

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

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

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Women take up the challenge

SA women, ANC exiles agree apartheid must go

"These ANC women are so..." The progressive young woman from Cape Town paused, looking somewhat embarrassed. But she continued bravely: "So human!"

To some of the 55 South African women who travelled to Harare in April for an historic meeting with Zimbabwean women and ANC women living in exile, this simple discovery was an affirmation of their political beliefs. To others it produced a dilemma. How could these "nice", well-educated women — warm and dignified granny figures like ANC executive committee members Gertrude Shope and Ruth Mampoti and South African Communist Party veteran Ray Simons — be associated with an armed struggle? They accepted to some extent the historical reasons for the ANC's decision to take up arms. But why continue? Many white women were clearly not receptive to the ANC's arguments that their military strategy creates political space for blacks in South Africa, and that armed struggle and negotiation were not mutually exclusive concepts.

But despite this, and several other serious differences, the talking in Harare continued, sincerely, through bursts of laughter, tears and even anger. The white South African women saw how the ANC women "lived" their non-racial philosophy. They experienced their tolerance and the remarkable lack of bitterness despite extreme sacrifices. The women became friends, black and white teased and



Gertrude Shope... women have a duty to salvage SA from its problems.

joked and parted reluctantly after three days.

A typical exchange by the third day of the conference: Anita Chapman, a "self-confessed" Nationalist and head of the Community Chest in Cape Town, expresses concern about possible prosecution if she returned home with a paper on sanctions written by Frene Ginwala, a London-based historian attached to the ANC president's office. Ginwala assures her that she probably has nothing to fear. "You will come and visit me in jail?" Anita challenged. "No, I will come and free you," Frene retorted.

The South African delegation, black and white, came from diverse backgrounds and political traditions. They included activists, professionals and workers, academics and housewives, but most of them held key positions in their communities. The ANC delegation repeatedly expressed their gratitude to

the group, and particularly to the white women among them, for making the trip to Harare. "The fact that you are here today is an indication to us that all those years of struggle have not been wasted. The day that we can all look forward to is nearer," said Jackie Molefe, one of the three women on the ANC's national executive committee.

It was an historic occasion and several speakers remarked on this. Gertrude Shope, who heads the ANC's women's section, noted that it was the first time



Mrs Sally Mugabe receives the first conference T-shirt from Jenny Borraine.

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DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

EDITORIAL

ANC: govt won't tango but it might two-step

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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RECENT developments in the Southern African region have been so startling and fast-moving that they have left considerable confusion and bewilderment in their wake. This is particularly so for white South Africans who have been fed a particular diet for so long. Much of what has been regarded as sacred and conventional wisdom has now been turned on its head. Two examples will illustrate this.

Firstly, the South African authorities have been discussing (and wining and dining!) with Cubans, Angolans and Russians the future fate of South West Africa/Namibia. Secondly, there appears to be a new initiative under the leadership of the British Prime Minister in order to try and resolve the conflict which has its roots in apartheid. It is fairly clear that she is embarking upon this with the encouragement of Foreign Minister Pik Botha. It is equally apparent that his proposals and promises have the backing of the new leader of the National Party, Mr F.W. de Klerk.

New angels?

What are we to make of these developments? After demonising the Cubans, Angolans and the Russians for so long, have they now become the new angels? Hardly. But they are now amongst the "good guys" and this will make it so much harder for the state to maintain its "total onslaught" strategy.

Secondly, historical enmity and suspicion vis-a-vis Great Britain has diminished in direct proportion to the anti-sanctions stance taken by Mrs Thatcher. Ironically it may well be that the traditional enemy with all the overtones of the Anglo Boer War may yet become the facilitator for a new dispensation in South Africa.

And the ANC? Can we expect a new

attitude from the state towards this "communist terrorist organisation"? Can the ANC be regarded perhaps not as a "bunch of angels" or even amongst the "good guys", but as a key actor in the unfolding drama taking place on the South African stage? In my view this question can be answered with a tentative yes. There are a number of pointers which support this view. Firstly, there has been clear pressure from the international community in the West who continually call for the release of Nelson Mandela and emphasise the need to include the ANC in future negotiations.

