

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

MONTHLY NEWSLETTER OF THE INSTITUTE FOR A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

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Business, unions lock horns

Big business came under heavy fire from unionists and other Mass Democratic Movement delegates at Idasa's "Securing the Future" conference for its perceived reluctance to put pressure on the government to dismantle apartheid.

Some Anglo American executives had the unusual task of publicly defending company policies not only against attacks made by union leaders, but also against strong criticism coming from Democratic Party quarters in the person of DP economic advisor Prof Sampie Terreblanche.

The progressive organisations also accused big business corporations in general, and Anglo American specifically, of silently supporting the government in times of political stability. MDM delegates, in turn, had a difficult time fielding probing questions on their sanctions policy and plans to nationalise "monopoly industry" in a post-apartheid South Africa.

More than 200 people attended the conference which was held in August in Johannesburg and aimed at the "younger generation" of business and professional people in South Africa.

Discussion on the role of big business in a changing society and the nature of the democracy in a post-apartheid South Africa led to some sharp exchanges between participants at the conference.

Murphy Morobe, former publicity secretary of the UDF, set the ball rolling with a provocative speech on the political options facing South Africa after the abolition of apartheid. He reiterated the view of the MDM that fundamental human rights will be guaranteed for all people in post-apartheid South Africa and that everyone will have the right to protect his or her language and culture — without being afforded any special privileges because of language or culture. "But the post-apartheid state will have to take steps to undo the effects of apartheid," Morobe said. "The state will have to participate in the economy in order to correct the skewness of the present economic order. And as far as monopoly industry is



Aggrey Klaaste . . . black empowerment.



Sampie Terreblanche . . . neutrality fetish.



Murphy Morobe . . . no compensation.

the importance of profitability," Spicer said. He said that too much of the economic debate were conducted on a very crude level and asked that it should not be portrayed as a simple choice between capitalism and socialism. Spicer also rejected the "highly emotional" pleas for redistribution. "Almost without exception redistribution favours the elites and not the people it should

help. Even higher taxes would be unsuccessful as a tool for redistribution because it would further undermine the profitability of business."

Spicer warned that there were no quick fixes for South Africa. "We are a very average developing country and if we get rid of apartheid it won't mean that the highly competitive world economy owes us a living. But I still think that South Africa could become world class if it could destroy apartheid without destroying the economy," he said.

Spicer — and Anglo American — were not let off the hook by delegates as the debate moved on to the question of what big business could do to get rid of apartheid. Panelist Adrian du Plessis, public affairs manager of Anglo American, told the conference that big business existed to generate wealth and should be judged a success if they did this successfully. He added that the entrepreneurial spirit was a major operator for change in the country. "The influence of business may be neither sinful nor virtuous but at the end of the day sinful or virtuous people will shape our destiny," he said.

Wayne Munro, director of personnel and public affairs of Johnson and Johnson, envisaged a more active role for big business in the political arena and argued that they should lobby government and apply pressure behind the scenes. Trade unionists were not satisfied with this approach, however, and a representative, Mike Roussos, accused the business community of not responding to the government actions unless their interests were fundamentally threatened. Another unionist added: "The

Big business urged to end unholy marriage with Pretoria

By Pierre de Vos

concerned, one doesn't rule out some form of nationalisation."

Morobe ruled out the possibility of compensation after nationalisation and said workers will have to participate fully in the day to day running of the industry. Several delegates expressed serious concern with Morobe's economic proposals for a post-apartheid state. One delegate asked how the MDM planned to win over the private sector with talk about nationalisation and wanted to know if the establishment of small businesses would be encouraged under a new government.

However, a delegate from East London deplored the defensive questions some of the white delegates asked about the future economic system and wanted to know what sacrifices they were prepared to make for a new South Africa. "Remember," he said, "there can be no gain without pain."

Mr Michael Spicer, personal assistant to the chairman of Anglo American Corporation, differed sharply with Morobe. "The unhappy history of nationalisation have demonstrated

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DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

IDASA's goals are:

- To encourage South Africans of all races to reject apartheid and discover an alternative that is non-racial and democratic in the true sense of the word.
- To assist people to accept and work for a post-apartheid society as a way of allaying their fears.
- To mobilise the skills, knowledge and experience of all those who can assist the communities in the crisis areas of South Africa.
- To provide forums and opportunities on a nationwide basis to find democratic solutions to South Africa's problems.
- To assist in creating a climate for genuine negotiation towards a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

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EDITORIAL

Pitfalls of focusing on divisions in SA

Elsewhere in this issue you will read a defence of bi-communalism by Professor Hermann Giliomee in which he raises a number of questions relating to an Idasa conference and remarks made by me at that conference.

Firstly, Prof Giliomee and I are in agreement that the national question is of critical importance and should be debated. Secondly, I am in agreement with his suggestion that Idasa should hold a conference on this question and we are already in the planning stages of such a conference to be held in 1990.

The subject is not only important but it is also extremely complex. Prof Johan Degenaar suggests for example that there are at least nine philosophical approaches to the question of nation-building in South Africa! However, it is not necessary to wait for the conference and a few preliminary remarks in response to Prof Giliomee are in order.

Contradictions

It is my view that Prof Giliomee's arguments are riddled with contradictions. He suggests, for example, that "we must explore how an Afrikaner/white nation and an African/black nation can co-exist peacefully in South Africa" and yet immediately goes on to suggest that peoples of South Africa should become "engaged in a process of nation-building in which we try to construct a transcendent South African nation with its own distinctive set of symbols and values". How can you construct a "transcendent South African nation with its own distinctive set of symbols and values" if you start from the need for two separate nations, racially constructed, to co-exist peacefully in South Africa? The more you hold on to the need for two nations to "co-exist peacefully", the more difficult it becomes to achieve "a transcendent South African nation with its own distinctive set of symbols and values".

White coherence?

It must also be asked of what does the Afrikaner/white nation consist? In the current election, support is almost certainly moving away from the National Party to the Democratic

Prof Giliomee's article appears on Page 7

Party on the left and the Conservative Party on the right. So much for Afrikaner/white coherence! The critical question is: is Afrikaner/white nationalism on the wane or not? Voting patterns at least suggest that it is. If we add to this a number of sociological factors such as white urbanisation, materialism, the upwardly mobile Afrikaner yuppie, the thousands of young Afrikaners who support the new Afrikaner culture of Johannes Kerkerrel and the Voëlvry Toer, it hardly speaks of Afrikaner/white coherence.

Dynamism

Further, the enormous debate taking place within the Dutch Reformed Church is a sign of a dynamism which can hardly be equated with historical coherence. What does Prof Giliomee make of the hundreds of Afrikaners who have over the last two years not only been willing to meet with the African National Congress but have stated publicly the enormous shift which has taken place in their own socio-political experience as a direct result of these encounters? What I am speaking of is not so much a disintegration of Afrikaner/white nationalism but a greater openness to consider a broader nationalism which is inclusive rather than exclusive. Prof Giliomee sells his fellow white Afrikaner short in suggesting that he is determined to remain forever in the laager of narrow Afrikaner nationalism.

Unity

By implication, Prof Giliomee suggests that I have certain political and academic qualms and this informs Idasa's determination to "get away from the institutionalisation of two nations". One of these qualms is that nationalism is by its nature exclusive. But I have never suggested that nationalism is necessarily exclusive. It is true that some nationalisms are

heid beraadslag — oorspronklik agter geslote deure.

— Dit lyk asof daar nog meer demokrasie-op-eie-houtjie-agter-geslote-deure oppad is!

— Not that one couldn't have led a nation with a consignment of that size.

Ja-Nee

Foute agter geslote deure

Volgens die Minister van Finansies, mnr Barend du Plessis, sal die Nasionale Party nie weer sy fout van 1983 herhaal deur sy grondwetlike planne op die tafel te sit, om net te sien hoe hulle in die openbaar uitmekaar getrek word nie. Die regering, sê mnr Du Plessis, sal sy planne vertroulik hou en hy sal in vertroulik-

Biltong's shares plunge

The former State President's venison delivery drew critical comments from at least two Afrikaans newspapers. *Beeld* said it would be unworthy of his high office if the incident were repeated. *Rapport* commented, in lighter vein, on the diligence of the police force: "Biltong is a national delicacy but not a national priority."

Rock-around-the-pulpit

Two Dutch Reformed dominees have crossed swords in *Die Kerkbode* over the desirability of the message in Johannes Kerkerrel and Co's "Voëlvry" record album. Dr Jannie Malan, known for his curious habit of playing records backwards to check for possible satanic verses, says the record is undiluted evil — bent on undermining Christian society. A colleague from another Johannesburg congregation, Ds Zachie le Roux, thinks differently. In fact, he



FW de Klerk....
 Who wants to speak to Kenneth
 Who can't speak to Nelson,
 Who couldn't speak for
 30 years,
 but was spoken to by PW,
 Who's angry with Pk,
 Who didn't speak to him
 about Kenneth and FW,
 Who hasn't been on speaking
 terms with PW for 3 months
 Who would be speaking
 to whom about what
 after September 6?

exclusive, but some are not. The political task as I understand it is to identify those which are not and then to support them through practical and theoretical means. This does not imply "down-playing the ethnic factor". What it does mean is identifying the forces for change in South Africa and working within these forces. Non-racialism for example does not imply a rejection of the demands and rights of black nationalism. In fact it suggests that national unity cannot be built until these historical claims are dealt with in an inclusive way: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white". The stress therefore is on a democratic future realised in a democratic process involving maximum participation and negotiation. It is incorrect to equate white Afrikaner nationalism and black African nationalism — the former is exclusive, the latter (at least the non-racial democratic position) is inclusive and non-chauvinistic. The greatest hope for South Africa is the fact that most people subscribe to the non-racial democratic position as opposed to ethnically-defined nationalisms or exclusive nationalisms. This means that the problem in South Africa is not how to resolve two competing nationalisms (à la Giliomee) but how to build on the existing non-racial position which is very strongly held and has been fought for by many different organisations over a very long period of time.

What Idasa is doing is trying to help whites to understand, experience and ultimately accept existing non-racialism in practice and so help build the new South African nation which is already under construction.

Therefore it is valid to focus not so much on the very real divisions which exist and the fears and prejudices which underpin them, but on the post-apartheid South Africa of the future. This does not mean ignoring the national question; on the contrary, I would argue that you cannot focus on what is meant by a post-apartheid South Africa without giving serious attention to the national question.

Tragedy

The tragedy of white Afrikaner nationalism is that it says to all other whites "if you want to be really part of my nation, you have to be an Afrikaner", and it says to the so-called coloured, the majority of whom are Afrikaans-speaking and who share in the religious and cultural heritage of the Afrikaner, "you must be white".

It is surely ironic that when Mr F W de Klerk and the National Party as a whole (at least in terms of rhetoric) has moved away from the idea of several nations to a commitment to "one nation", Prof Giliomee spends so much of his time and energy on defending bi-communalism which in my view does institutionalise the concept of division, and therefore of conflict. Idasa is committed not only to one nation but to a united South African nation which is non-racial and therefore inclusive and which is democratic and therefore a process which invites and seeks the participation of all South Africans in the fight to achieve these goals.

Alex Boraine
 Executive Director

Letters

Address your letters to
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 1 Penzance Road, Mowbray 7700

Tolerance and understanding

I read your newsletter with great interest and I deeply appreciate the wonderful work Idasa does towards a non-racial democratic South Africa. I think your contact with the extra-parliamentary mass-based organisations, such as the UDF and the ANC, is of tremendous value. I also understand that black South Africans, because they are excluded from the constitutional process, are understandably hostile towards parliament and everything connected with it, even opposition parties in parliament.

