

# DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

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Poets in exile . . . Willie Kgositsile and Jeremy Cronin.

## Writers start journey to new SA

### 'It is not heroic to oppose apartheid - it is normal'

In many respects it was a case of the "gatvol" meeting with the "gatkant" of literature in South Africa. For four days with the Victoria Falls roaring like an angry sea in the background, the writers talked, and talked — and listened. The air was thick with Afrikaans, eagerly spoken too by the Xhosa, Tswana and Zulu veterans of the struggle.

It was the Afrikaans writers mainly who were concerned about the repetitive "gatvol with the system" refrain in "white" Afrikaans writing. The other delegates —

**In July, IDASA hosted a SA writers' conference at the Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe. RONEL SCHEFER reports.**

many of them members of the ANC — represented the neglected, ignored and silenced — but vibrant and liberatory — "gatkant" of literature in South Africa.

Many of them had travelled far, and long. From Leyden in the Netherlands came the diminutive and delightful literary academic Vernon February who left his home town of Somerset West nearly a quarter of a century ago. From London, Wally Serote, the sober poet who above all wants his fellow writers "to dream" in the struggle. Poet extraordinaire Breyten Breytenbach, his "tongue itching" to speak Afrikaans, travelled from Berlin. A string of "listed" and therefore (damn!) unquotable delegates came from Lusaka, among them poet Jeremy Cronin, ANC cultural head Barbara Masekela and poets Willie and Baleka Kgositsile. The rest came from south of the Limpopo. They were black and white writers and academics, the majority of them Afrikaans-speaking.

Their opposition to apartheid had brought them together. But was that sufficient to keep them together? Would the Afrikaans writers, especially, be able in large numbers to throw in their lot with the broad democratic movement



From London . . . Wally Serote in conversation with Cape Town writer Ingrid de Kok and Stellenbosch academic Annie Gagiano.

in their search for the much desired "united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic" South Africa? And if some of them should decide to take a different route to achieve a new order? Would that be acceptable to their new-found friends in the struggle against apartheid?

Not all the questions were answered conclusively. And more could probably have been asked. But first meetings with ANC members in exile are emotional occasions for South Africans, regardless of race. And the reluctant "oracle in Lusaka" also has an annoying (democratic) tendency to suggest that questioners thrash out certain issues with the democratic movement inside the country!

But some firm points were made and conceded in relation to the state of Afrikaans writing, the role of the writer in national liberation and the necessity of establishing an inclusive, truly representative South African literature.

As a starting point, some Afrikaans writers said the four-day meeting had helped them to

shed some of their "feelings of impotence" about the future of their country. The rising star among Afrikaans novelists, 33-year-old Etienne van Heerden, will never again accept the Hertzog Prys, the prime award made by the Afrikaans literary establishment. "It (the Hertzog Prys) had to be demystified for me, and that has now happened," he said on our last night at Vic Falls. Many of the Afrikaans writers are already members of the progressive Congress of South African Writers, and some of those who currently belong to the more conservative Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde said they might resign if the organisation failed to commit itself to the goal of a non-racial democracy in the near future.

These initial responses from delegates seemed to fulfil the expectations which the funders, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation in West Germany, had of the event. In a message sent to the conference, the foundation said the gathering was "black and white and bound to

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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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## Ja-Nee

### A gift to treasure

While in Lusaka recently, Keith Wattrus of IDASA remarked on a pair of cuff-links which Thabo Mbeki of the ANC was wearing. Came Thabo's tongue-in-cheek response: "You ought to see my favourite pair, emblazoned with the motif 'SAP : 75' — a commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the South African Police!" And who would give him such a gift? "Why

none other than a South African MP while on safari through Lusaka."

— *Nice touch, Pierre!*

### You have nothing, FW?

When the Chinese leadership held an emergency meeting at the height of the student protest on Tiananmen Square an astonishing exchange took place between the 84-year-old paramount leader Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang, the relative moderate head of the Communist Party. Zhao argued for conciliation and dialogue but Deng was adamantly opposed. "I have three million troops behind me," a source quoted Deng as saying. "I have all the people

of China," answered Zhao. Deng dismissed him: "You have nothing."

— A few weeks later the new National Party leader F.W. de Klerk told the NP Federal Congress: "Menslik gesproke is die NP vandag die magtigste faktor in Suid-Afrika."

— *There was no one like Deng present to contradict him.*

### A lesson from Gadaffi

"It is absolutely impossible to be straight in a world that is crooked," said Col Muammar Gadaffi when asked by an American journalist to describe the most important lesson he has learned.

## EDITORIAL

# Whites must look beyond the election

I am writing on the occasion of Mr Nelson Mandela's 71st birthday. Last year he celebrated a very special milestone when he reached three score years and ten and celebrated it in splendid isolation. Today, not very far from where I am writing, there is a birthday party and he, the oft described "terrorist and communist" is the guest of honour! Of course he remains a prisoner so that the occasion is a bitter-sweet one. And only a week ago this same prisoner had tea with the State President! The history of South Africa is replete with examples of the theatre of the absurd.

Most probably the fate of Nelson Mandela will have a more far-reaching effect than a further example of absurdity, namely the forthcoming general election on 6 September. For the umpteenth time whites, coloureds and Indians will vote to decide on the destiny of the overwhelming majority of South Africans; an election in which both the media and the bulk of the white voters almost totally ignore the centrality of the extra-parliamentary struggle. The government and their political opponents on the left and right all claim with breathtaking arrogance that each has the solution to the central conflict in South Africa. The National Party, despite years of vicious repression, has failed to smash the democratic movement and opts now for a five-year plan with refined racism as its cornerstone.

### Little substance

The right-wing Conservative Party tries in vain to turn back the clock and beats the drum of antiquated bigotry and racial exclusivity. The Democratic Party, struggling to find an identity, seeks to position itself in the centre only to find that the National Party is stealing its clothes and fast taking possession of that space.

Despite the growing intensity of the election, and the strenuous efforts by all concerned, there is much fury and sound but little substance. It is difficult to avoid the impression that all three are playing games in the shallow waters of the seashore, building their castles of sand, apparently for the most part oblivious of the inexorable wave of black aspirations and

anger which continues to gather strength.

Whilst IDASA as an institute can have no "position" on the forthcoming election (some of our staff will vote, some will not and some cannot), we have a duty to remind white South Africans in particular that the unfolding pantomime cannot of itself resolve the fundamental conflict which has all of us in its grip.

### Larger forces

There are larger forces at work and the growing shadow of Nelson Mandela and those whom he represents will not go away.

Inevitably, there will be those in the white community who will not vote because so many of their friends are disenfranchised. Many will condemn this stand but it is at least arguable that it is a stand of principle. However, many more will vote and those who do should weigh up very carefully how they exercise their privilege. Already there are those who argue "Let's give F.W. de Klerk a chance". It is my personal view that we simply cannot afford yet another "five-year plan" which will delay the inevitable re-shaping of the basic structures of our society. There is no doubt that there are many within the Democratic Party who are running for office and many more working for them who are painfully aware of the ambiguity of their position. For that reason alone (and there are many other reasons which come to mind), they deserve support from those who have decided to exercise their vote.

### Statesmen needed

What is needed urgently therefore is not a frenzy of electioneering with its claims and counter-claims, but rather the creation of a climate which will enable the voteless to participate in genuine negotiations with the minority government of the day. In order for this to happen, South Africa deserves better than a five-year plan. It deserves statesmen who will take their courage in their hands and put into motion those conditions which are imperative for negotiation to become a possibility. South Africa's priorities lie in the direc-



tion of the unbanning of those political parties and organisations which are excluded from the forthcoming election; the release of prisoners not into the narrow confines of the State President's residence but into the wider spaces of South Africa; the lifting of the state of emergency which will allow all South Africans

free access into the constitutional and political process. It is to be hoped that in the midst of obsessive minority politics, the occasional voice of wisdom will be heard clearly and unambiguously.

**Alex Boraine**  
Executive Director

## ANC open to alternatives

Three of IDASA's regional directors were part of the 110-strong Five Freedoms Forum delegation who met with the ANC in Lusaka early in July. They were Paul Graham (Durban), Liesel Naudé (Johannesburg) and Keith Wattrus (Port Elizabeth). Lisa Seftel, also of IDASA's Johannesburg office, but wearing her Five Freedoms cap, was also present.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia hosted all the delegates at a garden-party at the State House and made a point of personally greeting every single person in the delegation.

The garden party, in the palatial floodlit gardens, was also the scene of the first meeting between the FFF delegation and the ANC delegation. The warmth and hospitality of the ANC delegation was surpassed only by their fervently expressed desire to return "home" as soon as possible.

Over the next three days commissions were held which explored and analysed, in-depth,

every aspect of our shared future and the means to that end. To be sure, there was not agreement on every aspect, with the strategies of sanctions and the armed struggle, in particular, causing dissension. Nevertheless what unfolded was a clear understanding of why such strategies were being used and why these strategies were considered to be so effective by the ANC.

The weekend became one of searching for and testing alternatives. On almost every front the ANC showed a preparedness to be openly objective about considering alternatives to current strategies. What became patently clear was the sincere appreciation by the ANC of the fact that their compatriots had travelled so far to raise the troubling issues with them. And their acknowledgement that it was only by being confronted with such issues that the ANC could focus their minds on the solutions.

**Keith Wattrus**  
Co-director, Eastern Cape

— Could we hope for the same kind of honesty from our own politicians, or would they rather not follow the example set by the Libyan dictator?

### Nuwe taal vir 'n nuwe era

Prof Sampie Terreblanche van Stellenbosch is nou reeds bekend vir sy kleurrike taalgebruik. Tydens die vorige wit verkiesing het hy reeds gesê dat die Nasionale Party sal moet verrbrokkel. Hy was baie lief om van die "Verwoerdiaanse" model van apartheid te praat. Deesdae praat die professor van FW se ideologie en noem dit die "Klerkiaanse" 1989 model van apartheid.

— Klink soos 'n term wat in die staatsdiens gebruik word.

### Welcome to the club, PW

When the IDASA delegation returned from Dakar after meeting the executive of the ANC, the State President threatened to remove passports, to institute commissions of inquiry into the work of IDASA and to cut off its foreign funding. He also described the participants as "useful idiots".

— After his recent tea party with Mr Nelson Mandela, one can only say welcome to the club!

## Letters

Address your letters to  
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## Meer standpunte moet nog gehoor word

Eerstens wil ek net begin deur u geluk te wens met die professionaliteit en deeglikheid van julle publikasie, **Democracy in Action**. Ek het die jongste uitgawe in die hande gekry en het ook met belangstelling die doelstellings van IDASA gelees wat op Bladsy 2 verskyn.

Een van die doelstellings is: "To provide forums and opportunities on a nationwide basis to find democratic solutions to South Africa's problems." Nou kom die vraag by my op: Wie kan almal by die forums optree?

