

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

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

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Towards one nation



Two of the speakers at the "Options for the Future" conference . . . Prof Hermann Giliomee and Dr Charles Simkins.



Prof Servaas van der Berg and Mr Michael Coulson . . . differed on the redistribution of wealth.

SOCIAL, economic and political factors have changed the attitudes of people in South Africa towards negotiation and will continue to do so, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert told some 350 delegates who attended IDASA's Options for the Future conference in Johannesburg in May.

Dr Slabbert said IDASA was trying to build a climate for negotiations and "with a conference like this one we are articulating the cost if we don't move in a certain direction towards negotiation".

"As the hurdles of apartheid fall," said Slabbert, "the debate goes further and progresses." He predicted that the position of whites towards negotiation will continue to shift because "many planned and unplanned forces" which will influence the willingness of people to negotiate, will shift over time.

"Once we've knocked the shifts in NP policy as cosmetic, we mustn't underestimate the influence of these shifts on the political process. The NP is on a slippery slide towards accepting the idea of one nation. The debate about negotiation has now shifted and we are now talking about the kind of society we want to live in and this has placed the Mass Democratic Movement in a very powerful position to influence the debate," Slabbert said.

Dr Slabbert's positive observations came at the end of a day which was marked by a highly stimulating and sometimes heated

NP shift poses new challenge

By PIERRE DE VOS

debate between panellists and speakers from the floor.

Prof Hermann Giliomee, head of the department of political studies at the University of Cape Town, set the cat among the pigeons when he elaborated on his viewpoint that two nations — one black and one white — exist in South Africa at present. According to Prof Giliomee, a gradual change with a "definite timetable of between seven and 10 years" would be necessary in order to facilitate the reconciliation process between the two nations.

Giliomee said the policies of the NP had changed considerably over the last 10 years. "The NP are looking towards nation building. They want to build a new inclusive South African nation around the existing white nucleus. This new NP ideology is a more powerful adversary for the anti-apartheid groups than the old apartheid policies."

An angry delegate from Soweto asked Prof Giliomee if the Jews in Nazi Germany would have accepted a "gradual change" of

the system in Germany. Giliomee replied that if the present system couldn't be overthrown by force it was essential to get whites to sit down at a negotiating table. "It's the only other way out and it requires compromises," he said.

Several other delegates expressed their doubts about the willingness of the National Party and whites in general to relinquish power. "Whites are in the grip of greed, fear and irrationality," remarked one delegate.

Dr Alex Boraine later commented that Giliomee's view institutionalised the idea of two nations and this idea was exactly what IDASA was trying to get away from.

According to Dr Boraine, people should rather become involved in the debate about a post-apartheid South Africa. "There is a growing awareness in South Africa that we cannot leave this matter in the hands of the government or the normal institutional bodies who would give attention to constitutional matters," Boraine said.

Taking his cue from Dr Boraine, constitutional law expert Prof George Devenish, of the University of Natal, said that the ANC's constitutional guidelines could be seen as an important catalyst for a peaceful solution in South Africa. "The guidelines, if they are seriously debated, are a starting point that could lead to greater clarity on the important constitutional issues," he said. "But," warned

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DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

IDASA's goals are:

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

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EDITORIAL

Pushing govt towards genuine negotiations

MR Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, has stated that the National Party has now decided that in the future there can only be one parliament which incorporates all South Africans. This is a major step away from former National Party policy, but unfortunately Mr Heunis is very much less clear in describing how that parliament will be formulated except to emphasise group representation which, on the surface, would suggest that white control remains paramount for the government.

Mr Heunis has also emphasised very strongly the government's commitment to negotiation and reiterated his call that all South Africans should participate in negotiations towards a new constitution. In other words, negotiation politics has become a buzz word in government circles and therefore it is important for us to understand what negotiation really means.

Firstly, as far as IDASA is concerned, negotiation is not merely discussing "my plan with you and if you like the plan you can participate in it". This has certainly been the government's approach to negotiation until now. Nor is it merely a readiness to consult and to describe this as genuine negotiation. Obviously co-optation can never be a pretext for negotiation.

COSTLY

It is our view that negotiation politics is a weighty matter and, for it to be taken seriously, has to be formalised: it must follow clearly defined rules and procedures which must have the assent of all participants. The closest example near at hand of course is what takes place in industrial relations. It follows therefore that negotiation politics cannot be seen as a cheap option. It is always costly and is risky for all concerned because no one person or group can control the process.

When entering into real negotiation, one can never be certain of the exact outcome. Apart from the inevitable give and take, there is also what might be termed a chemical reaction which invariably takes place and the end result may be very different from what was initially envisaged.

Lasting results of negotiation and the implementation of negotiation will depend not only on the adherence to procedures and

rules by all concerned, but in particular by the legitimacy of the negotiation process which is born out of realistic representivity.

In other words, the agenda whilst important is probably not the most important issue at stake. Who is at the table is a critical question. In our own situation, it would be absurd to imagine genuine negotiations taking place in the absence of representatives of the South African government. It is our view that it would be equally absurd to exclude any major actor — any organisation which has demonstrated that it has a considerable constituency.

It is our belief, based on our own experience but more especially on historical reality and objective surveys, that the African National Congress is at the very least one of these major actors whose absence from the negotiation table would guarantee the failure of those negotiations.

BARGAINING

If the government has to take seriously this kind of negotiation, then it is equally true that those who are in opposition to the government should understand that to talk about negotiation politics as if it were simply a "handing over of power" is not to understand the realities of South Africa and in particular of the power relations which exist, but it is also to misunderstand the nature of negotiation politics itself. To revert back to the illustration of industrial relations, it would be absurd for management to believe that it could simply appoint a trade union of its choice; it would be equally absurd for the trade union to imagine that management would not have its own demands and both sides will be committed to a process of bargaining.

IDASA remains convinced that genuine and open negotiation is a preferred method of resolving conflict in South Africa. Nelson Mandela could be pivotal in these negotiations but negotiation from prison is impossible. Furthermore, negotiation with one's hands tied behind one's back is a contradiction. If Mr Mandela were to be released and if he was seen as critical to the negotiation process, then obviously he could not merely speak for himself; he has to have the opportunity to consult so that he and his colleagues can come to the negotiating

Keep up the good work, IDASA!

I would like to congratulate, thank and encourage *Democracy in Action* in its efforts. The same naturally goes for IDASA which is the force behind much of the action.

Democracy in Action (March) is very readable, informative and is very encouraging in that it reports positive action being undertaken to solve the problems of our country. The editorial is sobering and informative,

servicing as a necessary balance to the state propaganda. Many of the articles will undoubtedly serve to allay white paranoia and fears being fuelled by the "total onslaught" strategy.

The Namibian interview shared deep insights and informed opinion with the readers. "Blatante skending van menseregte" summarised succinctly, yet unemotionally, the

LETTERS

iniquities of the system of detention without trial and the government's misuse of its powers. The foreign funding article was very useful to me.

Be encouraged. Keep it up.

Ross A. Haynes
KwaNgwanase

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One of the Afrikaner women who recently met with the ANC gives her impressions of this historic encounter

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



MAAR ONS PRAT NOU MET DIE RUSSE EN DIE KUBANE, EN DIE ANGOLESE, EN MET ZAIRE EN...

MMM... JA WEL WAT VAN...



The "total revolutionary onslaught", inspired by Russia, has been replaced by an intellectual onslaught inspired by IDASA, according to some cabinet ministers.

New support for business facing change

THE first issue of *Business Vision*, a newsletter dedicated to addressing the role of business in a changing South Africa, has appeared.

"This vision acknowledges the inevitability of a non-racial, democratic South Africa and the desirability of business involvement in constructively driving this process. This vision is committed to a just and peaceful South Africa which benefits from optimum generation and just distribution of wealth," said Mr Ian Bernhardt, a spokesman for the publication.

Members of IDASA, the Consultative Business Movement and The Five Freedoms business and economy forum have combined energies to produce this publication. It is the editorial board's belief that the production of current, easily accessible information pertinent to the process of change will be a significant contribution in empowering business in change. It is in the networking and cross fertilisation of success models, experiences and information about business in change, that this newsletter will in itself be a tool for change.

Increasingly sectors of the business community are accepting that economic stagnation will be endemic unless change take place.

"Behind the fear, apprehension and insecurity that accompanies the telescoping of political-economic conflict in business, lies the hope and vision of a prosperous and stable post-apartheid South Africa, as the economic driving force of the Southern African region," said Mr Bernhardt. The newsletter will critically examine and develop on these scenarios.

The June pilot issue is available at R5 from *Business Vision*, P.O. Box 10466, Johannesburg 2000. Bulk orders for executive staff and line management can be supplied at R4 for 2 to 10 copies, R3.50 for 11 to 100 copies and R3 for 101 to 200 copies.

table with the necessary mandate so that whatever is decided at that table can be implemented.

A critical question which requires considerable thought and discussion is how can the government be persuaded that negotiation can only work if it is open-ended and takes place on the basis that apartheid cannot be reformed but has to be totally abandoned and that legitimate leaders have to be part of that negotiation process. In other words, what strategies should be adopted which will compel the government to move away from mere rhetoric to a commitment in word and deed to genuine negotiation so that a non-racial, democratic South Africa can become a reality? This is the urgent challenge facing all of us.

ALEX BORAINÉ
Executive Director

Forum, minister 'no good news'

IT seemed quite clear that a number of interesting things were going to happen in the political arena during the course of this year, the black newspaper, *Sowetan*, commented in an editorial.

"A group of black leaders have been brought together under the umbrella of the National Forum, which is intended to be the first step towards involvement in the national decision-making process.

"Now there are speculations that in the cabinet reshuffle likely to take place after the September elections, a black minister may be appointed for the education portfolio."

Sowetan continued: "This, unfortunately, is no good news at all. It is insulting enough to us for less than 25% of the population to go to the polls to elect a government to rule all of us.

"If the government has had a change of heart, it could demonstrate that by lifting the ban on the ANC and PAC, releasing political detainees and prisoners and allowing the exiles to come home.

"Once this happens and freedom of speech is guaranteed, it will not only be the voices of government puppets which will be heard.