In your April newsletter, Mr Wayne Mitchell mentions tolerance and understanding and says "this must be between all parties and organisations working for change" — the sort of change you are working for.

All parties include the Democratic Party because their main aim is also a non-racial, democratic South Africa. When members of the DP recently met in Cape Town, UDF tolerance was completely absent and the UDF apparently refused to enter into discussions. This seems to me to be arrogant and unreasonable and I wonder if you could stress the need for tolerance and understanding because without it there can be no negotiation — something which we are all so keen on.

H C Parkes
 Somerset West

No way to build a free SA

The recent disruption of meetings at the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Durban-Westville, which also affected Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, must be deplored.

Idasa's attempts to create a climate in which democracy can take root, are directly affected by actions such as these. The democratic future that many of us are striving towards, seems to be so unattainable at times like these. If we subvert our basic principles in our fight for a free South Africa, we compromise everything that we stand for.

Democratic values cannot be created overnight in society. One must work at it. One must nurture the democratic culture and strive to conduct the struggle in such a way that these values are ultimately given an honorary place in the fight for freedom and justice.

Real democracy encompasses respect for the freedom of speech of any individual. The blatant disregard of this fundamental freedom by the students who disrupted these meetings does not bode well for the kind of society that will replace the present regime.

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**Contributors to Democracy
 in Action may express
 opinions that are not
 necessarily supported by
 IDASA**

identifies with the revolt of the "alternative" Afrikaner musicians.

— A fresh breeze after all the pulpit jazz.

Hulle vat 'n kans

Nog slim (maar minder wyse) woorde uit kerkkringe kom van Woord en Daad, spreekbuis van die Reformatoriese Beweging van Suider-Afrika. "Sonder om ons eksplisiet agter die Nasionale Party te skaar, wil ons in dié stadium vra: gee die man F W de Klerk 'n kans in hierdie ronde. Ons kan hom en sy party in 1995 by 'n volgende verkiesing weer weeg, nie aan wat hy dan sê hy gaan doen nie, maar wat hy in sy

ampstermyn vermag het."

— Soveel tyd, soveel verskonings.

Slaan 'n nuwe blaadjie om

Niemand kan by *Die Burger* kers vashou op die gebied van propaganda nie. Nou word hulle nog meesters van onderbektoneering ook. In die verleentheid rondom die NP-advertensie wat gebaseer was op 'n (*Vrye Weekblad*) foto van DP-leiers in die teenwoordigheid van Joe Slovo en Johnny Makatini, verwys *Die Burger* maestro Alf Ries smalend na die alternatiewe Afrikaanse koerant as 'n "linkse blaadjie".

— Klink na suur druive van 'n regse handleiding.

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businessmen are playing tricks with our lives. In crisis situations they always agree to do something, but when the crisis passes they forget all their promises."

Prof Sampie Terreblanche of the University of Stellenbosch agreed. "In the early 80s an unholy marriage took place between the Pretoria bureaucracy and the Johannesburg business community. A large section of the business community gave legitimacy to the NP government that they did not deserve," Terreblanche said. He added that no normal business could take place in an abnormal society. "This fetish of business with neutrality is a propaganda trick. The political and economic game is taking place in a power framework in which black people have been on the losing end for a very long time. Business cannot ignore this problem that will have to be addressed by a post-apartheid government." He suggested that big business call its own Carlton conference to devise strategies to put pressure on the government.

Dr Nthatho Motlana, civic leader and board member of Southern Life, agreed that black people could not rely on predominantly white big business to address their grievances but he felt that the only way to remedy this was for black people to become part of the business community. "Big business has always been white. I am pleading that big business should become non-racial," he said.

"Blacks should become part of big business in order to acquire economic power," he said.

The editor of *The Sowetan*, Aggrey Klaaste, explained his concept of nation building to the conference and said that he and his newspaper also

believed in "black empowerment". He identified a more basic problem than Mr Motlana, however, and stressed the need for black people to be made aware of their ability to take leadership positions. "The government had been able to take care of the cycle of unrest born out of black anger with their repressive machinery. We blacks must therefore try to out-think the state."

Echoing these sentiments Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of Idasa, regretted the inability of many white liberals to refrain from patronising attitude that real change can only come through white initiative. "Tragically," Boraine said, "many white liberals find it difficult when blacks demand to do things on their own."

The concluding panel discussion centred around the question if South Africa could become a true democracy through the younger generation. It generated a heated debate on the methods that might be used to achieve a post-apartheid democratic South Africa and the form this democracy should take.

Mr Tony Leon, the Democratic Party candidate for Houghton, presented a classical liberal

Economic power: blacks must take part in big business

view. He said that democracy was not just about giving the majority the vote, it was about the protection of individuals. "This is only going to happen if we can establish a democratic culture: Liberty lies in the heart of men and women. When it dies there it cannot be saved by the courts or the constitution," he said.

Peter Mokhaba, president of the South African Youth congress (Sayco), argued that the democracy of a post-apartheid South Africa should serve all the people of the country by looking at the specific situation at hand. "If we talk about democracy in the context of the national liberation movement, we say that

democracy must first and foremost satisfy the aspirations of the African community. South Africa today is divided into two sides — one fighting for a democratic future and the other side fighting to retain apartheid and the undemocratic system," Mokhaba said.

He encouraged whites to take up the struggle for democracy because they too were denied the democratic right to associate with whom they want.

A delegate reiterated Mr Leon's notion that the democratic spirit must be part of the people's culture and questioned the democratic nature of the MDM. André Zaaïman, Idasa's regional director in Pretoria, reminded the conference that a struggle is at

present taking place in South Africa. "The state is sitting there and they are just waiting to sow division in the ranks of the opposition. How democratic the struggle can be is therefore not determined by the opposition but by the state."

Another delegate condemned the MDM for being just as "evil and undemocratic as the NP" and questioned the necessity to put aside one's democratic ideals in the struggle for liberation. Zaaïman responded by saying that it was sometimes necessary to have a democracy in a different form. "The township organisations have their own form of democracy and leaders are always kept accountable to the community."

Idasa's national co-ordinator, Wayne Mitchell, ended the conference on a hopeful note arguing that young white South Africans could play a major role in winning other whites over to a commitment for a non-racial democratic state. "Actions led by young leaders within the white community will be less easy to ignore than black protest, because they will come from within the community and therefore from a common moral and religious perspective," Mitchell said.



At the conference . . . Idasa regional co-ordinators Monde Mtanga (Port Elizabeth, left), and Patrick Banda (Johannesburg, right) with former Transvaal regional director Steve Fourie.

Security n dream' if

By Ronel Scheffer

"You are looking at a black future," Fatima Meer calmly told her largely white audience. She was, of course, not being pessimistic. By the year 2000 South Africa's urban population is expected to number around 40 million — 34 million of those people will be black. "What we now have to ensure is that that black future is a happy one," said Prof Meer.

The challenge contained in that observation was also heard in most of the other papers delivered at Idasa's "Peace and Security" conference which took place in Durban at the end of July. Speaker after speaker emphasised that the road to peace and security runs through the successful accommodation of black aspirations; that whites have no hope of finding security in isolation and that they should start defining themselves as part of a majority — not a minority; that an understanding of "corrective equality" would be a vital ingredient of a peaceful future.

There was a recurring appeal to the black community as well: several speakers and members of the audience asked that whites' attempts to bring about change be taken seriously; that their strategies, although differing from those of the broad democratic movement, be accorded respect too; that blacks should shed some of their mistrust and acknowledge the existence and efforts of whites who truly are "transformists".

The 300 delegates to the conference had the opportunity to examine peace and security from a wide range of perspectives which were offered in the course of an intensive programme of two plenary sessions and six concurrent seminars.

In her summary of the conference, Prof Meer, who heads the Institute of Black Research in Durban, dwelled on one of the key debates of the day: negotiation. Consensus at the conference seemed to be that although formal negotiations were still a long way off, the government had at least acknowledged its inevitability. Prof Meer said the tea party at Tuynhuys in July had brought Afrikanerdom to the point of no return. "The two leaders met. Having gone that far, how are they (Afrikanerdom) going to retract. They have aroused expectations inside and outside the country. It is part and parcel of their survival to negotiate."

Opening the conference the previous evening, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa's director of policy and planning, also dealt with the issue of negotiation. He said the international community had given the government a period of grace until after the September 6 election. At that point the National Party will have to face up to the fact that "security is not something which you can provide for yourself on your own".

Slabbert said the government had now reached the stage where it wanted to negotiate one constitution for all in the country. However,

Not an 'impossible whites join majority

unless it makes an unequivocal break with white domination, domestic and regional peace and security could not be achieved.

Leading a seminar on "Liberation movements: prospects for negotiations", Prof Peter Vale of Rhodes University suggested that post-war African history had experienced the "from prison to State House syndrome". In such situations, the imprisoned very quickly began to control the negotiation agenda. While liberation wars were invariably intensely politicised, there was little doubt that positions that resulted from negotiating were sacrosanct.



Prof Coovadia and Dr Treverton.

During an anxious interchange, delegates were wary of the immediate prospects for negotiations in South Africa, arguing that a balance between the forces had not yet been achieved; until this moment negotiations seemed unlikely. Prof Vale conceded that, in his view, there seemed no immediate likelihood of negotiations. Idasa's regional co-ordinator in Natal, Gary Cullen, offered a constructive alternative view of looking at the issue. Negotiations, in his view, were an on-going and continuous process and had been under way at many levels in South Africa for some time.

In the first plenary session of the conference, Dr Greg Treverton, senior fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, placed the security theme in its global context. He noted, like Slabbert earlier, that international security was in the throes of "exciting and confusing" developments.

Treverton said it was clear that, whatever happens in southern and South Africa, governments will have to rely on their own policies, not on large-scale external assistance. While the risks of opting for negotiations in South Africa were great (for both government and opposition groups), the risks of not negotiating were equally great. He concluded that one of the important reasons for opposition groups to consider negotiations concerned the military power of the state, one area in which power had not diffused much. "Despite its military losses in Angola and Namibia, the South African government retains a near monopoly on armed force within its territory. The armed opposition has made much less of a dent than the non-military forms. If the stalemate continues, no doubt armed opposition will increase.

Prof Meer with union leader Moses Mayekiso and Paul Graham, regional director of Idasa in Natal.



But for a very long time it will be members of the opposition that do most of the dying."

Speaking in the same session, Democratic Party co-leader Denis Worrall said while European leaders had great expectations of the settlement of conflicts in southern Africa, the majority of white South Africans had also come to accept that the "apartheid game is over". Yet, they were plagued by a profound sense of insecurity about the future which sprung from the racially polarised politics in the country and "the experience of Africa", said Dr Worrall. They were particularly concerned about a possible loss of "dearly held" values and seemed unaware that those values were also shared by millions of black people.

"Whites in Rhodesia made the mistake of defining their interests as white — and whites in this country will remain part of a white minority as long as they define themselves as such," said Dr Worrall. He argued that security and peace in South Africa could only flow from an inclusive discussion process during which all options — "from the ANC's unitary state to Caryl Chesson's volkstaat concept" — were considered.

Prof Gerry Coovadia, executive member of the UDF in Natal, and Alexandra community leader and trade unionist Moses Mayekiso both stressed that apartheid, and "apartheid violence" in particular, remained the major obstacle and threat to peace in South Africa. They said there was no objective evidence suggesting that the country was on the brink of massive change. Prof Coovadia said the democratic movement could, therefore, not withdraw "one iota" of its pressure on the government.

