

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

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

JULY/AUGUST 1990



Right and Left flex political muscle

By Phillip van Niekerk

TWO conflicting political trends are battling it out in the wake of F W de Klerk opening up the political marketplace in February.

The struggle between the politics of the bomb and the automatic weapon – the old politics of force and no compromise and the new politics of free expression, negotiation and democracy have created a whirl of hope, fear, euphoria, gloom and confusion.

As the two men who have dominated South Africa in 1990 – Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk – moved backstage in mid-year, there seemed little to cheer about in right-wing bomb attacks and conflict in the townships.

Yet South Africans displayed an enthusiastic appreciation of their new-found freedoms.

A new anti-establishment newspaper, the *Daily Mail*, banned for a period as a weekly only two years ago, hit the streets. *Vrye Weekblad*, itself the target of a right-wing bomb, continued with its robust exposés of the right wing and death squad activities. Even the SABC won praise for its even-handed coverage of the anti-apartheid opposition.

To Page 6

'Ten days that shook my world'

STANDING on the Leningradsky Prospect – the "straight way" to Leningrad – just outside Moscow I was filled with an unhappy mixture of dismay and despair.

I had reached an unbearably poignant shrine. In heroic proportions and cut deep into huge blocks of concrete was the visage of the Soviet version of the Unknown Soldier. The young interpreter translated the script alongside that haunting face in hushed tones. "It says that, 'the defenders of Moscow defend here forever'. Here they fought an important battle in the Great Patriotic War. Many people died. But for us this is very sad."

Twenty million Soviet citizens died in that war, more than all the other deaths put together. The German army failed to take Moscow or Leningrad and eventually broke its back on a bitterly defended Stalingrad and the even more bitter Soviet winter.

Standing at that memorial I felt dismay at the enormity of suffering the people of this country had experienced in the last 100 years. I felt despair because by that stage of the trip I already sensed that another tragedy was befalling this oft punished country.

How do you record a credible impression of a country with 290 million inhabitants and more

mutually unintelligible languages than anywhere else in the world after a brief two weeks spent in one city – albeit Moscow?

The answer is you probably can't.

It was sunny mid-June and I was part of an Idasa delegation of "young researchers" on a fact-finding mission hosted by a group called the Committee of Youth Organisations. For me personally the visit was of particular importance.

The Soviet Union was the land of milk and honey for many of us who grew up politically in the student movement in the late '70s and early '80s. This was the flagship of a growing fleet that would rid our world of the uncaring and greedy imperative of profiteering capitalism and the misery it had brought our country.

We could quote chapter and verse of statistics that demonstrated the availability of basic goods and services to all Soviet people. We could parade the achievements of Eastern bloc socialism – in the production of iron and steel, in the eradication of illiteracy, in culture, the arts and in sport.

In response to perestroika and glasnost we had all reformulated our ideas and I wanted to discover two things: the soul of the Soviet people and



Nic Borain reports on a visit to the Soviet Union.



Red Square in Moscow

To Page 4

INSIDE

Black pensions ordeal
– PAGE 8 –

Free the airwaves
– PAGE 10 –

Creating 'human' cities
– PAGE 12 –

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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Contributors to Democracy in Action may express opinions that are not necessarily supported by Idasa.

EDITORIAL

End this reckless killing in SA

THERE IS a host of issues which demand attention during the period of transition to a post-apartheid South Africa.

The question of adequate housing, the problem of disparity in health services, the challenge of job creation in the face of high unemployment, the redistribu-

tion of wealth and the restructuring of the economy are only a few of these. Important as they are, they pale into insignificance against the mindless and escalating violence which we are witnessing throughout South Africa. Unless the spiralling violence is checked and arrested, no matter how many houses are built, no matter what health services are provided, no matter the number of jobs created, we are going to be faced with a crisis which will make meaningful negotiations totally impos-

sible. The destruction which has characterised Natal is not only Natal that is involved. There is a daily litany of violence coming from remote areas as well as central urban areas. The growth of right-wing violence is equally disturbing and while it is important that the forces of law and order are seen to be acting with vigilance against these quarters as well as affording protection to potential victims, it goes far beyond the responsibility of the normal security forces.



Victims of the Johannesburg taxi rank blast in July.

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Indiscriminate

It is true that Natal is a special case. Despite the deployment of further police, the involvement of the army, the good work done by churches, political parties and organisations, the violence continues to escalate. Every day innocent people are victims of these indiscriminate acts. The latest incident in this saga is the brutal attack on a bus, leading to 26 people killed and scores more injured. It is time that all South Africans demand an end to this reckless killing.

Obviously the direct involvement of the ANC/Cosatu/UDF alliance, together with Inkatha, is not only important but indispensable. However,

the destruction which has characterised Natal.

It is not only Natal that is involved. There is a daily litany of violence coming from remote areas as well as central urban areas. The growth of right-wing violence is equally disturbing and while it is important that the forces of law and order are seen to be acting with vigilance against these quarters as well as affording protection to potential victims, it goes far beyond the responsibility of the normal security forces.

ALL OF US must cease reckless speeches which fan the flames of violence. All of us must oppose the violence wherever it occurs, as well as those responsible for it.

One of the reasons why many blacks and whites are fearful and lack confidence in the talks about talks and the possibility of negotiation is because they do not appear to offer personal security. Until they do, there is going to be a lack of enthusiasm, on the one hand, and actual opposition on the other to the desirable transition leading towards a post-apartheid South Africa.

- Alex Boraine
Executive Director



Now that we're communicating perhaps next time we go abroad to Transkei we'll travel on a Hout Bay passport.

LETTERS

A nation needs critics

I WAS very impressed with your article by Prof Johan Degenaar on the perils of nation-building and the need instead, for the creation of a democratic culture.

We have already begun to see the destructive potential of nationalism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as different groups exercise their new-found freedom but revert to exclusivist practices which oppress all those who do not "belong" to their group.

To appeal to a divided society such as ours to unite on the basis of a common love for our country does indeed contain a strong emotional appeal, but it is not enough.

The logical consequence of a nation built largely on nationalism is that critics of the system may all too easily be branded as "unpatriotic" or "anti-South African".

In the United States during the Vietnam war, those Americans opposed to the war were frequently labelled "un-American", or subjected to the refrain, "if you don't like it here, go and live over there" and so on.

Far too many sins have been committed in the names of various ideologies which began as well-intended, liberating philosophies but which ended up as dogmas that could not be questioned without threat of severe punishment.

The creation of a democratic culture, which embraces the notion of inclusivism and the right to differ rather than ostracism or exclusion, may be a tougher option to work for but it offers far more hope for us all.

J Page
Johannesburg

Keep it simple

I AM a regular reader of *Democracy in Action* and thoroughly enjoy your interesting and stimulating range of articles each month.

May I suggest, however, that you spare a thought for those readers who are not members of the academic profession or captains of industry, but who nevertheless wish to engage in the concept and debates you feature. I frequently find myself having to read and re-read sentences and paragraphs to grasp the meaning of what is being said.

Our lives are inundated by a barrage of media at every turn which demand some attention — even if it is only to assess what they are saying in order to ignore it.

By way of contrast, *Democracy in Action* is well worth reading, but a number of us would be grateful if you could ensure that your message reached us in as straightforward and direct a way as possible.

Collective strugglers
Cape Town

JA-NEE

Big Brother marches on

A STATEMENT from Pretoria about follow-up meetings between the government and the ANC: "If and when arrangements are made for another meeting, the media will be informed if it is decided that the parties want publicity for the event."

— So much for fundamentals like the public's right to know.

Where do we stand?

NO, the ANC office in Johannesburg did not have any copies of the booklet which spells out the organisation's position on negotiations, but would we like one instead on how to join the ANC?

— And one cannot always blame the printers.

Our bold men in blue

IN THE good old days before February 2, security policemen and informers at least made vain attempts to conceal their presence at opposition gatherings.

At a recent Idasa event in Port Elizabeth a policeman in uniform meekly enquired at the registration table after the whereabouts of a special branch lieutenant whom, he said, was attending our conference.

— We couldn't find the lieutenant but we hope he didn't pocket the registration fees.

'Ten days that shook my world'

From Page 1

whether the red flag was still flying. We were not able to answer any of these questions conclusively and were left with a series of often unconnected impressions.

I was quite unprepared for what I found in Moscow.

We sat in a meeting with the editor of the Moscow Communist Youth Organisation (Komsomol) daily newspaper. The paper has a subscriber list of one and a half million and is delivered daily. This man was a political appointee yet he harangued us for over an hour about the evils and absolute unworkability of socialism.

We didn't understand. Here was a powerful and influential communist, picking up a glass on the table and asking, "Who does this belong to? To the state, or the people, or some vague body? I don't care about this glass," and he made as if to throw it out of the window.

In an intense and growing fury he took a Parker pen from the inside pocket of his coat. "This is my pen! If this man (pointing at his second in command) breaks this pen, I will beat him," he said, shaking his fist angrily.

Reaching some kind of climax, the editor rose to his feet and shouted, pointing out of the window at the inevitable queue at a shop across the road: "Those people are queuing for children's slippers. This is not how people should live! This is not even how animals should live!"

The sentiments behind these ragings were expressed by everyone we met - more cautiously by only the most senior members of the Communist Party.

The economy has clearly failed to meet the requirements of the population and the list of reasons they give reads like a tirade from the New Right.

Here is a selection of rough quotes as I jotted them down in my notebook or remember them now:

"The authoritarian, bureaucratic, administrative command system has created impossible skewed production priorities."

"Why work hard, or with any care and



Overlooking Moscow: (from left) Russian host Alexei Konkov, translator Igor Maeve, Ian Liebenberg, Hermien Kotze, Zorah Ebrahim, Khehla Shubane and Mark Swilling.

attention to detail if you are going to get your 300 roubles a month no matter what and anyway, you are not going to be able to buy anything with it? We have created workers who don't know how to work."

"Goods are expensive and if they are made

when unemployment and lack of housing becomes a problem for the previously protected underclass and when access to a whole lot of goods and service becomes determined by income, they may change their minds, but I wouldn't bet my life on it.

The USSR trip

NIC BORAIN was part of an Idasa delegation which spent 10 days in the Soviet Union in June on a fact-finding mission.

Following the visit of Prof Apollan Davidson and Prof Irina Filatova to South Africa in December last year, Idasa received an invitation from the Committee of Youth Organisations to send a group to Moscow.

Ian Liebenberg, Hermien Kotze, Nic Borain (all of Idasa), Mark Swilling, Khehla Shubane (both from the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits) and Zorah Ebrahim (Centre for

Development Studies, University of the Western Cape) made up the group.

The Committee of Youth Organisations is an umbrella body for the hundreds of youth organisations in the Soviet Union, many of which have several million members.

They prepared a thorough programme for the delegation which held discussions with a full range of political parties, social movements, government departments and enterprise managers.

here they are of inferior quality. It is very difficult to get imported goods and usually these are impossibly expensive."

"I have lived here all my life. Now it is worse than anyone can remember. There are just no goods in the shops and for the first time we are really worried about hunger."

Almost without exception the people we spoke to blamed socialism for their ills. When those of us with deep philosophical and political roots in the South African socialist movement protested that it wasn't socialism per se that was the problem, but rather the errors committed in the building of the society and economy of the Soviet Union specifically, we were laughed out of court.