Dividends

Secondly, it is common talk amongst some National Party MPs that the ANC cannot forever be excluded. The fact that representatives from the governing party attended the recent meetings in Bermuda, at which top ANC representative, Thabo Mbeki, was also present, is a further pointer. More significantly perhaps was the recent editorial in the government-supporting daily, *Beeld*, which concluded its editorial on the developments within the Soviet Union and Southern Africa by asking: "Is a discussion between the government and the ANC under a free Nelson Mandela actually so unthinkable?" Their concluding sentence reads: "Just think of the political and economic dividends which would accrue to South Africa and all its people if such a discussion could take place!"

Dakar

This is a far cry from the hysterical reaction which followed the Dakar conference organised by IDASA a short two years ago. At that time, government-supporting newspapers like *Die Burger* and *Die Transvaler* accused us of work-

Militant language offends whites

DURING A recent visit to Cape Town I was shown an IDASA poster bearing the slogan "Women in the Struggle for Peace". I learnt that this was to be the theme of an IDASA women's conference scheduled to take place in Harare in April.

While fully supportive of IDASA's goal to move whites towards acceptance of a non-racial democratic South Africa, I seriously question the wisdom of using

"loaded" terms like "struggle" if you want to dispel whites' fears about the future. It evokes negative images of bitter conflict and revolution which, I am sure, must scare off whites who would normally be quite receptive to IDASA's message of a negotiated settlement.

If you want to encourage ordinary non-politicised whites (yes, there are many of them) to accept their black

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countrymen as co-citizens, you should surely steer away from using militant language and symbols to which they cannot relate. We need positive and unemotional messages to encourage whites to be receptive to and participate in a democratic process which will bring peaceful change to South Africa.