Regarding security, Coovadia said after years of deliberations on an alternative vision for South Africa, the democratic movement had arrived at what amounted to a set of minimum conditions for a free country — socially,



The German ambassador, Mr I. Stabreit, with *Natal Witness* editor Richard Steyn (left) and Tex Harris, US consul in Durban (centre).

politically and economically. Among its goals were a participatory democracy which could take the ordinary person beyond the formalism of voting every five years, and could ultimately lead to state and local authority "gradually becoming one".

Regarding economic policies, Prof Coovadia said the movement recognised the importance of a strong and growing economy, but growth would not — as in the past — be allowed to take place "at the expense of everything else".

In a seminar on "majority rule and minority protection", Prof Louwrens du Plessis of the law faculty at the University of Stellenbosch pointed out that a clear understanding of the economic implications of "corrective equality" would have to be instilled in whites. He said many whites believed that equality began and ended with "equal opportunities", not realising that a post-apartheid society would demand a "system of equality wherein injustices of the past must be redressed". Whites would need to come to terms with material sacrifices because the imbalances of the past would be "redressed at a certain expense", he said.

Touching on the fears that exist on both sides of the political spectrum, Prof Du Plessis argued that the "purely racial" fears of whites would be easier to overcome than their "privileged class" fears. He suggested, however, that these fears would not be insurmountable if whites could be convinced of the long-term advantages that their "sacrifices" would produce.

Black fear is generally manifested in mistrust — a state of mind akin to fear, according to Prof Du Plessis. This mistrust was born of bitter experience, but too rigid a persistence in this attitude would bedevil progress. "There are whites who want transformation and not merely just the reformation of structures," he said. Mutual trust — and a loss of fear — was essentially established at interpersonal level, but this trust should ultimately also be reflected in structures.

Several black delegates participating in this debate urged whites to shed their fear and ignorance of fellow South Africans by becoming involved in progressive organisations. "By joining these organisations they will know exactly what is going on in their country. We are delaying liberation by not working together," one delegate said. Earlier on Prof Coovadia also noted that most whites still appeared to be almost unaware of the hardships of the oppressed. He urged whites to stop being "visitors to the struggle" and to start becoming "residents" in the process of national liberation.

No holy cows for Saunders at UCT

By Pierre de Vos

"One day I would like to go back to being a full-time physician," confesses Dr Stuart Saunders, vice-chancellor and principal of the University of Cape Town who was chief physician at Groote Schuur Hospital before his appointment as principal in 1981.

Dr Saunders, whose medical career took him from Groote Schuur to Harvard Medical School and Massachusetts General Hospital before he settled down to the job as senior lecturer in medicine at UCT in 1961, is a medical man through and through. His speech is peppered with medical metaphors and he says that even his appointment as vice-chancellor couldn't keep him away from at least some involvement in medicine. He has been an honorary consultant on the joint staff of Groote Schuur since 1983 and earlier this year became a honorary fellow of the College of Medicine of South Africa.

Dr Saunders, a member of Idasa's board of trustees, was appointed as vice-chancellor after being deputy principal (planning) for only three years. "I didn't find the transition from being a doctor to running the university difficult at all," he says in his spacious wood-panelled office on the lower campus. In fact, he believes that there are striking similarities between the two jobs. "As a physician one deals with people all the time. Similarly, as vice-chancellor it is important to be able to listen to other people's problems. One must be prepared to become involved in dialogue and discussion."

In the recurrent clashes between students and the police on the UCT campus Dr Saunders has shown his commitment to resolve these conflicts by drawing both sides into a discussion. He has become a familiar figure at these incidents, always occupying the middle ground between the police and students and calling for calm — from both sides. "My main aim is to get a peaceful resolution of the seemingly inevitable conflict," he says. Not that he ap-



Dr Stuart Saunders . . . one must be prepared to become involved in dialogue and discussion.

proves of the way in which the police normally handles the explosive situation created by their presence. "I believe that the right to peaceful demonstration is a fundamental part of democracy. We don't want the police on the campus to enforce their political will, but when a clash is looming I try to negotiate with the police to create the opportunity for the students to protest for at least a fair amount of time."

Saunders' commitment to freedom of speech and the right to criticism and protest goes back a long way. In his inaugural address in 1981 he already stressed that "there can be no 'holy cows' immune to analysis and criticism". But this alone would not make UCT a respected and outstanding place of learning, he warned. "It is essential that the university should always seek the highest possible scholastic accomplishments in recruiting and promoting staff. A university which doesn't give pride of place to scholarship will soon become an intellectual desert."

The university should on the other hand make sure that it is open to all and that entrance criteria are laid down by the university, and not politicians.

"In laying down these criteria one should realise that although we are part of the inter-

national academic community, we are a university of Africa and a university in South Africa. Black and white youth in South Africa arrive at the university with totally different experiences. Universities give a crucial opportunity for these young people to live and learn together and this is crucial for the future of South Africa," Saunders says. "There aren't many places where white and black people can really meet as equals. That is why universities have such a crucial mission, because they are paving the way for how South Africa will be one day."

In a way then, that which is happening more or less spontaneously in the university enclave is being nurtured outside by organisations like Idasa. Saunders' commitment to Idasa's work is therefore not surprising. "When Alex Boraine and Van Zyl Slabbert asked me to serve on Idasa's board I accepted immediately," Saunders recalls. "I think that Idasa's attempts to increase dialogue and debate in this country is crucial in ensuring a peaceful future. And I am delighted that they have made good progress in bringing people together."

Apart from his full-time duties as vice-chancellor Dr Saunders is also kept busy by his involvement with the National Botanic Gardens of which he has been a trustee since 1982. He is also a trustee of the Chris Barnard Fund and the Higher Education Trust, and in 1985 he served as president of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

His main concern at present, however, still stems from the squeeze on finances. "It worries me tremendously that we won't have enough money to maintain our high standards at the university," he says. The increase in the number of black students means that more funds will be needed for academic support programmes. The apartheid system, and the accompanying inferior education system for blacks, have created a tremendous need for programmes and finance to enable black students to overcome these handicaps.

But Dr Saunders remains optimistic. "When one has success in raising funds and one can see a realisation in productive terms of the idealism and drive of students, it does something for me, it gives me hope and satisfaction."

But a long, uphill battle still lies ahead before Dr Saunders will be able to go back to being a physician — something he dearly wants to do.

SOCIAL HISTORY TOURS OF ALEXANDRA

On the doorstep of Johannesburg, just down Louis Botha Avenue, over 140 000 people live on just two square kilometres of land.

It is another world for most white South Africans: one of overcrowded homes, shack settlements, bucket toilets, impassable roads and fragmented upgrading.

It is also a township with a rich history: from bus boycotts and notorious gangsterism in the 1950s to the famous Mayekiso trial last year. Attempts by the government to turn it into a hostel town failed in the seventies and now there is a new attempt to transform it into an elite township.

Idasa has developed a social history tour of

the township.

The tour, which lasts about two hours, takes participants from one corner of the township to the other and includes places where history was made, the squatter camps, the site of the so-called people's courts which was the focus of the Mayekiso treason trial and the upgrading programmes.

It begins at the Alexandra Art Centre and ends at a shebeen where participants get the opportunity to meet community leaders. The tour also stops at one or two places where again participants are able to meet residents.

Idasa will also provide fact sheets on:

- Facts and figures on the township.

- History of Alexandra.
- The implications of the Joint Management System for the township.

Idasa provides the transport — an Alexandra taxi — which accommodates about 15 people. The cost is R30 per person while students, pensioners and unemployed need only pay R10. These rates are negotiable.

If you would like to come on a tour or would like your company, organisation or friends to come as a group, please contact us at 011-4033580 or write to us at P.O. Box 32804, Braamfontein, 2017. Tours are run during the week and on weekends.

One nation, many problems!

Who's stumbling on the road to a common nationhood?

By HERMANN GILIOME

Because the project of building a common nation in South Africa has only just started there is a strong tendency among democrats to downplay or ignore the fact that we have a competition between nationalisms in South Africa. It is almost as if they say: "Let's first get the vote for all and only then worry about instilling a sufficiently developed sense of common nationhood."

I assume it is for this reason that some people have been upset by the view I expressed at several Idasa conferences, starting with the historic one in Dakar, that the best way to build a democracy in South Africa is not to deny or reject the fact that we have at this stage two nations in South Africa — a predominantly white and a predominantly black one — but to accept it and to explore ways of facilitating a reconciliation process between these two nations. At a recent conference in Johannesburg Dr Alex Boraine also opposed this view because it, in his words, "institutionalised the idea of two nations". He added that this was "exactly what Idasa wants to get away from". (*Democracy in Action*, May 1989).

In view of the great need for debate on nation-building and democracy in our country I am grateful for the opportunity *Democracy in Action* has given me to restate my position.

To start at the beginning: everyone would surely agree that to address, and resolve, any conflict one must understand its root cause. This is also true of the South African conflict.

Scholars hold essentially two views of the historic causes of the South African conflict. To simplify greatly one view argues that there has been conflict in our country over a long period because of **conflicting ideas and values**. In this perspective blacks and whites believe that they belong to different races, communities and nations. They make their sense of nationhood the basis of their political identity and they tend to ascribe certain superior qualities to that nation.

The other view holds that conflict is decisively shaped by the fact that whites and blacks belong to different classes which have **conflicting interests**. According to this perspective there is conflict in South Africa because the dominant class refuses to part with their exclusive control over land and industrial capital and their apartheid-based privileges.

My study of South African history and politics has convinced me that there are elements of both in our conflict, but that when it comes to the crunch people in South Africa (or, for that matter, in other ethnically-divided societies) are moved more by the emotional power of nationalism rather than by materialist considerations (jobs, rewards or privileges).

If this is indeed so we must look at ways to resolve the South African conflict from the

Democrats tend to downplay or ignore the competition between nationalisms in South Africa, according to Prof Hermann Giliomee (right). In this article he explains his own position on nation-building — and takes Dr Alex Boraine to task for wanting to get away from the idea of two nations.

latter perspective. In other words, we must explore how an Afrikaner/white nation and African/black nation can co-exist peacefully in South Africa. My suggestion would be for the people(s) of South Africa to become engaged in a process of nation-building in which we try to construct a transcendent South African nation with its own distinctive set of symbols and values. This means reducing both Afrikaner and African nationalism to second-level or sub-national loyalties. I believe we can do this because (a) neither Afrikaner nor African nationalism can prevail over the other over the short to medium term and (b) the existence of a considerable middle ground in South Africa comprised of people who don't necessarily identify with the one nationalism or the other.

This brings me to Dr Boraine's words that my view "institutionalises" the idea of two nations, something which Idasa "wants to get away from". I suspect that behind this line of thinking lies an anticipation together with certain political and academic qualms. The anticipation is that Afrikaner or a broader white nationalism will disintegrate over the short to medium term because of pressure from within and without, and the greater attractiveness of the ideology of non-racialism. This is a fallacious assumption. There is nothing that suggests a break-down of Afrikaner, or broader white coherence.

The qualms are twofold, political and academic. The political qualms can be disaggregated. There is on the one hand people who believe that nationalism is by its nature exclusive, setting up a disastrous either you/or I dichotomy as far as control over the state and territory is concerned. This is not correct.