"It is the ideas themselves. 1917 was a dis-

aster for us. We need a market economy," was a refrain we heard time and time again.

THERE seems no doubt that there is a developing consensus, amongst the intelligentsia in Moscow at any rate, that the "free market" is the panacea to many of their ills. It would have been impossible, and extremely presumptuous, for us to lecture them on the evils of rampant capitalism. They want it and they want it now.

When Germany and Japan start buying up state enterprises for a pittance and fill the shops with goods that only a few can afford;

The citizens of Moscow (a relatively wealthy city) are struggling, increasingly despairingly, to survive. At first I was tempted to argue that they are better off than the unemployed in the First World, but it just doesn't appear to be true, especially as far as countries with social welfare systems are concerned.

The problem, of course, is that the capitalism that will be built in the Soviet Union will be a mean and half-starved animal.

The Soviet people look at the highly developed capitalist economies of the West for a vision of their own future. The truth is that they can expect only the vicious and exploitative versions of that system that exist on the periphery in the Third World. The creation of that system is going to be extremely painful.

The other element of the unfolding drama in the Soviet Union is the collapse of the political entity itself.

The republics are finally starting to be flung off the edges of the vortex of rapid political change. Long repressed nationalism, often highly chauvinistic, is emerging everywhere and Gorbachev is finding it almost impossible to hold the show on the road.

The dark spectre of the Soviet Union's col-

SOVIET UNION

Will Soviets hold the sanctions line?

By Nic Borain

THE virtual collapse of the Soviet economy has spelt the end of the Cold War and the start of new international relations throughout the world.

During the recent Idasa visit to Moscow, the changing relationship between the Soviet Union and South Africa came under the spotlight.

For the last 30 years, almost all of Moscow's access to South Africa has been through the African National Congress. Foreign policy was guided to a very high degree by the isolationist stance of the ANC and the anti-apartheid movement.

With the Communist Party relinquishing much of its control of the Soviet state, and the movement towards democratisation, the overall foreign policy is being hotly debated and the thorny question of South Africa is very much on the agenda.

According to Professor George Mirsky of the International Economic Affairs Department, the Third World in general has lost political and economic importance in the eyes of both superpowers.

A senior official in the foreign ministry explained that it is no longer possible to determine foreign policy on the basis of ideology. Economics is becoming the decisive factor.

There are compelling arguments for a huge expansion of economic relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union.

An exchange of technologies would be beneficial, especially in the field of mining. Joint cartels could virtually control the world market of gold, diamonds and especially platinum – a metal of vital importance to the new computer technologies.

The import and export of meat and motor vehicles and the possibility of direct investment in joint ventures by South African business would all benefit both economies.

However, the obvious problem is that the ANC has called for the policy of isolation to remain in place and the Soviet Union has been a steadfast ally of the liberation movement.

With control of foreign policy having been shifted out of the Communist Party Central Committee and into the relevant government department, and shifting again to the newly-established elected parliament, the Supreme Soviet, foreign policy is coming under the scrutiny of the democratic process.

The government remains steadfast in its support for the ANC, but a rash of criticism

and debate is breaking out in a variety of think tanks and academic institutions.

There is a growing syndrome of "reversal" – everything that was right under previous governments is now wrong and should be reversed.

One academic argues it is inevitable that, in the very near future, the Soviet Union will make overtures to the South African government and business leaders.

At the end of June the Africa Institute, a



non-governmental organisation which has been particularly flirtatious with South African business, held a conference with the South African Institute of Race Relations. The SAIRR executive members present also happen to be key business advisers and included Laurie Schlemmer, John Kane-Berman, Gavin Maasdorp and Charles Simkins.

The key problem for the ANC is that they have never had to, nor had the capacity, to build a strong anti-apartheid movement in the Soviet Union.

AS THE popular will starts playing a real role in Soviet politics we are finding that the cause celebre of much of the world has little resonance amongst a people who, for very good reasons, are more concerned about their own problems.

If, as some people fear, central political control collapses altogether in the Soviet Union, then the different parts are all likely to formulate their own foreign policy.

The challenge for the ANC will be to present itself as the benefactor. However, the ANC cannot deliver the Soviet Union to South African business while they are keeping the rest of the world in a straight line on the question of isolation.

Now it is a race against time. Will business and the government play one of the ANC's main cards before they have a chance to play it themselves?

The ANC can only play its card when they have won enough of their demands to justify it. Meanwhile South African business is reconnoitering the terrain and finding, to their delight, that the natives are not completely hostile.

lapse into 15 disgruntled, warring, potentially economically unviable Third World states with terrifying military resources at their disposal is starting to haunt the world.

And what about the Russian people?

We were all astounded at the depth of education and cultural and philosophical literacy in the wide cross-section of people we met. A deep abhorrence of war and commitment to peaceful change was the characteristic feature. In response to the question "what do you want, or see as an alternative?", the most common phrase was, "respect for universal human values".

These things, however, always seemed to be said with a sense of despair.

We asked many young people if they were proud of any of their national achievements – the beautiful, cheap and efficient Moscow underground, the low price and ready availability of books and records and the level of literacy and education.

We were told (variously): "The Soviet Union is not a country, we have no national achievements"; "how can we be proud if it takes all our effort and time just to buy a loaf of bread in a shop."

Almost every young person we met had a burning desire to leave the country. The most popular movie on the circuit is a "documentary" comparison of life in the Soviet Union versus life in the West.

Apparently this film looks at the worst of Soviet life compared to the best in the West. It sounds like the worst kind of anti-communist, American ultra-right chauvinism – except it was made by a Soviet film producer. What is more, the public swallow every last detail in an orgy of masochistic self-hatred.

ONE thing we found interesting and encouraging was the freedom and vibrancy of the media.

Organised political opposition to the Communist Party is weak (outside of the national movements in the republics) and many of the new parties have no real experience in mobilising the population. However, the press and television are filled with debate and exploration of new ideas and harsh examinations of social problems ranging from alcoholism through to child abuse.

By the end of the 10 days, the six of us were punch-drunk and exhausted. We spoke together for hours trying, unsuccessfully, to draw out the essence of the experience. We all had the sense of being in an important place at an important time. This was the exact point where a grand enterprise had come off the rails.

The resounding shock waves of that catastrophe have changed the whole world, not least of all our own country. We struggled with the enormity of it and the sense of hopelessness we were left with.

As the last day of the visit dawned, I spoke to a wise and gentle man about my confusion and disappointment. He said: "Yes, this is a tragedy of unimaginable proportions, but you are wrong to say our people are hopeless or despairing. They have spirit and humanity. We will win through in some way."

Nic Borain is the regional director of Idasa in the Western Cape.

Right and left flex muscles

From Page 1

The South African Communist Party was set to shed its secretive past as it prepared for its internal launch at the end of July. Perhaps the best measure of how far the country has moved is the sight of SACP general secretary Joe Slovo arguing earnestly for socialism on television or writing an open letter to businessmen in the columns of *Business Day*, engaging them in debate on the country's economic future.

Slovo said in June that the party would learn from the mistakes of Eastern Europe and would seek to be "democratically answerable to both our membership and our broader working class constituency."

He said the SACP could not constitutionally entrench its leading role, but would have to earn it daily. The party will maintain its close working alliance with the ANC, though it is increasingly emerging as the political wing of the trade union movement.

INKATHA, too, has transformed itself into a non-racial political party. The ANC and Pan Africanist Congress, competing for card-carrying members in the townships around the country, have been running into the inevitable organisational limitations and hassles that an exiled liberation movement need never face nor fear.

The ANC's task is to build up its organisation before the crucial December 16 national consultative conference and to be a well-rooted political force when full-blown negotiations begin with the government, as expected, early next year.

One of the major tasks that awaits Mandela on his return from his overseas visits will be his ability to unite the ANC behind him - particularly the radical youth and trade union members - in the talks and behind decisions such as the abandonment of the armed struggle and compromise on the new constitution. The other task is to disci-

pline the more radical elements in the townships.

People continue to be killed for supporting the wrong political party, but there are signs that even the political culture in the townships, for so long dominated by impis, comrades and casspirs, is opening up. The ANC/United Democratic Front/Congress of SA Trade Unions stayaway of July 2, for instance, was conducted with a minimum of intimidation and violence.

Sections of the PAC appear to have softened their hardline rejection of negotiations with the government. Benny Alexander, the movement's general secretary, at a recent lunch with foreign correspondents, noted a list of conditions that the government should meet for the PAC to enter the negotiations - a change from their previous stance of absolute rejection.

With Mandela out of the country for most of June and July, there was no major public movement on any of the issues to be decided at the negotiating table. However, the ANC were irked by De Klerk's comments that it was their indecision that was holding up the release of political prisoners - a charge vigorously denied by the movement.

The ANC has also highlighted other inconsistencies in the government's approach since the May meeting.

This includes ongoing tough police action in the townships and detentions under security legislation. The government for its part, has consistently criticised the ANC for committing themselves to peace while refusing to suspend the armed struggle.

Yet the basic work of the ANC/government working groups set up at Groote Schuur has progressed well. The deal on the

release of political prisoners has been done and is awaiting final ratification. It is believed that all political offenders, including those convicted of murder, are to be released in exchange for a cessation of the armed struggle.

Discussions have moved into the constitutional area. For some months now, the government has been hinting at a two-chamber legislature, one elected on a one-person, one-vote basis by everyone and, the other, where the various population groups will be accommodated.

As black politics struggles to adapt to these far-reaching changes, white politics is even more vulnerable.

The problem lies in finding non-racial definitions for the groups. There is a lot of negotiation ahead before a final formula is reached.

Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said the new constitution is likely to be introduced within three years. He predicted that talks would start early next year, a referendum on the resulting document would be held before the end of 1992 and the new constitution would be introduced by September 1994.

AS black politics struggles to adapt itself to these far-reaching changes, white politics is even more vulnerable.

The Democratic Party, standard-bearer of liberal democracy, is in a crisis precipitated first by its wipe-out in the Umlazi by-election and then by the resignation of co-leader Wynand Malan.

The National Party appears to have lost major support since last September, judging by the voting in Umlazi. However, the Conservative Party, though it is picking up support, has displayed little imagination. It has not yet explained what it will do if, as seems probable, there are no more whites-only elections.

The more radical right wing has moved into other arenas of activity, perhaps the most threatening of all to the process of democratic change.

Their bombings started off at empty offices - a bewildering spectrum including the National Party, the Vrye Weekblad and the National Union of Mineworkers. Then they hit a taxi rank, randomly injuring dozens of black pedestrians. Last weekend there were blasts at two hotels, killing two people.

Though representing just a fraction of the country's population, the right wing could yet create major problems in the transition period.

Phillip van Niekerk is a journalist with the *Daily Mail*.

UNDERSTANDING THE TRANSITION TO A POST-APARTHEID SOCIETY

A TWO-PART series in Johannesburg during September - hosted by Idasa and the Wits Centre for Continuing Education.

Speakers and dates:

10 Sept - Prof Andre du Toit, Department of Political Studies, UCT.

12 Sept - Mr Mark Swilling, Centre for Policy Studies, Wits.

South Africans often assume that because the apartheid society is unique, the transition from apartheid to a more democratic system is an exceptional process. Studies in Latin America, Eastern and South Europe, have however identified distinct agents, dynamics and moments which tend to characterise these transitions.

