations, fight drug and alcohol abuse, and inculcate a proud 'culture of education'.

Post-mortems on the failure of defunct 'Bantu education' are seen as non-productive. The challenge now is to improve the educational infrastructure.

To this end the Government, which has increased the DET's budget more than tenfold in as many years, will remain under heavy pressure to improve amenities and create a single education system, which this newspaper has consistently advocated. But impending 'mass action' for the opening of schools to all should be handled with care. As the Latin master might say, *festina lente*.

## All-party talks

ON THE FACE of it, there would seem to be no reason

groups planned for March? Anything that smacks of a 'patriotic front' solution

## Playing the U S

AS CHAIRMAN of the Senate Africa sub-committee, Senator Paul Simon will have a not inconsiderable say in whether, when and how the U S begins to roll back its sanctions on South Africa this year.

We should therefore be grateful that Stephen Riley and Albert Fox were so generous in their contributions to his 1990 re-election fund.

Riley and Fox Incorporated is the most astute component of Team South Africa.

They are the shrinking band of consultants retained by Pretoria to assist its diplomats in decoding the enigma that is Washington.

Over the past two years, according to the partnership's six-monthly statement to the Justice Department's Foreign Agents Registration Unit, Fox has given Simon \$3 500, while Riley has donated \$1 000.

Last year they also contributed \$1 000 each to Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Fox gave Congressman Nick Joe Rahall, a West Virginia Democrat interested in protecting his mining constituents by maintaining sanctions on South African coal, \$550.

It may be wondered why anyone with South Africa's best interests at heart would spend a cent to keep the Congress — and especially the Senate — in Democratic hands, much less in the hands of sanctioneers like Simon and Rahall.

## Gifts

Unless, perhaps, the beneficiaries were somehow for sale.

In which case it make sense to keep one's property in office, regardless of his partisan affiliation.

But one is not supposed to have such thoughts.

Washington etiquette requires it to be stressed that these were purely personal gifts made solely out of the high esteem in which the donors held the recipients and with no base expectation of a *quid pro quo*.

Fox may have had an even higher motive.

He told me once he gave out of respect for the democratic system.

Of course, not all of us can afford to celebrate the grand American experiment with such generosity.

But then, not all of us work for Pretoria.

Under their current written contract with the South Africa embassy they are paid between them \$360 000 a year.

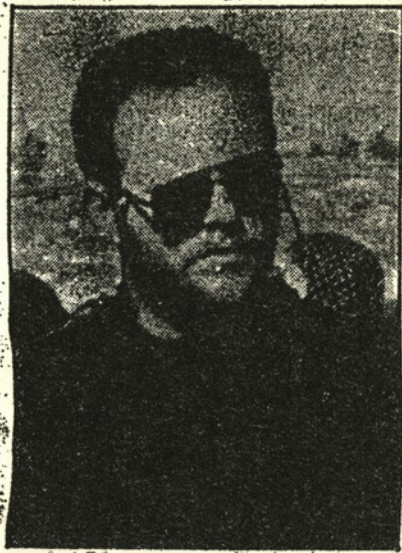


# YOUTHS 'TRAINED FOR WAR'

by NOMUSA CEMBI

**T**HE Inkatha Freedom Party has opened a shooting range in Elandskop to train protection units made up of young supporters in the Pietermaritzburg area, an African National Congress organiser alleges.

ANC regional organiser Caleb Magubane said training started just before a call to march on Ulundi was issued by the ANC in September last year. He said the training, which was conducted



**POWELL** — allegedly training IFP protection units

once a week and was stepped up to daily sessions after the call, has continued.

Magubane alleges that KwaZulu urban representative Phillip Powell is teaching the young supporters how to shoot. He said that after initial training, they are sent to Emandleni camp in Ulundi.

Powell was reluctant to discuss his role in the units, but said there is a clause in the National Peace Accord which gives "communities the right to organise protection units". He said the

chief minister of KwaZulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, issued a statement in which he said KwaZulu will form protection units.