Nationalist demands can range from exclusive control (as in South Africa under Verwoerd) through co-equality (as in Canada, where French-Canadians have rejected a separate independence and have settled for a system which grants them a special status in Quebec and specific provisions for the French language) to the recognition of minority rights.

On the other hand there are those who have problems with nationalism because they believe that this will foreclose the search for democracy in South Africa. After all, democracy usually requires a common sense of nationhood. For those who are concerned about this I refer to **South Africa's Options**, by Van Zyl Slabbert and David Welsh, which states that the following countries are democratic despite the existence of strong feeling of nationalism or communalism among one or more of the population groups: Belgium, Canada, India, Jamaica, Mauritius, Senegal, Singapore and Switzerland.

Then there is the academic qualm about nationalism and idealist interpretations. Scholars in general much prefer interpretations



Die Suid-Afrikaan

which stress class of socio-economic differentiation. Until the mid-1970s they tended to consider warnings not to underestimate the emotional strength of nationalism as outdated or embarrassing. Outdated it certainly is not; in fact the class interpretation is on the defensive. As for embarrassment — we simply will have to get over it. Trying to sweep the ethnic divisions in one society under the carpet is in fact counter-productive. It is exactly those societies which tried to downplay or denigrate the ethnic factor (for instance India) that ran into the severest problems, while those who tried to take proper account of it enjoyed great stability (Malaysia).

In recent times the single most important conclusion scholars in the field of conflict mediation have reached is that the force of ethnonationalism has been greatly underestimated. Nathan Glazer writes: "We became more aware of ethnic strains and potential conflicts. Ethnicity began to appear as a universal force with a power to move people that was putting class in the shade." Walker Connor writes: "It risks triteness to note that during the past two decades ethnonationalism has been an extremely consequential force throughout the first, second and third worlds . . . Few indeed are the scholars who can claim either to have anticipated this global upsurge in ethnonationalism or have recognised its early manifestations."

Dr Boraine is cited in *Democracy in Action* as saying that we should rather devote attention to debate about a post-apartheid South Africa. That debate is an important one, but it has in some quarters assumed unreal and escapist features — almost like a debtor who does not try to resolve his financial difficulties but rather day dreams of his debt being written off or the bank being nationalised.

Idasa has played a valuable role in stimulating the debate about alternatives in South Africa. It is well placed to organise a conference on the most formidable of all issues — the national question. In the meantime I would like to suggest that Dr Boraine and I debate this in your columns.

□ Prof Giliomee heads the department of political studies at UCT.

Middle of the road solution for SA

THE PASSING SUMMER by Michael Cassidy. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989)

The author of the book is well-known in South Africa as an evangelist and preacher. His evangelistic approach together with his concern for the socio-political situation in South Africa, is a much appreciated combination.

He writes the book because he believes that there are genuine Christians on both sides of the conflict in South Africa. The result of this is that "in many ways, our political problem is really a religious and theological one, and to miss this is to miss a crucial component in the whole drama".

A definite purpose throughout the book is to explain to people that time is running out in this country of us. This is also illustrated by the title "The passing summer", as well as by the quote of Martin Luther King (jr), at the beginning of the first chapter:

"There is such a thing in history as being too late with the right answers."

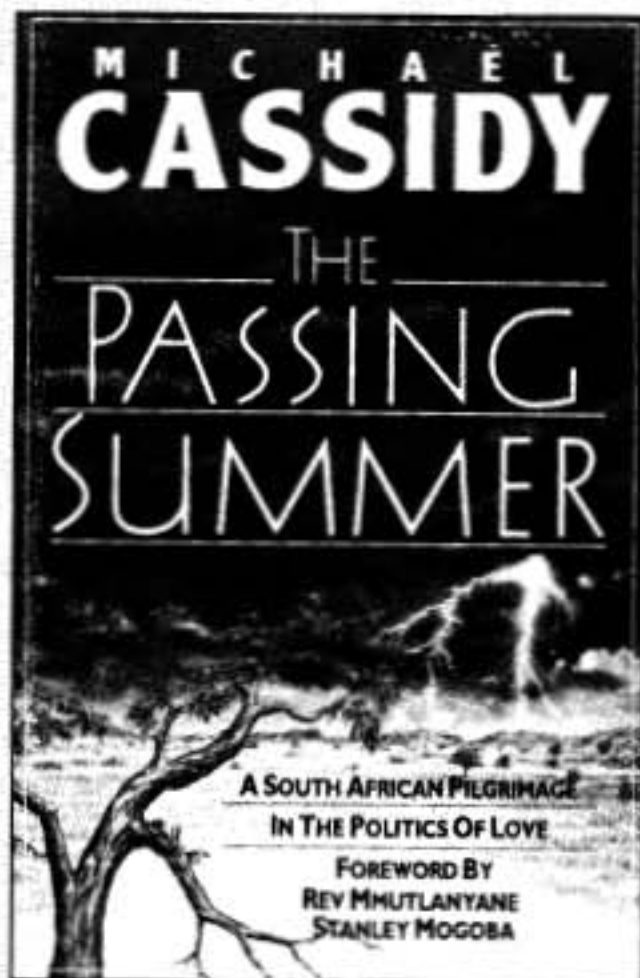
The writer gives us substantial background information about the historical situation in South Africa. He gives special attention to the conflict between the Afrikaner and the colonial powers. The book is definitely written in a wider context than just the South African situation. Especially for people outside South Africa, but also for many people in South Africa, it is important to understand the struggle of the Afrikaner in order to understand the roots of apartheid, namely colonialism.

Cassidy discusses the "fruits" of apartheid. He sketches the structural injustices and black protest. The results of Bantu education; detention without trial; race classification and forced removals are illustrated by telling the story of people who are personal friends of him. Although Cassidy gives a lot of hard facts about the political situation in South Africa in this chapter, it is the true stories about real people that give one an idea of the injustices in South Africa.

The first four chapters are historically inclined. The next concerns the task of the church in South Africa. Here Cassidy makes his own theological premises clear, namely that the church must understand God and his creation in a wider context. A misunderstanding of God and Christ results in a kind of Christianity that is so busy with the minor things that it becomes blind to the major things that happen around it. The church has a responsibility to connect the vertical and the horizontal; to seek a holistic ministry.

Cassidy gives attention to some of the important issues in the church in South Africa: the Kairos Document, black theology, black consciousness, ideology, military service, active resistance, civil disobedience, sanctions, communism and the relationship between church and state. Unfortunately some of his conclusions are oversimplified.

He attaches much importance to the concept



of reconciliation. This is a concept that causes much dispute in South Africa these days because of the way it is misused by many Christians in defence of the status quo. He tries to interpret it in a wider context and warns that if supporters of reconciliation in a society of conflict are not committed to dismantling unjust structures, it will further undermine the credibility of the church.

The question can still be asked whether Cassidy does not simplify the solution for South Africa by using reconciliation as "the easy way out".

The same critique can be held against the book as a whole. Throughout his book there is a sort of "middle of the road" trend. Cassidy makes it clear that there is injustice on all the sides and he delivers critique against all sides and at the end chooses the "middle of the road" solution of reconciliation.

In his last chapter he puts the socio-political situation in a wider perspective, namely eternity. Although most people will agree with his view, that there is more to life than the socio-political situation in South Africa and that we must keep the eternal perspective in mind, the emphasis in his last chapter gives the idea that he wants to tone down everything he wrote earlier.

Cassidy is an eloquent writer. He tells stories in much detail and with compassion, also being factual and entertaining at the same time. His passion for the gospel and justice is clear. To a certain extent he succeeds to integrate his evangelical and political views. In a country where the church has a tendency to separate its call for justice from its mission as a church, a book such as this is of utmost importance.

Although he makes controversial statements and many people would seriously differ with him, it is an important book for anybody to read, especially those members of society who call themselves Christians and are involved in the church.

□ Bobby Nel is a theologian and attached to the Dutch Reformed Mission Church in Cape Town.

Education for liberation

By Marian Shaer

Some 60 Cape Town women devoted a weekend in August to looking at constitutions: how they are made, what they should consist of and how they should be amended and be enforced.

In the opening address of the weekend conference which was facilitated by Idasa, Eleonore van der Horst, an advocate and chairperson of the Western Cape branch of the Women's Bureau, stressed that women represented 50 per cent of the adult population and that they should therefore play an important role in negotiating the political future of South Africa. She mentioned two prerequisites:

- Women should understand the long term implications and appreciate that there will always be conflicting interests which need to be balanced;
- Women should be familiar with the basic concepts of constitutions and constitution making.

Aptly, it was for these reasons the conference had been arranged. After the Harare women's conference in April, the Western Cape delegates identified the need to equip themselves with the tools needed by participants in the constitution building process. This was reaffirmed at the conference when a speaker encouraged delegates to make sure that it would be costly for the decision makers to exclude women.

Dr Dorothy Driver, a lecturer in English literature at the University of Cape Town, analysed the language of the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines, focusing on women in particular. Dr Driver concluded that although the document uses gender neutral terms, women exist in the guidelines only as mothers. A specific clause is included to ensure that "women have equal rights in all spheres of public and private life and the state shall take affirmative action to eliminate inequalities and

Pretoria's his

In June Idasa's Pretoria office, with a forum entitled "Resistance in Pretoria", launched a long-term history project. This project of re-writing the history of Pretoria will hopefully culminate in a conference and a publication in about three years' time. One might ask: Why re-write the history of Pretoria? Does Pretoria have another history?

The word "Pretoria" has too often and too long been used as a synonym for the word "government". People have been led to believe that Pretoria has but one face — the face of apartheid. They laugh when they hear you are having a meeting about resistance in Pretoria. "What resistance?" they ask.

With our meeting on resistance to apartheid in Pretoria we were introduced to a different Pretoria — Pretoria as a city with a history of resistance to apartheid and oppression. Mr Andrew Boraime, a housing consultant for Plan Act, explained how the government's urban policies over the last six decades disrupted the

or (women's)



Speakers . . . Dr Mamphela Ramphela (above) and Dr Dorothy Driver (right).
Delegates . . . Margaret Fourie, Hella Gobel and Denise Ackermann (above right).

discrimination between the sexes". Dr Driver asked why women need to be referred to specifically and whether it was because women were absent from the rest of the document?

Questions were asked on whether there should be nit-picking about full stops, commas and pronouns. Dr Driver referred to the Zambian constitution which does not include "sex" in its terminology when it defines discriminatory practices. If this small provision was made, it is argued, many of the discriminatory laws and administrative practices in Zambia would immediately have become unconstitutional.

Ms Rhoda Kadalie, lecturer in anthropology at the University of the Western Cape, provided a thorough backdrop of the oppression of women in South Africa. She explained that while men controlled women's work, sexuality and reproduction, women are oppressed. This subordination will end with the abolition of the sexual division of labour; when women are alleviated from the burden of domestic labour

and child-care; with the removal of all kinds of institutionalised forms of discrimination; the attainment of political equality and the freedom of choice over child bearing; the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women.

Dr Mamphela Ramphela, an anthropologist at UCT, explained that these criteria can only be met if the "villain-victim" scenario was rejected. "Women often assume that the problem lies with men and forget that we actively contribute to creating this society."

Ms Kadalie extended the argument by explaining that there were forms of oppression and exploitation directly related to race and class, for example, domestic work, unequal pay, enforced contraception, migratory labour and forced removals, squatting etc. There were, however, forms of oppression that affected all women, albeit in different ways: perceptions among women of their duties in the home with regard to child-care; housework; servicing the needs of men; ideas of femininity; health care for women; issues of rape and abortion; violence against women and child abuse; lack of creches; child-care; paternity care and militarization.