"The right political atmosphere will then prevail for all of us to plan the future of a new South Africa."



Mr Jack

IDASA staffer target of threats

Pro Jack, IDASA's regional co-ordinator in the Western Cape, has been the target of what appears to be an on-going campaign of terror.

Over the past three months, Mr Jack's home in Nyanga has been shot at, his car was vandalised on two occasions and he had a narrow escape when the nuts on a wheel of his car were loosened.

These incidents follow a series of approaches made to individuals in December and January to assist with "trapping" Mr Jack, who says the people concerned were offered "all sorts of glittering things" by those who apparently want to cause him some physical harm. Threats were made on the lives of his children and family as well.

During January, he was also chased on a number of occasions by persons driving cars without registration numbers.

Mr Jack held executive positions in organisations like the Western Cape Civic Association and the Nyanga Youth League before joining IDASA in July, 1987.

He says he has "no enemies in the townships" and adds that the campaign which is being waged against him will not deter him from working for a new society in South Africa.

Hamba kahle David Webster!

THE tragic killing of Dr David Webster was a cruel reminder of the climate of violence which has all South Africans in its grip, Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of IDASA, has said.

In a statement issued at the time of Dr Webster's death, Dr Boraine said: "To take a stand for a clear alternative to the apartheid system is costly and David Webster has paid the ultimate price."

"His selfless commitment to a just and free South Africa will inspire many of us who mourn his death."

Dr Boraine said the staff of IDASA, who has worked closely with Dr Webster, pay tribute to him and express the hope that his ruthless killers will be apprehended without delay.



Dr Webster

Aanvaarding van geweld as oplossing wek kommer

"South Africans must be prepared to accept certain levels of discomfort, disruption and even violence in their everyday lives."

Generaal Constand Viljoen, 1984 (voormalige hoof van SA Weermag)

IN dié proses van "aanvaarding" van geweld as 'n alledaagse verskynsel, sê die sosioloog Jacklyn Cock, mag sommige Suid-Afrikaners hulle vryheid, besittings en selfs hulle lewens verloor — en almal van ons kan ons menslikheid en die vermoë om "menslik" te reageer, inboet.

In 'n referaat oor politieke geweld in Suid-Afrika wat sy in April by IDASA se vroue-konferensie in Harare gelewer het, gee Cock 'n skokkende voorbeeld van die "verlies van menslikheid" of "verdiërliking" wat reeds in die gemeenskap plaasgevind het. 'n Ooggetuie van 'n grusame moord in 'n township vertel in die hof hoe hy die oggend, nadat hy die uitgerekte lyding van 'n slagoffer van die "comrades" (wat stelselmatig met swaarde en messe doodgemaak is) aanskou het, doodnormaal ontbyt gaan eet het.

"Maar daar bestaan 'n werklike gevaar dat ons almal oorweldig sal voel deur die geweld in ons samelewing en dat ons ons sal onttrek in 'n soort oorlewings-mentaliteit," sê Cock. "Dit behels 'n emosionele narkose, 'n losmaak van ander en 'n terugtrekking van sosiale betrokkenheid na 'n private, defensiewe sfeer."

Sy voer aan dat Suid-Afrika beslis vasgevang is in 'n spiraal van repressiewe en rewolusionêre geweld. In die spiraal proses word geweld aanvaarbaar as 'n geregverdigde oplossing vir konflik.

"Die enigste oplossing vir die stygende spiraal van geweld is om die moed bymekaar te skraap om die oorsake daarvan aan te spreek."

Die enigste hoop vir vrede, sê sy, is 'n ingryping om die bese kringloop van strukturele, reaktiewe en repressiewe geweld te verbreek. As 'n beginpunt moet die materiële "ongelykheid" en onreg waarop ons samelewing gebou is, uitgeskakel word.

Selfs regeringswoordvoerders, sê Cock, gee toe dat daar 'n verband bestaan tussen geweld en ontbering (deprivation). Sy haal die Adjunk-Minister van Gesondheid, Dr M.H. Veldman, aan (Augustus 1988):

"If we are honest with ourselves we must admit that some of the violence which is seen in South Africa is due to frustration which a large majority of the population experiences because their expectations are not satisfied."

Cock sê ontbering opsigself is al gekonseptualiseer as 'n vorm van geweld, en "strukturele" geweld word gelykstel met diskriminasie en onreg.

Ongeveer 3 574 mense het sedert 1984 in voorvalle van politieke geweld in die land omgekóm.

Sy verwys na die konflik in Suid-Afrika as 'n "low-level civil war" of "low intensity conflict" wat ook 'n teen-insurgensie stra-

tegie kan insluit. Laasgenoemde, sê sy, is 'n militêre strategie; 'n bloudruk om vryheidsbewegings te verslaan sonder om in 'n volkskaalse konvensionele oorlog betrokke te raak. Dit behels die mobilisering van middele op politiese, ekonomiese en ideologiese vlak — en die mobilisering het reeds in Suid-Afrika plaasgevind.

Sy illustreer hoe die weermagtroepe gedurende die 1984-86 periode in hulle duisende — saam met die polisie, vigilantes en kitskonstabels — as agente van geweld in die townships opgetree het. Cock sê dat daar heelwat getuie is dat die weermag in die periode geweld teen die inwoners van die townships oor die algemeen, en jong mense in die besonder, gebruik het. Dit was die arbitrêre en willekeurige aard van die geweld, veral, wat uiterste vrees gesaai het.

Sedert 1984 is die weermag toenemend gebruik in interne repressie-aksies: troepe is gebruik om agterstallige huurders uit hulle huise te sit ten einde die huur-boikot te verbreek; hulle het skool klaskamers beset om die skool-boikot te beëindig; hulle het stemlokale bewaak en klinieke binnegedring om gewondes te eien; verder is hulle ook gebruik om strand-apartheid in stand te hou, verskuiwings te ondersteun, demonstrasies te monitor en verset in tuislande te onderdruk.

Die twee hoofagente van "versetsgeweld" in Suid-Afrika is die 8-10 000 opgeleide vegters van die ANC se Unkhonto we Sizwe en die "comrades", wat hoofsaaklik uit werklose jeugdiges in die townships bestaan.

Die "comrades", sê Cock, het probeer om die beheer van die staat oor die townships te verbreek en het hulle skuldig gemaak aan verskeie politieke wreedhede in die naam van die vryheidstryd. Vermeende polisie-verklikkers en meewerkers is verbrand en gestenig. Tussen 1984 en 1987 was daar byna 400 "halsnoer" moorde.

Onder die vorme van politieke geweld wat in Suid-Afrika aangetref word, noem Cock doodstraf, "death squads", sluipmoorde en verdwynings, wettige polisie-moorde, aanhouding sonder verhoor, marteling, brandstigting en gewapende aanvalle en halsnoer-moorde.

Cock sê die kenmerkende verskil tussen die sluipmoorde op aktiviste, binnelands en buitelands, en soortgelyke aanvalle op polisie-manne, is dat die skuldiges in die laasgenoemde kategorie gewoonlik verhoor word.

Sedert Augustus 1984 is sowat 51 000 mense aangehou, 70 persent van die totaal sedert 1960.

Cock sê 'n patroon het ook ontwikkel waarin burgerlikes, en nie veiligheidsmagte, die teikens van bomaanvalle geword het. Die Amerikaanse joernalis, Stephen Davis, het opgemerk dat die ANC se besluit om die verantwoordelikheid vir aksies na sy guerrillas oor te plaas en die voordele van noukeurige toesig op te sê, gelei het tot 'n groter moontlikheid van "tuisgemaakte soldate wat aanvalle doen in die naam van die ANC maar in stryd met ANC riglyne".



Delegates at the conference . . . Aneliese Burgess, Francois Ferreira and John Solomon.



IDASA staff at the conference . . . Liesel Naudé, Melody Emmett (both from Johannesburg) and Cindy Deutschmann (East London).

Heated debate on economic system

From Page 1

Prof Devenish, "the way in which we arrive at a new society will influence the nature of such a society. A ruthless totalitarian regime would be the outcome if South Africa is engulfed by violence and bloodshed."

Prof Devenish said, however, that the "constitutionalism of the guidelines indicates that the ANC foresees a peaceful resolution of the internal conflict in South Africa."

In his response to Prof Devenish and Dr Boraine, Mr Mathole Motshekga of Unisa's law department once again questioned the willingness of the NP to relinquish power. He rejected Prof Giliomee's view that the ANC should compromise on certain key issues to entice the government into negotiations. He scoffed at the idea that the present government had "changed its tune" because of its "kindheartedness". "The apartheid state found itself in a crisis as a result of the mobilisation of the oppressed by the ANC and other democratic organisations," he said.

"They challenged the legitimacy of the state and forced the NP to reform. The failure of the government to handle this crisis forced them to make negotiations a buzzword."

Mr Motshekga also rejected the possibility of a federal constitutional structure in a post-apartheid South Africa which was mentioned by both Dr Boraine and Prof Devenish as one of the possible constitutional options that needed to be looked at.

Delegates differed sharply over the desirability of a federal system of government. Some felt that a federal system with its decentralisation of power would help to prevent the abuse of power by an all-powerful government. Other delegates argued that the ANC was formed in 1912 with the goal of forming one nation and said that a federal system could create division and retard the process of nation building. Prof Devenish cautioned the delegates to distinguish between a real federation not based on race and "the corruption of federalism in the form of bantustans".

After an intense debate all the delegates agreed that, during genuine negotiations, the federal system of government would also have to be put up for discussion.

The debate about a future economic system

for South Africa had the tempers of some delegates flaring. Mr Michael Coulson, deputy editor of the *Financial Mail*, criticised Prof Servaas van der Berg of Stellenbosch who said in his speech that the ANC's economic guidelines are disappointingly vague, but a step in the right direction. Coulson said that any policy of a redistribution of

'The answer lies in upliftment through a better growth rate that would negate social distribution.'

wealth as envisaged in the Freedom Charter and the new guidelines would be "horribly and totally unacceptable". "This fallacy of redistribution is a recipe for universal poverty," he said.