IDASA hou gereeld toere na Lusaka en Harare waar gesprekke met die ANC en binnelandse Suid-Afrikaners dan plaasvind. En dit is goed dat dit geskied. Maar skeep hulle nie dalk gesprekke met mense binne Suid-Afrika af nie. So baie blanke Suid-Afrikaners weet nog nie eers wat die mense in die townships dink nie.

Ek wonder ook of daar nie 'n leemte bestaan om gesprekke met byvoorbeeld die PAC in ballingskap en plaaslike Black Consciousness-ondersteuners te hou nie. Moet ons nie miskien ook uitvind wat die nie-Charterists te sê het nie? Al stem ons hoegenaamd nie met hulle saam nie. Ek vermoed dat ek ook nie met die PAC sal saamstem nie. Maar net soos 'n Nasionalis wat weier om met die ANC in gesprek te tree, kan ons dalk ook, weens ons ongeliktheid oor die organisasies, nie saampraat as daar oor hulle beleid gesels word nie.

IDASA doen goeie werk, maar daar is soveel meer wat nog gedoen kan word om ons arme onkundige witmense aan nuwe standpunte bloot te stel, wat dalk 'n invloed op ons toekoms gaan hê.

Ek hoop dat IDASA ook in dié verband 'n positiewe rol sal kan speel.

**Joan van Staden**  
Kaapstad

IDASA is bereid om gesprek te voer met enigiemand wat hom of haarself tot die soeke na 'n nie-rassige demokrasie verbind het. Ons reël inderdaad gereeld werksinkels, seminare en konferensies dwarsoor die land waaraan almal mag deelneem. Verder het ons ook op 'n gereelde grondslag privaat gesprekke met 'n wye verskeidenheid van individue en organisasies. Laastens, reël IDASA ook gereeld besoeke aan die townships vir blankes in die meeste van ons groter sentrums in die land — Alex Boraine

**ARTICLES IN DEMOCRACY IN ACTION REFLECT THE OPINIONS OF THE WRITERS AND DO NOT NECESSARILY CORRESPOND WITH THE VIEWPOINTS HELD BY IDASA.**

# Black woman's voice too faint in SA literature

"The ANC is a South African organisation and I don't think the idea of women's emancipation comes naturally to South African men," one of the ANC's female veterans told the writers' gathering.

Novelist Mandla Langa seemed to concur — without conceding anything personally of course. "Yes, the Bible says Eve was created to minister to Adam's needs — and many adhere to that very dearly," he smiled.

Women's liberation was also an issue in this particular discussion, the main focus of the session being on "women writers" in South Africa. And the topic infuriated — to put it mildly — at least one of the writers of feminine persuasion present. "Why are women allotted



Antjie Krog and Wits academic Ena Jansen.

a separate little category as if there were certain little things only women writers would feel like discussing!" fumed Antjie Krog. "Why is there no man present to come and explain where this stupid subject comes from!"

When her anger had evaporated, the poet from the Free State produced evidence of the "big silence" coming from black women in the field of poetry. There were signs that collectors were ignoring the black female poetic voice, but they also seemed to be in serious under-supply, she said.

She wondered (aloud) why the "doubly oppressed" did not use poetry today as a survival strategy — like Jeremy Cronin and Breytenbach to survive imprisonment. "If the unthinkable happens, poetry can be that small escape, that gasp of air that affords survival of another day or week," she said.

"Or is it possible that a woman's life can experience such destruction, agony and onslaught that can render words impotent? That survival can take place on such a debasing level that the woman abdicates her power over words, because she indeed realises that it is a useless power." Answers to Krog's questions were not immediately forthcoming.

The ANC's most senior woman representative at the conference gave a brief outline of the movement's views on women's emancipa-

tion which, she said, was dealt with as an integral part of the national liberation struggle. Practical steps were being taken to include women at all levels of decision-making, and an affirmative action type of quota system may be implemented in the near future.

But despite that, the fundamental work still had to be done in the home, said Barbara Kgositsile, a poet working in the women's section of the ANC. "The home is a very private arena where women's oppression goes on very quietly. It has nothing to do with organisational policies but that is what happens," said Kgositsile.

Replying to a question as to whether there was a specific role for women writers in a South African literature, Kgositsile said women had a unique experience "but they don't form part of a separate society".

"Her role in literature should not be to recreate what's happening in the labour ward and in the kitchen. Motherhood should not be held against her."

Krog said a literature in which everybody sounded "like either a man or a transvestite" was a neurotic literature. "A literature which busies itself esoterically with human life while three quarters of its horizons are not granted a decent existence, is a literature with no right to existence itself."

She said in spite of a few attempts by novelists like Nadine Gordimer and Elsa Joubert, literature in South Africa still confirmed the law: the black woman does not exist. "As a woman writer I dare not usurp the privilege of androgyny, not until all women exist in the literature of Southern Africa."



## 'Our role is slogans' sa

From Page 1

make a difference" to the conflict in South Africa. It added that writers had a duty to provide crucial support to the community and to stimulate constructive interaction. "Most people in the world will not come closer to the pains and, more so, the potential of South Africa than what is written," the message concluded.

Early on in the conference, IDASA's executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, placed a crucial issue on the agenda: "We are all part of the tragedy in our country — and we can all be part of the healing," he said. "We all have a responsibility not just to act against apartheid, but also to build a new society."

This theme was later taken up by several senior ANC members, who emphasised that a new South Africa — like a new authentic South African literature — would not "spring up" spontaneously. It would have to be built up with the sweat of people, writers included.

There was much agonising during the conference about the role of the writer in national liberation. Would the struggle convert creative writing into pamphleteering? Should writers have strategy manuals clipped to their word processors? "Is the writer a strategist with a plan, doing things according to reason — a rhetorical agent in the service of national liberation?" asked Marlene van Niekerk, a literary academic from Wits University. A colleague from Wits, Wilhelm Liebenberg, who is also a member of the cultural desk of the United Democratic Front, suggested that there may be a problem with the emphasis of the question. "One is firstly a comrade in the struggle and then a writer. There is no directive to writers how to write, but rather a need to write from an informed position," he said.

ABOVE: Vernon February and Fanie Olivier, poet and academic from the University of Venda.

LEFT: Barbara Masekela, Essop Pahad and Nic Borain, IDASA's Western Cape regional director and the organiser of the conference.



LEFT: Breyten Breytenbach with fellow Afrikaans writers and academics.  
 RIGHT: Alex Boraine and ANC executive member Steve Tshwete.  
 BELOW: Jeanette Ferreira, from the University Zululand, and Hein Willemse, from the University of the Western Cape.



# ot to make ANC writer

Essop Pahad, of the international staff of the ANC in London, took it further. "There seems to be a fear that if one belongs to an organisation it will stifle creativity," he said, countering that the opposite was true. "There will be no liberation without struggle. There has to be organised structures. Cosaw will derive its strength from those who participate in it."

Breyten Breytenbach felt that white writers, in particular, would benefit from participation in democratic structures. "Whites are too a large extent still immune to the texture of suffering in South Africa. Organisational involvement has a tremendously civilising influence," he said. His fellow poet, Wally Serote, argued that there was an inter-dependence between writers and national liberation. "The struggle gives writers opportunities to dream, but it must be a dreaming of reality — it must be located in the world."

And how do writers who work within the ANC see their role? One of them commented:

## FROM WRITERS' FINAL COMMUNIQUE

**"As writers together, from both inside and outside South Africa, intensely aware of our shared concerns and deploring the way in which our culture is impoverished by our enforced separation, we commit ourselves to work for**

- the unbanning of the ANC and all other political organisations
- the lifting of the state of emergency
- the release of all political prisoners
- the removal of troops from the townships
- the abrogation of all legislation that illegalises legitimate political activity.

**"Entering the struggle is the means of beginning to be a South African. It is not heroic to oppose apartheid — it is normal."**

"Our role is not to make slogans, but to define and project the positive values which the movement represents — not only do we criticise, we celebrate our achievements."

Prof Ampie Coetzee, of the University of the Western Cape, offered a sharply critical view on the role of Afrikaans literature as co-determinator of the Afrikaner culture and the eventual rise of the ruling class. (André P Brink suggested that Coetzee's analysis was too harsh — in fact, almost as devastating as "an SADF raid"). In spite of his criticism, Coetzee cautioned against excessive "tinkering" and prescriptiveness as a way of getting Afrikaans writing onto the right path. "Perhaps the most that can happen, is that we can carefully attempt the reinterpretation and rewriting of it — to fit into the context of a national culture."

Writer and lecturer Jeanette Ferreira, of the University of Zululand, urged Afrikaans writers to take a close look at themselves. "I am not so sure how many Afrikaans writers are willing to demystify their labour, to admit that their writing is a calculated act, aimed at a certain reader with a certain intention," she challenged. "I think they can contribute by changing readers' view of what is normal, abnormal, by redefining history, by writing about violence in a different way . . ."

She noted that this was already happening in Afrikaans. From the Cape Flats and the West Coast, a non-hegemonic literature was emerging. It takes its Afrikaans readers on a journey through a familiar landscape, but highlights different historical places and makes the old and familiar ones irrelevant. In this literature, the verses of Die Stem is supplemented with references to "teargas filling the lyric blue sky" and, the "land of our forefathers" happen to have been taken away by the "the law".

An exponent of this new genre was at Vic Falls. Ds Patrick Petersen, of St Helena Bay, is an unrepentant writer of what a critic has called "sonbesie poesie". The dominee motivated, in rousing Afrikaans, why his poetry was not a "gegil en geskreeu" as the critics asserted, but the epitome of relevant writing in South Africa. "Black poetry in Afrikaans challenges traditional views of what constitutes literature and what should be canonised," he said.

"Art must return to the people and poetry (must return) to active involvement in the mass democratic movement. It must be quite clear that political involvement is unavoidable to me as a word artist. It is not a fashion fad, it is life important."

And what about standards, so often said to be slipping badly in "black" writing? Jeanette Ferreira quoted Nadine Gordimer on the subject: "As a fellow writer, I myself find it difficult to accept, even for the cause of black liberation to which I am committed as a white South African citizen, that a black writer of imaginative power, whose craftsmanship is equal to what he has to say, must not be regarded above someone who has emerged — admirably — from political imprisonment with a scrap of paper on which there is jotted an alliterative arrangement of protest slogans." Ferreira herself added that "to read or to write in a non-critical manner was to reduce the power of language, and at its utmost, it is patronising".

Vernon February pointed out the irony of the alienation of black Afrikaans writers from the mainstream of Afrikaans literature — their ancestors were, after all, the first people to speak the language around 1700. "Afrikaans is my skryftaal, my leeftaal, maar die literatuur is nie myne nie," said February. Brink, however, said he believed that the "gatvol" anti-establishment voice in Afrikaans writing was fast becoming the mainstream of Afrikaans literature.