In a forum featuring a cross section of views ranging from the positions of the Federation of South African Women to those of Career 2000, there appeared to be little hope that the participants would settle on a strategy to organise and unify women in a country so starkly divided by race and class barriers. Dr Ramphela stressed though that it was important to confront this issue — if the differentiation of power among women was ignored, consensus would not be based on reality and false expectations would be raised. Mrs Myrtle Witbooi, of the South African Domestic Workers' Union, cautioned against a preoccupation with categorising women. "We are all women of South Africa. I am a woman of South Africa. Don't put any clouds on me."

The necessity for women to be educated and organised, and to market feminism as a way of enriching humanity was reiterated in most workshop sessions. That women themselves were among those this message needs to reach was spelt out by several speakers, including



Photographs by Welma Odendaal, DIE SLUID-AFRIKAAN

attorney Sarah Christie, who reported the following incident as an example:

"A senior shop steward in a large factory was charged with the rape of a fellow worker and members of the shop stewards' committee were also apparently implicated. When the complainant reported this to the factory personnel officer, she was attacked by women at the plant who accused her of being a scab, or breaking the union."

Repeated emphasis was also placed on the fact that a constitution has to command broad-based respect to be successful. This made the need for education a priority.

Participants ended the conference by formulating two proposals to take back to their organisations: Firstly, that an information package be compiled which will reflect the conference proceedings and serve as a tool for education; secondly, the establishment of an extra-parliamentary women's commission to do research on the position of women in South Africa. The aim is to collect the information which will ensure that the necessary emphasis is placed on non-sexism in a new constitution for South Africa.

□ Marian Shaer is the Western Cape Regional Co-ordinator of Idasa

History rewritten

lives of blacks, but he also described how these policies resulted in resistance.

Township speakers told fascinating stories, for example a story of a potato boycott in Pretoria and one about the women's march to the Union Buildings. It became clear that there are many stories like these two — the problem is to find them and to write them down.

We hope that this project will lead the people of Pretoria to realise that they share a proud history of resistance. This recognition might lead to an increasing awareness that Pretoria can become significant in the process of change. By working together and writing together Pretorians will discover a wealth of resources, skills and enthusiasm.

Who knows, a new social history of Pretoria might stun people into never using "Pretoria" as a synonym for the word "government" again!

Lou-Marie Kruger
Pretoria Regional Co-ordinator

Scholars make sport(s) of apartheid

It is seldom that pupils from African and Afrikaans schools have the opportunity to partake in any activity together. It was with this in mind that the Western Cape region of Idasa recently organised an afternoon of sport for 35 pupils from Cape Town's northern suburbs and Guguletu.

Graeme Meintjes, a student who co-ordinated the event for Idasa, said the prejudices and stereotypes built up through a childhood of separation were clear from the outset. However, as the afternoon progressed the pupils mixed in teams for games of volleyball and soccer and it became obvious that these prejudices were being questioned and ignored. There was a spirit of discovery and a need to share feelings. Some of the pupils remained reserved, yet they were interested in this new experience.

After a fiercely contested game of soccer the group gathered together for a short discussion about the afternoon. It was agreed by all that much had been gained and learnt and that further events should be held with more pupils.

An Afrikaans boy from the northern suburbs commented: "All South Africans — black, brown, English, Afrikaans or anything — must come together and meet." All had definitely gained something new to speak about to their fellow pupils.

Skrywers soek antwoorde

Die Afrikaanse skrywers wat aan Idasa se Waterval-konferensie in Zimbabwe deelgeneem het in Julie, ontgeld dit nog steeds. Sedert hul terugkoms moes die 45 skrywers en akademici fel kritiek in die Afrikaanse pers verduur — veral oor hul "verwelkoming" van die ANC se standpunt ten opsigte van die akademiese en kulturele boikot.

Die skrywers het reeds 'n wye reeks vergaderings dwarsoor die land toegesprek waartydens hulle mede-skrywers inlig oor hul indrukke van die gebeure by die Victoria Watervalle waar hulle gesprek gevoer het met Suid-Afrikaanse skrywers wat in noue verbintenis met die ANC staan. Een van die vergaderings is in Kaapstad deur sowat 30 lede van die Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde byge-



WELMA ODENDAAL

Prof Ampie Coetzee

woon. Sestigjarige Jan Rabie en Abraham de Vries en skrywers soos Elsa Joubert, Barend Toerien en Phil du Plessis was teenwoordig.

Die vergadering had veral twee sake: waarom is soveel "jong", "ongevormde" breine (Jan Rabie se woorde) na die konferensie met die ANC genooi en wat het die Afrikaanse afvaardiging beweeg om 'n kulturele boikot — 'n vorm van sensuur — te onderskryf? Deelnemers Ampie Coetzee, Welma Odendaal, Hein Willemsen en Annie Gagiano het weer eens probeer verduidelik: die konferensie was gemik op jonger skrywers; dié boikot word nie beskou as sensuur nie — skrywers wat gekant is teen apartheid word nie persoonlik daardeur geraak nie. Hein Willemsen het die lang geskiedenis van die kulturele boikot sedert 1968 geskets. Hy het aangevoer dat die jongste ingryping van die ANC nou vir Suid-Afrikaners binnelands en buitelands kultureel in 'n beter posisie as ooit tevore plaas; dat dit eintlik 'n poging is van die ANC om beheer uit te oefen oor 'n boikot wat jare lank al hoofsaaklik deur nie-Suid-Afrikaners toegepas word — met ironiese gevolge soos 'n verbod op die oorsese vertonings van 'n Johnny Clegg of 'n Robert Kirby.

Dié antwoorde het duidelik nie bevredig nie, want nie almal is bereid om die boikot bloot te aanvaar as 'n uitvloeisel van apartheid waarmee Suid-Afrikaners in hierdie stadium van die stryd vir lief moet neem nie. Barend Toerien wou weet hoe die kultuurboikotters sou voel oor 'n uitnodiging aan "oorlede Caruso" om in Suid-Afrika te kom sing. Sal dit beskou word as bevordering van apartheid? En Marjorie Wallace het halfkwaad verwys na "al die gemors wat ons op TV sien" en gesê dat dit 'n direkte gevolg van die kulturele boikot is. Douglas Reid-Skinner het gevra hoe diegene in die stryd sou voel oor anti-apartheid skrywers wat die kulturele boikot teenstaan.

Maar die vergadering was ook opsoek na meer fundamentele antwoorde na aanleiding van die

"ontluikende" verhouding tussen skrywers en die ANC. Vir sommige wil dit lyk asof selfs skrywers wat inderdaad teen apartheid gekant is, nou die "vennote" moet word van 'n politieke organisasie soos die ANC. Die digter Phil du Plessis het dit onomwonde gestel dat hy die tentakels van 'n nuwe totalitêre bestel in die verwikkeling sien. Is die skrywer dan net van belang as hy in die diens van die ideologie of die stryd staan? Rabie het gesê dat die skrywers wat reeds dekades lank al die voorskrifte van die regering teenstaan, nie nou geneë was om hulle aan die gesag van die "cultural desk" van die breë demokratiese beweging te onderwerp nie.

Hein Willemsen het dit beklemtoon dat die ANC dit belangrik ag dat groepe soos die Skrywersgilde wat teen apartheid gekant is, hulle teenkanting moet omsit in konkrete optrede. Douglas Reid-Skinner het hierop gesê dat die ware dilemma van die saak blyk te wees of "skryf as 'n politieke daad gedefinieër kan word".

Gunther Pakendorf het die skrywers vermaan om nie individualisme so heftig te verdedig nie. "Jy gaan nie die staat isoleer as jy jou op jou individualiteit terugtrek nie. Skrywers moet hul individualiteit prys te gee om die staat te opponeer nie."

As dié vergadering enige aanduiding is van die woelinge wat in Afrikaanse skrywersgeledere heers na die Waterval-konferensie, is 'n mens geneig om te dink dat die geleentheid dalk in die toekoms onthou gaan word as 'n belangrike keerpunt vir Suid-Afrikaanse skrywers.

Ronel Scheffer
Direkteur Publikasies

Pupils take part in Alex 'clean up'

A small group of white scholars who attend government schools in Johannesburg visited Alexandra in July to take part in a "clean up" project in the township.

The scholars met at the black taxi rank in Rosebank, a suburb north of Johannesburg, and shared a combi taxi with black commuters. It was their first experience of this nature and their first trip to Alexandra, an urban-rural township 13 km north of Johannesburg. They joined other participants in a litter "clean up" initiated by the Alexandra Action Committee, the local civic association. Participants included

Winnie Mandela, Moses Mayekiso, the general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, and church leaders.

After the clean up, the scholars joined youth leadership for lunch at the Alexandra Arts Centre. They discussed the role of youth in shaping a future society and possible joint activities between black and white youths.

Louisa Douwes Dekker, who led the white scholar delegation, emphasised that there was an element of fear among the white parents and youth as a result of apartheid. She commended Idasa for facilitating understanding between the different youth groups.

Patrick Banda
Transvaal Regional
Co-ordinator

Namibia leads way towards SA negotiations

"The South African authorities should take heed of the futility of a drawn out and costly war in a situation where the outcome is inevitable." This, according to Laurie Nathan of the Namibian Information Group, is one of the most valuable lessons South Africa can learn from Namibia at present.

At an Idasa forum in East London, he stressed this point by adding that the Namibian conflict was being resolved by political and not military means. He pointed out that in negotiations there were three vital factors: the participants, the aims and the process.

He added, "the question in South Africa is not whether the opposing would talk, but when opposing sides would talk, but when these talks would take place".

Negotiations in South Africa would flow from the Namibian experience, and must include the ANC, not because of the need to "stop the banning" rather because of the mass support commanded by them.

Other issues, about which South Africa could learn from the Namibian experience, were how to elect a transition ruling body, the role of the SADF and how its activities could be monitored and the role of the SAP. The role of outside bodies like the United Nations was yet another aspect of Namibia from which South Africans could learn.

Cindy Deutschmann
Border Regional Co-ordinator

A rethink on 'city politics'

By Max Mamase

Some years ago, civic organisations in Port Elizabeth's black townships put forward the demand for "One City, One Municipality". Since then we have witnessed — in one of the most turbulent periods of our country's history — resistance to the government's system of separate local authorities for each racial group.

Idasa's conference, entitled "One City, One Municipality — A Critical Appraisal", reopened the debate in Port Elizabeth on 14 July. It was time to make an assessment of an idea which had, in some ways, gone full circle around the country and come back to Port Elizabeth five years later. From the stormy years of opposition to black local authorities in 1984/5, when many in the Eastern Cape ceased to function under popular pressure, to the rent boycotts in Transvaal and the recent "single tax-base" argument of the Soweto People's Delegation; from the campaign around "grey areas" in Hillbrow to the emergence of a broad "Open City" campaign against the Group Areas Act in Cape Town; from the attempts of Pietermaritzburg 2000 to plan for the future, to the building and then crushing of alternative local forms of representation in townships under the State of Emergency. The issue of "city politics" has been placed firmly on the agenda. While even the Port Elizabeth City Council acknowledges the inefficiency of having five separate local authorities for one area, how do we move beyond this situation?

Kehla Shubane, of the Wits Centre for Policy Studies, opened the debate by placing it firmly in context. He outlined how the present multi-racial local government system works, and how it affects our lives. His research indicates that the townships "export" labour to white cities — "the net effect of this system is that white towns receive a subsidy in the form of labour and buying power of township folks". The consequence of such policies, he argued, are boycotts, strikes and other forms of popular struggle around issues such as rent, transport, electricity and health services. The duplication and inefficiency of service provision, and the vast bureaucracies required to maintain such a system, make the present local government structures extremely costly to the economy.