Mr Coulson also said that the elimination of inequality would not necessarily lead to a growing economy. "We need equality of opportunity. We will not improve the lot of the people of South Africa by destroying the present economic system."

"The answer lies in upliftment through a better growth rate that would negate social redistribution," Coulson said.

One delegate responded by saying that she didn't have an academic interest in the

situation like Coulson did. "I've been living as a black person in this country for the last three decades and I have experienced the inequality and discrimination," she said.

Later Dr Alex Boraine intervened and pleaded for a compassionate approach in dealing with economic issues. "We must deal sensibly, economically and compassionately with this issue," he said.

After some discussion it became clear that the disagreement between Mr Coulson and some delegates was partially caused by the emotion attached to certain terms by delegates. Dr Charles Simkins, consultant to the Urban Foundation, pointed this out. "The debate must begin on how economic growth could be stimulated. Then everyone would be able to look with more clarity at the situation and would understand in detail what must be done. We cannot do this however, if terms like redistribution is linked with emotional tags," he said.

The whole conference was marked by some detailed discussion on intricate constitutional and economic matters.

In his concluding address Dr Slabbert, "stating the obvious", went much further: "Conditions for negotiations have to exist before they can take place," he said. "With conferences like these we are helping to build a climate in which negotiations can take place."

□ PIERRE DE VOS is attached to IDASA's publications section.



During the tea break . . . Van Zyl Slabbert and Eric Balayi.

NATAL VIOLENCE

Peace at last for strife-torn Natal?

By PAUL GRAHAM

There is now, after many previous attempts, a concerted effort by Cosatu, the UDF, Inkatha and the ANC to create a joint peace process in the Natal region.

FRED bumped into me recently in a shack village outside Durban. It almost happened literally as he came flying over a blind rise on his motorbike on the only tarred strip in the area and my car crept out from behind a shack on the footpath pretending to be a street.

He is a friendly young man and waved me down for a chat. We stopped and traffic — heavy on a Saturday morning — picked its way around us. He was visiting old friends, he said, as he is now living with grandparents in a nearby township.

He had to leave the shack village — one of many such places in which some 1.7 million people live around Durban — because his house was burnt down. It was a close thing, he tells me, as he and his brother were inside the house at the time. He escaped despite being shot at by those setting fire to the house. His brother did not.

Fred is one of the fortunate ones in the shacklands surrounding Durban and Pietermaritzburg. He has a place to live and is studying — picking up the pieces. Over 2000 have not survived, and the killing goes on without showing any signs of abating.

Indeed, according to researcher John Aitchison of the University of Natal who has conducted a monitoring programme from mid-1987, the trend is towards increasing numbers of deaths. In a survey conducted by IDASA itself, over 70 per cent of the respondents, black and white, felt the violence would increase.

Various figures are given of the number of people displaced by the violence, but these are difficult to substantiate. Whatever the figures, it is clear that thousands have been affected throughout the Pietermaritzburg-Durban corridor.

And horrified on-lookers, who have in many instances been reduced to impotence by the complexity of the violence, counter-violence and destruction, draw comparisons with areas in the world which receive more publicity such as Lebanon and Sri Lanka. In the monitoring work done by Mr Aitchison — which focuses only on Pietermaritzburg and the Natal midlands — 1253 deaths have been recorded between January 1987 and March 1989 (see graph).

There is now, after many previous attempts to resolve some of the issues which have

triggered and sustained the violence, a concerted effort by Cosatu, the UDF, Inkatha and the ANC to create a joint peace process for the region.

This has involved major commitments from these organisations and has redefined the relationships and communications between them, starting with the joint Cosatu-Inkatha accord in Pietermaritzburg in August last year.

This accord made provision for an adjudication board to hear grievances by either Cosatu or Inkatha. More significantly perhaps, it made a declaration which established a common right to organise and associate in the region.

However, the board was unable to give teeth to the agreement and the violence continued. But the scene was set for working out a negotiated agreement and in separate initiatives Inkatha and the UDF and Cosatu began to fashion a peace process.

Following initial approaches to Inkatha by Archbishop Denis Hurley in March and a flurry of subsequent letters and communications, agreement has been reached for a first meeting between Inkatha and a UDF/Cosatu team. Whatever the outcome of this meeting — which will be public by the time this article appears — the process of negotiation to reach the meeting will remain an important one not only for the region but also for the country.

Parties to a conflict — a conflict in which political power, personal hurt, vendetta and public vituperation have played their part — have risen above their differences despite obstacles to begin to talk with one another.

Amongst the obstacles have been the "iron fist" speech of the Minister of Police, Mr Adriaan Vlok, in parliament. This speech



Children play on a burnt out truck in front of their burnt out house.



CLINT ZASMAN

Two displaced children huddled in an overcrowded room — their father and brother have been killed and their mother is missing.

came precariously close to wrecking the tentative rapprochement when Mr Vlok appeared to implicate Chief Minister Buthelezi in his interpretation of the violence. In earlier talks in the Pietermaritzburg region only public pressure had ensured that UDF leadership was released from detention to attend. Both sides have accused the police of behaving in a partial manner, although there is evidence to suggest that, in general, action has been taken against UDF rather than Inkatha loyalists.

On the other hand, the role which the African National Congress have played in welcoming and encouraging the peace initiatives has assisted the process — from the early letter of Nelson Mandela to the Chief Minister through to their statement that Inkatha, Cosatu, UDF affiliates, churches and other religious institutions, women, youth, professionals, business people and others "share more common ground on this question than what might divide them".

This sentiment coincides with that expressed by Cosatu on behalf of itself and the affiliates of the UDF when it noted "whilst [we] largely share a common political position which differs from that of Inkatha, all three organisations share an abhorrence of apartheid and are committed to achieving peace in Natal".

Mr Mandela's letter had earlier called on all people to support efforts for peace. "The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity. At no other time in our history has it been so crucial for our people to speak with one voice," he said in the letter quoted in full in the Natal press.

Tough bargaining between Inkatha, Cosatu and representatives of the UDF affiliates over the peace process is expected.

While a common call for the end of the violence will make a major impact, the reality is that the violence is not purely aggression between "party" members. So the parties, at this initial meeting and any that might involve the ANC, will be trying to fashion a programme which will involve all significant groups in Natal in education, development, job creation and reconciliation. It is this programme which readers of *Democracy in Action* should monitor if they wish to assist in dealing with the problem.

□ PAUL GRAHAM is the regional director of IDASA in Natal.

Mamelodi message moves UPE students

IN a project arranged jointly by IDASA (Eastern Cape) and the University of Port Elizabeth SRC, Dr Nico Smith addressed UPE students on 17 April. Dr Smith, who is perhaps best known for the fact that he has taken up residence in the black Pretoria township of Mamelodi where he is pastor of the black congregation of the Dutch Reformed Church, spoke about "The Role of the Church in a Future South Africa".

One cannot imagine that many in the audience were not deeply moved by what he had to say and the conviction with which he said it. The sincerity of someone who can give account of such first-hand experiences cannot be doubted. He testified to the spirit and resolve of the Mamelodi residents which remains unaffected by the State of Emergency, even though the outward show of force by security forces gives the impression that all resistance has been quelled.

He drew a distinction between what he called the "pre-1948" black person and the "post-1948" black person, explaining the difference in attitudes of people who have had to grow up under the repressive apartheid policies of the Nationalist government since 1948, and those who grew up in the relatively less-racist period before that.

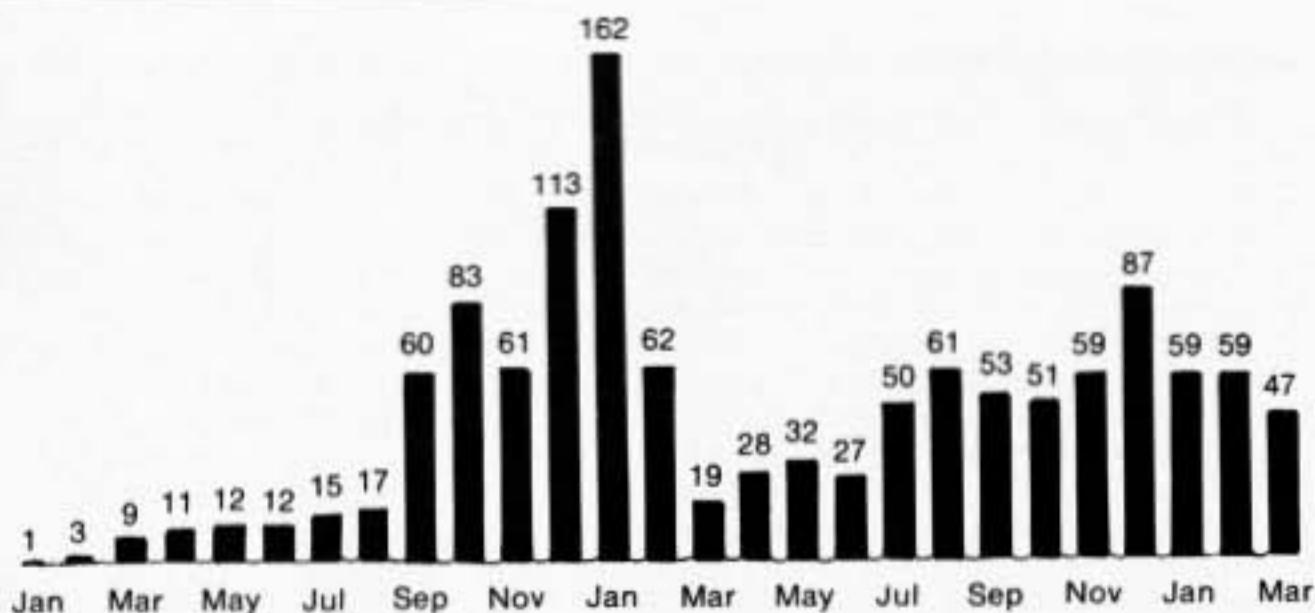
On a lighter note, he related how a black neighbour of his came back from a visit to an affluent white Pretoria suburb, shaking his head dubiously about the hopes of ever persuading whites who have such a strong belief in "one-man-one-pool" to accept "one-man-one-vote".