The conference also discussed political issues like the ANC's armed struggle and its position on negotiations and sanctions. In a special debate on the cultural and academic boycott, the ANC leadership declared itself totally opposed to censorship "whether it is done by PW or by the Ayatollah Khomeini". They argued that the cultural boycott was not censorship per se, but that it was aimed at isolating "apartheid culture" and curbing an influx of culture which may strengthen apartheid rule.

By the end of the conference most of the writers had started "dreaming". The final communique reflected their ardent wish for a new society. It spoke of "realising the dream of a truly representative South African literature" which would reflect a shared cultural identity "unique in the richness of its sources, expression and diversity of language". An Afrikaans freed of its racist connotations would naturally find its place within this literature.

The last word (of advice) belonged to Breyten Breytenbach. Addressing his fellow Afrikaners, the "off-white Afrikaans-speaking South African living temporarily abroad", said:

"You have as much cause, perhaps more, to be involved in the process of transformation as those against whom apartheid is aimed. You need nobody's permission to join the struggle. Guilt feelings and self-flagellation are self-indulgent sentiments, but an understanding of responsibilities gets you moving. It is in walking that you learn how to walk. Watch out for the exultation of the hairshirt. Clean out the cellars. Watch out for the corruption of suffering, of self-pity. Don't go and sell yourselves as brave warriors. To be against apartheid is normal, it is not heroic."

□ Ronel Scheffer is IDASA's Director of Publications.



- To vote or not to vote?
- What difference will the DP make?
- Will whites give FW and the NP (yet another) chance?

Some opinions on these questions are offered in these two articles

# Voting (for DP) will 'undermine' MDM agenda of real change

By CHIARA CARTER

The formation of the Democratic Party has added a new dimension to the strategy debate within the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

The MDM position towards parliament has always been non-participation.

However, within the ranks of anti-apartheid whites, there are some who argue that the DP provides an opportunity for strategic intervention which could increase the disunity within the ranks of the ruling class.

There have always been people who have sought to work with parliamentary groups as the Young Progressives, especially around single-issue campaigns such as conscription.

There have also always been those who argue that any co-operation within such groups is futile since they are part of the system.

Confusion among whites who regard themselves as part of the MDM has often been the result of a failure to clearly define how they should approach elections.

The MDM's boycott call is based on the rejection of parliament as an institution which was designed to perpetuate the present system.

While the MDM will use any means to reach its ultimate goal of dismantling apartheid, it believes no meaningful change can be achieved through parliament.

### Mass struggles

Instead, the MDM argues, change comes through the struggles of the masses and through international pressure on the government.

The tricameral parliament, the MDM argues, is not just ineffective. It also creates the im-

pression that there is participation in decision-making and as such must be opposed.

A leader of the MDM expressed this as "serving as a cloak which covers the nakedness of the dictatorship".

While few within the ranks of the MDM would argue for participation in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, the issue becomes more complicated with the House of Assembly.

A recent forum of community organisations, including Cape Democrats in Cape Town, endorsed the call for a boycott of the elections by all members of the MDM, including whites.

### Meaningful intervention

But within the ranks of anti-apartheid whites are many who argue that meaningful intervention is possible within the parliamentary system and that the MDM should be sensitive to the problems of working within the white constituency — an arena which is inherently conservative and steeped in parliamentary tradition.

Proponents of such a pragmatic approach argue that the primary goal of work within this constituency must be aimed at dividing the ranks of the ruling class, thereby hastening the end of apartheid.

They see support for the DP, which has said it hopes to serve as a bridge between parliament and the extra-parliamentary forces, or for certain progressive DP candidates as a step in this direction.

But the counter view rejects both the analysis of the DP as an ally of the MDM against the

# DP: a dilemma

By PIERRE DE VOS

White South Africans will be faced with some rather difficult decisions in the run up to the House of Assembly elections on September 6. According to Mr Jannie Gagiano, a lecturer in political science at the University of Stellenbosch, progressive whites will have to weigh up the pros and cons of voting very carefully.

In an interview with the student newspaper, *Die Matie*, Gagiano said that people who eventually decide to vote for the Democratic Party will have to scrutinise the candidate in their constituency to ascertain where he or she stands politically.

"Dr Denis Worrall and his supporters are for example not interested at all to get 'the people' to run the country," Gagiano explained. "He wants to use the state itself to concentrate the power in his own hands and to then try and move the political conflict away from racial confrontation. He wants to use the state to dismantle the racial factor in our society — in exactly the same way as the reformers in the



government and the value which support for the DP can have.

This viewpoint sees the DP as essentially part of the system.

Thus while its emergence indicates the deep divisions which have sprung from within the ruling class, the DP is seen as part of the problem rather than the solution.

The interests of the DP are fundamentally in conflict with that of the MDM, according to this view.

It was formed because of the crisis of legitimacy which the government faces. This, in turn, is a consequence of the successful struggles waged by the masses.

### Protect interests

Big business has lost faith in the Nationalist Party's ability to protect its interests and has turned to the DP to safeguard South Africa for big capital.

This means that despite the deep differences

# for those who vote?



Mr Gagiano  
... no real  
difference  
between  
Worrall and  
the NP

National Party plan to do."

"If it seems likely that F.W. de Klerk will be able to deliver the goods in the NP, if he can move the goalposts and speed up the process of 'reform', Worrall will be dead politically — because Worrall is a phenomenon totally reliant on the NP's lack of movement, their lack of reform."

According to Gagiano there is no real difference between Worrall and the National Party. "And if his role disappears with faster NP-style reforms he will say: 'That is exactly what I wanted to do. I wanted the NP to shift and I succeeded in that.'"

Wynand Malan, on the other hand, is interested in an open society and an open political system, Gagiano said. "He is looking towards a non-racial democracy where blacks would be in the majority and therefore in control."

Speaking about the third DP leader, Gagiano said that Zach de Beer was caught up in an economic liberal debate. "He believes that if the economy could be freed to help make dramatic growth and development possible,

many constitutional problems would be solved. He doesn't really have a very good grip on the political factors at work in South Africa today."

At this stage, Gagiano said, it was extremely difficult to make any predictions on the outcome of the elections for the white House of Assembly. But he said that the results of his latest survey had given him some pointers towards the support that the various parties command with Stellenbosch students. It has been said on many occasions that Stellenbosch is a microcosm of white South Africa.

Voting for the DP could therefore mean voting for any one of three positions held by its leaders.

Many politicians and political scientists therefore have a keen interest in the results of Gagiano's surveys which are conducted every year among some 500 students to test their political views. Drawing from these surveys Gagiano has some interesting observations to make about the coming elections in the House of Assembly.

"The latest results of my survey don't really

show any significant shift in the voting patterns of 1987. Except, maybe, that the NP is losing support among the English-speaking students. Twenty-seven per cent of these students supported the Nats in the previous election, but that is down to 18,8 per cent now."

Gagiano ascribes this to the "Worrall factor". "Worrall is an English-speaking Nat. He is conservative enough to attract the English Nats," he explained.

But his surveys also show that Afrikaner support for the NP is slowly dwindling. "Since the previous election the NP's support among Afrikaans students has dropped from 71 per cent to about 64 per cent.

Gagiano warned that these results did not necessarily imply an increase in the DP's support among the students. "Afrikaans students breaking away from the NP usually don't immediately align themselves with a new political party. They first move into a political apathetic position," he said.

"The result of the election will greatly be influenced by the skill with which they can woo the disaffected Nationalists into their kraal."

Gagiano also believes that the whole momentum of the "give FW a chance" feeling among voters could have a negative effect on support for the DP. "It is possible that many students and even some academics who took flight from the NP in 1987 might be willing to give the NP yet another chance. One of the biggest reasons for the breakaway from the party in 1987 was the style of leadership in the NP — with the way in which P.W. Botha steered the ship. FW is being touted as a pragmatist, as someone who will be more open and approachable. They see him as a more rational political decision-maker, more civilised and less rude than his predecessor."

Gagiano mentioned another factor that will boost the NP. "Now that FW has 'taken over' the perception exists within the white community that FW is in control of the state and its power instruments and that he is therefore well placed to go ahead with reform."

"The international community is also giving FW a chance. They are creating some space for him in which to manoeuvre. That space is also going to be used by the NP to encourage whites to vote for him," Gagiano predicted.

But nearly two months remain before voters go to the polls — or stay away. A lot can still happen in those two months, and as Gagiano said, at this stage it is extremely difficult to make any predictions about the elections.

• Pierre de Vos works in the publications section of IDASA.



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**'The call for a boycott (in the Western Cape) extends to all who consider themselves part of the MDM and rules out membership of the DP or assistance for any DP candidate no matter how sympathetic'**

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## Direct impact

"Members of the MDM need to use their time and energy to build around the MDM campaigns to be launched in the next months. We also need to prepare for the Namibian elections which have a direct impact upon South Africa," Omar said.

"The objective of the campaigns is to build our structures and organisations into a powerful factor capable of preventing the imposition of any settlement scheme which British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher might come up with later this year."

The boycott decision does not mean the MDM has ruled out the tactic of exploiting divisions in the ranks of the government.

That option remains open but a strong concern is that there should not be the kind of approach which creates confusion, such as that which reigned during the municipal elections last year, when some whites voted while others did not.

Also still open is the option of alliances around single issues.

In the case of a Jan Van Eck or a Pierre Cronje, the MDM sees its way clear to cooperate with them around issues such as the Natal violence or the conflict in Khayelitsha.

(With acknowledgement to South)

between the DP and the Nationalist Party, in a very real sense the DP is seeking to undermine the MDM's agenda of meaningful economic, social and political change.

Advocate Dullah Omar summed this up: "The role of the DP is to make South Africa safe for big capital and imperialist interests."

The argument that strategic intervention is possible is ruled out as fallacious. Rather than co-opting from within, change comes from mass pressures from outside parliament.

In line with this argument, the Western Cape forum adopted a clear line on participation — none whatsoever.

The call for a boycott extends to all who consider themselves part of the MDM and rules out membership of the DP or assistance for any DP candidate, no matter how sympathetic.

Instead, the MDM will concentrate on working on campaigns around key sites of struggle including housing, education, unemployment and the Labour Relations Amendment Act.



With Untag... the group receives a briefing from chief Untag spokesman Cedric Thornberry.

# A chronic expect

The sight of the burly Kosie Pretorius, leader of the National Party of South West Africa, quietly waiting in a back seat in a lecture hall of the University of Namibia for the eloquent Prof Fanuel Tjingaete to finish his speech, somehow commented on the emancipation of Africa's last colony.

A mere two decades ago when Pretorius's party ruled the "gebied" Prof Tjingaete — being a black man — would probably not even have been allowed in the hall. Now the white Afrikaner leader, having arrived a little early for his appointment, was quite satisfied to give his fellow-countryman the chance to inform an IDASA delegation on the economic situation facing the soon to be independent Namibia.