By looking at the changes in South Africa from a comparative perspective, these lectures will attempt to broaden the understanding of the prospects, obstacles and processes involved.

Times: 7.30 pm - 9.30 pm.

Fee: R25.

For further inquiries and registration please phone: Centre for Continuing Education at (011) 716-5509/5510/8026.

Apartheid debt 'must be repaid quickly'

By Kerry Harris

AN ECONOMIST from big business and a Cosatu speaker formed a somewhat surprising alliance at a recent seminar on the economy hosted by Idasa in Pretoria.

Dr Ronnie Bethlehem from JCI and Mr Floyd Mashele of the Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association found themselves in joint opposition to the viewpoint of Prof Sampie Terreblanche of Stellenbosch that South Africa is not a rich country.

After their initial presentations at the seminar, which dealt with current and future prospects for the economy, the three speakers formed a panel for discussion, and debate flowed fast and furiously for three compelling hours.

It was during this section of the meeting when the issue emerged of South Africa's inherent wealth (or lack of it) and how redistribution could best be implemented. Prof Terreblanche argued that South Africa should not be seen as a wealthy country with vast resources.

South Africa was in fact a relatively poor nation - especially in relation to all the demands that will be placed on it as a result of the backlog in equal services and the high population growth.

Terreblanche maintained that whites (and blacks) were misled by unrealistic and over-optimistic scenarios about the future. He said they needed to be re-educated about the harsh realities of their country and to be convinced of the sacrifices that had to be made in order to realise a new South Africa.

He said if parity in social services were introduced on the basis of the existing amounts allocated to whites, an additional R56 billion would have to be found to maintain such payments.

A growth rate of 5,5 percent per year would be necessary to eradicate the inequalities of apartheid over a 20-year period. To achieve this, foreign investment of \$10 billion would be needed - an amount that would be difficult to raise given the far more inviting circumstances opening up in Eastern Europe.

Terreblanche said it was essential for whites to admit to an "apartheid debt" which has accumulated for years. Vast inequalities had developed which kept millions of blacks living in undignified poverty.

An ambitious attempt should be made immediately to repay this debt in a reasonable way.

He attacked the popular view (prevalent in white circles) that redistribution should take place by encouraging economic growth.

Terreblanche accused President F W de Klerk of being naive in his approach to redistribution.

"According to him it (redistribution) is a socialist concept and therefore he is totally opposed to it. According to De Klerk's logic, we should rather ensure that the goose that lays the golden eggs lays more eggs which we can then use for redistribution purposes!"

JCI economist Ronnie Bethlehem, maintained that there was ample potential for generating wealth in South Africa and that if things were done correctly there would be a fair amount to redistribute.

While sympathising with the reasons many called for nationalisation, Bethlehem insisted there were better means of redistributing and securing growth.

Rapid economic growth and economic restructuring were essential and close attention had to be paid to production, income and expenditure in order to achieve this. He would opt for a mixed economy, he said.

IN HIS address, third president of Potwa, Floyd Mashele, said his union, in line with Cosatu, opposed privatisation and questioned the unaccountable manner in which it had begun within the South African Transport Services and the Post Office.

He emphasised that the extent to which nationalisation might be used to redistribute wealth and ownerships was open to negotiation.

About 350 people, mostly whites from a broad cross-section of Pretoria society and political backgrounds, attended the seminar.

Kerry Harris is the regional co-ordinator of Idasa in Pretoria.



Ronnie Bethlehem: SA wealthy



Sampie Terreblanche: SA not wealthy

Social capitalism is where it's at

Some alternatives to nationalisation are explored by SAGIE NARSIAH, staff writer of the Press Trust of South Africa news agency in Durban.

WHILE the ANC sees some form of state intervention in the economy as the best way to redress the inequalities of the past three centuries, one of the alternatives proposed for a post-apartheid economy is a policy of "social capitalism".

In the first world and in other "peri-first world" countries, the relationship between capital and the state, very simplistically, has been a symbiotic one where the state provides the necessary infrastructure for capital to operate. In addition, the state takes steps to ensure that capital is "satisfied". To repay the state, capital invests to a greater extent in the economy, thus contributing to the state coffers through taxation. In this way, at least some of this capital is invested by the state in socio-economic endeavours. Thus we see that capital has contributed, albeit indirectly, to socio-economic development.

The remedy for South Africa could be the same. However, the uniqueness of the South African situation demands that the portion of capital derived from taxes (the social wage) is allocated according to skin colour at present.

Some argue that a distribution of the social wage based on need rather than race will be most suitable for a post-apartheid South Africa. In effect this leaves the capitalist system intact and free to exploit the labour force.

In post-apartheid South Africa the emphasis will be on socio-economic development, particularly of the underprivileged black populace. Therefore, adapting the first world model to South Africa, we could say that the capital derived from taxation would be almost entirely invested in socio-economic development. The indirect nature of private capital investment in socio-economic development assumes a more direct orientation.

Socio-economic programmes can be instituted on a much larger scale and proceed at a quicker pace if "social capital" can be elicited from two fronts rather than from one. Having identified the first front (capital derived from taxes), it is proposed that the second front be constituted from private capital itself, namely private capital investing directly in socio-economic development.

Most certainly private capital will not invest in socio-economic and infrastructural development for philanthropic or humani-

Old age an ordeal if you're black

A Black Sash report paints a grim picture of how elderly blacks struggle to get the pensions their families depend on. HANS PIENAAR reports.

FOR THE cynically minded, the photograph taken of a sign somewhere in the Eastern Cape reading, "Slow — Aged Bantu Crossing", seems to sum up the absurd state of black pensions in South Africa. So often do black pensioners have to travel between pay-out points and various offices, that they have become a traffic hazard.

A Black Sash report compiled by Marj Brown earlier this year paints an astonishing picture of bureaucratic bungling and neglect which probably causes ageing black people, after long lives of poverty, to wait for the years beyond 60 with extreme apprehension.

The queues outside pension offices are places of anxiety and death — like the one in Durban where three people died in a period of five months last year. One was left in the sun for two hours before his body was removed. No shelter or seating had been provided.

"At present the attitude of the state towards many black pensioners and disabled people seems to characterise them as parasites — people who just live off the system. This comes through in the attitude of officials, the delay in money received, and in the handling of queries," Ms Brown writes.

"Often the official attitude does not convey the state pension as a legal right but as a gift, contrary to the terms of the Social Pension Act which clearly spells this out as a right for any South African meeting elementary norms of old-agedness."

Merely applying for a pension already is like lining up for an arduous obstacle course.

You might be at the wrong office, with dire consequences. In one of the numerous examples provided by Brown, a woman who fled from the unrest in Natal to Johannesburg, was told to go back to Pietermaritzburg and request a transfer of her pension there.

You might be there at the wrong time. As Brown writes: "Some advice offices report delays due to applicants having gone to central offices to apply, only to be told to come back in one or two months' time, as that is



A signpost that appears outside a trading store near Port Alfred whenever pensions are paid out.

Raymond Hartle, EP Herald

when the pension applications are accepted.

"Some pensioners are told to open accounts at building societies or banks before they make applications, then to return and make an application in two or three months time."

You might have to have your ID-book ready, or you might not. An ID is not a legal requirement for a new pension application. This is admitted by officials, yet clerks continue to make it a prerequisite, according to Brown.

But getting an identity document is not as simple as it sounds. In one typical example a 65-year-old unemployed man from Tembisa had to wait for three months before he could collect his, although it had been ready from the start. Then he was wrongly sent to the Johannesburg offices, where he was wrongly told his wife had to get an identity document too.

And when you do at last get your ID, you might find that a mistake has been made — the wrong age, for instance. In the last eight months of 1989 there were 18 cases of incorrect IDs in Grahamstown alone.

From the example, rectifying wrong particulars on these documents seems to be the most difficult task advice office workers face.

After providing an ID, depending on where in the country you are, you sometimes have to provide proof of residence which also is not a legal requirement. People who live in hostels are regarded with suspicion — they might be "foreigners", and have to be sent to rural areas or to the homelands for applications, requiring extra money and time for transport.

Proof of residence is sometimes required, at other times it could be an obstacle. This unclear situation again makes pensioners utterly vulnerable.

In some cases, an admission that you pay rent can lead to rejection of your application, since being able to pay rent means you have an income which, according to some officials, make you ineligible for a pension. This hap-

pened to a hostel resident from Alexandra who ekes out a living from the sale of sweets and paper bags on pavements.

Natal Black Sash advice offices report that squatters cannot apply in areas where they live, but must go back to the place where they legally reside.

In one case an application was rejected because the application form was incomplete, but the advice office was unable to determine what was wrong, despite several phone calls. "It would appear that he was regarded as a foreigner although he has lived in Cape Town since 1947!"

RECTIFYING these and similar bungles can take years. In one case, a Cape Town woman received her pension almost three years after her initial application because somebody had neglected to send her fingerprints to head office in Pretoria

But once you have passed these hurdles, you still have to prove your age. In Warmbaths, the local pension officer sent all applicants away, saying that they were all young enough to find work. It took an urgent court order to stop the practice.

Those who don't know how old they are at some offices given the name of a doctor for an assessment of their age. One man was assessed at 69 years old, after which he was told that the department did not accept doctors' certificates anymore — he had to get an older relative to testify to his age. When he returned with an affidavit, this was still not acceptable.

Then one must still pass a means test. People who earn more than about R140 a month get no pension. Pensions are paid on a sliding scale: if you earn less than R44 per month you get the full pension of R175.

In Natal the policy is that pensioners do not qualify for the first five years after they reach pensionable age if they earn R20 or more — but thereafter they may earn up to R240 and still qualify for a pension.

However, in practice in Natal offices the

Social capitalism

From page 7

same sliding scale used elsewhere is applied - "the computer does it automatically, and therefore the officials are not really aware of the scales, nor do they really understand it," an official admitted.

Ms Brown observes: "Clerks have to assess the prospective pensioner's income before it reaches the computers and if they do not understand the system or are unaware of the latest scales, it is very likely that applicants are turned away before the application is even 'considered' by the computer."

A CRUEL feature is that officials are prepared to grant only a portion of back-payments in case of bureaucratic delays. Conflicting statements on the policy regarding this aspect were issued. After seven interventions on his behalf by the Black Sash, one pensioner received R450 whereas he was entitled to R4 158.

What makes the issue so urgent is that the pensions earned by elderly black people often are the biggest sources of income in their households.

"There seems to be a lack of concern that the pensions are a lifeline, not only for the pensioners, but for whole families often dependent on them," Ms Brown writes.

She quotes a common example from Wilson and Ramphele's landmark book on poverty in South Africa:

"Mrs Cornelius, aged 65, is head of a nine-member household. She is a widow receiving an old age pension of R83 per month. She is the sole breadwinner. Her only son works away from Calitzdorp. He makes no contribution to the household. There are six grandchildren, all attending school. Her daughter aged 29 years is at home waiting for the start of the fruit season so that she can obtain some casual work.

"A total of R17,83 is set aside for rent, electricity, water, and sanitation each month. Only R65,17 is left to pay for fuel, food, and other household expenses for the month. With a little more than R7 per person to buy food, fuel and other household expenses, how does a household survive when the minimum food required for each person costs at least four times as much?"

Brown observes: "Black pensioners are vulnerable in that they do not have any access to power or decision making in this system. Black are not represented in the major institutions responsible for regulating and administering state pension in South Africa.