IDASA wishes to offer their encouragement and support to the University of Port Elizabeth SRC in their attempts to open up a wider debate on their campus.

KEITH WATTRUSS
Co-director, Eastern Cape



Dr Nico Smith, who addressed UPE students on 17 April



DEATHS: 1987 — Mar. 1989, Pietermaritzburg and Natal Midlands

Source: Centre for Adult Education

The campaign to "open" cities throughout the country is gaining momentum with major events planned in Cape Town and Johannesburg to break down Group Areas barriers in the community.

By **ANDREW CLARKE**

ALMOST every major city in South Africa is becoming an open city, and there is nothing the government can do to stop it. "Whatever the Nationalists do or refuse to do," the Rev Beyers Naudé said at a recent IDASA conference, "Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and even Pretoria are on their way toward becoming open cities."

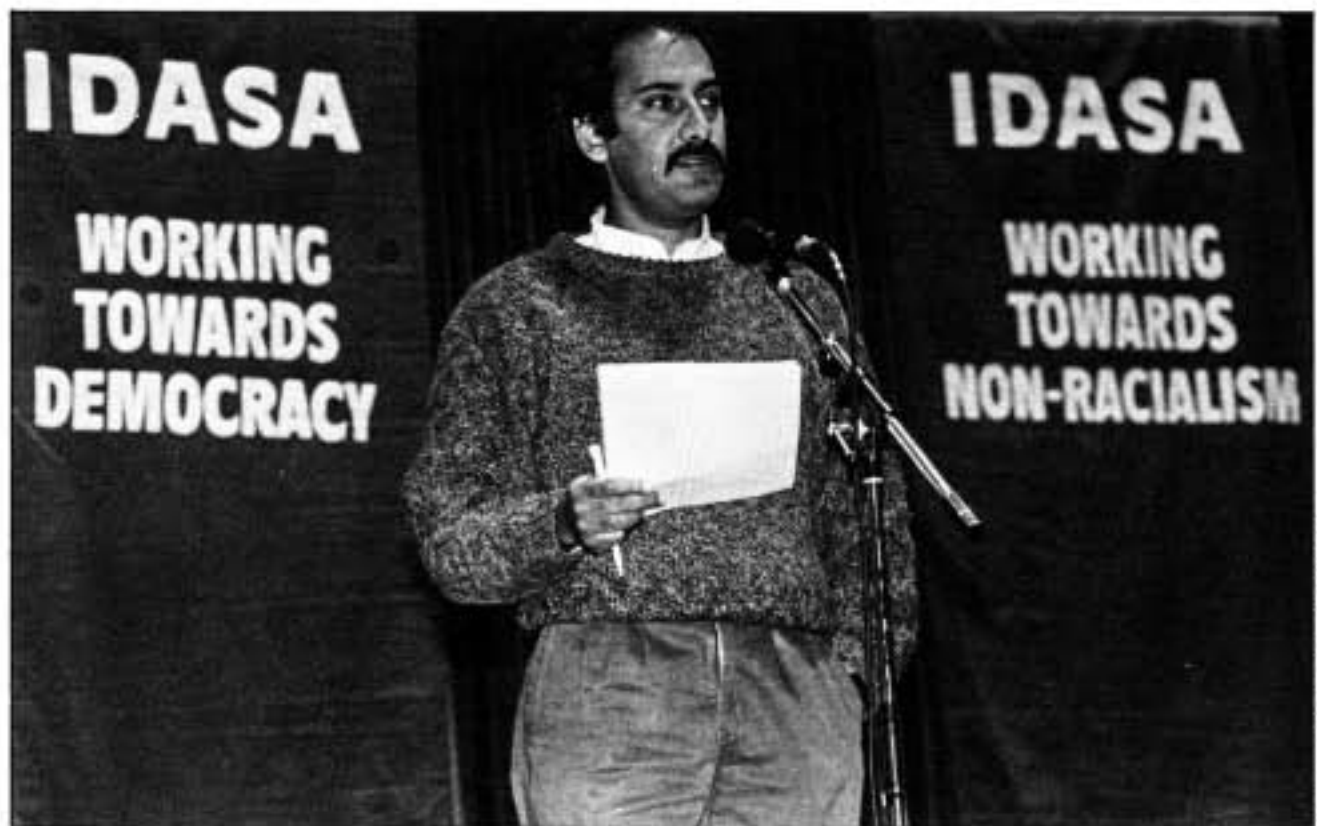
The question is not if, but only how and when housing, education, medical care, transport and recreation will be available to all citizens in the cities.

More importantly, though, the individual residents who have voted with their feet against the Group Areas Act are taking their silent protest public in a campaign to rid their communities of apartheid laws. Since the conference held in April in the Johannesburg City Hall in conjunction with the Action Committee to Stop Evictions (Actstop), groups such as the Five Freedoms Forum, Jodac, the National Medical and Dental Association, and the Black Sash have come together to organise an "inner city encounter" (June 8-10) in which dozens of prominent Johannesburgers will be invited to spend two nights at the homes of so-called "illegal" inner city residents.

Besides the intrinsic advantages of getting different people to share experiences, the exercise should focus public attention on how the Group Areas Act affects the lives of specific individuals. Further action will include a peaceful protest against segregated schools, hospitals, and "separate amenities" which might include actions of civil disobedience such as a "swim-in" at a "whites-only" pool.

"The Free Settlement Areas, although far short of a solution, have only come about because the inner cities have already been desegregated by the struggle of the people," says Cas Coovadia of Actstop who made a call for action at the April conference. Partly in response to the planned campaign of resistance, the National Party-controlled Johannesburg City Council has voted to open further public facilities, including municipal buses, to persons of colour.

Cape Town is further along the road to a non-racial society, at least as far as recreational and medical facilities are concerned. Still, a coalition of organisations including IDASA, Nusas, the Democratic Party, and the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce is launching a similar campaign focusing on education, housing, and political representation. Cape Town has the advantage of a city council controlled by the Democratic Party which recently passed a resolution demanding that "Cape Town be restored as an open city with a common voters' roll, where people are free to live where they can afford, vote for whom they want and seek



Cas Coovadia . . . call for action

Open cities cam

election to a city council free from racial discrimination".

The Cape Town council's decision is important because it highlights the role that party politics can play alongside extra-parliamentary organisations to "open" cities. But equally significant is the fact that the council decided that it would neither apply to become a "free settlement area" nor

'Opening the hospitals up would raise occupancy and lower costs'

support any applications to the Free Settlement Area Board by a suburb of the city (such as Woodstock or Rondebosch East).

"The proposed Free Settlement Areas exist because of the Group Areas Act, and I feel strongly that it is an attempt by government to contain and cope with the integration that has taken place in spite of it," councillor

Annamia van den Heever said, reiterating the opposition of many councillors to stop-gap measures which prolong the life of residential apartheid. Moreover, if only pockets of Cape Town were opened to all, there would be unhealthy pressures on both "open" and "closed" areas: the non-racial areas would have to cope with an influx of people of colour seeking secure title to their property, and the racially-zoned areas would be subject to stricter enforcement of the Group Areas Act. Instead of going the "free settlement" route, the council decided to make application to exempt Cape Town from the Group Areas Act.

The movement to open Cape Town to all echoes the first of several general themes expressed at the Johannesburg conference, one of the first to bring academic experts on "grey areas" together with doctors, lawyers, community activists and other hands-on practitioners battling on the frontlines of urban apartheid. Namely, while there was optimism about the success that "illegal" tenants have had in breaking laws keeping

Rapport: raak gewoon aan swartmense!

DIE Sondagkoerant Rapport se politieke rubriekskrywer, Pollux, het onlangs interessante opmerkings gemaak aangaande twee voorvalle rakende afsonderlike geriewe en die Groepsgebiedewet.

Hy skryf soos volg:

* Toe mog 'n swart student nie in 'n lesingsaal gaan sit wat 'n buite-instansie by die Goudstadse Onderwyskollege gehuur het nie. En daarvoor sê die rektor, prof Piet van der Merwe, in 1989, elf jaar voor die eeuwending: "Studente by GOK is nie gewoon aan swart studente op die kampus nie."

— Dan sal hulle maar moet leer om gewoon te raak. Indien nie op die kampus nie, seer sekerlik van die kampus af!

* Og, daar sê adjunk-minister Roelf Meyer dit toe weer: Die Groepsgebiedewet sal met deernis toegepas word. 'n Voorganger, mnr Marais Steyn, nou politiek ter siele, het lank, lank, lank gelede dieselfde woord in dieselfde verband gebruik . . .

— Laat my dink — as ek iemand anders sitvlak skop, sal ek dit ook ewe deernisvol doen.



STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

Participants at IDASA's 'open city' conference listen attentively to the discussion

ampaign takes off

... races apart (it was estimated that 165 000 or fully one quarter, of Johannesburg's population is black), there was pessimism about the government's various reactions to "grey areas", ranging from the "verligte" free settlement areas to "verkrampste" eviction proceedings.

A second point emerging in the entire "open city movement" is that townships must be included alongside the towns. "The future open city must be a Johannesburg that includes Soweto — or should I say a Soweto that includes Johannesburg?" Naudé asked at the conference. This may well be the second major reason that city councils should apply for exemption from the Group Areas Act rather than recognition as a free settlement area. Only white areas can become

'Exuberance of community life in open schools'

"free settlement areas", and a city council such as Cape Town's doesn't have the authority to open Mitchell's Plain or any of the other areas under the control of coloured or Indian management committees. The same problem exists for "autonomous" sister cities like Soweto and Johannesburg.

Finally, although there is need for action in all the areas under discussion, residents of the inner city have seen a degree of progress in access to housing and education through informally "mixed" buildings and "open schools". But because the government serves as the gate-keeper to hospitals, recreational facilities, and state schools, it has been harder to penetrate these apartheid barriers. For as long as the government is either laggardly or reactionary in its approach, it will be necessary to primarily use voluntary and non-state

institutions in the struggle for a non-racial society.