The IDASA group consisted of 27 members, mostly up and coming young businessmen and academics from various backgrounds and diverse political persuasions, capably led by IDASA's Wayne Mitchell and André Zaaiman. (At least one UDF member included; also a member of the National Party.) Windhoek was the first stop-over of a tour that would eventually lead them to Zimbabwe, in the last year of its first decade of independence, and ultimately to Zambia, temporary home of a said 5 000 South African exiles waiting to return to an own liberated country.

The shift in the balance of political power over the past decade was even more graphically illustrated the next day, July 5, when a local newspaper reported that Pretorius had secretly visited Swapo's office in Windhoek to get a copy of the liberation movement's election manifesto. The self-proclaimed leader of the country's 70 000 whites was treated to a cup of tea and handed an autographed copy of the manifesto by the recently returned Swapo leader, Hage Geingob.

Pretorius and Tjingaete were but two of a range of internal politicians, academics, journalists and union, church and business leaders who, through the good offices of the local facilitators, the Namibian Peace Plan Contact and Study Group (NPP 435), were to address the IDASA delegation over a period of four days.

If Pretorius was the embodiment of a nostalgic white past, the dynamic Ben Ulenga as secretary-general of the Mineworkers Union of Namibia (MUN) was certainly representative of the growing expectations of his country's black work force. Ulenga, a trained PLAN-fighter, had served a number of years on Robben Island before peacefully taking up the cause of the "socialist revolution". Pressed by the delegation on his views of Swapo's policy of a mixed economy, Ulenga insisted that the

**From an atmosphere of excited expectation in Windhoek to the more sober mood of Harare — and on to meet estranged compatriots in Lusaka. In July, IDASA took 27 young business people and academics on a tour of our neighbouring states to look at political and economic developments in those countries. CHRIS LOUW reports**

MUN would be quite prepared to operate in the political framework provided by the liberation movement should it come to power after the November elections for a Constituent Assembly. (He doesn't doubt that Swapo will.)

The MUN have adopted a resolution supporting Swapo during the elections. Some IDASA delegates had their doubts about the relevance of a trade union under a party that itself claims to be the "party of the workers".

vehicles with their white number plates actually seem to outnumber Untag personnel. There is a sense of expectation in the air: self-confidence amongst T-shirt-wearing Swapo supporters; apprehension amongst white businessmen.

Dirk Mudge, for so long the Great White Hope, talks about the politics of opposition. "A Swapo government join? Never, not even if they offered me the job of minister of finance."



But these are problems for the future. The Windhoek of today is both an exciting and an excited city: high-rise buildings spring up like mushrooms; house prices have gone crazy; hotels are overcrowded with strangers; Untag

**ABOVE:** In Windhoek... Namibian workers outside the offices of the Namibian Union of Mineworkers. **RIGHT:** In Harare... at the Zimbabwean Parliament, the tour group with parliamentarians, including the Speaker, Mr Didimus Matasa (fourth from right), and Mrs Amina Hughes, Minister of Transport (right).





# ology of ations

Although the technical details of a country in transition were fully provided by both the Administrator-General, Adv Louis Pienaar, and a senior delegation of Untag, led by Cedric Thornberry, the real impact of the human drama was only realised when a group of seven of the IDASA delegation were taken to a refugee camp at Döbra, just outside Windhoek.

After 22 years of bloody war nearly 10 000 refugees have returned from neighbouring countries to their mother land, their return made possible by the implementation of Resolution 435 of the United Nations. At Döbra they are being looked after by the Roman Catholic Church supported by Untag. The prevailing sense of being lost, of waiting for something to happen, of not being in control of their own destiny brought the tragedy of the Southern African conflict painfully home.

From a country in transition to a country faced with what could be described as the harsh realities of post-independence trauma: Harare, in all its colonial splendour, is still the beautiful, spacious city that Salisbury in the "good old Rhodesian days" used to be. And yes — we do meet old Smithie; old and pale and grey and just a little bit shaky, but ever the defiant Ian Smith of "never in a thousand years". In the last year alone of his war, so businessman and political analyst Eddie Cross informs us, no less than 15 000 people were killed, most of them blacks. The Ian Smith of today, so much frailer than Kosie Pretorius in Namibia, is an anachronism that is still tolerated in a country which failed to completely fulfil its promise of a socialist revolution.

Comrade Tsvangarai, secretary-general of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, is a reserved compeer of his flamboyant counterpart in the MUN. Unlike the extroverted Ulunga he has been grinded to the point of conservatism by almost a decade of scientific socialism.



In Lusaka . . . Alfred Nzo, secretary general of the ANC, and ANC treasurer general Thomas Nkobe talks with Hannes Senekal of a financial institution in Cape Town.

Tsvangarai makes no secret of the economic and judicial constraints under which his trade unions labour. But there is no doubting his loyalty to the system being forged under the respected leadership of President Robert Mugabe.

In Zimbabwe the Cold Comfort Farm Trust are our hosts; the welcoming party consisting of West German citizen Helmut Orbon and Moeletsi Mbeki, younger brother and lookalike of another Mbeki, a compatriot awaiting us in neighbouring Zambia.

We are introduced to people like businessman and government critic Willie Musarurwa; parliamentary Speaker Didimus Matasa; members of the wealthy but griping Afrikaner farming community in Bindura; Western and Eastern diplomats; clergymen and local academics under the leadership of Rob Davies of the department of economics at the University of Zimbabwe.

It is soon clear that Zimbabwe is a country with many problems. But it is also clear that there is a collective will to tackle these problems; nine years of peace have not extinguished the pride of a hard-won independence. In parliament a white member of Zanu-PF, Andre Holland, tells us that the attitude of former Rhodesians are changing slowly. Himself an old Rhodie, a member of Smith's Rhodesian Front, Holland incites intense displeasure from female parliamentarians with a chauvinistic slip-up: "Whites are beginning to realise that they can't keep on moaning like old women — they should join the party."

A veteran of the bush war, Ndana Mudo-kwenyu, tells of the disillusionment with the Lancaster House Agreement. "We felt we were being sold out. We wanted to take Salisbury with guns blazing." Ndana was a guerrilla instructor in Mozambique during the last eight years of the war. She is a petite woman, only 34 years old. When she left home to take up arms she must have been a girl of 16. Eight years in the bush, sleeping on the ground night after night with a heavy AK 47 clinched between the legs . . .

Just before we leave for Zambia we hear that President P.W. Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela

had met for talks at Tuynhuis. Our war can still be avoided, we think despondently as we head for our meeting with members of the ANC in Lusaka. It is like meeting old friends. There is Steve Tshwetete with his customary pipe (careful now — he may not be quoted at home, being "listed" by the government); there is Ruth Mompoti, 63 years old, one of three women in the national executive council of the South African liberation movement; and Penuel Maduna (the fiery one); and Tom Sebina with a hat like Fred Astaire (also "listed", despite the innocent flamboyance); and oubaas Alfred Nzo; Edwin Mabitse; Zola Skweyiya (the clever one); Max Sisulu (father Walter in Pollsmoor, mother Albertina and brother Zwelakhe restricted); Pallo Jordan (cynical, sharp as ever — and "listed"); Lindelwe Mabandla with his posh English accent; serious young Monde Keke . . . On the last night the imperturbable Thabo Mbeki appears to say "hello".

They say there are 5 000 South African exiles living in Zambia. The ones we meet all want to go home. We talk. We laugh. There are also serious discussions: the armed struggle; the economy; local government; a future political system. We eat together. In the evenings we drink and joke together.

After two days the "passport-carrying South Africans" leave for the airport to go home. Those without passports stay behind.

In Zimbabwe the young and beautiful Ndana, toughened by eight years of bush war, had exclaimed with some amazement: "We never had any discussions with whites before our liberation." Even up to today, she said, the only whites with whom she had ever discussed politics, apart from Europeans, were those brought by IDASA from South Africa.

We are utterly exhausted when we land at Jan Smuts, in icy weather. It has been a long but satisfactory journey: a chronology of perhaps unattainable expectations, of modified but happy realism, of joyful reunion with estranged compatriots in another land. Yet somehow a sense of pending tragedy prevails.

□ Chris Louw is a journalist with Die Suid-Afrikaan.



# Selling the BIG LIE

## Bureau spends R33 m to create SA paradise — on paper

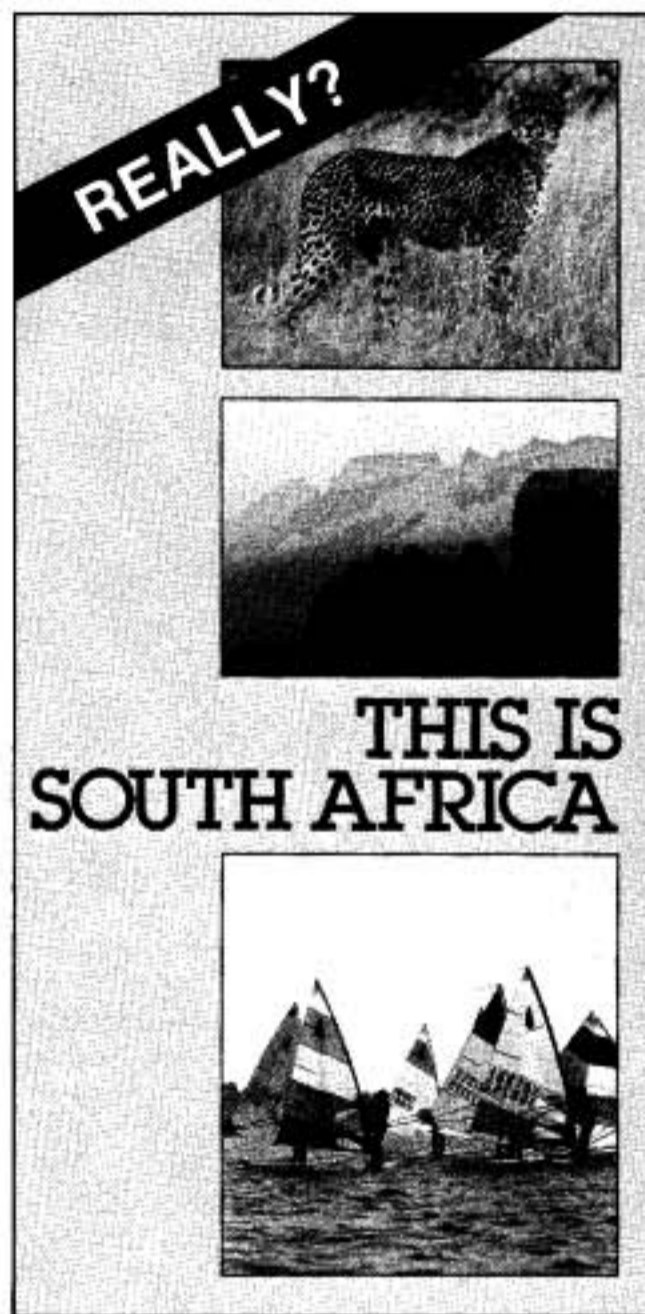
By ANTHONI VAN NIEUWKERK

For many people, the deepening political crisis in South Africa is a constant source of discussion and analysis. Publications that focus on basic facts and figures about this country are therefore always in demand. A number of excellent sources, such as the Survey by the South African Institute for Race Relations, and even the "apartheid barometer" by the *Weekly Mail*, provide one with much needed information. Few people, however, are aware of a freely available "official version", which is doing the rounds.