Barbara Hart
East London

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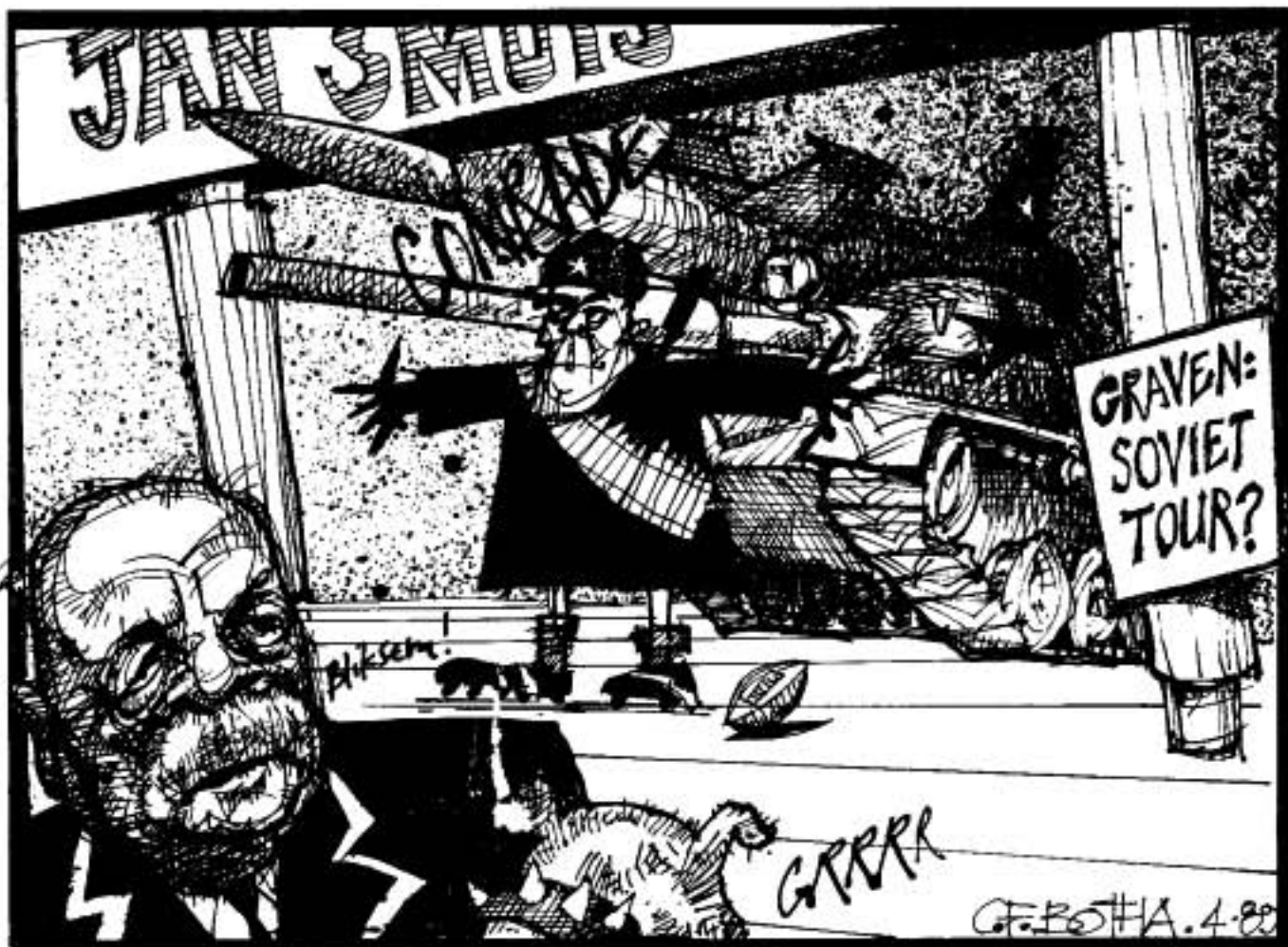
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ARTICLES IN DEMOCRACY IN ACTION REFLECT THE OPINIONS OF THE WRITERS AND DO NOT NECESSARILY CORRESPOND WITH THE VIEWPOINTS HELD BY IDASA.



Two faces

Whilst the government's tone has changed it would be too much to expect that, as the election campaign hots up, there will not be more vitriolic outpourings against any organisation and individual which seeks further contact with the ANC. But it is my view that there will be more and more a public face and a private face as far as the ANC is concerned.

After the election it is not beyond the realms of possibility that Nelson Mandela will be released and discussions, and even wining and dining, will begin to take place not merely between the ANC and academics and students, women and business people, but between officials of the state and the central executive of the ANC.

To the extent that there has been a significant shift within South Africa, one of IDASA's original goals, namely "to assist in creating the climate for genuine negotiation towards a non-racial, democratic South Africa", has been met. There is a very, very long and tough road ahead, but the first tentative steps are being taken.

ALEX BORAINÉ
Executive Director

"We must get to the root of the problem, namely indefinite detention without trial. Although we can see the necessity for limited detention without trial in explosive situations, the indefinite detention of people, in some cases for years, without charge or trial cannot be defended."

Mr Kuhn said one had the feeling that, since the hunger strike, the whole question of detention without trial could never be quite the same again. A sort of Achilles' heel had been found in the system, and it would be attacked again.

Eventually the government would have to tackle "the question that lies deeper".

ing towards the demise of white South Africans. A typical *Burger* headline read "Reds will dominate terrorist delegation". There were quaint unsubstantiated rumours and speculation in the Nationalist press that Gadaffi was behind the visit!

It was also suggested that the communists were paying for the conference. The rightwing BBB (Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging) filed a formal complaint with the police accusing us of high treason. The AWB demanded that the government should revoke the passports of all those who went from South Africa and also joined the chorus that we should be charged with high treason. *The Citizen* suggested that the government would move to change laws to prevent South Africans meeting the ANC. The State President in parliament poured scorn and abuse on the IDASA delegation and threatened to stop its work with the introduction of a select committee and the introduction of a bill to restrict foreign funding to organisations like IDASA. We said then, and we say it again, that white South Africans have to break out of their self-made cocoon in order to face reality.