The most disturbing examples given at the conference of the effects of apartheid came from the medical field. Dr Max Price of the Centre for the Study of Health Policy Studies and the National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA) related how two young boys — a white boy in Yeoville and a black boy in Hillbrow — with nearly identical illnesses on exactly the same day obtained dramatically different treatment. The first received immediate care from the barely-used casualty department at the Johannesburg Hospital. "He was not disturbed by other children in the ward as the eight-cot ward only had one other child in it." The second was turned away from the Hillbrow Hospital and sent to Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto. Two hours after his parents arrived, he was put in an oxygen tent and given a drip. "His parents were only grateful that they had not waited any longer before taking him to the hospital since he might not have survived much longer," Price said.

What makes the situation especially absurd is that the segregated health service costs more than an integrated service would cost. "Opening the hospitals up would raise occupancy and lower costs," Price noted.

But the depressing facts of government health and recreation policy may be matched by the optimism Brother Neil McGurk, headmaster of Sacred Heart College in Observatory, generated by pointing to the "exuberance of community life" present in the schools that have opened their doors to all.

"In all suburbs up to 10 kilometres from the CBD, there is an immense educational crisis of numbers, with schools operating at less than 60 per cent capacity," McGurk said. Johannesburg Girls School in Berea, in the heart of "grey" Hillbrow and Berea, operates at around 30 per cent because it

may not take in blacks. "Rather than opening up these schools, though, the government has been handing them over to the post office and army for storage depots."

"As these schools decline, they lose vitality. White education is in internal malaise while schools that have opened have become thriving centres of community life." When the Catholic schools followed this route in 1976, Sacred Heart grew from 400 students to 1 200 last year (currently 50 per cent black) and, by McGurk's estimation, has never seen a better day either academically or as a centre of learning.

Whites can petition the Department of Education (House of Assembly) to allow blacks into government schools, McGurk pointed out, provided that the numbers are not too large and that they do not "change the character of the school". He encouraged communities to apply this pressure, but obviously thinks that these restrictions will not allow for an open school system in its full sense.

Although the residential "greying of Johannesburg" took a back seat in the presentation part of the conference, the fundamental issue of black people living in cities remained a constant backdrop and source of frequent questioning. "Several times we have had to speak to landlords regarding rents and conditions," said Pressage Nkosi of Actstop. "And by and large, they have made it quite clear that they think black people are supposed to pay exorbitant rates because they are illegal tenants."

But Lawrence Schlemmer of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand adopted a more conciliatory attitude: "Landlords are both friends and enemies. Johannesburg has started to open up because landlords were willing to take chances for profit and fill the oversupply of units in white areas. The way to solve this oversupply now is to open up additional areas either through the creation of free settlement areas or through scrapping the Group Areas Act."

□ ANDREW CLARK reports on urban issues for the Weekly Mail.



STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

Brother Neil McGurk . . . "closed" schools are losing vitality

Do not forsake black sisters, Motlana urges women

"THERE are clear signs within the system that the separate development policy of the government has been derailed," Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said in his address to 160 business and professional women who attended the launch of IDASA's women's luncheon forum, Women Facing The Future Together, in Johannesburg in April.

The challenge facing the Nationalist government now and in the 1990s, he said, was how to resolve the urgent problems created by this policy. A central issue in the debate will be how to create one nation.

Dr Slabbert referred to the *Beeld* editorial of that day in which the editor discussed the possibility of one South African nation and the need to negotiate with the ANC to achieve this. One nation meant creating symbols of unity and this would mean reconsidering the flag and the national anthem.

When the life-president of the Black Housewives League, Mrs Sally Motlana, took the floor, she paid tribute to IDASA for facilitating the historic conference of South African women in Harare in April. She brought home to the audience the genuine concern of mothers with children in detention and on hunger strike and appealed to white women not "to forsake



Mrs Sally Motlana, life president of Black Housewives League, addresses the women. Dr Van Zyl Slabbert shared the platform with her.



Charity Matshanene and Margaret Meyer also attended the luncheon.

their sisters".

She said there is a natural bond between all South African women through their children and stressed the necessity for one education system which would ensure that all children are equally qualified for the workplace. With this as a reality, she said, unemployment would not be such a crucial problem and it would no longer be necessary to give jobs to skilled people from other countries.

Lively debate followed the two addresses and the chair-

person, author Frances Kendall, had to call the meeting to a close so that people could get back to their places of work. As they left, members of the audience gave the names of friends and colleagues who they felt should be invited to future meetings and offered ideas for topics.

The next forum will be held at the same venue, the Mariston Hotel, on Friday June 23. The meeting will be addressed by two of the prominent South African women who attended the Harare conference.



Business and professional women who attended the launch of IDASA's women's luncheon forum in Johannesburg.

For more information, contact Melody Emmett or Lisa Seftel at Johannesburg 403-3580/1/2/3.

Pretoria office working in 'belly of the beast'

IDASA has opened an office, with a small seminar room, in Pretoria. The office is located in Hatfield, near the University of Pretoria, and we have already received numerous visitors and enquiries regarding our programmes. This is indicative of the need and support for organisations working towards a non-racial and democratic future in Pretoria.

The office staff consists of André Zaiman, Lou-Marie Kruger, 'BJ' Edwards (temporary secretary) and Elizabeth Mahlangu. A permanent secretary still has to be appointed.

Working within "the belly of the beast" is an exciting and stimulating challenge and we have been encouraged by the response so far. Our programmes have been designed to stimulate and enhance the debate around a non-racial democratic alternative, and to attempt to move as many people as possible away from apartheid. Therefore, we will host a monthly seminar series, covering various current affairs topics, starting off with a focus on Namibia during May.

A variety of visits to the Pretoria townships and rural areas in the Transvaal is in the pipeline.

Other major events planned for this year, are excursions with an environmental focus, showing the damage of apartheid on our ecology (eg. the homelands) and the importance of political factors in solving these issues. The excursions will take the form of weekend trips to the northern and eastern Transvaal and will be held in conjunction with wildlife organisations.

A schools programme is also getting off the ground, and for later in the year, a big cultural makietie is planned to draw together Afrikaans-speakers who have (and are in the process of) rejecting apartheid.

The offices are located in 1077 Arcadia Street, 203 Hatfield Forum, Hatfield, 0083. Tel: (012) 342-2335/6; Fax: (012) 342-1926.

ANDRÉ ZAIMAN
Northern Transvaal
Regional Director

Guidelines debate draws many in PE

OPINION formers from the Eastern Cape were invited by the Eastern Cape regional office of IDASA in April to attend a commission which focused attention on the recently published constitutional proposals of the African National Congress. They were asked to offer their thoughts on, and reactions to, the proposals placed before them.

While many of those invited appeared to have rigidly pre-conceived ideas about the ANC which precluded their attendance, many others realised that this opportunity should be grasped with both hands to begin with a debate which will be the most crucial one yet faced by South Africans.

The level of debate indicated a sincere attempt on the part of those who attended to face up to the problems of the future and not to side step them. This approach seemed to bear fruit in the degree of consensus often reached in the workshops, even though it was not the result that was as important to IDASA as the process by which that result was achieved.

Karthy Govender, of the University of Natal, was the guest-speaker whose task it was to compare the ANC's guidelines to the very recent report of the government-appointed Law Commission. That there is very little material difference between the two, is of enormous importance to all South Africans. Quite clearly it is no more than basic human rights which both documents call for and it now seems absolutely obvious that those human rights will have to be granted to all South Africans in the very near future.

Dr Ian Phillips, the other guest-speaker, traced the background and history of the ANC's guidelines, relating the two-year interactive process by which the proposals came into being. In this process, the ANC's constitutional committee analysed dozens of contemporary constitutions, ran a series of "in-house seminars" and conducted countless discussions with membership and others, before arriving at these proposals.

The workshops at the commission were highly successful, with the following issues



The debate gets under way in Port Elizabeth.

generating much debate: a unitary versus a federal state; free enterprise versus a mixed economy versus socialism; the redistribution of wealth and land; group rights versus individual rights; and a future education system.

IDASA will be compiling a publication based on this commission, and others that have been held on a countrywide basis.

Apart from those who attended the commission, many other people have submitted written representations or have conducted private interviews with our research staff, and these contributions will also be included in the planned publication.

KEITH WATTRUSS
Co-director, Eastern Cape

More clarity needed

ON 8 May some 50 East Londoners came together to discuss the ANC's constitutional guidelines. In his opening address, Prof Peter Vale of Rhodes University emphasised that these guidelines were not a hard and fast set of rules for the future. They should be viewed, rather, as a guide to the kind of constitution in which civil liberties will enjoy protection rather than violation, as was the case at present.

Prof Vale went on to say that it was necessary for South Africans to realise that the ANC was not some mystical far-off group of people: they live and work within the country and need to be recognised as having a substantial role to play in the future of South Africa. He pointed out that the ANC had more embassies on foreign soil than the South African government and that this could be seen as an indication of the international support enjoyed by the organisation.

A Grahamstown advocate, Izak Smuts, drew comparisons between the guidelines and the Law Commission's recent report on human rights. He said that there was very little conflict between the two documents, which both advocated universal franchise, the entrenchment of fundamental human rights and limits to administrative and executive powers.

In the plenary session it became obvious that there were a number of clauses which needed further clarification.

An indication of the need for this kind of debate can be gained from the comment made by one of the participants who said: "We need at least a week to discuss this, we are only just beginning to trust each other



At the East London workshop . . . Prof Peter Vale and Mr Izak Smuts ponder a point.



Group discussion at the East London workshop.

and lose inhibitions and we have to part." The debate on both the Freedom Charter and the guidelines will be taken further soon in the Border region.

CINDY DEUTSCHMANN
Border Regional Co-ordinator



Dr Ian Phillips . . . guidelines result of long debate.

Video series sparks debate

THE Border region of IDASA presented a series of lunch-hour video shows in April. The videos shown were *Children of Apartheid*, *Freedom Square* and *Indawo - A Place To Stay*.

The best debate emanated from Indawo, a short and emotive documentary of the housing problems of the greater East London area.

Discussion became heated when one member of the audience said he felt the government should not be supplying houses but serviced land. Storms of protest followed and eventually it was decided that a workshop on housing was needed to further debate the issue.