The problem with some of these official publications is that instead of providing one with statistics, they often lapse into defending the indefensible. Anyone who seriously studies the contents of the Bureau for Information's *This is South Africa*, must be forgiven for believing this country is paradise. The Bureau informs us that South Africa, situated between East and West and therefore of considerable strategic importance to the West, is a stable, democratic country with a remarkable economic output. Social structures are based upon natural racial segregation, and the economy upon a free-market system. Protected by the most powerful defence force on the continent, South Africa is a lucrative investment field for foreigners. Regrettably, sanctions and disinvestment efforts brought about misguided and distorted perceptions. Due to South Africa's vibrant economy, however, foreign debt repayments are on schedule, and all is therefore not lost.

Before discussing some of the book's more glaring propaganda efforts, half-truths and misrepresentation of facts, a brief description of the book's aim and that of its publishers will serve to put its contents in context. *This is South Africa* describes its aim as "the provision of concise information on the more important aspects of the RSA, its peoples and their achievements". The book's authors and publishers, the Bureau for Information, have similar aims. Launched four years ago, it tries to "foster a positive attitude towards the RSA". One of its (many) functions entails "enlightening the community on government policy, national achievements and problems". In its efforts to disseminate government propaganda, the Bureau spends about R33-million annually. Its head office and 13 regional offices put out 10 regional newspapers, several glossy magazines and more than 35 million other publications.

The booklet is divided into 24 sections and seems to follow the layout of the much larger, official *South African Yearbook*. By reading the booklet, one is immediately struck by the total commitment of its authors to the official apartheid ideology. The apartheid mentality oozes from every page and section, making the reading an almost vulgar affair. The reader is



South Africa . . . as the Bureau of Information sees it.

soon told that since it is a natural process, all South Africans prefer segregation, and that government policy merely reflects this tradition. One is also struck by the large number of myths and blatant half-truths contained in this little book. Some of these include:

### • South Africa is a stable democracy

The publication uncritically assumes that South Africa had been ruled by a democratic government for decades. In recent times, the present government had sought to "broaden democracy substantially at all levels". This had resulted in the adoption of the present tricameral parliament which, if you believe the Bureau, was accepted with enthusiasm by all South Africans. According to the booklet, the most important issue which remains to be resolved is the inclusion of blacks on central governmental level. The government is therefore committed to a "negotiated settlement" and "democratic power sharing with blacks".

This version of South Africa's recent political history can be challenged on several grounds. The imposition of the tricameral system led to the biggest organised resistance against apartheid ever. For the booklet, the United Democratic Front — formed in 1983 in direct reaction to white South Africans' acceptance of the new constitution — doesn't exist. It is never mentioned. Subsequent events, in particular the violent unrest of 1984—1986, combined with massive state repression, are examples of momentous historical events which for the booklet, also don't exist. The entire history of

the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress is reduced to one paragraph which mentions the Sharpeville incident, "in which a few young policemen besieged by large numbers of blacks, opened fire killing 69 of the mob".

### • History starts with Jan van Riebeeck

The section dealing with history, written from an Afrikaner nationalist perspective, is totally unsuited for a publication of this kind. In its narrow, sectarian form, it upholds several myths. The first is that this country's history started in 1652. Nothing before then is deemed important. Black historical events are limited to a short description of Shaka and Dingaan's "reign of terror". Another myth reproduced here is the belief that four decades of apartheid rule is part of the inevitability of historical development. The booklet explains: "The new (1948) government proceeded to give statutory force to the natural racial segregation which had always been part of the South African tradition".

### • The international community can do their damndest

The section on "foreign relations" reads like a fairy tale. The reader is informed that "South Africa's foreign policy is based on her commitment to seek world peace in association with all peace-loving peoples and countries". Furthermore, "as an African state, the overriding consideration is her own interests and the interests of her fellow African neighbours, particularly those in Southern Africa where her destiny lies". Having dealt with Africa, the booklet points out that South Africa (read South African government) is currently experiencing some minor problems with the international community. It tells us, rather smugly, "as for the rest of the world, despite sustained attempts to isolate South Africa internationally, she is still a member of many specialised international agencies".

The arrogant tone with which the international community is dismissed, almost as if it is not important to this country, is frightening. One is reminded of the words of the South African representative at the United Nations, who, in 1987, invited the international community "to do their damndest". The South African government now has to deal with exactly that.

Enforced isolation is therefore an outstanding feature of South Africa's international position. To demonstrate the extent to which South Africa has been alienated, consider the following examples:

- In 1985, South Africa had ambassadors in only 16 per cent of the states belonging to the UN. Only one internationally recognised black state, Malawi, maintains diplomatic links with this country.
- No South African prime minister since Smuts (in 1946) has visited either the United States or the United Nations.
- No other national economy is today subjected to so much international political pressure as South Africa.
- No other pariah state is as isolated as South Africa in the military field.
- Socio-cultural isolation affects South African sport, cultural, and academic interchanges. South Africa has today an official cultural agreement with only Paraguay.

# Going for growth — while redistributing the cake

## • All are equal before the law

A third area of gross misrepresentation occurs under the section entitled "Justice". Because of its narrow, "legalistic" approach, the reader is never allowed to consider the impact of the much abused South African legal system on the wider political struggle within the country. Instead, we are told the South African Police "is a paramilitary national organisation whose functions are to preserve the internal security of the Republic, maintain law and order, prevent crime and investigate offences". Similarly, the primary aim of the South African Prisons Service is "the protection of the community against a threat from criminals who are in prison under legal authority on account of their criminality". When one considers the state's repressive behaviour especially under the State of Emergency, the latter "definition" reads like a sick joke. The harsh reality with which most of apartheid's opponents have to cope, include:

- The gradual erosion, under apartheid, of individual rights.
- Absence of the rule of law, habeas corpus, and related aspects of a sound legal system.
- The perception that the courts are unable to advance, defend or protect rights because they act as the direct agents of the apartheid state.
- The existence of political trials, which seeks to punish those who challenge the existence of the South African state or who seek to mobilise resistance on a significant scale. It also aims at deterring others who might contemplate such activities.

## • Capitalism creates wealth

If the Bureau is to be believed, South Africa is a highly successful example of capitalism. The booklet boldly proclaims that apart from a high inflation rate (which is "receiving urgent attention"), South Africa remains one of the cheapest countries to live in. It furthermore claims that the South African economy is based on private enterprise and ownership and a free-market system. The country is therefore by far the most highly developed on the African continent, and serves as the economic mainstay of the subcontinent.

While some of these extravagant claims might in fact be true, the Bureau skilfully neglects to inform the reader of the other half of the picture. That includes:

- In no other country in Africa is the contrast between wealth and poverty as stark as in South Africa. On average, whites earn between three and four times as much as blacks.
- According to Operation Hunger, as many as 1,5 million people are on the verge of starvation. Some rural hospitals report as many as 60 hunger-related deaths a month. The 1981 to 1985 infant mortality rate (number of deaths per 1 000 infants) in rural areas were 12 for whites, 20 for Indians, 66 for "coloureds" and between 100 and 135 for Africans.
- Black unemployment could range between five and six million.

How many people still believe that apartheid, or the new improved version, is the answer to the country's ills? *This is South Africa* could be viewed as a rather weak attempt at brainwashing, were it not that this glossy product is probably finding its way to hundreds of unsuspecting persons. By distributing these pie-in-the-sky fantasies, the Bureau for Information is adding to the deepening of the political crisis in South Africa.

□ **Antoni van Nieuwkerk** is a research officer with the SA Institute of International Affairs.

Some measure of wealth redistribution is inevitable and necessary in a post-apartheid economy. However this would need to be done without damaging growth prospects. This was the consensus among speakers at a seminar on the economic implications of the African National Congress' Constitutional Guidelines held in Durban on 28 June 1989. As one of the delegates so aptly stated, "One can't distribute wealth if you don't create it".

The seminar was hosted jointly by the departments of economics and industrial sociologists at the University of Natal in Durban, and IDASA. It was attended by business people, academics, trade unionists and members of related development and research agencies.

Prof Mike McGrath, head of the economics department at the Natal University in Pietermaritzburg and expert on the subject of income and wealth distribution, spoke of the vast disparities in wealth distribution as a consequence of apartheid social and economic policies.

Comparing South Africa with economies of a similar level of development, he said it should be expected to have a relatively high level of income inequality. However, the added effects of the racial segmentation of the labour market had led to a situation where in 1975 South Africa displayed a greater degree of inequality in income distribution than, "any economy for which family or household income data is available". The situation worsened dramatically between 1946/7 and 1970, and income disparities are still worse than the 1946/7 levels.

Since 1960 economic growth has ensured higher wage rates for black people in employment, however at the same time the level of black unemployment and underemployment has increased. This disparity reflects itself in growing income inequalities between rural and urban areas.

According to McGrath, in the mid-1970s 30% of African households in the metropolitan areas fell below their poverty line income. In the black states 62% of the population and in white rural areas 74% of blacks were living in poverty. By contrast only 4% of whites were in poverty at the same time.

The consequence of this history of income inequalities together with constitutional constraints of the rights of blacks to own capital has left us with a situation where the distribution of personal wealth was such that 5% of the population owned 88% of personal wealth.

Mr Tami Mhlomi, regional secretary of COSATU spoke about the ANC Constitutional Guidelines and the Freedom Charter on which it is based. He endorsed the call for a "mixed economy in which a private sector, a public sector, and a co-operative sector of the economy should exist alongside one another."

He stated that all South Africans had participated in the generation of the country's wealth, yet due to apartheid policies this had been unequally allocated in favour of whites. He therefore believes there would have to be a reallocation of these resources. In particular he called for an intensive investment in housing and education to meet black needs.

He questioned the capacity of the private sector to meet these needs entirely of its own accord and repeated the call for the nationalisation of key economic institutions alongside a range of other redistributive measures designed to boost the economic power of the post apartheid state. He argued that due to past inequalities it would not be sufficient for a non-racial democratic state to create equal opportunities. The state would have to intervene in the economy to attain the wealth necessary to meet the promises of the Freedom Charter.

Dr Ronald Bethlehem, group economic consultant for Johannesburg Consolidated Investments said that in the current international climate it was unhelpful to be caught up in a sterile debate between "capitalist" and "socialist" options for the future of the country. Within both systems the trend was towards a greater market orientation.