Ivan Krige, Port Elizabeth city councillor, responded to Shubane's paper by stressing that the "bedeviling" factor is the "obdurate refusal of the government to recognise... that its concept of 'group' development is flawed". They are, he claimed, involved in a "hunt for ways to preserve group areas without the Group Areas Act. They clearly would like to preserve racism by another name". Krige felt that it would be "fantastic" if Port Elizabeth could lead the way in applying "one management to one city". It was important to "demand immediate recognition of the fact that we all want representation on one local authority which is not racially based".

Jan van Gend, Democratic Party MP for Groote Schuur, then gave a succinct analysis of the government's Free Settlement Areas Act, explaining how they "compound rather than alleviate the problems inherent in multi-racial local government". The intention of such



Panelists... Mr Rory Riordan, director of the Human Rights Trust, Mr Max Mamase, co-director of Idasa in Eastern Cape, and Mr Ivan Krige. Right: Mr Jan van Gend.

measures, on the government's part, was to put "a finger in the dyke", to strengthen rather than weaken residential segregation. He raised the interesting debate about whether the legislation could be used by those opposed to group areas to have entire areas declared free settlement areas.

After a panel discussion, followed by a buffet lunch, two more challenging papers were delivered. Mark Swilling, of Planact in Johannesburg, looked at the implications of building non-racial local government. He stressed the importance of building truly democratic local government in preparation for the future, and took a hard look at some of the practical problems which will have to be confronted in a "reconstruction" phase. In terms of immediate strategies for "contesting the future of the cities", he outlined four possibilities: local level negotiations between township leaders and white establishment interests; labour-capital strategies where shop-steward councils bargain with chambers of commerce and industry over township development; "Open City" campaigns, as in Cape Town against the Group Areas Act; and campaigns for "one city" or a "single city". The latter is seen as significant, in taking the issue of residential segregation further: to the need for a single tax-base for the city, and the demand for political representation at local level to be non-racial.

Jeremiah Sulelo, giving a township perspective on non-racialism and democracy, explained to an entranced audience just how the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation had built up its own structures of street and area committees. Pebco, he claimed, envisaged this as a truly democratic, grassroots-controlled system; it would be wise to extend this system to all areas on a non-racial basis, to ensure a future system of local government which represents everybody's interests.



After further questions from the floor, the conference was wrapped up by a suggestion that Idasa assist with research into the possibilities of a "single city" of Port Elizabeth.

As Sulelo put it: "To alleviate the fears of many white people, who believe in what they term 'domination' by blacks, the national democratic struggle believes that non-racialism is very different from multi-racialism. South Africa has been 'multi-racial' from the day Van Riebeeck landed here. Non-racialism has nothing to do with group interests; the protection of the interests of white people or black people, or the so-called coloured people. Anybody who has been elected by the people to be present in a council will not be there in the interests of black people or white people, but in the interests of everybody in South Africa. To apply the principle of non-racialism, blacks would be prepared to elect even P W Botha, if he was prepared to represent the interests of everybody in South Africa."

□ Max Mamase is Co-director of Idasa in the Eastern Cape.

Idasa, Five Freedoms 'Rali' youths

On August 5, Idasa participated in "Rali Day" in Johannesburg, an event for school pupils throughout the country organised by the Race Relations and Youth Leadership Initiative (Rali). Rali aims to provide opportunities for black and white students to interact and learn together.

Idasa shared a stall with the Five Freedoms Forum where we showed videos and distributed a pamphlet telling pupils about our programmes, especially our social history tour of Alexandra township.

Many scholars came to watch the video "Going Home" which depicts the history of two photo journalists — one black, one white. There was also much interest in the video "Freedom Square: back of the moon" which deals with the forced removal of black people from white Johannesburg.

Patrick Banda
Transvaal Regional
Co-ordinator

Black Sash and Kontak meet in East London

Kontak and the Black Sash: seemingly the only thing they would have in common is that they are both women's organisations. So thought many in East London, until a recent meeting in which the two organisations gave their views of the role of women in the apartheid and post-apartheid South African society.

What emerged was a lot of common ground. Their methods of working against apartheid may differ but their ideals and visions for the future hardly differ from each other. The role of Kontak can perhaps best be seen as that of reconciliation while that of the Black Sash is to attack, by legal means, the "belly of the beast".

Kontak strives through social contact between women of different races, to promote the idea of non-racialism. Both speakers agreed that women had an important role to play in creating a new South Africa because women were less likely than men to sacrifice people for theories, ideologies and the attainment of wealth or power. Mrs Annemarie Nutt, president of Kontak, said in their view the role of women at present was one of "negotiation,



Contact . . . Annemarie Nutt, president of Kontak (right) and Jenny De Tolly, vice president of the Black Sash.

compromise and reconciliation". The alternative, she said, was revolution which would "destroy everything women had been trying to build up". Women she said, "are the opinion makers of the future because they mould the opinions of the children, in whose hands the future lies".

Mrs Jenny de Tolly, national vice president of Black Sash, outlined the formation of the Black Sash in protest against the manipulation of the constitution (in 1953) to remove "coloured" voters from the voters roll. Mrs De Tolly said white South Africans would have to accept that the future will have to bring a radical redistribution of political and economic resources. She told of her time in Canada, as a "squatter". She lived in a community threatened with removal and this highlighted and personalised for her the problems of many families in South Africa.

When questioned on the negotiation issue, she replied that in her view negotiations were impossible under the State of Emergency, while leaders were in detention and organisations banned.

Mrs De Tolly in closing shared her feeling of hope with those present: "Recently I have had cause for hope — I have begun to see a future beyond apartheid, beyond the terrible conflict that we are locked into. I see a level of pragmatism, both in the corridors of power and in some quarters of the liberation movement — a recognition that there should be a shared future and that it will have to be negotiated".

Cindy Deutschmann
Border Regional Co-ordinator

Lessons for SA — from Paraguay

Important lessons could be drawn from the dismal showing of liberal

and left-wing groups in democratic and free elections in Latin and Central American countries, according to Dr Stanley Greenberg, former director of the South African Institute at Yale and at present a highly acclaimed political analyst and pollster in the United States.

Dr Greenberg talked about his experiences as a pollster in the recent elections in Paraguay and El Salvador at the first of a series of lectures presented by Idasa at the University of Cape Town.

"Progressive forces in these countries were convinced of the historic inevitability of their mass support and spent all their time talking about the election process and not about the real issues that affected the people in their daily lives," he said.

"There was a belief that the national majority would express itself in favour of the progressive forces if the blockages were cleared. They believed it was only the fascists that were keeping them out of power."

Greenberg warned, however, that one should be careful in drawing parallels between the events in South America and in South Africa because of the different histories of the countries. "It may well be that the colonialist imperialist nature of the present regime would compel the national majority to vote for the anti-imperialist, nationalist forces. But the lessons learnt in Paraguay and El Salvador should be part of the thinking of the left in South Africa because conservative forces will definitely explore these options," Greenberg said.

He listed five lessons to be learnt from his experiences:

- The right-wing might be able at a given time to popularise their cause regardless of their track record. This happened in Paraguay where the corrupt second-in-command received more than 70 per cent of the vote.
- In electoral politics image-making might be very important. In Paraguay, for example, the party successfully built the image of a party of the people.

- One shouldn't underestimate the role of modern campaign technology. Conservative Americans helped co-ordinate a slick media campaign that reached out to voters in the remotest areas.

- The self deception of the left led to incompetence and inertia.

- One shouldn't underestimate the extent to which people worry about social decay. The prospect of political chaos was a big factor in deciding the vote in El Salvador. "In short: peasants sometimes have interests that cannot be defined in ideological terms," Greenberg said.

Pierre de Vos
Publications Staff

'No bitterness' in Namibia

Some 200 people attended a public meeting entitled "Voting in Societies in Transition" which was hosted jointly by Idasa and the South African Institute for International Affairs at Wits University in August.

Speakers were Prof Stanley Greenberg, former director of the South African Institute at Yale University in the United States, and Hennie Serfontein, freelance journalist and documentary filmmaker.

Hennie Serfontein spoke on Namibia. "The elections will not be free and fair," he said, "but will give a fair and free reflection of the actual situation." South Africa would put a lot of effort into making the elections look credible.

Serfontein is personally convinced that Swapo will win a two-thirds majority. However, Swapo is facing a number of problems such as the question of "Swapo prisoners", the fact that 40 000 white South Africans have the vote and possible election irregularities. Swapo will also have to retain white confidence and effect reconciliation with the Herero population groups.

"Namibia is a place without bitterness," concluded Serfontein — and there is tremendous pressure for reconciliation from the frontline states and the international community.

Discussion time was lively and centred mainly on Namibia. This clearly indicates interest in how developments there may influence our lives here in South Africa.

Liesel Naudé
Transvaal Regional Director

Nuwe insigte oor SA-beleid ontbreek

THE DEFENCE OF WHITE POWER: SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN POLICY UNDER PRESSURE

Jaster, R.S. Macmillan & The International Institute for Strategic Studies, London (204 bladsye, ongeveer R130).

Suid Afrika se buitelandse beleid mag met die eerste oogopslag vir die gewone Suid-Afrikaner van min belang wees. Trouens, studies oor hierdie onderwerp is vir vele slegs van akademiese belang. Vir diegene wat die Suid-Afrikaanse politieke dinamika beter wil verstaan, is 'n wyer perspektief egter noodsaaklik.

Die huidige globale beweging in die rigting van toenemende ekonomiese interafhanklikheid hou vir Suid-Afrika belangrike implikasies in. Die Sowjet-Unie se "nuwe" benadering tot die oplossing van streekkonflikte, soos onlangs in Namibia en Angola geïllustreer, is 'n verdere kenmerk van die veranderende internasionale toneel. Hierdie verwikkeling beteken dat die politieke toneel in Suid-Afrika, wat reeds die aandag van die wêreld geniet, al hoe meer deur die optrede van internasionale akteurs beïnvloed gaan word.

Die veranderende internasionale politiek het teweeggebring dat die skeidslyn tussen 'n regering se interne en eksterne politieke beleid só vervaag het dat waarnemers 'n staat se buitelandse beleid as 'n funksie van sy huishoudelike beleid beskou.

Hierdie perspektief impliseer dat die Suid-Afrikaanse regering se buitelandse beleid tot 'n groot mate in terme van sy apartheidsbeleid ontleed kan word. Heelwat skrywers oor buitelandse beleid verwys na die Suid-Afrikaanse regering se "soeke na sekuriteit" en "beskerming van apartheid". Jaster gebruik 'n soortgelyke benadering. Suid-Afrika se buitelandse beleid is volgens hom van belang vir die wêreld, omdat dit 'n belangrike steunpilaar vir die beskerming van wit minderheidsregering is. Die verdediging van apartheid is trouens die enkele oorkoepelende funksie van die Suid-Afrikaanse regering se buitelandse beleid. Die doelwitte van hierdie beleid word deur Jaster beskryf as die soeke na 'n verweer teen die "totale aan-

slag", asook die soeke na 'n teenwig teen pogings om Suid-Afrika internasionaal te isoleer. In suider-Afrika het Suid-Afrika sy oorweldigende ekonomiese en politieke mag aangewend om buurstate te dwing om guerrilla-aktiwiteite teen Suid-Afrika aan bande te lê.