Detention will never be same again

FOLLOWING on from a recent critical article on detention without trial, the Johannesburg Afrikaans daily, *Beeld*, has now spoken out against the system of indefinite incarceration.

Beeld columnist Willie Kuhn said in a recent column that by "concentrating" all hunger strikers in the Pelonomi Hospital in Bloemfontein, the government was only treating a symptom of the problem.

Alleen-pad vorentoe vir

wit NG Kerk?



Die wit N.G. Kerk het niks weselik toegegee by die Vereniging-beraad van die N.G. Kerk-familie in Maart nie, volgens gerespekteerde kerkleier en IDASA raadslid Dr Beyers Naudé (links). Hy gee 'n uiteensetting van gebeure by die beraad en kom tot die slotsom dat die swart kerke se geduld met die wit kerk nou op is.

ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

WAT presies het by die Vereeniging-beraad van die N.G. Kerk-familie plaasgevind? En in watter opsig het dit 'n betekenisvolle teologiese, kerklike en politieke betekenis?

As ek die kern van wat daar gebeur het in een sin moet saamvat wil ek sê dat die belangrikheid van wat daar gebeur het, lê veel meer in wat daar wel binne die swart N.G. Kerke gebeur het as wat daar nie binne die wit N.G. Kerk gebeur het nie. Laat my hierdie stelling verduidelik en bevestig deur op die volgende te wys:

- By Vereeniging het die swart N.G. Kerk vir die eerste maal in hulle bestaan die teologiese en politieke inisiatief geneem wat die vraagstuk van apartheid betref — 'n inisiatief wat van nou af die wit N.G. Kerk op die verdediging gaan hou totdat die kerk apartheid in al sy vorme ondubbelsinnig in woord en daad veroordeel en verwerp.
- By Vereeniging het die swart N.G. Kerke apartheid in al sy vorme totaal verwerp en 'n aantal eise aan die regering gestel waaraan die regering

nie kan toegee nie sonder om sy huidige politieke beleid totaal oorbord te gooi nie.

- By Vereeniging het die swart N.G. Kerke hulle verbind aan die ideaal van 'n nie-rassige, demokratiese Suid-Afrika in 'n eenheidstaat — 'n verbintenis wat verreikende kerklike en politieke gevolge kan hê.
- By Vereeniging het die swart N.G. Kerke hulle verbind tot die stigting van een, vereenigde nie-rassige Gereformeerde Kerk van Suider-en Sentraalafrika — 'n verbintenis wat verreikende politieke gevolge gaan hê vir hierdie kerk sowel as vir die gebied van Suider-en Sentraalafrika waarin die kerk gaan opereer.

Hierdie besluite moet nog deur die sinodes van die betrokke kerke bevestig word, maar ek het geen twyfel dat dit sal gebeur nie.

Kom ons kyk nou na dit waartoe die wit N.G. Kerk homself wel verbind het maar ook na dit waartoe hy hom nie verbind het nie (soos deur sy amptelike liggaam, die Algemene Sinodale Kommissie van die Algemene Sinode van

die N.G. Kerk op sy vergadering van 14 en 15 Maart besluit):

Die N.G. Kerk het met spyt sy aandeel in die instelling en wettiging van die ideologie van apartheid betuig en die gevolglike lyding wat dit veroorsaak.

Die N.G. Kerk het hom verbind om na geregtigheid te strew vir al die mense in ons land: op maatskaplike, opvoedkundige, ekonomiese en politieke terreine en ook in alle ander lewensverbande.

Die N.G. Kerk erken die noodsaaklikheid van die geestelike en sigbare eenheid van die kerk. Hierdie eenheid moet beoefen word waar lede van die verskillende N.G. Kerke met mekaar kontak maak.