He said that South Africa's economy was faced with contradictory needs. On the one hand there was a need to pursue a labour intensive approach to cope with the presently high levels of unemployment and the continual stream of new work seekers. On the other hand greater capital intensity would be needed to improve the country's competitiveness in international markets.



Dr Bethlehem . . . business must remove need for punitive redistribution in future

Dr Bethlehem said he believed the onus rested on the business community to remove the need for future punitive redistribution. He advocated a strategy of "black economic empowerment" as the basis of black exploitation had been relative black economic weakness. Two problems to be confronted in this regard were that blacks would be suspicious that this approach was a "technique to divert people from political freedom". On the other hand whites might fear that increased black economic power would amount to a "depoverment" of whites.

Mr Peter Corbett of the department of economics at the University of Natal in Durban read a paper prepared in conjunction with Professor Gavin Maasdorp of the same department and Professor Ari Sitas, head of industrial and labour studies in the sociology department. This paper drew on the experiences of other countries to look at the implications of proposals for wealth redistribution.

Professor Maasdorp's contribution analysed the types of economic reforms occurring in Eastern Europe as these centrally planned economies (CPE) move towards more decentralised systems.

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GILL DE VUEG

Johannesburg women listen to the experiences of women who had discussions with the ANC.

## Women keen to hear of ANC visit

Almost 200 women crowded into a Johannesburg hotel room in June to hear Maud Motanyane and Irma Xenopoulos talk about IDASA's women's conference in Harare.

This was the second luncheon forum of "Women Facing the Future Together" organised by the Johannesburg office of IDASA.

"We were overwhelmed by the response," said Johannesburg director, Liesel Naude. "South Africans are beginning to realise that the demise of Nationalist rule is inevitable and are keen to find out about the experiences of other southern African countries who have undergone change.

"They are also no longer prepared to accept without questions the view of the South African government about the ANC and want to find out from people who have met them first hand," said Naude.

Both speakers made mention of the Zimbabwean government's attempts to reconcile blacks and whites in the aftermath of the war. Motanyane, who is the editor of *Tribute* magazine, quoted Zimbabwe MP Sheila van Reenen who paid "everlasting credit to the government, that in spite of my politics I was accepted into parliament without a single harsh word."

Mrs Van Reenen said she was prepared to be reconciliatory despite the fact that her 15-year-old daughter was killed towards the end of the war.

Xenopoulos, of Women for Peace in Johannesburg, quoted another white Zimbabwean woman who said that the war was unavoidable because "too many of us were trying to prevent the future instead of preparing for it".

The ANC's attitude towards sanctions and violence was the subject of many questions after the talks. "Soft targets is not ANC policy or ANC terminology," reiterated Xenopoulos.

Picking up on the problems that

the Zimbabwean women pointed to about women's rights in post-independence Zimbabwe, one speaker from the floor called on South African women to send letters to the South African Law Commission before the end of August, to respond to their proposals for a Bill of Rights.

"Tell the Law Commission what parts you support and what parts you do not. Unless the rights of women are protected, you can tear it up and throw it away," the speaker said.

"What can we do?" was a constant question from the floor. We need to get as many people as possible to start preparing for the future, instead of running away from it, was the message from both Xenopoulos and Motanyane.

"We need to be talking to our families, friends, our work colleagues and in our organisations about the need to accept the inevitable of majority rule," they said.

**Lisa Seftel**  
Transvaal Regional Co-ordinator

## IDASA's resource centre in PE fulfils need

"Where can I get information on health and safety in the steel industry? What do the trade unions think about this matter? Who can I speak to about it?"

or  
"What do Xhosa women feel about life in urban areas? How have their customs changed? Where can I read more about this?"

These are the sort of questions that get asked at the Port Elizabeth Resource and Information Centre. Whether you need the latest contribution to the sanctions debate, a video or Aids in South Africa, or the April edition of *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, the Resource Centre will try and find it for you.

The centre, opened at IDASA's Port Elizabeth office in January this year, provides a service for organisations and individuals in

the area who are looking for sources of information which they cannot find elsewhere. The centre subscribes to a number of South African newspapers and journals, has a limited library of books, and a collection of articles and videos for loan. Some of the subjects covered in the centre's material are education in South Africa, women, culture, health, politics, history, and southern African countries. While the material in the centre is not exhaustive, and aims to provide a broad overview of the South African situation, the staff of the centre will try and provide references to other material or organisations which will assist in providing more in-depth information on a particular topic.

The centre also provides an information service and will prepare a "package" if requested in advance — for example, a list of suggested speakers on a particular topic, or a collection of articles on alternative education. The video library is proving to be extremely popular, and it is hoped to expand this service in the future. One other aspect of the centre's work is the collection of information specifically related to the Eastern Cape, and it is hoped that this will be compiled into a series of "Eastern Cape Briefings" in the future.

## Teenagers want more contact

The vastly different lifestyles and experiences of South Africans of the same age group were clearly in evidence when a non-racial group of high school pupils visited Cape Town in July on a project visit initiated by the Race Relations and Leadership Initiative (Rali).

A day programme, including a township visit, was arranged by IDASA's Western Cape regional

director, Nic Borain, and regional co-ordinator, Pro Jack.

They visited a number of townships where they had the opportunity to meet with representatives of the authentic leadership of community organisations. At KTC they saw the appalling living conditions, and the meagre educational facilities which were the best the residents could provide without any assistance from any source. The poor conditions astounded not only the white pupils, but also the black pupils in the group.

They were taken through a resettlement area in Khayelitsha and also met with the Township Students' Congress (Tosco) in Guguletu.

The following snatches from the conversations of the township pupils and the visiting students after the KTC visit are enlightening:

**So-called coloured pupil:** Why don't people forget about the government and improve their conditions, because this has nothing to do with the government.

**Pupils from Thembisa:** We cannot expect people to improve their situation when they don't have proper education facilities or money.

**So-called coloured pupil:** Well, we need to change people's attitudes so that we can accept one another as human beings. We are of different colour and cultures and that won't change.

**Township pupil:** Yes, I agree with you and we must also understand that culture is not static.

The pupils felt that it would be of benefit if they were to spend more time in the townships. They felt it would be good for them to spend a day and night in a township.

**Pro Jack**  
Western Cape Regional  
Co-ordinator



BRIAN LEVER

Pro Jack briefs members of the American Plowshares group during a township visit in Cape Town.

# The people's man of God



MORRIS REDDY

Archbishop Hurley . . . IDASA treats the white survival syndrome.

Also in 1987, Law and Order spokesman Leon Mellet hastily denied Archbishop Hurley's statements that about 25 000 people were being held in detention.

He has indeed come a long way since he first felt the calling during his childhood days on Robben Island, where his Irish father was a lighthouse keeper.

After matriculating at the Marist Brothers College in Pietermaritzburg, Archbishop Hurley entered the Novitiate of Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Ireland in 1932. He studied in Rome, obtaining licentiates in philosophy and theology, and was ordained as a priest on July 9, 1939.

On his return to South Africa, he served as curate at Durban's Emmanuel Cathedral until 1943, and at Pietermaritzburg's St Joseph's Scholasticate of Oblates of Mary Immaculate until 1946. He was named Vicar Apostolic of Natal in late 1946, and the next year became one of the youngest men to be ordained as a bishop. From 1951, he served the territory as Archbishop of Durban. He has twice been president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, and is still active in its Justice and Peace Commission. He was appointed a member of the central preparatory commission of the Central Vatican Council in 1961 and has served on several religious commissions.

Archbishop Hurley was appointed as a member of IDASA's board of directors in 1987. He does not hesitate when asked why he chose to become involved with IDASA:

met if the state were to concern itself with black economic empowerment; that is, with raising the share of the black majority in asset ownership and in managerial positions; as well as with guaranteeing equality of access in employment and social services, while nurturing the market as the engine of growth in an efficient, mixed economy.

He proceeded, however, to draw attention to the limits of redistribution and urged "great care and hard-headed, objective analysis in the decision-making process". He then proceeded to outline the mechanisms a future state could employ to redistribute wealth and incomes.

In his closing summary after a lively discussion between the panel and delegates, Professor Maasdorp said, "the seminar had been

"I was impressed by the objectives and purposes of IDASA's two founders, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, and Alex Boraine. I was impressed by the people they are and by their intentions to educate South Africans to accept the changes which will come, hopefully in peace.

"It's a huge undertaking. Tackling the 'social survival syndrome' of white South Africans, their hanging on to power and privilege, is a noble and difficult task."

Although Archbishop Hurley confesses that his brimming schedule leaves him little time to become as fully involved in IDASA as he would like to be, he approves of the "very practical way" in which the institute is carrying out its task — and its results.

"The institute believes strongly in the method of encounter, of exposing people to the realities of Africa and to new social experiences. IDASA is getting people to face the facts and accept change."

The archbishop does not believe that the NP leadership is facing up to facts with their new "reform" package. "I would like to know if these leaders have the real transformation of South African society in sight, or if they are just trying to pull the wool over our eyes by calling marginal change reform."

And he should know. Archbishop Hurley's achievements are many: he has a string of honorary doctorates in law, literature, social sciences, humane letters and sacred theology from both local and international universities.

The city of Durban bestowed upon him civic honours in 1972, and in 1975, France enrolled him in the Legion of Honour.

In Durban in 1976, he founded Diakonia, an ecumenical agency for social concern, and he was president of the South African Institute of Race Relations in the 1960s, "in the days when it was the most active and liberal agency". His hope is that South African churches will become more active in endeavours parallel to IDASA's. "Some churches already have some very helpful and productive programmes, such as the Anglicans' Partners in Mission and the Roman Catholics' Pastoral Planning programme.

For Archbishop Hurley, politics means the ethics of social and working life and of social relations. And in that field, his dedication to his task as a bishop is tireless.

## Meeting welfare goals by economic empowerment

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lised decision-making and resource allocation through a market system.

He concluded by arguing that in the context of moves in the CPE's, "it would be most inadvisable for a post-apartheid government to become preoccupied with issues such as nationalisation of enterprises and land. The welfare goals . . . would be more effectively

grappling with a number of complex issues for which there were no easy answers but that there was an indisputable need to transform the economy to a more just one". To support from the delegates he suggested IDASA host further discussions on specific issues which arose in the discussion, for example share ownership schemes and worker participation on company boards.

• IDASA's Natal office is presently putting together a seminar series entitled, Democracy and the Workplace, which will address topics such as those suggested. This programme begins in September. Further information can be obtained from the Natal office.