"In the face of this lack of power and resulting poverty and frustration, many pensioners become apathetic and hopeless." The issue of old age pensions needs to be surveyed at various levels, she says. "There is a debate around parity, the low level of pensions versus the household subsistence level, the state's responsibility versus that of individuals and families, and the direct relationship between unemployment and reliance on state pensions."

Ms Brown's full report, which has been attractively produced, is available from Black Sash offices.

Hans Pienaar is a freelance journalist based in Johannesburg.

tarian reasons. Research has shown that private capital will very rarely invest in infrastructural development because of the high costs involved in such programmes. They must therefore be "persuaded" through legislation to invest in such programmes. In other words, private capital must be "injected" with a social conscience.

Legislation must be directed at various areas. Firstly, it could be legislated that a percentage of profits be invested in infrastructural development. For example, a company could invest in the infrastructural development of a particular area or community. This would benefit the community and the company.

Different factions of capital ought to invest in different areas and types of infrastructure. Perhaps a specific faction of capital, for example the mining industry, could be required to invest only in the rural areas. This would circumvent the problem of uneven development which is so common in capitalism.

In addition to investing directly in infrastructure, private capital may be required to contribute a small percentage of profits to a central funding organisation, similar to the Urban Foundation, which would carry out specific projects regarding infrastructural development.

Of paramount importance is socio-economic development. Legislation could compel capital to assist in the socio-economic development of its workforce, in particular with housing and education projects. Literacy being the primary criterion for progress to blue-collar and white-collar worker status, investment in education specifically is essential.

While a technologically advanced society is dependent on a skilled workforce, it is also true that efficient production is dependent on a healthy workforce. It is essential, therefore, that private capital must provide access to medical aid schemes for its employees or

contribute to a central medical insurance fund - a national health service plan for South Africa.

By opting for a policy of "social capitalism" as an alternative to nationalisation, several problems will be circumvented. Firstly, the government's system of nationalisation

has sporadically fallen into a state of (fiscal) crisis. The reaction of the apartheid state has been to embark on a policy of privatisation. Although this crisis has been primarily caused by apartheid, the system of state-subsidised nationalisation would have eventually fallen into crisis,

had apartheid not been the issue. "Re-nationalisation" will once again find itself in the same cycle and will have the same end result.

Secondly, the capital elicited from nationalisation for social programmes will not be sufficient. The funding available from private capital for this purpose would be more substantial, and would address grassroots structural problems, for example education, more quickly and easily than a system that is divorced from the production process. In addition, the time taken to implement infrastructural and socio-economic programmes will be shortened because decision-making and the implementation process, will be decentralised and located in the hands of capital. This circumvents the problem of bureaucratic red tape which is often the cause of long delays.

THE policy of nationalisation is essentially an attempt to improve the quality of life of the underprivileged in South Africa. If the policy of nationalisation is pursued the quality of life of the underprivileged would at best remain the same, or there may be a marginal improvement. However, if capital is involved in the development process itself, there could be visible improvements in the quality of life of the underprivileged. In effect, both the state and capital would satisfy their objectives with the people of South Africa also being the beneficiaries.

'The capital elicited from nationalisation for social programmes will not be sufficient.'

NEW FROM IDASA AND TAURUS

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edited by Ampie Coetzee & James Polley

This is an edited record of the historic 1989 Victoria Falls Writers' Conference which focused on the role of writers in national liberation; the state of Afrikaans writing; a future South African literature; women in South African writing.

Available from all Idasa offices (see addresses on Page 2) and Taurus, P O Box 39400, Bramley, 2018.

TWO NEW OCCASIONAL PAPERS FROM IDASA

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30. *The Rural Land Question: A summary of papers from an Idasa workshop* by Dr Nick Vink and Prof Tommy Fenyes (R2,50)

IN SPITE of the new winds blowing through the corridors of Auckland Park since February 2, access to the airwaves is still totally controlled by the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

An increasing number of voices are being raised calling for a "freeing up" of the electronic media so that all political views may be aired without distortion or bias.

However, while television and video tend to hog the spotlight, the Cinderella medium of radio has vast and exciting potential.

Unlike its more glamorous sister, radio does not require bulky satellite dishes or expensive sets to be received. It has no respect for national borders, is easily portable into remote areas and, depending on the strength of the signal, can be received on the most rudimentary of home-made gadgets.

Described as the "only unstoppable medium of communication", radio can flash news and reaction to it around the world faster than any other medium. It can convey the original sound of the human voice — of people in the news, expressing joy, anger or sadness.

In South Africa, faced with a widely dispersed population, more than half of whom cannot read or write, radio offers one of the most immediate and dynamic sources of information, education and entertainment.

Consequently it is not surprising that access to the radiowaves has been (and still is) strictly controlled. In terms of the Radio Act, the South African Broadcasting Corporation enjoys a total veto over licensing of radio stations.

The two independent stations broadcasting to Natal and the Eastern Cape (Capital Radio) and the Reef (Radio 702) exist only because their transmitters are based in the "independent" homelands of Transkei and Bophuthatswana.

This gives them some freedom to practise more accountable styles of radio journalism and possibly to tackle more "sensitive" (politically) and risqué (socially) subjects on talk shows. But they are still bound by the repressive South African media legislation. The influence of radio on South Africans is undeniable. A recent survey (conducted by the British Broadcasting Corporation) found that at peak viewing times, only 12 percent of black South Africans watched TV as opposed to 60 percent of whites.

These patterns are reversed when it comes to radio. Nearly 90 percent of black people surveyed cited Radio Bantu as their most important source of news and almost as many gave it a high credibility rating.

Free the AIRWAVES

The potential of radio to mobilise and inform as we move into a new South Africa must not be underestimated — but first we have to challenge for democratic access to the airwaves. SUE VALENTINE reports.

Rhodes University academic and journalist Don Pinnock suggested in a recent article that if popular organisations were at all interested in a piece of the future, they should consider various courses of action to gain access to the airwaves.



Radio . . . easily portable into remote areas.

One would be to challenge the Radio Act in court. Pinnock claims this law is in direct contravention of the Monopolies Act which states that if a restrictive practice is found to be against the public interest, it may be declared illegal.

Other possibilities he suggests include buying one of the SABC's regional radio stations or exploring the chance to use "the more enlightened bantustans" as bases for stations such as Capital Radio or 702.

Pinnock points out that the transition to majority rule in South Africa may take some time. "The prospect of many years of fervently pro-government radio and television as the talks drag on may have a seriously demoralising effect on the majority

of the people," he writes.

"In such a case, popular organisations should look into the establishment of a powerful medium-wave transmitter in a frontline state.

"The ANC's Radio Freedom, for example, has always piggy-backed on the national programming of friendly states. A dedicated, 24-hour radio station would be an important counterweight at a critical time. Medium-wave seems the best option. It is harder to jam and from Zimbabwe it could reach the Rand."

The power of radio as an education medium has been well-proven. From the Australian outback to the arctic regions of Canada, radio is a means of basic education for children and adults and of keeping people in touch with each other.

In Namibia, the potential of radio to reach a linguistically divided and largely illiterate society was among the issues discussed at a recent workshop hosted by the Namibia Peace Plan Study and Contact Group.

ADDRESSING delegates, the (then shadow) Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Hidipo Hamutenya, identified education materials and programming as a top priority for the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation. Next was mobilisation towards national reconciliation, with entertainment third in the order of priorities.

A guest speaker at the conference, an executive producer with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mark Starowicz, stressed the importance of radio (and television) which did not adopt a Big Brother type "this-is-good-for-you" approach.

He said that unless a culture offered its young people heroes and music they enjoyed, they would adopt them from another culture. Transistor radios, good programmers, writers and actors could achieve far more in terms of making the youth aware of their place in society than a lecture on civics.

"People have a right to laughter, they have a right to turn on the TV and just have a good time. The last thing they want is some model of broadcasting that is a constant didactic lecture," he said.

Unless people used radio for their lives it was no more than a public address system for government ministers.

"What is terribly important . . . is to have an understanding of what the needs of the people are in the various areas . . . There is such a thing as plain old bad radio and bad television and that is about 95 percent of the radio and television in the world. It is bad



The style of broadcasting is critical. If the new bosses at Auckland Park change only the message, we will have achieved very little.

what you build," he said.

What potential is there for radio in South Africa to deliver a meaningful service to society?

It is generally acknowledged that the only means of maintaining the necessary infrastructure for a national broadcasting network is through state funding. The danger is always how to keep the state at arm's length — to ensure programming that meets the needs of listeners and to avoid becoming an untrustworthy propaganda machine.

Through his position as chief of the Broederbond and chairman of the SABC board from 1959 to 1977, Piet Meyer turned the corporation into a powerful tool controlling ideas and information.

He described the spoken word as more powerful than the atom bomb and, carefully ignoring the SABC's monopoly of the airwaves, claimed that radio listeners had no right to prescribe the policy of the SABC any more than newspaper readers had the right to prescribe the policy

pendent local radio stations have been submitted, says Cronje.

Private student-run stations have been active on South African university campuses for several years, many of which broadcast not only music, but news bulletins too, beyond the canteen walls and into student residences. However they have never been granted access to public airwaves.

Two-way ("interactive") community radio offers people in small communities the means to air their views and exchange information.

As early as 1930, Bertolt Brecht criticised the one-sided nature of radio. He suggested that for radio to make public affairs truly public, it should make possible exchanges between the rulers and the ruled.

An example of radio moving in this direction can be found in Canada.

According to Starowicz, small, inexpensive transmitters are set up in small communities where the local people elect a group who are given a rudimentary education as to how to broadcast and what may or may not be said on air.

They are given keys to the room with the transmitter and microphone. At any stage they can walk in, set things up and begin any community discussion they choose. Anyone in the vicinity who wishes to say something can get in their car/snowmobile (bicycle), knock on the door and take part.

THE other most interactive device for radio is the telephone. In South Africa listenership figures for Radio 702 underline the popularity of "talk radio" phone-in programmes. In rural areas the installation of at least a communal telephone in each village would enable people to participate in programmes broadcast regionally and even nationally.

"There is no need to fear giving people access to their own airwaves at all," says Starowicz. "It achieves what is most important of all, that people don't feel that this medium is just flying over their heads . . . it is theirs."

For South American educationist Paulo Freire, merely transferring a package of information unless people use radio for their lives, it is no more than a public address system for government ministers' — from a knowledgeable source to a passive receiver — does nothing to promote the growth of that receiver as an individual able to act autonomously or critically.

The manner or style of broadcasting is critical. If only the message is changed as ownership of the SABC passes from the apartheid state to a post-apartheid state and no attention is paid to control, access or participation in the medium, we will have changed little and achieved even less.

Sue Valentine is publications assistant with Idasa.

for lack of imagination, for lack of respect for one's audience and for lack of respect of one's people".

Starowicz also stressed the importance of "message programmes", where communities are able to receive information that is valuable to them.

"What is important to the community sometimes is not that the prime minister has given a speech on interest rates, but that someone of respect or an elder in the community has died . . . At that level one begins to build the most essential ingredient of any radio or television network, trust.

"Don't be useful to your people in the most meticulous, simple and direct way and then you have no foundation whatsoever for

of a newspaper.

In spite of the SABC's emergence from the dark ages of the 1960s when television was shunned as a satanic evil and more recently, the abolition of the daily political comment slot, there is still no suggestion of popular access to the airwaves.