Wat egter van groter en deurslaggewende belang is, is om te let op wat die N.G. Kerk nie bely het, nie aanvaar het en waartoe hy hom nie verbind het nie:

- Die N.G. Kerk was nie bereid om apartheid as sodanig as sonde te erken en te bely nie.
- Die N.G. Kerk was nie bereid om die implikasies van sy strew na geregtig-

Attitudes to integration may be changing

A MAJORITY of white people in the greater Durban area support the integration of facilities, according to a survey conducted by Dr Mike Sutcliffe of the University of Natal's department of town and regional planning.

The survey, designed to provide information about people's attitudes towards regional violence, was sponsored by IDASA. This information is not yet available. Included in the questionnaire was a series of questions on integration and the results from these were startling enough to produce a separate report entitled "The integration of facilities: results and conclusions".

Amongst the results were that 67 per cent of those whites interviewed supported integration, while 62 per cent supported the repeal of the Group Areas Act, and 65 per cent supported the integration of schools.

Giving reasons for this positive response, people mentioned equal rights, inter-racial harmony and equal opportunities most frequently.

These rational reasons, which were mentioned together with others such as reduced costs and self-interest, compared interestingly with the reasons given by black respondents. Here the

matter of providing an opportunity for learning how to get along and the promotion of inter-racial understanding were mentioned most frequently.

The survey interviewed 500 people in the centre of Durban and provides an indicator of attitudes rather than claiming to represent accurately the residents of the Durban functional area.

Researcher Mike Sutcliffe concludes: "It is quite clear that, in spite of 'swart gevaar' tactics, an overwhelming majority of those respondents who expressed a firm attitude believe that facilities and areas should be integrated. And secondly, there are not major differences between race groups."

The survey identifies one area where there is disagreement over integration — the beaches. Commenting on this, Dr Sutcliffe suggests that knowledge of an already integrated facility has made people more uncertain of their opinion — 29 per cent of whites would not commit themselves. He goes on to suggest that partial integration might be part of the problem and concludes that "by opening up the whole city the (positive and negative) effects of integration (on property markets, communities facilities and the like) will be spread around" ensuring that development is more natural and produces less obvious "territorial" boundaries.

The report is available in booklet form from IDASA's office in Durban.

Paul Graham
Natal Regional Director



DAVE HARTMAN, Afrapix

DR JOHAN HEYNS . . . spyt oor apartheid maar bely dit nie as sonde nie

heid konkreet en spesifiek aan te dui en 'n beroep op die regering te doen om, byvoorbeeld, die vier apartheidswette wat die grondpilare van apartheid vorm — die Wet op Grondbesit, die Groepsgebiedewet, die Bevolkingsregistrasiewet en die Wet op Aparte Geriewe — te herroep nie. Die N.G. Kerk het wel sy kommer uitgespreek oor die voortgesette noodtoestand en die regering versoek om dit so gou as moontlik op te hef.

- Die N.G. Kerk was nie bereid om hom te verbind tot die stigting van een verenigde nie-rassige Gereformeerde Kerk nie.
- Die N.G. Kerk was nie bereid om verder te gaan as sy siening oor apartheid soos vertolk in sy beleidstuk Kerk en Samelewing nie — 'n dokument wat in die oë van die swart N.G. Kerke nie verder gaan as die hervormingsbeleid van P.W. Botha nie, en dus nie spesifiek genoeg is in die veroordeling van apartheid nie. Een afgevaardigde by Vereeniging het dit so uitgedruk: "Kerk en Samelewing is vol skuiwergate. As jy die N.G. Kerk teologies op een punt in die hoek dryf, spring hy weer gou in 'n ander hoek in."