Suid-Afrika se buitelandse beleid word gevolglik deur 'n futiele en dikwels desperate soeke na sekuriteit gekenmerk. Dit sluit die soeke na kliënte en bondgenote in — Westerse state wat aan Suid-Afrika toegang tot hoëtegnologie kan bied; mede-geïsoleerde state soos Israel en Taiwan wat militêre kundigheid en tegnologie kan verskaf; en ondergeskikte en afhanklike buurstate wat na Pretoria se pype sal dans. Jaster som hierdie soeke só op: "Pretoria's leaders have been willing to welcome as an ally any state which would support their struggle against an alleged Moscow-directed external threat, and which would accept, or at least not challenge, their system of white minority rule".

As bogenoemde die breë raamwerk vorm waarbinne Jaster buitelandse beleid ontleed, waarvoor gaan sy boek dan? Jaster poog om Suid-Afrika se buitelandse beleid as 'n respons op binnelandse politieke inisiatiewe, insluitende die "totale aanslag", te ontleed. Sy aanbieding word in vier dele opgedeel: die Afrikaner se persepsie van Suid-Afrika se internasionale rol; die formulering van buitelandse beleid; wisselende buitelandse beleidstrategieë; en versleggende verhoudinge met die Weste.

Hoe suksesvol is Jaster? In soverre Suid-Afrika se buitelandse beleid in historiese terme beskryf word, slaag Jaster geredelik. Sy beskrywing van Suid-Afrika se militêre betrokkenheid in Angola en Namibia, asook sy strategie van regionale destabilisasie, vorm 'n interessante oorsig. Die res van die boek is egter minder geslaagd. Die proses van buitelandse beleidformulering is 'n onderwerp wat in afgelope jare met groot entoesiasme deur plaaslike skrywers aangepak is. Dit wil voorkom asof Jaster se ontleding van die besluitnemingsproses grootliks op die werk van Geldenhuys, Adam en Giliomee, Grundy, Seiler en andere steun. Dit bied gevolglik geen nuwe insigte nie.

The Defence of White Power

South African Foreign Policy under Pressure



Robert Scott Jaster

Foreword by Helen Kitchen

STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY 20
Macmillan and The International Institute for Strategic Studies

Jaster se hoofstuk oor "Pretoria se kernvermoë", alhoewel interessant, gaan mank aan 'n belangrike vereiste: relevansie. Jaster merk self in die hoofstuk dat Suid-Afrika geen ooglopende strategiese rede het om kernwapens te besit of te vervaardig nie.

Twee verdere tekortkominge is die afwesigheid van 'n deeglike teoretiese raamwerk, wat tot 'n beperkte vooruitskouing lei; en die onkritiese gebruik van die "totale aanslag"-begrip. Is hierdie begrip (of sindroom) nog geldig, of word die belangrike beleidmakers se wêreldbeeld deur resente internasionale verwikkelinge beïnvloed? Die antwoord op laasgenoemde vraag behoort stof vir indringende navorsing te bied.

Die waarde van Jaster se boek lê in die beskrywende aard daarvan. Dit is egter terselfdertyd sy grootste gebrek. Alhoewel dit Jaster se doelwit was, het hy nie 'n indringende ontleding van die Suid-Afrikaanse regering se buitelandse beleid gemaak nie. Verskeie ander skrywers het voor 1988 juis dit probeer doen — en met groter sukses.

Antoni van Nieuwkerk

□ Antoni van Nieuwkerk is navorsingsbeampte by die SA Instituut vir Internasionale Aangeleenthede.

Letters From Page 3

If we really believe that we must start to build tomorrow today, then we cannot but condemn these actions. One hopes that Dr Slabbert and Idasa would continue to create the opportunity for people to come together and hear each other out — the government and disruptive elements permitting.

Jill Weintraub
Cape Town

Working with Idasa

I have encountered your organisation through magazines and the press, and ultimately decided that this was my kind of organisation

— one that will help me fight this oppression and collaboration which exist in our country.

I belong to the Chuenespoort Youth Congress at the moment and I am prepared and willing to work with you side by side until this evil regime is eradicated.

B L Chauke
Chuenespoort

Matter of fact

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa's director of policy and planning, has pointed out that an article under the headline, "The battle for a non-racial state", in the July edition of *Democracy in Action* could possibly create serious confusion

concerning the relationship between "nation" and "state".

Dr Slabbert explained: "There is a fundamental difference between a one-nation state and one nation-state. The latter refers to an integrated state which may have a diversity of groups without them sharing a common sense of nationhood. The former refers precisely to an integrated state where there is a sense of nationhood."

"What I tried to say was that the NP has now accepted the concept of an integrated state but not the idea of one nation. This shift is going to generate a whole range of contradictions which the NP is historically incapable of resolving with the segregated structures it has created."

New ideas needed in SA - US academic

Too few ideas are being considered in South Africa at present to ensure a democratic future for the country, according to Prof Donald Horowitz of Duke University in the United States.

Addressing a public lecture on "ethnic groups and democracy", which was hosted by Idasa in Cape Town, Prof Horowitz also emphasised that there appeared to be a reluctance to "get on with planning the future" in South Africa.

This is Prof Horowitz's second visit to South Africa. He believes "timing" has become more critical to a negotiated settlement since 1985 when he last visited the country. During that period, the UDF had experienced many successes and the government seemed wounded. "The time for drastic change is not when one party is winning and the other losing," he explained. The mutual vulnerability which the government and the Mass Democratic Movement is feeling now is a better climate for a settlement.

Although there is agreement that the future government should be one in which no parties dominate, certain parties do not recognise that the starting point to any democracy is universal suffrage. In South Africa, the whites are reluctant to accept universal suffrage because they see it as black rule and white exclusion. The result of a historical pattern of exclusion from the electoral process was that blacks were equally reluctant to discuss a future electoral system. The constitutional guidelines of the ANC states that every person will have a vote, and that the electoral system will be negotiated.

The timing of instituting democratic procedures in a society is of great importance. Prof Horowitz is of the impression that "earlier is better". To dispel any argument against this point of view, he used the example of Malaysia and Sri Lanka. Although the former is a country riddled with ethnic divisions, because steps were taken early the country today experiences good ethnic relations. The procrastination of implementing similar reforms in Sri Lanka has resulted in two civil wars.

By putting the process of democratisation off, inevitable crisis will result and there will be no time to plan properly, says Prof Horowitz. He believes that the most successful way to establish an inclusive democracy is to phase it in. With the prevailing atmosphere of negotiations in southern Africa, Prof Horowitz warned against what he referred to as the "contract fallacy". This, he said, resulted in the negotia-

tors' arrangements being accepted as correct. The South African situation would benefit more by a "social contract" which reflects the broad wishes of the people.

There are means of creating incentives in an electoral system to ensure the accommodation of different ethnic groups. Prof Horowitz gave the example of the Nigerian system negotiated in 1978. In this system, the president is elected if he has a plurality of votes nationally — he also needs a geographical distribution of 25 per cent of the votes in two-thirds of the states. This ensures that the president has to have wide appeal and forces politicians to have an accommodative attitude.

Marian Shaer

Western Cape Regional Co-ordinator

Scholars to set up more encounters

The Port Elizabeth scholars who had been part of two Idasa-organised weekends at the Tsitsikama Lodge earlier this year have met again and relived some of the experiences of two weekends. Around the campfire and braai, at this reunion, many stories were told which revived fond memories of the "Tsitsikama" experience.

But the get-together also had a more serious objective. Time was spent ascertaining the impact which the non-racial weekend had had on the lives of the scholars involved. Participants spoke of what they had done since, to bridge, in whatever small way, any gaps they experienced as a result of the apartheid divide.

They also spoke of the future and their plans — and it was of no small encouragement to the organisers that it was "our" future that was spoken about. No cognisance of racial differences any longer: it was our shared future. Many leaders in our country could take a leaf out of the book of these scholars as they purposed jointly, to move towards a non-racial and peaceful future. And we who are older can rest assured that a future built on such a wholesome foundation holds security for us too.

The scholars have asked for more regular meetings of a committee or council, which could have as its objective the ongoing planning and setting up of non-racial encounters. And they have asked Idasa to co-ordinate their efforts. By channelling this sort of enthusiasm, Idasa believes that the future can be harnessed by the might of youth. We hope these scholars' projects move from strength to strength.

Keith Wattus

Co-director, Eastern Cape

Security

From Page 5

In the "law and order" seminar, Prof Tony Matthews gave a sobering account of the present security legislation and State of Emergency regulations. He identified a growing tendency to remove legal controls over the security forces and to reduce their accountability to both the courts and the public. He pointed out that, instead of promoting law and order, the use of security legislation and security forces as part of a programme of political control was making violence and conflict inevitable. He cited the increasing

number of guerilla attacks and the 3 500 "unrest" deaths between 1985 and 1987 as evidence of this trend.

Opinion was divided with regard to whether the present legal system was so "diseased" that it should be completely revised or whether it was preferable to simply abolish the worst aspects and to create a new hybrid system which was more responsive to the needs of the society. Most participants agreed that a bill of rights supported by an independent judiciary would be an important feature of a post-apartheid legal system.

□ Ronel Scheffer is Idasa's Director of Publications

Leuens sto van wit be

Deur Pierre de Vos

Blankes se onkunde oor wat in hul eie land gebeur — en die halwe waarhede en leuens waarmee hulle grootgeword het — is deur byna al die sprekers wat by 'n Idasa-konferensie oor die geskiedenis van weerstand in Suid-Afrika opgetree het, aangestip as die grootste struikelblok wat in die weg staan van blankes se eie bevryding.

Die konferensie, wat in Augustus op Stellenbosch plaasgevind het, is gesamentlik deur Idasa en die Stellenbosse tak van Regslui vir Menseregte aangebied.

Die konferensie het byna skipbreuk gely nadat die lokaal in die Universiteit van Stellenbosch se regs fakulteit, waar die konferensie sou plaasvind, op die laaste nippertjie eers vanaf 3.30 die middag beskikbaar was. Die konferensie sou oorspronklik om 9 vm begin het, maar na 'n advertensie vir die geleentheid in *Die Burger* verskyn het, het die dekaan van die regs fakulteit, Prof CG van der Merwe, beslis dat die konferensie nie gedurende klastyd mag plaasvind nie omdat dit "dalk studente uit hul klasse kan weghou".

Sowat 80 studente het die geleentheid bygewoon. Mnr Franklin Sonn, hoof van die Skiereiland se Technikon en voorsitter van die Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwys Unie, het daarop gewys dat die Afrikaanse gemeenskapsleiers reeds in die 1930s en '40s 'n stryd gevoer het om beheer oor die onderwys van hul kinders te verkry. "Die regering is juis daarom so bang vir 'people's education', want hulle weet baie goed watter magtige wapen dit kan wees," het hy gesê.

"Die Afrikaners het al sedert die dertigerjare die onderwys as 'n terrein van struggle gebruik. Toe generaal Jan Smuts 'n sisteem van dubbel-mediumskole wou invoer, het die Broederbond en die kerk boikotte en versetaksies gepropageer om die plan te beveg."

Sonn het klem gelê op die ooreenkomste tussen die Afrikaner se stryd wat toe teen die Britte gevoer is en die stryd wat die swart gemeenskap vandag teen die regering voer. Hy het ook vertel hoe die Afrikaners na 1948 hulle eie vorm van "people's education" — Christelike Hoër Onderwys — gebruik het om hul magposisie te bevestig.