A task group, headed by SABC chairman Christo Viljoen, was appointed recently to examine the entire broadcasting industry in the Southern African region.

The aim, says secretary to the group Pieter Cronje, is to formulate broadcast policy and strategy, to establish what the ground rules should be. The complete report is due by mid-1991 and submissions have been called for until the end of July.

Thus far numerous appeals for inde-

While searching questions are being asked about South Africa's political and economic future, pitifully little attention is given to its urban future. In this article, DAVID DEWAR argues that our cities will have to change dramatically if they are to become places of opportunity.

THE FACT

that Durban is second only to Mexico City as the fastest growing city in the world emphasises that urbanisation is among the most significant dynamics of life in South Africa. Yet no questions are being asked about what post-apartheid cities should look like.

Dominant urban planning and management practices in South Africa are still based either on the ideology of race separation or on conventional planning wisdoms that evolved in Europe and America in the 1930s to 1950s. The results are increasingly inappropriate for the growing Third World character of South African cities.

Three major features of these cities combine to create disastrous conditions for the urban poor, the majority of citizens in our country:

- The first is low-density sprawl which enshrines as an ideal the single-family house on a (large) discrete plot and rests on the mistaken assumption that everyone will have access to private transport. In this scenario, concerns about the free flow of traffic outstrip all other urban management considerations.

- The second feature is fragmentation, a consequence of both the relatively unquestioned management belief in the introverted "neighbourhood unit" or "urban village", and the desire to discourage squatters. The result is that development occurs in relatively discrete pockets or cells, frequently bordered by freeways or buffers of open space.

- The third is separation: land use, urban elements, races and income groups are all separated to the greatest degree possible.

As a result these urban systems generate enormous amounts of movement at great

Giving SA's cities a 'HUMAN' FACE



Concerns about the free flow of traffic often outstrip all other urban management considerations.

cost and massively aggravate the major developmental issues of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

They create environments which are desperately inconvenient. They generate few opportunities to which small-scale business can respond. They negate the possibility of efficient and viable public transport services emerging. They waste scarce resources such as land, energy and finance. They escalate environmental destruction.

This situation will not disappear when apartheid goes. An improvement will depend on a new management philosophy based on the realities of the situation.

The starting point for evolving such a phi-

losophy is to understand that people do not come to cities to find housing. They come to experience the economic, social, cultural and recreational opportunities and facilities which can be generated through the concentration of large numbers of people.

However, the ability of a city to generate these opportunities is profoundly influenced by the way it is structured and made.

Of vital importance is the provision of viable space in which to manufacture, trade or provide services at no, or very low, overheads. Of equal importance is ease of access to this space.

This implies both that people should be able to carry out most of their daily activities on foot and that they should be able to depend on a viable public transport system.

IN SHORT, the central task is to supplant suburbia with the qualities of "city" — density, complexity and a rich mix in terms of use.

At the same time, however, a relationship between built and unbuilt environments

must be maintained. The environment of society is a continuum of urban, rural and primeval landscapes: each enriches the others and access to all is a basic right to which all people are entitled.

Therefore, in order to transform South African cities we need, among other things, to establish and maintain a relationship between urban, agricultural and primeval land.

Contact with nature and agricultural landscapes represents the most fundamental form of recreation for urban dwellers. Easy access to the opportunities generated by urban agglomeration greatly enriches rural living. Exposure to all aspects of the environment

URBAN FUTURE

allows people to be a part of the place in which they live: it is the basic platform of regional identity.

There are also convincing economic arguments for maintaining a close relationship between urban and agricultural land, particularly where there are high levels of poverty and income inequality. Agriculture, as a supplementary source of food and income, must be seen as an extremely important urban land use.

A SECOND measure necessary for positive urban transformation is to make cities compact and increase dwelling unit densities.

As far as possible, new growth should occur within the boundaries of existing cities, instead of constantly pushing the urban edge further and further outward. It should be seen as a resource to improve the performance of existing areas.

Compactness maximises the generative capacity of urban systems. It increases levels of social and commercial services, and greatly expands convenience and equity of access to them.

Since levels of support for facilities in a compact system are higher, unit costs of social and other services to the consumer tend to be lower. In addition, the services themselves are less vulnerable to demographic change since they are less tied to the fortunes of any one group of people.

People do not come to cities to find housing. They come to experience the economic, social, cultural and recreational opportunities.

A third transformational measure is the promotion of integrated urban systems, as opposed to ones characterised by separation and a pattern of relatively discrete, non-continuous, inwardly oriented and largely mono-functional pockets of development. Currently, almost every activity of urban life requires a separate journey.

An integrated urban system, by contrast, is convenient, equitable and efficient. It gives people relatively easy access to a wide range of facilities and activities, and makes better use of infrastructure.

There is a strong case to be made for developing intermediate levels of routes tying local areas together. These should be designed as areas that can accommodate a variety of activities.

New high-density housing should be built around these routes and more intensive activities, dependent on public support, should be allowed to develop.

Inevitably, over time, these activity routes would result in more integrated and diverse environments and a more decentralised pattern of commercial and small-scale industrial activity.

Another requirement, if cities are to accommodate the urban poor in a facilitating way, is the expansion of the definition of

"essential" infrastructure beyond housing, utility services, schools and health facilities.

A central need is the promotion of agriculture as an urban activity. Related to this would be such activities as stocking urban waterways with fish and providing alternative and supplementary sources of energy, particularly wood.

A currently neglected element of urban infrastructure is public space: parks, squares and other open places where people can experience the city and engage, both formally and informally, in its collective life.

The need for public provision of economic infrastructure which allows people opportunities to trade and manufacture at viable locations with minimal overheads has already been mentioned. A

related need is one for centrally located reception centres.

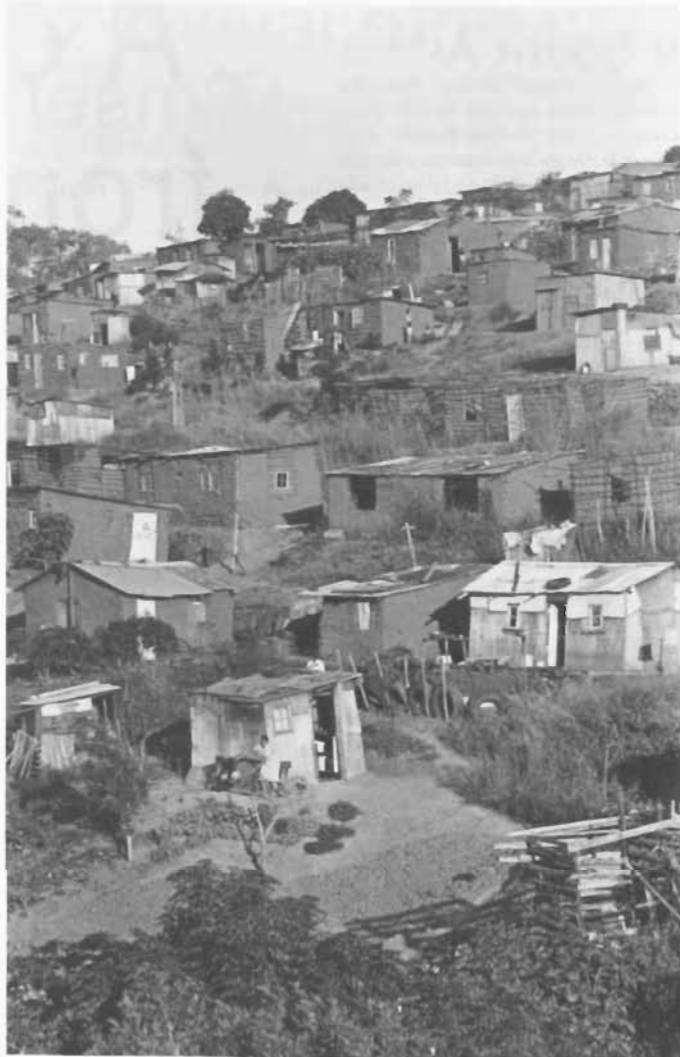
These are places where people can obtain advice, for instance on building and legal matters; where development agencies are situated; where public meetings can be held; where building materials are sold at wholesale prices, and so on.

Above all is the need to move away from the current situation of associating individual elements of urban infrastructure with individual activities. The multi-functional use of urban elements and urban spaces is essential – environmentally and economically.

Finally, urban transformation depends on the stimulation of more complex processes of urban development, to involve the widest possible range of agents – individuals, community groups, small developers, larger developers, local authorities, utility companies, employer agencies, and so on.

There are two main reasons why this is important. The first is to ensure that capital invested in the construction process circulates over the widest possible range of society and, particularly, that it reaches the poorer sectors and generates the maximum employment opportunities possible.

The second is environmental. The quality of environments which result from processes



The desire to discourage squatting often wrongly guides development.

controlled by a very limited number of agencies is by definition sterile and monotonous. The diversity, complexity and spontaneity that results from the ingenuity of many people being applied to a problem, cannot be simulated through design.

What does depend on design is whether the urbanisation process in South Africa will be developmentally positive in the longer term, or whether it will create conditions of appalling and perpetuating misery.

AT PRESENT no fundamental questions are being asked, on political or urban management fronts, about the characteristics which the urban management process should be seeking to promote. As South African cities move into their most rapid growth phase, these questions must be both asked and answered.

The built environment outlives any one generation of users and, in a very real sense, longer-term economic and political possibilities will be profoundly influenced by how immediate urban management issues are handled.

David Dewar is professor of architecture and planning at the University of Cape Town.

By David Screen

IN SOUTH AFRICA

in recent times it has become almost a cliché to refer to the "education crisis". Statistics and research from numerous sources for more than a decade have made the crisis apparent to all but the most blind. Apartheid and bantu education have damaged all communities, creating a "them and us" syndrome through a process of legislated social and economic inequality.

It is therefore not surprising that the South African government has, as yet, failed to endorse the 1959 United Nations Declaration of Children's Rights. Furthermore, the government's reluctance to provide quality care and support for the pre-school child exacerbates this crisis when this child enters the apartheid education structure.

From an early age South African children are aware of colour. Stereotypes of mistrust, fear and hatred permeate their lives. Blacks suffer the humiliation of social stratification based on colour, while white children from the cradle have been subjected to the corruption inherent in the power vested in them by the system.

In their contribution to the 1987 UN International Children's Emergency Fund report, "Children on the Frontline", University of Cape Town researchers Mamphela Ramphele and Frances Wilson give a detailed exposition of the deprivation suffered by black children, families and communities under the apartheid regime. Poverty is rife and in a so-called wealthy country, hunger is a daily reality for many thousands. Severe malnutrition and nutrition related diseases are common among black children. Inadequate and overcrowded housing in ugly and uniform dormitory towns, aggravated by a chronic shortage of recreational facilities, offer children no sense of place. A recent estimate by the Urban Foundation is that one-fifth of South Africa's 37 million people live in shacks or tents.

In such an environment many children seldom experience love or trust or respect. How then do they learn to love, trust and respect? And what does this imply for their future ability to be good parents or responsible citizens in a free society?