Discussion became heated when one member of the audience said he felt the government should not be supplying houses but serviced land. Storms of protest followed and eventually it was decided that a workshop on housing was needed to further debate the issue.

Children of Apartheid, which features Zinzi Mandela and Rozanne Botha, had a profound effect on the audience, especially the Afrikaners. They felt that the white South Africans had been quite accurately portrayed and that the film offers a view of life in the townships not often seen by white South Africans.

Freedom Square deals with the removal of Sophiatown and the subsequent erection of the town of Triomf on the same site. A member of the audience commented that it was the epitome of callousness to destroy the very fabric of a community and then to build upon its ashes and name your creation Triomf (Triumph).

CINDY DEUTSCHMANN
Border Regional Co-ordinator

Natal students tour Umlazi

ON April 22 the Natal office of IDASA took a group of students from the Natal Technikon and two Canadian visitors on a bus tour to townships south of Durban. We had intended to take them to the northern areas — Inanda, KwaMashu and Phoenix — but had to change these plans. Buses were being stoned by students who were angered by the killing of Chris Ntuli, a detainee who had just been released and was on his way home from the police station where he had to report when he was killed.

We began the trip by driving around the inner city of Durban. Paul Graham of IDASA was the tour guide and expertly made the participants aware of the



Above: Students listen to one of the community members telling about KwaMgaga's history.

Right: KwaMgaga, the 40-year-old squatter area outside Umlazi.

Group Areas Act's divide. Black business, mostly Indian, is separated from the white business areas by the use of streets: for example, Grey Street runs from the Indian business section and when it enters the white area it becomes Broad Street.

Shakes Mbona, of the University of Natal's Centre for Social Development Studies, gave a comprehensive history of the Umkhumbane section of Cator Manor and pointed out to us that the Indian people who lived there were moved to Chatsworth, while the blacks were moved to KwaMashu. The road through Sydenham was used as a border: on the left hand side was a white area and on the right hand side an Indian area.

When we reached Marianhill mission, we heard a history of the mission, the monastery and its linkages with the larger populations especially St. Wendolins and other areas around the mission which are under threat of removal. The mission is actively involved in the battle against these removals and in securing the community's human rights.

In Umlazi we alighted at KwaMgaga, a 40-year-old squatter area. The participants walked around the area and talked to some of the residents who invited them into their homes. Some were surprised by the warm welcome they received from the people in the area.

The participants promised to give report backs to their constituencies.

FANA ZUNGU
Natal Regional Co-ordinator



Pupils share 'SA realities'

A common problem with working in the white schools is that it is difficult to keep an initiative going. Participants in any ongoing programme often drop out when it loses momentum. For this reason, IDASA's Western Cape region has started a programme to help train pupils to run their own projects in the schools.

In mid-April, 50 pupils spent the weekend at the Rotary camp in Glencairn to share and learn skills in working for change.

Pupils came from all over Cape Town and brought many different views and versions of the South African reality with them. In particular there were black pupils with a long history of involvement in social actions in their schools and there were white pupils who came from schools where such action is frowned upon.

Democracy in Action asked pupils who went on the weekend to comment about it for themselves:



Participants share and learn skills: Star Mafongozi (left), Graham Meintjies and Shaft Bushula.

"It is great to see people meeting and making new friends and learning new skills. We all came from such different backgrounds, but we found out that we were just the same . . . that we wanted the same things," a 16-year-old girl from Constantia said.

A 16-year-old boy from Langa remarked: "I enjoyed doing a play for the other pupils. We were able to show them the conditions in our schools. Hopefully we can all make a new South Africa now."

"This was the most educationally constructive weekend I experienced in a very long time," said a 15-year-old girl from Observatory. "We learned how to live and talk to each other at the same time as learning how to bring about a society where it is natural to do that."

A 16-year-old girl who lives in Parow said she felt a bit shy at first. "Later on I settled down and found out that everybody felt the same. I made some new friends and learned about working for a new South Africa."

A boy from Southfield said the weekend presented a rare opportunity to speak to students who attend white schools. "It was very informative to learn that their own education is repressive in as far as it has a narrow outlook," he said. "I hope that the white students can join the struggle for a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa."

Another student from Wynberg valued the practical experience he got in "running an education focus week in school or preparing educational posters and pamphlets for the other pupils". He added: "I don't know if we will get permission from the school to do this but we're going to try."

NIC BORAIN
Western Cape
Regional Director

Bargaining, negotiation deserves more attention

STATE RESISTANCE AND CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA,

Edited by Philip Frankel, Noam Pines and Mark Swilling (Southern Book Publishers, Pretoria, 1988).

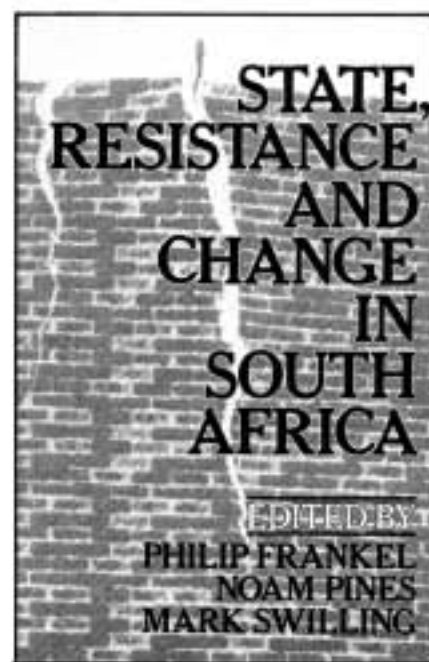
This recent edition on South African politics covers areas such as the current political stalemate, business and "reform", local government (in crisis), the role of Inkatha, township mobilisation, the role of the ANC, the Freedom Charter and strategies for change. Contributors are Cobbett, Evans, Frankel, Glaser, Grest, Hindson, Hudson, Lodge, McCaul, Mann, Philips, Seekings, Swilling and Webster.

Most of the contributions deal with contemporary politics and reflect a well planned inter-disciplinary approach. For readers who are interested in any of the above-mentioned topics, this book will be an excellent starting point. Both articles as well as the bibliography on South Africa by Noam Pines can be put to good use in the academic field and in the working place. Even dealing with fairly "conservative" books, topics are listed in the bibliography — such as Arend Lijphart's *Power Sharing in South Africa*. The biblio-

graphy also includes books which give an excellent historic background to (black) politics in South Africa. For example, André Odendaal's *Vukani Bantu!* (1984), Paul Maylam's *A History of the African People of South Africa from the early Iron Age to the 1970s* (1986) and Lodge's *Black Politics in South Africa* (1983).

The increasingly important role of the military in upholding minority rule is dealt with by Michael Evans and Mark Phillips. Eddie Webster deals with the trends in the trade union movement and Tom Lodge's contribution on the ANC is of much value. The chapters are fairly representative of current issues in South African politics and the book succeeds as a good descriptive and fairly successful analysis of current South African politics.

However, one feels that it erred on the side of too much description and too little analysis (not that there is no analysis — but it could be even better). The chapter on local government could have made much more use of the interactive influence between the new parallel structures and the possible development of "strategic gaps" in the system (an approach which receives some attention



in the work of Doreen Atkinson (Stellenbosch) and Chris Heymans (Rhodes).

Perhaps more attention could also be given to the issue of negotiation and bargaining. It is dealt with in some detail, but one feels that more could have been said on this important topic. Lastly, the role of South Africa in Southern Africa perhaps deserves some more attention.

To conclude: This book is indeed an important contribution to the South African debate and dialogue. It can be seen, despite some minor points of critique against it, as a very necessary acquisition for the serious student, observer, and participant in South African politics.

IAN LIEBENBERG
Research Consultant, IDASA

Monde: why we went on hunger strike

Monde Mtanga, IDASA's regional co-ordinator in the Eastern Cape, went on hunger strike with detainees around the country and was released in April after spending 497 days in detention.

I was detained near my home in New Brighton on the morning of December 10, 1987. Two black policemen took me to Louis le Grange Square where I was questioned before being transferred to St Albans Medium Prison in the afternoon.

It was my first experience of detention and of being "inside" for a long time, but at St Albans I met many comrades who had been in detention since June, 1986.

That was why the hunger strike took place. Many people had been kept in prison under the emergency regulations since 1986 and there was no indication that we were going to be released or be charged.

We contacted our lawyers to tell them that they must do something about us — but we were told that the State of Emergency could not be challenged, and that there was very little chance, from a legal point of view, of securing our release. So we contacted the Black Sash, the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, the National Medical



Monde Mtanga flanked by IDASA colleagues Dr Alex Borraine and Keith Wattruss on his release from prison in Port Elizabeth.

and Dental Association and the South African Council of Churches, preparing the ground for any future action that we might take.

After this, we all agreed that we should embark on a hunger strike, starting on 6 February. There were 105 detainees at St Albans at the time and we set up committees to co-ordinate the action we were planning to take. We drafted a memorandum, with copies to the prisons authority, the security police and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. We also sent copies to the Black Sash, Nadl, Namda and the Human Rights Trust to see what role they could play in assisting us.

Our demand was simple: we must be released immediately. We were on fast for 11 days and during our strike a team of lawyers went to see Mr Vlok about our plight. He promised to release us, but not

while we were on hunger strike. He would also review our cases on an individual basis, and asked not to be pressured on this.

We decided to continue with the hunger strike until we got positive results. The lawyers met with Mr Vlok for a second time, pointing out the seriousness of our case. The minister responded with the names of the people who would be released immediately, and we suspended the hunger strike shortly afterwards.

My family was very surprised and jubilant at my release and I received a warm welcome-home from family members, friends and neighbours. I want to thank my lawyer and IDASA, and all the people who gave me moral support during my detention, including the Black Sash and other progressive organisations.

How do the Russians see SA?

In spite of long-standing ties, the people of South Africa and the Soviet Union still scarcely know each other, says Soviet academic Dr Irina Filatova.



Dr Filatova... SA's experience of race and ethnic relations important to the world

news that their fellow workers were living and fighting on the other side of the world was received with enthusiasm, but did not become a major issue in the eyes of the Soviet people.