"Helpless communities have a right to organise themselves when arms caches are brought into the country. They must learn to defend themselves," Powell said.

Magubane also alleged that the IFP was preventing the ANC from organising in Ngaphezulu areas which include Elandskop, kwaMgwagwa, Mafunze, Mafakatini, Maswazini and Hhaza.

"For the ANC to launch a branch, it needs 100 members. We have more than 200 members in Elandskop but can't open a branch because David Ntombela won't allow us," he said.

Ntombela is a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, chairman of the IFP midlands region and also an induna.

Magubane said when the ANC wanted to launch a branch at kwaMgwagwa last year, Induna Mbanjwa was approached. He referred them to acting chief Ibambabukhosi Mahlase who told them there was an agreement that no ANC meetings should take place in the area.

"The IFP signed the National Peace Accord but they refuse to let us launch a branch," Magubane said.

He warned that if free political activity was not allowed, his organisation "will force" its way into these areas.

IFP regional organiser Themba Ndulini denied that political activity is restricted. He said his organisation believes in free political activity.

"The ANC should first approach the chiefs if they want to launch branches. Also, people who live in the area should launch branches and not outsiders," Ndulini said.

He added that no IFP branches operate in ANC strongholds such as Dambuza and Machibisa.

"If the ANC believes in free political activity, it should also allow our people to freely organise in those areas. There should be no intimidation," he said.



## OPINION

# Yes, this IS a new course

**W**HEN a National Party leader declares that apartheid is outdated and buys double-page advertising space to announce that he has taken the first step towards institutionalised power sharing, only the blind or the wilfully perverse will persist in claiming that nothing has changed in this country.

On Friday an era ended in South Africa, a miserable, hurtful era of wasted years that brought us to the brink of calamity. In half-an-hour of oratory, President Botha tossed almost four decades of ideological folly out of the window. He admitted, by implication, that the slogan which brought his party to power in 1948, and the futile and costly attempts to make it work, had all been a big mistake.

There will be recriminations aplenty, and they will be justified, if unproductive.

Let us, therefore, welcome the return of the prodigals and compliment President Botha on his courage in embarking on a new road.

To be sure, his address was largely a compendium of statements that he made last year. But it was polished in content and delivery and his unequivocal commitment to the eternal verities of just statcraft — due legal process, inclusive democracy and equal opportunity — has created a means by which his future performance may be measured.

## Foolish

**O**NE of the problems facing Mr Botha is the "rubiconisation" of our politics — the growing, but foolish, belief among people in this country and abroad that all our problems can be solved by a single cosmic deed or declaration.

In truth, the road to peace and justice is steep and rocky, but an important first step along it is the proposed statutory council. Mr Botha had to start somewhere. It is perfectly possible, therefore, to see this ad hoc forum as a consti-

tutional house of many mansions that could accommodate participants from Chief Buthe-lezi leftwards.

It now remains for the builders — in Ulundi or elsewhere — to enter so that they may test Mr Botha's commitment. No preconditions have been set, the agenda seems open-ended — and they can always leave if they don't like what goes on there.

This council, and participation in it, is as much a test of the proclaimed moderation of certain black leaders as it is of Mr Botha's sincerity. Wise men will make use of it.

## Action

**W**HEN Parliamentary debate begins tomorrow, the official Opposition will quite properly demand that the high-minded prose of the opening address be swiftly translated into legislative action. Already there have been inexcusable delays by Government in implementing reforms to which it committed itself long ago.

There will — and should — also be questions about the methods lately employed by some policemen, and whether they are compatible with ringing pledges of co-operative co-existence.

The howls of protest from the neanderthal right and the cynicism from Lusaka were predictable. They serve only to confirm that a reformer — obliged to navigate between stand-patters and revolutionaries — is on the proper course.

Indeed, the response of such extremists is evidence that, for a change, the Government has seized the initiative instead of playing a weak-kneed reactive role.

"I don't intend to stop here," says Mr Botha in his advertisement inside this newspaper today. "I will go further."

We urge him on.

The Editor