Gary Cullen  
Natal Regional Co-ordinator

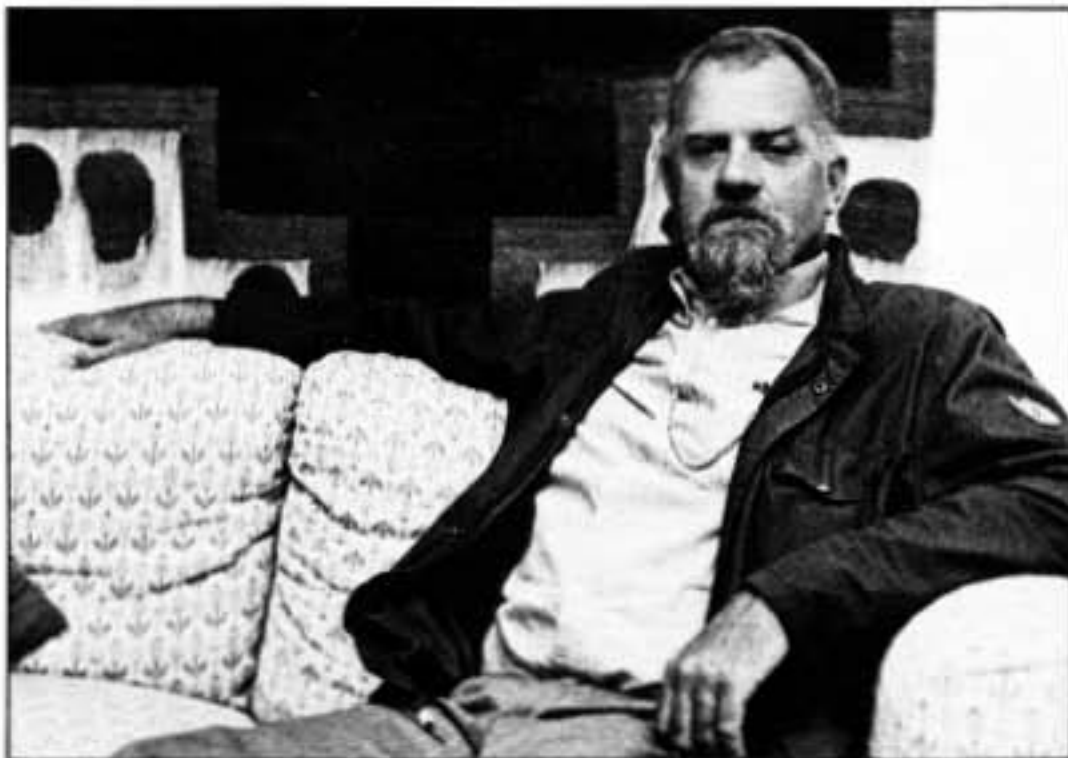
# Two years after Dakar, the dialogue continues

Van Zyl Slabbert's phone call inviting me to Dakar was the beginning of my most exciting time ever on African soil. This was so despite the years I spent working in "black" Africa and my 25 or so research trips to South Africa since I first saw the Cape of Good Hope in 1964. For in all those years I had asked myself, to put it in Alan Paton's words, "that most difficult of South Africa's questions . . . what are black hopes and what are white hopes, and can they be hoped together?"

At that time of course I did not know that my becoming a "Dakarite" would lead to a situation where, within a year, I would meet a couple of times, in Moscow and elsewhere, Soviet scholars of Southern African developments. But then "Dakar" was the very best introduction one could have to meet outstanding specialists like Vasili G. Solodovnikov, his country's former ambassador to Zambia during the crisis over Southern Rhodesia, Boris R. Asoyan, probably the top expert on Southern Africa of today's Soviet diplomacy, and of course Vladimir I. Tikhomirov.

It cannot be questioned that the USSR continues its close and very important co-operation with both the ANC and the SACP. It would be naive to believe that, as quite a number of political contacts have been developed between Pretoria and Moscow, the Soviets will now give up probably the only instrument they have to influence developments in South Africa. What has changed is, that the USSR has freed itself from its previous ideas of a post-apartheid South Africa that is the product of a military-revolutionary change. The Soviets have realised that there is no "law" that says that the armed struggle of the ANC must lead to the liberation movement's ruling the new South Africa in the name of the democratic masses as one of sub-Saharan Africa's many one-party states. Living in a country with a very heterogeneous population, being aware of the ethnic conflicts in Transcaucasia, the Baltic republics and, latently, in Central Asia and maybe even the Ukraine, they will understand the complexity of South Africa's situation better than many Western, particularly North American, South Africa watchers.

Dealing with Southern African issues seems to be a particular challenge to a German, be he from the eastern or the western part of this arbitrarily divided nation. For we know best a policy that first plunged the world into massive destruction and then led to the amputation and the division of what had remained of Germany. One of the most lasting impressions in Dakar was that of the possibility, and even the probability, of an all-out civil war between MK and the AWB. Against this background I remembered the pitiable failure of the Western Namibia initiative of 1977 that according to its fathers, American UN Ambassador Andrew Young



RASHID LOMBARD

By **KLAUS BARON  
VON DER ROPP**

and West Germany's Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher, should have led to a corresponding South African initiative. The initiators of this probably stillborn policy were its gravediggers, as they had not studied the Afrikaner's mentality. They indeed thought they would have little more than a child's play with Afrikanerdom and succeed in bringing first Swapo, in Windhoek, and then the ANC, in Pretoria/Kaapstad, to power. In Dakar, for very good reasons, there seemd to be nobody who still put much hope in the not always good services of Western mediation.

Listening to IDASA in Dakar one remembered a question the then West German chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, used in May 1977 to reply to a remark by US Vice President Walter Mondale to the effect that the West must do everything in its power to force Pretoria to abolish apartheid. The question was "and replace it with what?". Even if very many self-styled Western experts on Southern Africa think it to be obsolete, Schmidt's question is the key to solving the South African conflict.

IDASA delegates had exactly this in mind, when they asked Thabo Mbeki and their other compatriots from the ANC again and again, what was acceptable to them: only a unitary state? Or could they also see the new South Africa as a federal, a consociational or a cantonal system? What did they think of a regional approach like the Kwazulu Natal Indaba? Could they even think of the founding of something as ideologically unacceptable as a "toevlugsoord" in the sense of a boerestaat — an Afrikaner-Israel? With Egon Bahr, the leading German thinker on foreign policy issues, the vast majority of

IDASA delegates were looking for South Africa for a "hitherto unknown model of co-existence with equal rights and special protection for minorities".

The ANC apparently had a problem with such fears, expressed also by Slabbert's remark, that revolutionaries must convince whites, and particularly Afrikaners, that there is life beyond apartheid. What else could the ANC have done but to reiterate its belief in the Freedom Charter and its vision of a non-racial democratic order in an undivided South Africa? If white liberals expressed these fears repeatedly, and sometimes in very harsh terms (!), how could the ANC convince the 90 per cent or more white South Africans who are politically to the right of the "Dakarites"?

To overcome these fears Oliver Tambo in a speech in April 1986 in Bonn had professed to the ideals of the French and the North American revolutions, as he had done earlier in November 1985 in an interview

with the *Cape Times*. In Dakar the ANC confirmed its commitment to political pluralism. IDASA delegates who asked whether this would include the (obvious) rights of opposition got an ambiguous answer: there will be pluralism within the frame of "liberatory intolerance". And other statements were a sign of a somewhat strange interpretation of those liberal ideals: the ANC seeing itself as an umbrella leader and its defining "racist" and "tribalist" groupings out of the nation. Does this mean, that besides the NP, KP, HNP, AWP and very many other Afrikaner organisations — also the PFP, Inkatha, Azapo etc. — will be defined out of the new nation and as a consequence be banned? Will the free South Africa go the way of today's Zimbabwe? In Dakar it was again to be felt, how very deeply divided a society South Africa is. And it is definitely not only a division between progressive and racist forces. Probably there are two democratic political cultures that often seem hardly to be compatible.

As the NP, and by no means the Dakarites, holds power it was perfectly understandable that the ANC in Dakar was not prepared to openly discuss compromises. Furthermore, from the ANC's standpoint it is to be understood, if the liberation movement thinks it to be strange and inadequate that a minority that has humiliated a majority for centuries asks for privileges (namely safeguards) in the new South Africa. But this point of view was only convincing, if the South African conflict was not one of power politics. The West will for a long time not be prepared to totally isolate South Africa or even declare war on white South Africa. And the Afrikaners will prevent their defeat by MK (and its allies) by using, if necessary with heinousness, all economic and military means at their dis-

# 'Dis ons plek die,' sê Magopa-stam

Deur LOU-MARIE KRUGER

*"I wish that this bus had been full of white people from comfortable suburban areas. Magopa is a microcosm of South African history — its present suffering dramatically illustrates what apartheid laws have done, and continue to do to people. The tragedy of Magopa is that a thriving, vital, productive community has been destroyed — far more than buildings have been taken from its inhabitants. If only people could see, allow themselves to see."*

Dié opmerking kom van 'n Pretorianer wat deel was van 'n groep wat saam met IDASA in Pretoria op Saterdag 24 Junie die lang pad na Magopa (tussen Ventersdorp en Koster in die Wes-Transvaal) aangepak het. Vyf-en-dertig Pretorianers het die 30 lede van die Bakwena ba Magopa-stam — wat hulself nou weer op Magopa gevestig het — ontmoet, en gehoor van 'n lang uitgerekte stryd van 'n gemeenskap om hulle grond te behou.

Die Magopa-stam het die eerste van hul twee plase in 1912 gekoop nadat hulle uit die Vrystaat getrek het. Die tweede plaas is in 1932 bygekoop. Vir 70 jaar het die stam met mielies en sonneblomme geboer, waarvan die oorskot aan koöperasies verkoop is.

In 1981 het die eerste probleme begin. Die gemeenskap het nou bestaan uit 500 huisgesinne of 3 000 mense, en het goed gelewe. Hulle het in stewige kliphuise gewoon in 'n dorpie met vier kerke, twee skole, winkels, 'n gesondheidskliniek en 'n water reservoir. Die stam het ontevrede geraak met hul hoofman, mnr Jacob More, en hom met 'n nuwe hoofman vervang. Mnr More het in die geheim met die regering 'n ooreenkoms gemaak waarvolgens die hele gemeenskap na Pachsdraai, 250 km van Magopa sou verskuif. Van die stamlede het toe saam met mnr. More na Pachsdraai getrek, maar 450 gesinne het geweier om te trek.

'n Tyd van onsekerheid en moeilikheid met die regering het nou begin. Die regering het die gemeenskap se dienste afgesny, geweier om pensioene te betaal en om winkellisensies te hernu en stadig maar seker begin om die infrastruktuur van die gemeenskap te vernietig.

Op 29 November 1983 het die stam 'n staatspresidentsbevel ontvang wat hulle in kennis gestel het dat hulle die plaas moes verlaat. Hulle het geweier, maar op 14 Februarie 1984 is Magopa deur gewapende polisie omsingel, mense is in vragmotors gelaai en na Pachsdraai vervoer en huise en ander geboue is met stoot-



'n Kleuter speel voor een van die sinkhuisies wat by Magopa opgerig is.

skrapers feitlik gelyk met die aarde gemaak.