During World War II the Soviet Union and the Union of South Africa were allies. However, it was the fight against Nazism that sharpened Soviet rejection of racism in general and the system of racial segregation in South Africa in particular. Right after the establishment of the United Nations, at the very first session of this organisation, the Soviet Union vehemently denounced racism and racial discrimination.

On 1 February 1956, the acting consul-general of the Soviet Union in Pretoria, L.V. Ivanov, received a note from the South African Government ordering the closure of the consulate within a month. The note said that the reasons for its establishment had ceased to exist after the war. The consul-general was charged with cultivating and maintaining contacts with "subversive elements in South Africa, particularly among the Bantu and Indian population" and with using this channel for the "diffusion of Communist propaganda directed particularly at the Bantu population".

For our country this total break of ties was an expression of political protest against racial discrimination. But when speaking about Soviet perceptions of South Africa, we have to take into account the fact that the breaking off of diplomatic relations had a serious effect on our understanding of developments in South Africa. Virtually nothing that was written about South Africa in our country henceforth was written on the basis of personal impressions.

During the last 30 years the formation of Soviet perceptions of South Africa has also been influenced by the victorious anti-colonial movements in other African countries. On the other, South Africa was to some extent relegated to the background as the bulk of Soviet attention was given to the continent's young independent states. It is only recently that academic interest in South Africa has started to grow again.

The 1960s and 1970s saw the establishment of a Soviet "African Studies" structure and the development of its chief trends and schools of thought. African departments were established at Moscow and Leningrad universities.

Moscow University pioneered the teaching of South African languages, history and culture. South Africa was also studied at the Institute of World History and at other research institutes under the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Over the last 30 years popular Soviet publications about South Africa have assumed a truly mass character. Each new upsurge of the struggle against the South African regime has caused a new growth of interest in it. The violent clashes and related events of the mid-1970s and mid-1980s hit the front pages. Official documents are published, particularly those of the UN and other international

The October Revolution in 1917 put on the agenda the task of the investigation of the revolutionary potential of all countries and nations. It was believed at that time that a world revolution on the Russian model would take place in the immediate future.

The Union of South Africa had the largest proletariat and the most developed workers' movement in Africa. That is why it attracted much more attention than any other of the African countries.

Up to the mid-1920s the typical South African proletarian was seen as a white worker.

'Russian volunteers' disillusionment was mostly provoked by Afrikaners' cruelty to the blacks'

However, the Comintern leadership soon realised that South Africa's workers were mainly black and that it was black Africans who formed the majority of the exploited in South Africa. In 1927 the ANC's general president Josiah Gumede visited Moscow. Soon after him came James la Guma, one of the leaders of the Coloureds' movement and of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union; in the early 1930s there were A. Nzula, M. Kotane and J. Marks. Ten or twelve other South Africans came to study.

Many books and pamphlets about the African labour situation began to come out, and the 1930s saw the beginning of studies on South Africa's African languages.

The new range of subjects and the change in the perception of the South African situation in our country certainly excited a new interest in southern Africa. But our country was living in difficult times. The

FOR centuries Russian perceptions of South Africa have been influenced by the nature of our sources of information about this region so remote from us, by the specific features of our country's history and political culture and by the changing political situation in the world.

Today's images and concepts have been moulded and influenced by those previous periods. There is of course a great difference between the pre-revolutionary legacy and that of the Soviet period. However, the different periods were themselves far from being homogeneous. For example, in pre-revolutionary Russia the common people and the educated classes held different views on South Africa. In the same way, nowadays, the public perception of South Africa is not quite identical with scholars' views.

Information about South Africa got through to a relatively narrow segment of the educated public, and only a small fraction of that was interested. At grassroots level, among the broad mass of the Russian people, there was no image of South Africa up to the very end of the 19th century.

Such an image emerged during the Anglo Boer War when the words "South Africa" were associated with the struggle of Afrikaners against the British. Black Africans were still scarcely considered. Even travellers wrote next to nothing about the struggle of the blacks, focusing on the description of their customs that seemed so exotic to a Euro-centric observer. As for the Anglo Boer War, it was an event that was believed to be of vast importance to the whole world.

The Russian public sided wholeheartedly with the Afrikaners. They were perceived as being somewhat like Russian peasants, and the Russian intelligentsia of the period took a great interest in the peasantry and largely idealised them. It was fashionable to change to simpler ways, to live among "the common people" and to search for genuine national values in the peasantry.

This sympathy was fuelled by anti-British sentiments. At this time the British Empire covered $\frac{1}{4}$ of the world. Anti-British sentiments were running high throughout the world. In Russia, however, they were fuelled by the increasing rivalry of the two nations in the East throughout the latter half of the 19th century.

On the other hand, it was during those years of the Anglo Boer War that Russian literature on South Africa, primarily through the notes, diaries and memoirs of eyewitnesses to the events, first developed another theme: dismay at the brutal mistreatment of the blacks, both free men and slaves. These works did not show blacks as participants in history, but as victims. The Russian volunteers who had seen Afrikaners in real life did not always describe them in admiring tones. Their disillusionment was mostly provoked by Afrikaners' cruelty to the blacks.

Such was the arsenal of its perceptions of South Africa Russia carried to the threshold of the October Revolution.

organisations. Political pamphlets and books are numerous and widely disseminated. Lectures on the subject of South Africa's political situation are delivered to different organisations and at industrial enterprises. Radio broadcasts and television programmes are regularly produced. In other words, the Soviet people are receiving far more information about South Africa now than they used to.

Part of this information is to some extent painted uncompromisingly in black-and-white. Some reporters and authors of popular pamphlets describe the events in South Africa in such a way that the readers may believe that all the blacks fight the ruling regime and all the whites support it. The mass media have often neglected to recognise the existence of shades of political opinion in South Africa until very recently.

Over the last 15 years Soviet literary scholars and translators have made what amounts to a breakthrough into every facet of South Africa's literature. Now Soviet readers have a chance to become acquainted with the works of many South African writers and poets, both those in exile and those still living inside the country, both those who write in English and those who write in Afrikaans.

One could hardly give a clear-cut answer to the question of how the Soviet people perceive South Africa and its people, and of how they see its problems now. These perceptions are diverse: not only do the various social strata and individuals hold different views of South Africa's realities but the views of scholars themselves are sometimes contradictory.

'They have never harboured hostility towards the white minority as such; they denounce the regime, but not the people'

But one can claim with assurance that, all these contradictions notwithstanding, there is a common element in Soviet perceptions of South Africa: Soviet people reject race discrimination and sympathise with the struggle the majority wage against the apartheid regime. They have never harboured hostility towards the white minority as such; they denounce the regime, but not the people.

We may be oversimplifying the South African problem or expecting too quick a decision. The Soviet image of South Africa may still not be fully adequate. The main reason is that, despite longstanding ties, we still scarcely know each other.

And we need this knowledge, not just out of plain curiosity. We are sure that South Africa's role in world politics will continue to grow. Its experience of race and ethnic relations is gaining an ever-greater importance in today's world, pervaded with racial and national clashes. And last but not least we need this knowledge for our common democratic and non-racial future.

□ Dr Filatova is a historian at the Moscow State University. This is an edited version of a paper she delivered at the Leverkusen meeting in West Germany last year. It may be ordered from IDASA.

NEWS

NP its own worst enemy?

By JOHN VILJOEN

THE National Party had become the victim of its own corrupt and racist system of government, Professor Sampie Terreblanche, economic adviser to the Democratic Party, said at an IDASA lecture series in Cape Town.

All governments were bad, some worse than others. The NP was a "very bad government" which had done "too much harm to too many people for too long". The political system, which it had constructed and maintained over the last 40 years, was corrupt. This had resulted in the breakdown of public morality.

The South African government was almost devoid of the ethical qualities of order, freedom, equity, justice, maintenance of human rights and truthfulness. South Africa was one of a handful of countries that had not signed the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights.

Order was maintained, but at the loss of freedoms of choice, entry and participation.

South Africa's distribution of income was the most unequal in all the world. It was a welfare state for whites, where for every one rand spent on welfare services for blacks, six rands were spent on whites.

By going overboard with reform rhetoric, the government was guilty of "word corruption". The NP had misused public funds to benefit a very small section of the population. By passing legislation, the government had increased the per capita earnings of Afrikaans-speakers from 50 per cent of that of English-speakers in 1964 to 75 per cent in 1989.

Afrikaners had become spoiled and corrupted members of the nouveau-riche, greedily accumulating status-symbols. They had a perjorative attitude towards coloureds and blacks, an indication of a sick and corrupt society.

The NP persisted in using economic favouritism to gain electoral support, while not concerning itself with black impoverishment. Corrupt attempts to make money were evidence of the "get-rich-quick cult" arising from a siege-economy mentality. This had necessitated the financial rand system.

Prof Terreblanche said he would like to know how many cents out of each rand meant for the poor escaped bureaucratic waste and corruption.

The "Pretoria-Johannesburg alliance" had seen large sections of the English business fraternity exchanging hostility toward the Afrikaans bureaucracy for the benefits of close co-operation with Pretoria. Growing isolation would lead to more businesses seeking protection and favours in a "vicious circle" of corruption.

The South African political system was deliberately designed to make it impossible to determine the common good for all 37 million people. Fifty-two per cent of the white electorate had voted in the last election, meaning that about eight per cent of the population decided on the common good.

A policy based on statutorily defined race groups meant there were no common values



Liesel Naudé

New IDASA team leader in Tvl

MS Liesel Naudé has been appointed as the regional director of the Transvaal region of IDASA.

She will succeed the Rev Steve Fourie who has decided to return to work in the Methodist Church of Southern Africa.

Ms Naudé was educated at Helpmekaar Meisieshoërskool in Johannesburg, and at the Universities of Stellenbosch and Cape Town. She holds a masters degree in town planning. She also studied social science in the Hague. Most of her working life has been spent as a professional town planner, but she has also worked in business.

Commenting on the appointment, the executive director of IDASA, Dr Alex Boraine, said that an IDASA search and appointments committee — consisting of trustees and staff members — had been unanimous in reaching their decision.

"We believe that she has all the professional skills, maturity and leadership to help fulfil IDASA's brief of convincing South Africans that there is an alternative to apartheid. We recognise that the Transvaal, which is the hub of the country's economic activity, is a crucial area of our work."