The implications for participating effectively in a racially-based education system are significant. Black state education has promoted a standard of extreme inferiority. Classrooms are overcrowded, teachers poorly trained and the curriculum a travesty. According to the Urban Foundation, for every 10 black children who entered school in 1983, only six had reached the point at

A crisis from the cradle



THE ARGUS

Pre-school development holds the key

which they can be regarded as functionally literate (Standard 4) in 1988, and only two were likely to progress to Standard 10. By comparison, 95 percent of white South Africans reach Standard 4 and 73 percent Standard 10.

THERE IS today a widespread belief among educationists that a high drop-out and failure rate during the period of formal education, can often be traced to lack of stimulation and retarded development in the pre-school years. As Professor Alex Tembela of the University of Zululand has pointed out: "There are many children to whom life offers nothing but defeat almost from the beginning. These are the children whose life experiences before entering primary school have not prepared them to meet the demands of

the curriculum which has been designed. These children lack school readiness, motivation and a learning oriented value system".

The government's intransigence in making money available to pre-school education and care in the light of the above circumstances is apparent. Finance will be forthcoming if there is "money over" after state allocations to primary, secondary and tertiary programmes. In line with the multiplicity of departments which has arisen as a result of the apartheid system, no fewer than 10 uncoordinated government departments deal with the issue of pre-school education and care.

According to Van den Berg and Vergnani, only 160 000 or 2,5 percent of the 6,4 million pre-school children within the official boundaries of South Africa received subsidised pre-school education in 1985, much of it provided by non-state institutions. Of this number, 80 percent was for "white" services and only 20 percent for those classified "other than white". In 1985, in the 0-6 age group, 81,9 percent of the population was black; 8,4 percent white and 9,7 percent Asian and "coloured". The inference is clear.

WELFARE subsidies are available only for children attending registered pre-school centres. Home-based services are not provided for at all and, in addition, the government has steadily eliminated all professional training courses for pre-school teachers other than white. Furthermore, the state has quite unashamedly passed the buck of pre-school supervision to the private sector, but at the same time has insisted on the maintenance of often unrealistic physical standards beyond the financial ability of those organisations seeking to make good the backlog.

Private sector initiatives are characterised by "considerable diversity and variety". Against enormous odds, practitioners in the field display a high degree of commitment, resourcefulness, enthusiasm and dedication. A number of pre-school projects have expanded their activities to include what might be termed community development or empowerment projects.

In Ciskei, Face (Food, Agriculture, Crafts and Education) has been developed by the Border Early Learning Centre to enable members of the resettled community of Hewu to initiate a number of self-help projects, using the establishment of a pre-school centre as a catalyst.

An adequately trained staff is a priority and a number of outstanding non-racial para-professional training programmes have been established in centres around the coun-

Has PAC revival run out of steam?

By Gary van Staden

IN FEBRUARY this year, the African National Congress, Pan-Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party were unbanned and leaders such as Nelson Mandela were released.

In so doing, the South African government unleashed forces which were to fundamentally alter the political environment.

The key process was a "negotiated settlement", and the decision by the ANC to participate in this process did not meet with universal approval.

The major concern was — and continues to be — that the government was not seriously considering handing over power, but was looking to buy itself some breathing space, particularly where its foreign debt was concerned.

While a number of organisations articulated that concern, it was the PAC which was billed as the organisation most likely to gain from any disenchantment among ANC supporters.

But, for the PAC to grow at the ANC's expense, the situation demands that the PAC gain maximum benefit from the "outbidding position" (giving people the message they most want to hear) it has assumed on the issue of negotiations.

The crunch for the PAC is that it can maintain this position while negotiations remain in the preliminary or pre-bargaining stage. However, the instant the negotiations become substantive (concerning the actual distribution of power), the PAC has two options.

It can opt to stay out because it is strong enough to prevent the implementation of any agreement which may emerge, or it can join the process and negotiate for a share of power, but that would mean conceding its "outbidding" advantage.

Two issues are apparent. First, the PAC is not strong enough to prevent the implementation of any agreement emerging from a bargaining process.

While no conclusive empirical test of the PAC's actual ground strength exists, it seems fairly safe to assume that it does not command majority support.

This implies that the PAC can only maintain its "outbidding" position while the negotiation process remains in its early stages.

Once substantive bargaining begins, the PAC must insist on joining the process or become marginalised.

The second issue is that the PAC seems unable to maximise the potential profits of its "outbidding" position. This is partly due to a lack of exposure (except in the negative context of a threat to the ANC) and partly because the major mechanism for maximising its advantage — the combined and considerable talents of its exiled leadership — remains unavailable.

try. In Cape Town, for example, there are Early Learning Resource Unity and the Grassroots Education Trust; in Natal, Tree (Training and Resources for Early Education); in Soweto, Entozweni and in Pretoria, the Northern Transvaal Association for Early Childhood Education.

The national umbrella body for pre-school education and care, the Southern African Association for Early Childhood Educare, which is non-racial and independent, seeks to form some kind of co-ordinated network linking the multiplicity of private services in operation throughout the country. However, divisions between organisations and leading figures run deep. There is little, if any, shared experience and few moves towards building

'There are few moves towards building a lobby of support for the interests of the young child.'

a lobby of support for the interests of the young child.

Last year, Elaine Davey, of the SA Association for Early Childhood Educare, presented an excellent summary of the pre-school education situation in South Africa at an international conference in Helsinki on "working for children's rights". Much of the information in this article is drawn from that paper, entitled "Foundations for the Future: Early Childhood Educare for the Children of Apartheid".

IT IS clear that every organisation — state, church, trade union — has a role to play in the provision of a standard of educare which focuses more on the quality of education and care than on physical facilities. However, since the non-state sector will play a pivotal role in pre-school provision for the foreseeable future, it is crucial that both management and workers should be encouraged to become more actively and directly involved in pre-school provision for the children of employees and the wider community.

South Africa faces the last decade of this century with little prospect of alleviating its vast socio-economic deprivation. It is apparent that something has to be done, urgently. The extent of the problem must be determined, a strategic plan formulated, resources and experience pooled and shared, allowing for multi-sector co-operation and a holistic approach.

All those involved in pre-school educare must concur, because they will be doing it for our children.

David Screen is Idasa's national director and a former teacher

● Idasa has been approached by the SA Association for Early Childhood Educare to assist in the organisation of a national conference on pre-school educare. All interested persons are invited to contact the writer at 021-473127.

Because the PAC regards itself as the true revolutionary element of the South African liberation movement, its exiled leadership is unable to return without losing face.

In addition, there is the possibility that, should the exiled leadership return, it could fail to match the response generated by the returning ANC leaders.

The advantages of an early return of its exiled leaders are considerable. The PAC will gain much needed "positive" exposure.

Its leadership, particularly men such as Johnson Mlambo, Gora Ebrahim, Joe Mkwanzani and Lesoana Makhandia, are extremely talented and powerful personalities, who could mobilise and galvanise support for the PAC on a significant scale.

The extent of its revival depends almost entirely on what the PAC does next. The revival, whatever its extent to date, has clearly run out of steam.

In broad terms, the PAC's position on the issue of negotiation has shown signs of shifting, even before the release of the contentious document on the issue recently.

While remaining adamant that the time is not ripe to enter into a negotiation process, the PAC has not ruled out the possibility of negotiations at some future date. It simply cannot afford to do so.

Current thinking among the PAC leadership is that the regime is out to buy itself some time and space to manoeuvre rather than seriously considering handing over power to a black majority.

Under such circumstances, the organisation continues to insist that certain conditions are met before it will agree to enter any negotiation process.

THE PAC is thus clearly prepared to involve itself in a negotiation process, but not in one which would mean compromising its principles.

A mechanism which could substantially improve the PAC's chances of mounting a real challenge to the ANC would be the formation of a broad alliance between all organisations and parties which oppose negotiations.

Such an alliance is unlikely due to the considerable differences in ideology, strategy and tactics which exist between the PAC and for example, the Black Consciousness movements. Nor is there any real prospect of the PAC significantly improving its base among the unionised workforce.

Cosatu remains far larger than its counterpart, Nactu, and Cosatu's loyalty to the mass democratic movement is unquestionable.

The PAC has its work cut out if it wants to replace the ANC as the major political force in South Africa today and one which ultimately may not succeed.

Gary van Staden is a senior researcher at the SA Institute for International Affairs.

(With acknowledgement to *New Nation*)

Cape women support War efforts

THE Johannesburg office of Idasa recently hosted a meeting between 20 women from Stellenbosch and representatives from organisations falling under the Women Against Repression (War) coalition.

The visit, which was led by representatives from the SA Council of Churches and *Vrye Weekblad*, had been organised by the Project for Contextual Hermeneutics attached to Stellenbosch University. The Stellenbosch women, all of them members of the Dutch Reformed Church and four of them wives of church ministers, expressed an interest in and support for the activities of the War alliance and individual organisations within it.

Organisations represented at the meeting included the Black Sash, Five Freedoms Forum, Young Christian Students, Fedtraw, Women for Peace, the National Council of Women and the YWCA.

Brief inputs from representatives were met with well-considered questions and comments from the Stellenbosch delegation. After the Stellenbosch women left for homes in Soweto where they were staying as part of a "Koinonia-type" encounter, War representatives commented on the significance of this meeting and the sincerity of the visitors.

Melody Emmett
Regional Co-ordinator

Big challenge for people's education

PEOPLE'S education faces massive problems and challenges which can begin to be tackled through the work of education policy units (EPU) around the country.

Speaking at an Idasa seminar in East London which brought together several university EPUs, Gareth Rossiter, of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee, said there was a need for grassroots consultation on one hand and a transformation process on the other.

This might mean the introduction of piecemeal changes where, for example, parent-teacher-student associations replaced existing bureaucratic structures.

New content and curricula

needed to be developed and education policy units should be established in all regions to assess the educational needs of people and how best to meet them.

Syllabi that contained technical skills were urgently needed and students should be educated in such a way as to encourage self-reliance rather than dependency.

Education in rural areas and on farms was identified as being especially crisis-torn and deserving of immediate attention. Here, especially, the syllabus had to be appropriate for students' needs.

The seminar endorsed the 12-year period of schooling and emphasised that all students needed access to schools for this

period if they were to become contributors and participants in a new South Africa.

There was also a need for the training of more researchers, especially from the deprived communities. Data currently being produced in research should be collated and co-ordinated by a national forum.

On the issue of teachers' training, Rossiter said colleges should strive for independence from the ideologically-laden education departments and forge links with universities instead.

A follow-up meeting late in July will canvas opinion on the establishment of an EPU in the Eastern Cape.

Max Mamase
Co-director

Elite history makes people feel powerless

RULING class history is not the sort of history that is designed to instil a sense of belonging and a sense of importance in ordinary people. In fact, it is a history that encourages powerlessness.

The aim of social history is to capture the totality of people's lives and to outline the forces which helped shape their lives. It is a history that seeks to resonate with the people.

This was emphasised by Unisa historian Albert Grundlingh at a social history workshop in Mamelodi on June 24. Thirty people, including academics and local residents, gathered to explore the possibilities for a social project in Pretoria, particularly in view of the fact that there

is no alternative or people's history of the capital city.

After a public meeting in June last year entitled "Resistance in Pretoria", it was decided that Idasa would facilitate and stimulate the writing of a scholarly history of a high standard by local people. It was hoped that in this way the level of awareness of a "different" history would be raised among local academics, students and wider groups.