"Dit is een van die grootste ironieë van die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis dat die Afrikaners hulle struggle van verset nou vergeet het," het mnr Sonn gesê. "Dieselfde M C Botha wat in 1976 Minister van Onderwys was toe die Soweto opstand uitbreek het, het 30 jaar tevore boikotte bepleit om die reg van wit kinders om in aparte skole in Afrikaans onderrig te ontvang, af te dwing."

In 1948 het die Afrikaners die geskiedenis herskryf en mites rondom Afrikanerhelde opgebou. "Swart kinders moes byvoorbeeld leer dat Paul Kruger 'n held is terwyl hy 'n gruwelike

an in weg vryding



Leslee Durr, Nusas-voorsitter op Stellenbosch, en Franklin Sonn, voorsitter van die Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysunie, diep in gesprek tydens die onthaal na die konferensie.

despoot was," het Sonn gesê. "Christelike Hoër Onderwys het egter niks oor swartmense gesê om hulle te laat goed voel oor hulself nie. In dié amptelike weergawe van die geskiedenis is daar geen swart leiers nie — net swart verlorers en sukkelaars."

Volgens mnr Sonn is "people's education" 'n daadwerklike poging van swartmense om ook, soos die Afrikaner enkele dekades tevore, beheer oor die inhoud van hul onderwys te verkry. "Vandag is die weerstand teen die regerings-onderwys gesetel in die gemeenskap en word dit goed beplan," het Sonn gesê.

Prof Colin Bundy, mede-hoof van die geskiedenis-departement by die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland, het ook by die tema van wit Suid-Afrikaners se oningeligtheid aangesluit en gesê wit studente is totaal onkundig oor die lang geskiedenis van weerstand in Suid-Afrika omdat skoolhandboeke nie 'n woord daarvoor rep nie. Hy het 'n breë oorsig gegee van die moderne Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis wat hoegenaamd nie deel van die amptelike sillabus uitmaak nie en veral klem gelê op die strukturele geweld wat deel van ons samelewing is. Prof Bundy het gewaarsku dat die skyn van rustigheid, wat deur die effektiewe onderdrukking van enige weerstand teen die regering geskep is, nie vir altyd kan voortduur nie. "Die opstand is nou opgedam, maar die regering het nog nie eers begin om die vloed van griewe wat in die dam in spoel, aan te spreek nie," het hy gesê.

Mnr Jan van Eck, die omstrede DP-LP van Claremont, het 'n tweeledige siening van die rol wat die parlement in die stryd teen apartheid kan speel, voorgelê. Alhoewel hy die nie-wit huise in die parlement as irrelevant afgemaak het, het hy tog 'n mate van relevansie aan die wit huis toegeken — "omdat dit 'n groot rol kan speel om wit kiesers in Suid-Afrika in te lig oor wat werklik in die land aan die gang is. Op dié stadium kan die Volksraad gebruik word deur partye met die doel om blanke demokrate te mobiliseer om hul dan by die breë stryd in te skakel," het hy gesê.

"Want diegene wat die blanke kiesers so slegsê moet onthou: dit is wit Suid-Afrika wat bevry moet word. Die blankes is onderdruk; hulle is vol vrees en vooroordeel. Voordat dit nie verander nie, sal blankes nie bevry wees nie." En dit is deur deelname aan die Volksraad wat dié proses op die stadium nog kan geskied, meen Van Eck.

"As die parlementêre proses kan slaag om die NP so te verswak dat hy nie 'n keuse het om te onderhandel nie, het dit wel 'n positiewe rol gespeel," het hy gesê. Die stryd om ekonomiese vryheid is belig deur mnr Amos Lengesi, 'n aktivis wat reeds 'n termyn van 20 jaar op Robben-eiland deurgebring het. Mnr Lengesi het gesê dat baie blankes verkeerd dink dat die rykdom van die land hulle ontnem sal

word as 'n meerderheidsregering oorneem. "Ons wil net hê dat Suid-Afrikaners die meesters van hulle eie rykdom moet wees. Ons wil hê dat die rykdom al die mense in die land moet bevoordeel," het hy gesê.

As daar 'n verdeling van rykdom is, sal elkeen 'n "regverdige deel" moet kry. "Regverdig nie net vir die swartmense nie, maar regverdig teenoor al die mense van Suid-Afrika."

Mnr Lengesi het ook gewaarsku dat Suid-Afrikaners nie soos baie ander Afrika-lande wat onafhanklikheid verkry het, die ekonomiese slawe van hul "Westerse meesters" moet bly nie. "Politieke en ekonomiese onafhanklikheid is nie te skei nie. As mens net politieke onafhanklik raak, gebeur wat in Zaïer gebeur het. Korrupsie en magsvergrype deur 'n paar mense vind dan plaas."

Vir die studente wat die konferensie bygewoon het en begin wonder het hoe hulle die onkunde kan besweer, het prof Johan Degenaar, dosent in politieke filosofie by die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, stof tot nadenke gebied.

Prof Degenaar het in sy toespraak oor die rol van die universiteit in 'n veranderende Suid-Afrika verwys na die onkunde en gebrek aan kritiese vraagstelling wat by wit studente gevind word en dit aan die rol van die universiteit as instelling gekoppel. "Geen universiteit kan neutraal wees nie," het hy gesê. "Om andersins voor te gee, is om 'n rookskerm oor die ware standpunte en loyaliteite van die universiteit te gooi." Daarom is dit belangrik om altyd met 'n kritiese oog na die universiteit en die kursusse wat daar aangebied word, te kyk.

"Opvoeding moet 'n kritiese houding oor die samelewing hê. 'n Sleutelvraag vir studente moet wees: vir watter tipe samelewing word ek opgevoed?"

Prof Degenaar het afgesluit deur Sokrates se bekende woorde effens te verdraai: "Dis nie net 'n geval van 'n ongeëksamineerde lewe wat nie die moeite werd is om te leef nie, maar ook dat 'n ongeëksamineerde universiteit nie die moeite werd is om by te studeer nie."

□ Pierre de Vos werk in Idasa se Publikasie-afdeling.

World agrees on SA - Slabbert

It was standing room only as Dr Van Zyl Slabbert addressed a rapt audience on South Africa in the 1990s in Durban recently. The Idasa-organised evening event was prepared for 200 people but it soon became clear that interest was high as people continued to arrive.

Describing the move from a policy of separation to the acceptance by all — except the most conservative elements — of a single South Africa, Dr Slabbert explained that the real question was now what that single South Africa would look like rather than whether it would exist.

He reminded people that the formula for a political settlement of South Africa's crisis had been accepted by the international community and the broadest range of anti-apartheid groups. This formula of "unban (the ANC), release (political prisoners), dismantle (laws affecting free political process) and negotiate"

would control the direction of any meaningful settlement and would restrict the Nationalist government in their conception of negotiation.

Dr Slabbert was speaking during a three-day visit to Durban during which he addressed the Central Durban Rotary Club, the Black Management Forum and held a number of private meetings and briefings.

In a meeting arranged with young managers of Hudson and Knight, part of the Unilever group, Dr Slabbert provided a scenario for business and looked at the threats and opportunities of the present context in which business operates. The young managers forum is an innovation of Hudson and Knight and provides them with a chance to plan a career development and team building programme of their own.

Paul Graham
Natal Regional Director

Business voice must be heard in politics

By Ronel Scheffer

Adrian Botha (right) with ANC executive member Ruth Mampoti and Hennie Strydom, of the University of the Free State law faculty.



The business community has a clear role to play in establishing a non-racial, democratic South Africa. But, as this community is not monolithic by nature, its achievements in the political arena will remain limited to some extent. This should, however, not deter businessmen from remaining active initiators and participants in the change process.

These important points on the role of business in a changing South Africa were made by the executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce, Mr Adrian Botha, at a Lusaka conference in July. The conference, attended by young South African businesspeople, academics and town councillors and members of the ANC, was the culmination of a two-week tour of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia hosted by Idasa.

Mr Botha told the conference that business in South Africa could not historically deny its part in the development and maintenance of some of the key pillars of apartheid such as the migrant labour system. In past decades it was also, at best, neutral — and in many instances it was, in fact, supportive of the political status quo.

"However, the track record of local and international business in South Africa in the late 70s and 80s has been more encouraging," said Botha. "Business has generally responded positively and effectively to the sharing of power in its own backyard with the trade union movement," he added. It has increasingly also engaged itself in projects of community upliftment outside the factory gates, and in many instances it has shown a commitment towards a new order, clearly and unambiguously rejecting the essential principles of apartheid.

Nevertheless, an enormous amount still has to be done to establish a free and economically viable democratic country — and business action, the effects of which should neither be exaggerated or underestimated, could make a difference.

Dealing with the diverse character of the business community in the country, Mr Botha emphasised that "capital" had always been highly fragmented in South Africa. These fragments at times competed and at other times coalesced — in terms of economic activity as well as relationships with the government.

"For many decades persistent controversy has raged in South Africa about the nature of the relationship between capitalism and apartheid," said Botha. The different schools of thought on the issue all generally "make the mistake of using collective nouns to describe industry, business, big business and capital as if they were describing a single organised entity". Common popular references to the "business community" also imply the existence



Business as usual . . . in the Lusaka flea market, where Randburg businessman Roy Rudolph, a member of the Idasa tour group, clearly enjoyed himself.

of a co-ordinated community capable of acting together. But, in reality, "capital is a category rather than a community", said Botha.

He added that, if the term "capital" was to be used in South Africa, it would be more meaningful to speak of, for example, agricultural capital, commercial capital, industrial capital, English capital and Afrikaans capital.

Wanted: a transition process that limits loss of life, resources and motivation

The fragmented and competitive nature of business meant that a strategy such as, for example, withholding taxes to sanction government, would not have much chance of success. As any "change strategy" which depends on unified action for its success will not be viable, individual companies and smaller like-minded groups have to look at areas where they could possibly be effective.

But Botha underlines that there are other factors in addition to its fragmented nature which limit the political influence of the business community. These include business' dependence on the state and on a skilled white labour force with right wing views, and also the tradition of deliberate apolitical behaviour and thinking in business circles.

According to him, the key strategic question is how the business sector can continue to perform its essential function as an agency of productive economic development and simultaneously contribute significantly to the process of political change.

He suggested that one of the goals of enlightened businessmen, leaders and organisa-

tions should be to support a process of transition that limits the loss of life, of resources and of motivation. This process should, however, be as speedy as possible and it should strengthen existing trends and organisations that will help to ensure the realisation of the desired post-apartheid society.

While maintaining pressure on the government to change unjust laws, business can, in fact, succeed in breaking down apartheid within its own enterprises and should therefore make the workplace the first priority for action. In the workplace employees could, for example, be educated about the benefits of a non-racial society; effective training and management development programmes could lead to true black advancement; freedom of association could be encouraged; participatory management styles could be developed and employees could be assisted to overcome legal obstacles which restrict their freedom of choice in society (eg housing, health care and education).

Outside the workplace, business could become active in improving the quality of life of the community in the areas of education, health care and housing. In addition, in order to broaden the economic bases and distribute its fruits among all South Africans, business should channel effort into assisting black businessmen to overcome the many obstacles which they still face, including legal restrictions and financial constraints.

Botha said although business should continue to lobby government and provide support for progressive organisations that are actively involved in the change process, its role was not that of an alternative government or opposition party. "But as corporate citizens, businesses have the right and the obligation to formulate views on how political power should be structured and most constructively exercised in South Africa."

□ Ronel Scheffer is Director of Publications with Idasa.