IDASA's Transvaal office, which is situated in Braamfontein, employs three regional co-ordinators. A separate office has been opened in Pretoria for the Northern Transvaal.

IDASA's director of policy and planning, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, is also located in the Transvaal.

or causes, only conflicting group interests. This destabilised the good order and undermined public morality.

The only way to rid the country of this structural corruption would be to get rid of the corrupt system. This was impossible for the NP to do because they depended on it for their very existence, said Prof Terreblanche.

□ JOHN VILJOEN studies journalism at the University of Stellenbosch.

'n Vrou praat oor die ANC

Een van die top Afrikaanse professionele vroue wat in April deel was van 'n groep Suid-Afrikaanse vroue wat in Harare met ANC-vroue gesprek gevoer het, het met haar terugkoms in Suid-Afrika haar ervaringe met haar vriende gedeel in 'n lang brief. Hier volg 'n verkorte weergawe van die brief:

Ek was eers baie huiwerig (om te gaan), veral oor die klomp publisiteit wat vorige groepe "ANC-praters" gekry het, en die feit dat 'n mens miskien lyk of jy hulle daad goedkeur. Maar op die ou end het ek tog besluit om te gaan.

Ek weet lankal hoe lieg die pers — kyk maar net hoe smeer hulle ons land swart — en wou graag 'n eie opinie oor die ANC vorm. Verder glo ek ook daar moet met enigiemand gepraat word, sonder voorwaardes. Praat is nie vriendskap nie.

Nou vir my indrukke. Onthou tog, dis net my indrukke. Dit mag verkeerd wees, ek mag naief wees, dom, liggelowig, ensovoorts.

My eerste en oorweldigende indruk was die kwaliteit van die ANC vroue. Hulle is ontwikkelde, indrukwekkende diplomate. Selfs die heel jongetjies kan hul saak met oortuiging en logika stel. Die ANC het 'n departement vir vrouesake, en daar was 'n hele klompie vroue wat in die departement werk. Dan was daar 'n paar wat in die regsafdeling, onderwysafdeling of gesondheidsafdeling werk, of gesante in verskillende lande is. Daar was seker so vyf blankes, 'n Indiër of twee, 'n kleurling of twee, en verder swartes. Maar almal neem ewe vrymoedig deel aan die debat.

Tweedens moet ek praat oor die goeie gesindheid wat hulle deurgaans getoon het. Hulle was vriendelik en geduldig en ek het nooit 'n sweempie van haatdraendheid of vyandigheid gevoel nie. Hulle het uit hulle pad gegaan om ons te ontmoet waar ons was; al was dit soms in filosofie baie ver van hulle af.

Derdens het ek 'n heel ander/nuwe perspektief op die ANC as organisasie gekry. Mev Sally Mugabe het die konferensie geopen en daar was 'n hele groep Zimbabwiese vroue. Ons is ook Saterdag-aand deur die Kubaanse konsulaat onthaal, en het heelwat ander lande se verteenwoordigers daar ontmoet. Oral tref mens 'n respek vir die ANC aan, wat deur mense aan my beskryf is as "'n krag vir demokrasie", of "die mees redelike groep wat julle kan hoop om mee te onderhandel". En hulle is onteenseglik 'n groep met geweldige invloed. Hulle gaan nie ver-

oplossing in Suid-Afrika, of daar sal geen vrede wees nie.

En ook 'n nuwe perspektief op ons land. Ja, ek weet ons is nie so sleg soos hulle ons maak nie (en tussen hakies, dit is nogal snaaks hoe hulle weer 'n boer met 'n geweer agter elke bos sien, waar die regering 'n kommunist met 'n bom agter elke bos sien), maar ek is gedwing om te beseef dat ons ook nie so onskuldig is soos ons voorgee nie. In ons land hoor ons dikwels dat Suid-Afrika uitgekryt word as 'n destabiliseerder van sy bure, veral Mosambiek en Angola. Maar ons glo dit nie. Ons regering sê heeldyd hoe goed dit vir ons sal wees as ons stabiele bure het. Maar ek is bevrees ek moes begin glo dat Renamo nie veel meer is as groepies jong boewe wat sonder leierskap rondswerf en dood en verwoesting saai met wapens wat ons hulle gee nie.

Ons het 'n video oor die situasie gesien, wat skokkend was, en toevallig was daar

'Al is net 50 persent van wat daar gewys en gesê is, waar, is dit nog 'n geweldige skandvlek op ons naam'

Woensdag-aand toe ons daar arriveer, 'n program oor TV oor dieselfde saak. Al is net 50 persent van wat daar gewys en gesê is, waar, is dit nog 'n geweldige skandvlek op ons naam.

Die ANC maak geen verskoning dat hulle geweld gebruik nie. Hul argumente is as volg:

Hulle het in 1912 tot stand gekom, en het van toe af heeltemal sonder geweld probeer om gelyke regte te kry. Hulle was totaal onsuksesvol. Soveel so dat hulle in 1960 verban is VOORDAT HULLE ENIGE GEWELD GE- BRUIK HET. Dit is eers nadat hulle verban is, dat hulle besluit het om die "armed struggle", soos hulle verkies om geweld te noem, as een van hulle vier strategieë te aanvaar. "It was forced on us by a regime that will not listen to reason."

Hulle sien nie kans om geweld af te sweer as 'n voorvereiste vir onderhandelinge nie. Hulle argumenteer dat as die regering sê ons moet wen in Angola sodat ons uit 'n posisie van krag kan onderhandel, en as die VSA sê hulle moet hul weermag opbou sodat hulle uit 'n posisie van krag met die Russe kan onderhandel, hoe kan ons dit nie in die geval van die ANC verstaan nie.

Hulle sê dat, behalwe as jy 'n totale pasifis is, moet jy aanvaar dat daar situasies is wat geweld regverdig. Hulle sê die posisie van die anderskleuriges in Suid-Afrika is so 'n situasie. Die anderkleurige het nie die demokratiese reg (stemreg), wat hom in staat sou stel om van die regering ontslae te raak deur 'n verkiesing nie. Boonop maak die regering sistematies van die polisie en

die weermag gebruik om 'n oorlog TEEN DIE BEVOLKING te voer. Hulle geweld is dus in essensie selfverdediging, of die verdediging van die volk teen 'n onderdrukkende regering.

As 'n mens luister na hulle persoonlike verhale van polisie-optrede, aanhouding sonder verhoor, brutaliteit en absolute gebrek aan basiese respek vir die mens, is dit geweldig moeilik om hulle in die oë te kyk en hulle geweld te veroordeel.

Hulle is baie seker dat die ANC as sulks nie kommunisties is nie. Hulle wys vir jou uit watter vroue wel kommuniste is — daar was net een. Hulle sê dat die Suid-Afrikaanse Kommunistiese Party ook veg vir die ontbanning van alle politieke organisasies en 'n regering wat die hele bevolking verteenwoordig. En daarom werk hulle saam. Sodra 'n verkiesing in die "nuwe" Suid-Afrika afgekondig word, sal die Kommunistiese Party egter hul eie ding doen.

Oor sanksies het hulle ook 'n interessante standpunt, wat ek nog nie van tevore gehoor het nie. Volgens die VVO "charter" is rassisme 'n internasionale oortreding en Suid-Afrika is skuldig bevind aan hierdie oortreding, omdat ons diskriminasie op grond van ras in ons wetboek vervat het. Die enigste straf wat die internasionale wêreld kan gee vir so 'n oortreding, is sanksies.

Verder vra die ANC deurgaans vir onmiddellike, totale sanksies, want dit sou die SA-regering binne weke tot onderhandelwing dwing, en die minimum skade aan die ekonomie aanrig. Maar hulle kry net gedeeltelike sanksies reg, sodat die ekonomie stadig doodgewurg word, met maksimum skade.

Maar soos met geweld sien hulle dit as een van die min "wapens" wat hulle het, en wat hulle sal moet aanhou gebruik.

Die ANC werk vir 'n nie-rassige, veelparty demokrasie in Suid-Afrika. Nie-rassisties: hulle wil al die groepe in Suid-Afrika hier hê en gebruik. Ook die witmense. Hulle kan dus nie sien dat 'n toekomstige regering nie ook blankes sal bevat nie. Maar daar sal geen verdeling op grond van ras wees nie, en hulle sien beslis die land as een, en nie as 'n klomp onafhanklike landjies nie.

Hulle wil hê die regering moet alle politieke organisasies ontban en alle politieke gevangenes vrylaat. Dan sal hulle na Suid-Afrika terugkom en dan kan onderhandelinge begin. Hierdie stap moet sonder voorwaardes (soos die afswaar van geweld) gebeur.

Daarna voorsien hulle 'n groot onderhandelinge om 'n nuwe konstitusie op te stel. Dit mag voorafgegaan word deur 'n verkiesing van die mense wat dit moet opstel.

Nou my konklusies, want die brief raak onleesbaar lank. Ek dink ons blanke Suid-Afrikaners moet so gou as moontlik aanvaar dat ons beslis 'n swart meerderheidsregering gaan kry. Ons enigste keuse is of ons dit voor 'n oorlog of na 'n oorlog sal kry.

Ek het probeer om my gedagtes so duidelik as moontlik te deel. Ek sal baie graag van jou wil hoor wat jy van die hele storie dink. Selfs al is jy so vies oor ek skielik begin politiek praat en dan nogal sulke kommunistiese politiek, dat jy nooit weer met my wil praat nie, laat weet my tog. Dis vir my baie belangrik om te weet hoe jy voel.

'Ek is gedwing om te beseef dat ons nie so onskuldig is soos ons voorgee nie'

dwyn nie. Ons kan hulle nie wen deur meer en meer mense uit die land te jaag nie: hulle het oneindige finansiële en ander hulpbronne wat hulle bloot gebruik om elkeen van dié wat die land uit vlug, te ontwikkel in 'n effektiewe wapen. Hulle mense is almal besig om dwars oor die wêreld in elke moontlike veld opleiding te kry. Hulle is 'n groep wat deel sal moet wees van 'n politieke