Leslie Witz of Khanya College in Johannesburg presented and spoke to the slide-tape show, "Fight where we stand". Through the exploration of one woman's life history, issues such as being forced off the land, religion, family relationships and job reservation are raised in the show.

Michelle Friedman from the University of the Witwatersrand spoke about the municipal "riots" in Marabastad in 1942, an example of work written from a social history perspective.

Moss Chikane, Pretoria vice-president of the UDF and a Mamelodi activist, focused on how "history" as it stands had falsified many facts and stressed that a project of this importance should be taken seriously by both historians and community organisations.

Future workshops will focus on specific themes, and a register will be compiled of work already written on the greater Pretoria area.

Kerry Harris
Regional Co-ordinator

No task too small for our Charles

RESCUING a baby trapped by the conflict in Natal was just another part of a busy day for Charles Talbot, Idasa project co-ordinator in the Natal region.

Talbot, meeting with business and community leaders in KwaMakutha to set up a unique employer-employee violence service, was confronted with a distraught mother who had come to the local minister's house where they were meeting.

"The police have stolen my baby," she cried.

He broke away from the meet-

ing to call local human rights' lawyers in Durban who had been responsible for obtaining a blanket interdict protecting the community from harassment by the KwaZulu police.

Lawyers contacted the KwaZulu Commissioner of Police directly and an instruction was given to local station commander, Colonel Mzimela, who immediately made staff available to Talbot and the mother of the baby for a search of the



Charles Talbot

KwaMakutha community hall which houses both the KwaZulu Police reaction unit and Inkatha refugees from the area.

The baby was found together with three other children who had been picked up by members of the police at the request of the grandmother who was living in the community hall.

Getting to the bottom of this complex family drama, Talbot and the Rev Khuzwayo discovered that the baby's mother and

her young brothers had chosen to stay on in a UDF area

The baby — because her own mother is a single parent — was traditionally the child of the grandmother.

So with the mother wanting to stay in the "UDF" home and the grandmother in the "Inkatha" refuge, the plight of the baby was unresolved.

Ultimately an agreement that the baby should stay with the person who suckles her was achieved.

Paul Graham
Regional Director

Tracing the origins of Jo'burg

"HISTORY as a published account of events and their interpretations can be knocked about, thrown into the washing machine, rinsed, bleached and dried; certain parts can be emphasised, played down or dismissed by both the writer and the readers."

With these words of Wits African literature specialist and author Prof Es'kia Mphahlele in mind, the Johannesburg Idasa office recently launched an oral history research project of the inner city area, entitled "Jo'burg City — Whose City?"

The project is an attempt to present the perspectives of ordinary people which have been "dismissed" by the writers of prescribed history textbooks and "official" histories of South Africa's largest city.

Those involved include the Action Committee against Evictions (Actstop), the South



Neighbours in Mayfair, where Group Areas battles have raged for decades.

African History Archives, Dr Sandra Drower of the Wits Social Work Department and historians Leslie Witz, Philip Mnisi and Philip Mbiba of the History Workshop.

Since Johannesburg's inception a little more than 100 years ago, the government and the Johannesburg City Council have consistently attempted to force people to live in segregated areas.

In 1950, the Group Areas Act

reserved certain suburbs close to the city for whites and blacks were moved to areas far away from the city centre. Since 1978, however, about 100 000 blacks have moved back to the inner city.

ACTSTOP, formed that same year, is still actively fighting against evictions and exploitation of "illegal" inner city residents.

The oral history project aims

to record history from the perspective of the ordinary people who built the city through their jobs and culture, people who have consistently resisted attempts to move them out.

The project also aims to expose trainee history teachers to the realities of life in the inner city and to introduce them to an innovative, people-centered approach to historical research.

In the long term, we hope to influence the way in which history is taught in post-apartheid schools.

The student history teachers involved in the project come from the Johannesburg College of Education, Wits University and the Soweto Teachers Training College.

Each student has been provided with a comprehensive resource package compiled in consultation with historians, Actstop activists and urbanisation researchers.

INTERVIEWS will be conducted in areas where Actstop is active, including Hillbrow, Berea, Mayfair, Homestead Park, Joubert Park and the city centre.

A prominent historian will address an "open day" on October 6 to which students and history teachers will be invited. The research projects will be presented at the same time. Afrapix is organising a photographic exhibition of the inner city area.

Melody Emmett
Regional Co-ordinator

KTC R10 000 richer after trip

THE Rotary Club of Claremont recently gave the KTC Stormont Madubela Primary School a R10 000 donation following a township visit conducted by Idasa's Western Cape office.

Included in the group were visiting New Zealand Rotarians who were guests of the Claremont Rotary Club.

The tour started in Langa where the Rotarians were welcomed by two members of the local branch of South African Youth Congress. They took us around the township, showing us places of particular importance. They also gave the historical background of the township, covering topics like the Group Areas Act — its influence on the development of black townships throughout the country — and the political development of the

Langa community, starting from 1960 up to the present.

We visited the Langa flats where the 1960 shootings took place and events of that fateful day were recalled by our guides. The last place we visited was the Langa Day Hospital where a sister in charge pointed out that the facilities were inadequate to cater for the whole Langa community as the hospital was understaffed, overcrowded and ill-equipped.

At Guguletu we were shown places of significance in the township and we then proceeded to the KTC squatter camp.

Our meeting with the executive committee of the community there immediately took a political direction as the executive went to great lengths explaining to the Rotarians how they had come from the homelands as

migrant workers, how they had struggled against influx control laws and the migrant labour system and eventually destroyed that system by forming squatter communities.

They told of their resistance to forced removals and attempts by authorities to destroy their community. They then showed us their community school where steel containers are used as classrooms and where 400 pupils write on their laps because of the lack of facilities.

On our way back to the hotel the Rotarians acknowledged that the day's visit had been a learning experience for all of them. They promised to look at ways of how they could help the KTC community school get proper facilities.

Silumko Mayaba
Regional Co-ordinator

Dutch Catholics see for themselves

A DELEGATION of Dutch Catholics, led by Prof J A van Kemenade, visited various areas around Pretoria at the beginning of July.

In the group were delegates from the Dutch Bishop Lenten campaign, the Central Mission Board, the mission department of the Conference of Dutch Religion, Justis et Pax, the Kairos Working Group, Cavitas Neerlandia, the Dutch Missionary council and the Pax Christi,

Nederland.

In the light of recent developments in South Africa, the group wanted to investigate and evaluate the situation to see how they might contribute to the peaceful and just development of groups oppressed by the apartheid system.

During the six-hour tour, the group visited the former residential but now business area of Marabastad, the former residential areas of Bantule and Lady

Selbourne and the resettlement areas of Soshanguve, Winterveldt and Mabopane.

They were told about the forced removals of the 1950s, '60s and '70s which resulted in the creation of Winterveldt and the other townships around Pretoria.

A field worker of Justice and Peace, the Rev Hans Hlaletwa, based at St Charles Luwanga Catholic church, explained the hardships of life in Winterveldt

and the involvement of church and other organisations trying to alleviate the suffering there.

In the resettlement camp the group visited a private school constructed from corrugated iron, a clinic run by the Sisters of Mercy and a squatter community surviving off a rubbish dump.

The final stop was Mabopane with its giant Odi stadium and the luxurious Morula Sun hotel.

Paul Zondo
Regional Co-ordinator

Women at work in Pretoria

FORTY women gathered in Pretoria on June 20 to hear human rights activist Audrey Coleman talk about repression monitoring in South Africa.

Audrey Coleman has been involved in repression monitoring since 1981 when her son was detained for five months.

She spoke of her work with the Detainees Parents' Support Committee and the Detainees Aid Centre, as well as her links with the Human Rights Commission. Their work includes collecting and disseminating information, as well as debriefing former detainees and reintegrating them into society.

She detailed statistics of people detained, assaulted and assassinated and in particular mentioned Siculo Dhlomo (who was interviewed in the video "Children of Apartheid") and academic David Webster, both of whom were murdered while working on repression monitoring.

Questions centered on the current escalation of violence, the work of the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, and the monitoring of right-wing intimidation.

Audrey concluded the evening saying, "If our organisation goes out of business you know we are on the brink of a new South Africa!"

This meeting formed part of Idasa's on-going "women's" project which aims to stimulate discussion around current concern and political debates.

It grew out of the last meeting on May 9 where writer, feminist and lecturer Diana Russell discussed her book, "Lives of Courage: Women for a new

South Africa", in which Aubrey Coleman featured.

Underlying this project is the understanding that we should be concerned not only with national liberation, but also with the liberation of women if we are to be part of a truly democratic society.

The women present were from the English and the Afrikaans communities, as well as from the townships. For many it was their first Idasa meeting.

The evening was informal, with people chatting both before and afterwards over drinks. The presence of David Philip publishers also lent a "literary air" to the proceedings.

Kerry Harris
Regional Co-ordinator

Dominees meet ANC

PUPILS and dominees were among the groups which visited the townships of Port Elizabeth in recent months.

During their visit, 65 Dutch Reformed ministers met officials of the African National Congress in one of the townships and discussed issues such as the armed struggle, socialism and sanctions, strikes, "unrest" and violence.

Another group of more than 60 Collegiate High School girls met members of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress during their visit to the townships and welcomed the chance to meet fellow pupils with whom they might one day share their schools.

Among the aims of social history tours of the townships is to



Dominees take tea in PE's townships.

offer visitors the opportunity of sharing the friendly atmosphere in the townships which are so often perceived as endangering the security of white South Africans.

Max Mamase
Co-director

For the record

An incorrect caption appeared underneath this photograph in the last issue of Democracy in Action. Pictured here at the Lusaka military conference are: Hein Grosskopf (Umkhonto we Sizwe), Paul Brink (former SADF intelligence officer), Tony Marriner (former officer commanding Cape Town Highlanders) and Colonel Gideon Meiring (SADF intelligence officer). We regret the error.



Apartheid's puzzles in focus

By Amanda Gouws

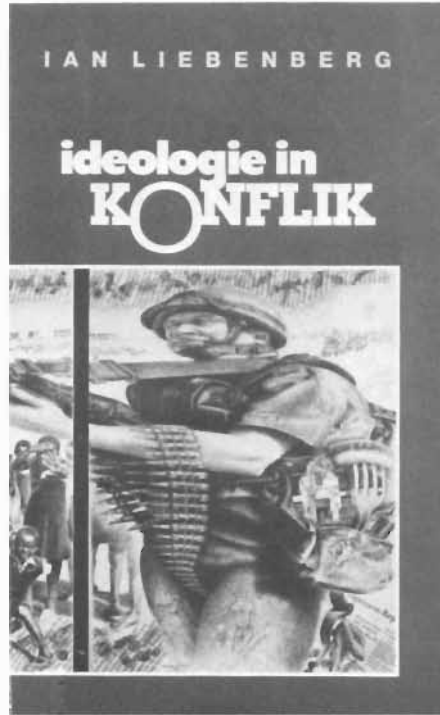
IDEOLOGIE IN KONFLIK, Ian Liebenberg. Taurus, R25.

THE greatest merit of this book is Liebenberg's ability to integrate a large amount of information from a great diversity of sources. There has been a need for the integration of analyses of apartheid as an ideology and its ideological opposition for a long time. Liebenberg has achieved this integration in a skilful manner by not only quoting from the expected sources but also using some lesser known sources, such as those portrayed in the theological perspective woven into a couple of chapters.