In September 1985 het die Appellhof beslis dat die verskuiwing onwettig was, maar die gemeenskap, wat nou in Bethanie gevestig was en onmiddellik begin het om planne te maak om na hulle grond terug te keer, het uitgevind dat die grond intussen onteien is. Hulle sou dus oortreders wees as hulle na Magopa terugkeer, alhoewel hulle nog nooit enige kennisgewing van, of vergoeding vir, die onteiening ontvang nie.

Die stam het toe aangedring op onderhandelinge met die regering en het tydens onderhandelinge ingestem om hulle tydelik op Onderstepoort te vestig terwyl die regering probeer om vir hulle geskikte alternatiewe grond te kry. Alhoewel hierdie tydelike vestiging veronderstel was om op die uiterste drie maande te duur, bevind die grootste deel van die stam hulself nog steeds daar.

In 1988 het die Minister van Onderwys en Ontwikkelingshulp, dr. Gerrit Viljoen, ingestem dat 'n paar van die stamlede kon terugkeer na Magopa om die begraafplaas skoon te maak. In Mei 1989 het 'n regeringsbrief hierdie vergun-

ning teruggetrek en die sowat 70 stamlede op die plaas is aangesê om weer eens te trek. Hulle het geweier en in Mei het die minister 'n aansoek voor die Hooggeregshof in Pretoria gebring dat hulle verwyder moet word. Die aansoek is toegestaan en sedertdien wag die mense van Magopa in sinkhuisies tussen ruïnes om weer verskuif te word.

Maar hierdie keer, sê hulle, bly hulle net waar hulle is. "Hulle sal ons moet opsluit of doodmaak, maar hier trek ons nie weer nie," sê een van die bejaarde boere. "Dit is ons plek. Daar was my huis, langsaan was my pa se huis en daar oorkant is die fundamente van my oupa se huis. Hier is ek gebore."

Die groepie besoekers van Pretoria het verstom en verdwaas tussen die murasies rondgedwaal. "I never realised the prosperity of the Magopa community, their self-sufficiency, and extent of their houses, schools and churches. I never realised the absolute and total destruction left by the government. I never realised how much pain, fear and anger the people must feel, but today my eyes were opened," skryf iemand op die bus op pad terug huis toe.

Lang gesprekke en baie luister en kyk het iemand anders laat opmerk: "The bulldozed remains of houses, schools and churches stand as mute memorials to the white man's greed and selfishness. I felt sick. And yet, amid the shacks and desolation, stood the astonishing dignity of the Magopa elders."

Gedwonge verskuiwing bly van die mees ontstellende manifestasies van apartheid. Alhoewel die regering sê dat gedwonge verskuiwing nie meer plaasvind nie, is dit duidelik dat mense soos die Magopa-stam se lewens steeds beheer word deur 'n verskuiwing wat vroeër plaasgevind het. Dit is ook kommerwekkend dat die regering steeds mense verskuif, maar onder ander dekmantels. Sonder dat stootskrapers en gewapende polisiemane gebruik word, word dieselfde resultate verkry. Gemeenskappe soos dié van Braklaagte en Leeufontein word, byvoorbeeld, by 'n tuisland ingelyf of die regering gebruik burokratiese terrorisme (byvoorbeeld die sluit van skole, die staking van vervoerdienste, die skuif van punte waar pensioene uitbetaal word) om mense te dwing om "vrywillig" te skuif.

Intussen gaan die stryd van die Magopa-stam voort en bly dit ook voortleef in die gemeedere van die Pretorianers wat saam met IDASA besoek in die gemeenskap afgelê het.

□ Lou-Marie Kruger is IDASA's regional co-ordinator in Pretoria.

posal. But as one particularly outstanding delegate, Breyten Breytenbach, remarked in Dakar, talking to the Afrikaners in power, the ANC too will realise that to negotiate is to think on fall back positions.

My message to my own constituency in Bonn is that we must do our utmost to promote this nascent dialogue. Financially and even more so politically! We must learn to abstain from prescribing to Africans and Afrikaners what the answers to their problems are. We must particularly abstain from abusing South African (and Namibian) problems for domestic purposes! And we must include in the growing number of our severe condemnations of apartheid, to quote Otto

Count Lambsdorff, a liberal, that "it so happens that white security is the key to black liberation".

When in March 1989 the UK and the USSR surprised the diplomatic world with the news on the possibility of a common South African initiative, it was learnt that both London and Moscow will use their influence over Pretoria and the ANC (and the SACP) respectively, to moderate their views on a new South Africa. In times of an apparently decreasing interest of the US in South African affairs, London and Moscow may continue the fruitful US-UK-USSR co-operation of 1987/89 to solve the Namibian conflict. If this is to be done successfully, it will have to

be done along the lines discussed, both in the open and behind the scenes, in Dakar and at follow-up meetings in Frankfurt, Harare and, most important, in Bermuda.

It remains to be seen, whether the Bonn government will support a UK/USSR attempt to organise a negotiation-process similar to the Camp David conference on the Middle East in the late 1970s. If it does not, it will be excluded from this policy of mediation, as it was increasingly excluded from the international Namibian initiatives since October 1978.

□ Klaus Baron von der Ropp is based in Cologne and has specialised in developments in sub-Saharan Africa for many years.

# The battle for a non-racial state

By RONEL SCHEFFER

The battle for a one-nation state in South Africa has been won, but those committed to a non-racial democracy still have a long haul ahead of them in the view of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, IDASA's director of policy and planning. In particular, the shift by the National Party from a multi-nation partitioned state to a one-nation integrated state has produced new challenges for mass-based organisations who may have to review certain hallowed strategies and tactics of the past.

In a paper delivered at a Bonn conference recently, Dr Slabbert argued that the state's shift from "segregation" to "integration" may demand a new exploration of structures and opportunities on the part of the democratic movement. He said the NP leader F W de Klerk's declaration of intent to work for an acceptable one-nation state was already being taken seriously by the United States and Britain, and in certain respects the USSR. It was not improbable that, after the election, De Klerk could produce an attractive package which could persuade many to throw in their lot with the NP on the road towards a one-nation state.

"The skilful manipulation of Mandela's release, the partial unbanning of some organisations, the lifting of the State of Emergency may create a whole new set of allies who would seriously consider participation towards a one-nation state whilst they would never have done so for a multi-nation state," said Slabbert.

He added: "The critical question is how will those who struggle for a non-racial democracy respond strategically to this challenge. The debate in favour of a one-nation state for South Africa has been won, but not the struggle for a non-racial democracy."

The struggle for a non-racial democracy had to be renewed and invigorated, particularly if the government adopted a policy of "co-optive inclusion" to attain its version of a one-nation state.

Slabbert said the collapse of the apartheid/separate development state may be a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for a non-racial democratic alternative. One reason depends on the response to the implications of this shift in white politics. Another has to do with the future of those structures that were created under the old regime and would continue under different goals and circumstances in the new regime.

He said one of the persistent misrepresentations of the South African state structure was that of an "embattled white minority warding off the determined attacks of the vast majority of disenfranchised blacks".

This was not borne out by reality. Said Slabbert: "If one defines the South African state in the broad sense of consisting of all those structures controlled and/or financed by the executive decisions of those who drew up and present the annual South African budget, and this would then include so-called 'independent dependent states', then more people who are classified not white, work for and maintain the South African state than otherwise."

"Certainly at the apex of this structure there is clear white minority domination but increasingly it is a white domination that will depend on black support to maintain it."

The significance of the shift from segregation



DR VAN ZYL SLABBERT

**The central question will become not whether South Africa is going to be a one-nation state but what kind of one-nation state are we going to become.**

to integration for the state structures lay in the rationalisation and legitimisation for participation. "It is one thing to expect people to participate in state structures that will lead to their final exclusion as citizens of South Africa; it is quite another matter if such participation promises full citizenship in a one-nation state," said Slabbert.

He added: "One can expect those who govern to encourage more and more people to participate and help to build a 'one-nation state' where there will be 'no domination' and 'no discrimination' and where a future constitution can 'be negotiated without pre-conditions'. The real dilemma is that such a constitution will not necessarily be non-racial and democratic."

The strategic challenge facing the vast majority of South Africans who have to live under these structures, said Slabbert, concerned identifying the course of action to be taken under these circumstances. He added that the shift had opened up a fertile new strategic area for those committed to a non-racial democracy in South Africa, but that it could demand breaking with past strategic taboos.

He suggested that a possible way of looking at the situation would be to classify areas of activity in terms of "more or less control or autonomy" from the executive centre. The political structures like the tricameral parliament, homeland governments and the regional services councils would be less autonomous than socio-economic structures like those in education and labour. Certain areas like the informal sector would be highly autonomous, even "illegal" (eg. hawking, squatting) while

formal "legal" economic areas would be almost establishments approved and fairly autonomous.

"In all these areas of activity the implications of the shift are going to play themselves out and the central question will become not whether South Africa is going to be a one-nation state but what kind of one-nation state are we going to become."

This question, Slabbert said, might have been answered with a great degree of consensus and ideological clarity within mass based organisations whose control and representative leadership operated outside of apartheid state structures and whose popular support may, to a larger or lesser extent, be involved in those structures. It has, however, not been resolved to the same extent within the state structures which are being maintained to a considerable extent by the disenfranchised.

"It is very likely that it is in this arena (state structures) where the De Klerk era will seriously begin to explore the idea, and search for allies, for the new one-nation state in South Africa, and also where many concerned whites searching for new symbols of national unity will be pulled into the 'new debate'," he said.

He also emphasised that it would be a strategic error if mass based organisations remained aloof from this debate or assumed that it would die and wither away because "the masses" or "the people" or "some historical inevitability" would not tolerate its existence.

Slabbert said the state of the economy and the international commitment to a "political solution" in South Africa were two developments which would encourage movement in the "new debate". Contrary to conventional wisdom on the issue, he believed that the stagnation and even decline of the South African economy would strengthen the state's search for its view of one-nation state allies. "It will of necessity offload the costs of economic decline on those who cannot/will not be incorporated, and will try to marginalise those organisations and leaders who challenge its concept of the one-nation state."

The international world has for the time being abandoned the revolutionary paradigm and has substituted it with "the long haul to negotiations". Of necessity this meant a re-evaluation of existing structures and above all, a renewed interest in "the whites", and whether they would "change". Any "reasonable" response by the state would almost automatically be inflated beyond its potential. Indicative of this was the fact that the catchword for the 1989 election, both inside and outside South Africa, had already become "let's give FW a chance".

Slabbert said the shift had fundamental implications for whites as well as for the future of those structures created under apartheid and separate development. "The search for new symbols of unity and nationhood amongst most whites is real. The transient nature of the structures created by the apartheid state is no longer questioned. However, even if the battle for a one-nation state in South Africa has been won, the struggle for a non-racial democracy has to be renewed and invigorated."

"The seventies saw the collapse of the partition state, the eighties saw the shift to the integrated state, the nineties will see the battle for the non-racial democratic state."