Yet this achievement of integration also carries with it the book's greatest drawback — what it makes up for in breadth it understandably lacks in depth. The title of the book is "Ideologie in Konflik" (ideologies in conflict), yet all the major ideological opposition to apartheid — the ANC, PAC, UDF and Black Consciousness alliances — are treated within one chapter. One would have expected more from a book dealing with the subject of ideological conflict.

Of greater interest is Liebenberg's treatment of apartheid as an ideology in crisis. His first chapter deals with a conceptual analysis of the concept ideology, more from a political science point of view than from a philosophical one. From his analysis he arrives at the following statement about ideology: "Daar is nie net 'n verklarende en regverdigingsraamwerk nie. Dit word ook vergesel van 'n program van aksie met institusionele uitvloeisels ter bereiking van die doel, naamlik die skepping of handhawing van 'n sosiale orde." He treats the phenomenon of crisis in ideologies in a very interesting way by using Thomas Kuhn's framework for explaining shifts in the existing paradigms of scientific research.

According to Kuhn, a crisis develops in the



scientific community when puzzles develop that cannot be solved by the existing scientific paradigm anymore and a paradigm shift eventually occurs. Liebenberg uses this framework as an analogy to explain the crisis in apartheid ideology. However, it is not clear from his analysis whether the crisis can be perpetuated indefinitely. What is clear is that those who want to maintain the status quo are prepared to go to extreme forms of repression to prevent a paradigm shift.

While the second chapter deals with the development of apartheid, the third is an analysis of the crisis of apartheid. The nature of the crisis warrants more analysis than

given here by Liebenberg, who looks at three aspects: the legitimacy crisis, the crisis of control of organised labour and the crisis of black urbanisation. I would suggest that people who are interested in a more extensive analysis of the nature of the crisis read J Saul and S Gelb ("Crisis in South Africa", Monthly Review Press, 1986) and W Cobbett and R Cohen ("Popular Struggles in South Africa", eds, Heinemann, 1988) in conjunction with Liebenberg's book.

The last chapter of Liebenberg's book deals with the reaction of the apartheid ideologues to the crisis. It is a well written summary of the repressive measures used by the government to control opposition to its policies. He describes the changes brought about by the 1983 constitution as well as the national security management system. (The book also contains a useful diagram of this convoluted system).

LIEBENBERG concludes his book on a pessimistic note, predicting an increase in violence before a contract zone for negotiations can be established. Given his analysis this would have been a correct prediction if F W de Klerk had not changed the course of history on 2 February 1990. But it is not uncommon for books on South African politics to become dated overnight.

This book fills a longstanding need as a textbook for undergraduates on the history of apartheid and its opposition, as well as the repressive reaction to the crisis in apartheid. Of great importance is the inclusion in the book of the Afrikaans translations of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Freedom Charter, the Azanian Manifesto and the 1988 Constitutional Guidelines of the ANC. This book is worth having on one's shelf.

Amanda Gouws is a doctoral student in political science at the University of Illinois, USA.

Struggle-berigte uit die boonste rakke

Deur Ronel Scheffer

BERIGTE VAN WEERSTAND, Emma Huismans. Taurus, R18.

DIE groot verskil tussen hierdie boek en baie ander wat binne die konteks van die struggle staan, is: Emma Huismans was daár, in Crossroads en Khayelitsha en KTC waar dit gebeur het in 1985/86. Sy het, in haar eie woorde, die plek en sy mense en die struggle se "stront" aan haar hande gehad, hul leed en pyn aan die lyf gevoel.

Elkeen van die agt kortverhale bevestig die feit dat Huismans as joernalis en werknemer van die WP Raad van Kerke lewensgevaarlik naby aan die geweld van daardie tydperk geleef het. Dit word verder onderstreep in wonderlike moderne

Afrikaans wat, heel nederig, die waarde van die ou idioom erken.

In haar bondige "berigte" slaag sy daarin om die woede van die comrades, die ang van die gewone mense en haar eie vertwyfeling oor haar rol as joernalis en Afrikaner op 'n treffende wyse te integreer. Sy kies duidelik kant teen die koelbloedige pogings van die regering om die mense na Khayelitsha te verdryf, maar sy hou ook fyn kop met wat reg en verkeerd is in die struggle — dikwels met pynlike gevolge, ook in persoonlike verhoudings.

Die verhale is plek-plek uitbundig, veral waar dit gaan oor haar eie bevryding as mens in dié land met sy gruwelike verskeidenheid kettings. En hulle is snaaks — sonder veel vertoon of slimmigheid. Ons het hier met 'n besondere waarnemer te doen, 'n

joernalis wat haar duidelik verlustig in die geleentheid om meer as net die harde nuusfeite neer te pen. Dit is ook 'n waarnemer wat 'n deelnemer aan die stryd is, maar nie haar kritiese ingesteldheid prysgee nie.

Maar bowenal, is dit die volwassenheid van die berigte wat plesier verskaf. Huismans het haar plek hier verwerk: sy het nie clichés of politieke modes nodig nie, sy is nogal hardekoejawel. Miskien lê die trefkrag van die bundel daarin dat die verhale nie selfverontskuldigend is nie — die skrywer vergeet nooit waarvandaan sy kom nie. Dit is nie elke dag dat 'n mens struggle-literatuur van dié gehalte in Afrikaans teekom nie.

Ronel Scheffer is Direkteur van Publikasies by Idasa.

By Sue Valentine

THE recent revisions to the length of national service has done nothing to address the central causes of discontent.

This is the finding of an Idasa-funded report published by the Wits Centre for Policy Studies which identifies the nature of military service as a key reason for the emigration of thousands of South Africans.

The report, compiled by David Shandler, found that most students, academics and members of the business and professional communities surveyed were not against the notion of national service per se, but they were opposed to its present military nature.

In assessing the costs of conscription for South Africa, the report lists a range of factors: the direct taxes paid by the general public to maintain the defence force; the indirect costs from the income lost by conscripts; the costs to the society of non-compliance and conscription evasion; the costs associated with the inefficient allocation of labour which arise due to conscription; the effect of conscription on career development and the costs of conscription to the private sector.

Conscription is blamed as the main cause of the crippling brain drain — be it due to families emigrating to avoid their sons being drafted, or from young men dodging the call-up themselves.

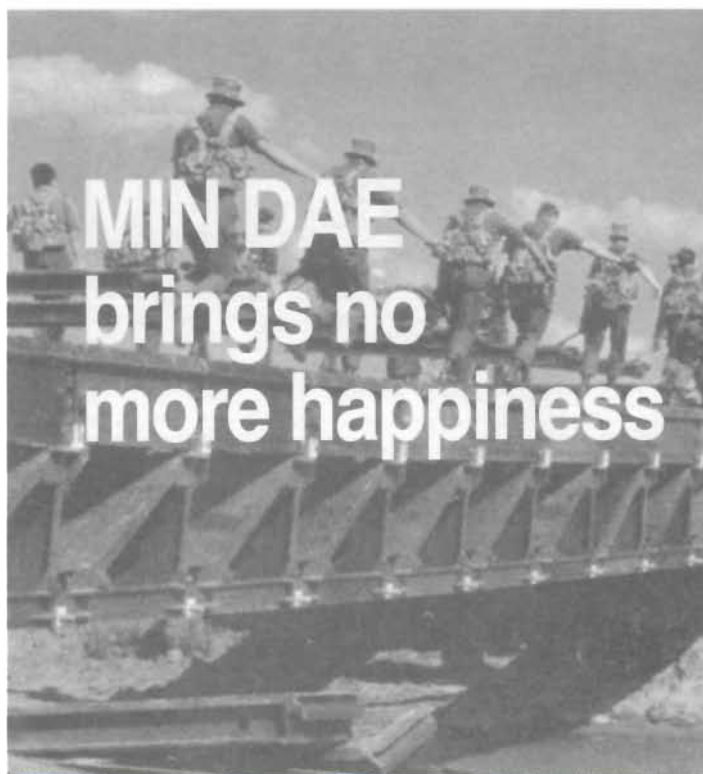
FROM 1980 to 1988, an average of 11 000 people formally emigrated each year. Unofficially (those who leave the country with return air tickets and therefore do not go through the formal emigration procedures) there has been an estimated annual loss of a further 10 000 people per annum over the same period.

Between 1980 and 1985, about 100 000 people left the country — 23 000 were white graduates.

Estimates in the report claim that each man, woman and child who has emigrated costs the country an average of R240 000 a year in lost taxes and productivity. This means that the loss to domestic income amounts to approximately R15 000 million annually — or 9 percent of the gross domestic product. Costs in terms of lost taxes and productivity have been estimated at R4 900 million, 5,5 percent of the GDP.

In addition to the costs of the brain drain, the loss of highly qualified people leads to labour shortages in the skilled professions which in turn leads to a rise in the cost of such labour.

Management-labour ratios decrease and there is a consequent decline in productivity. It is estimated that due to the shortage of accountants between 1986 and 1988, starting salaries for first-year chartered accountants rose by 66 percent from R36 000 to R60 000.



Wide support for civilian service

According to the National Manpower Commission, there will be a shortage of about 1,1 million skilled individuals by the turn of the century.

The report also notes the widespread evasion of military service among students.

The business and professional communities also reported that conscription had had a detrimental effect on the career development of conscripts. Camp call-ups were identified as the single most disruptive factor to the

Conscription is blamed as the main cause of the crippling brain drain.

manpower planning process. In addition the absence of high level employees has led to a number of costly practices in many businesses and firms.

In order to cope, many companies either increase the work load of staff not called up, maintain an artificially large workforce in order to cope with such occurrences, or employ additional, temporary personnel. Because short term professional manpower is in short supply, it is costly.

The report suggests four possible policy options to deal with the situation:

- The creation of a professional defence force.
- The extension of conscription to all male citizens, regardless of race.
- The shortening of the period of national

service.

- The modification of current national service policy through the introduction of a civilian national service system.

The report notes that the first three options were not explored in any depth because they did not seem possible statutory alternatives at the time. The option of a civilian national service was considered the most viable choice in the short to medium-term.

"As a fully-fledged parallel wing of the national service system available to those who wish to contribute their national service in a non-military form, it would not only address many of the key limits currently experienced with the existing form of national service, it would also not interfere with defence force levels."

The civilian national service option was understood to be a form of national service which would be:

- Available to all who are currently conscripted for national service and who seek to perform civilian service in good faith;
- Of a non-military nature
- Performed in the interests of the country as a whole, not for personal gain. Within these limits, the service could be performed in either the public, non-profit or private sector, depending on the nature of the service rendered.

This suggestion was widely supported by both English- and Afrikaans-speaking students, academics, administrators as well as within the black community.

IN ADDITION, the financial benefits of civilian national service would mean the service virtually paid for itself.

As a result of competing for a common supply of skilled manpower it would have to streamline its operations and improve efficiency.

The impressions of university staff and members of the accounting profession indicate that such a service would lead to a reduction in the brain drain.

Further, many projects which were thought to be unfeasible because of a lack of human resources could be implemented if there were a civilian national service programme.

Highly trained graduates who might otherwise emigrate could assist in housing, health, education, business and infrastructural development. In the long-term, the survey suggests that such a system could form the basis of a non-racial conscription policy which would direct the country's youth resources both to the defence need as well as to the key developmental concerns of the day such as illiteracy, housing, health services and economic development.

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