Ons slotsom dus: Wesenlik het die wit N.G. Kerk niks toegegee nie en lê daar dus vir die swart N.G. Kerke geen ander weg oop as om so gou as moontlik een, verenigde kerk te word, om sy volle gewig in te gooi om so sterk as moontlik apartheid te bly beveg en om sy kragte saam te snoer met alle ander kerke en sekulêre organisasies wat dieselfde doel nastrewe. Die swart N.G. Kerke het lank genoeg gewag vir die wit N.G. Kerk. Die boodskap van Vereeniging is duidelik: Ons kan nie langer wag nie, ons gaan voort!

Not ALL the Forces' Favourites, please!

FORCES' Favourites stalwart Patricia Carr had to vasbyt recently when confronted during a live broadcast with a request for prominent imprisoned conscientious objector David Bruce. The veteran broadcaster very swiftly "lost" the troublesome call.

Already the recipient of the Southern Cross award for her contribution towards keeping up the morale of servicemen, one wonders what further honours await Ms Carr after this patriotic display on the hallowed SABC airwaves.

It happened like this: a young man called from Broederstroom, that notorious country hideout of "terrorists" and "subversives", and politely asked whether Ms Carr played requests because he wanted her to play Johnny Cash's song "San Quentin" for someone.

If the broadcaster realised that this 1960s hit dealt with a Californian prison, she didn't let on. She patiently explained to the caller what the

request procedure entailed — a week's written warning and so forth because she has to draw the records from the library.

Then the caller dropped the bombshell. He wanted the request for David Bruce who is in a military jail, he told Ms Carr before his airtime came to an abrupt end. Without flinching, of course, she issued her standard cool explanation, "we seem to have lost that call", and moved on to her next message.

Approached for an explanation by Democracy in Action, the broadcaster said she did not have the authority to comment on the incident but would seek such permission from her employers at Auckland Park. We haven't heard from her since.

David Bruce was jailed for six years in July last year for refusing to do military service. He is being held, among common criminals, at Pretoria Central. An appeal against the sentence is pending.

USSR: apartheid must go first

The USSR is prepared to play a constructive role in bringing about a political settlement in South Africa according to an IDASA delegation which recently spent 10 days in Moscow and Leningrad.

THERE is no prospect of medium term or even long-term diplomatic relations between the USSR and South Africa as long as white minority domination or any aspect of apartheid policy continues. This does not mean that, because of dynamic developments of the situation in South and Southern Africa there will not be contacts between the government of the USSR and those in power in South Africa.

However, such contacts cannot be construed as a precursor to, or a desire for formal diplomatic contact by the USSR. They arise out of the practical imperatives of the immediate situation.

These are some of the conclusions of an IDASA delegation which returned recently from a 10-day visit to Moscow and Leningrad as guests of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. The delegation consisted of IDASA's director of policy and planning, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Mrs Jane Slabbert, Mr Enos Mabuza, the Chief Minister of Kangwane, and Professor Johan Degenaar of the political philosophy department of the University of Stellenbosch.

A statement issued by the delegation reflected on the "exceptional hospitality and friendliness" they had experienced during their stay. Their hosts arranged visits to some cathedrals in the Kremlin, monasteries of the Russian Orthodox Church in and around Moscow, the Bolshoi Ballet ("Romeo and Juliet"), Moscow circus, shopping centres and street markets. Of political and intellectual interest were discussions with: activists and members of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee; members of the Institute for African Studies (or the African Institute); members of Moscow University with special interests in South and Southern Africa; members of the Institute of the World Socialist System; staff members from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with special responsibilities for South and Southern Africa; representatives of the international department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union; South African students at the Patrice Lumumba University.

The latter meeting, according to the delegation, was a particularly moving and exciting experience. "Some of them had left South Africa after the 1976 Soweto riots and were very keen to get information about the latest developments at home."



Kangwane leader Enos Mabuza meets the first man to walk in space, General Leonov, during the recent Soviet tour.

In Leningrad they were mostly involved in "wonderful" sightseeing, visiting the Summer and Winter palaces and the magnificent Hermitage Museum. They also managed to see an exhibition of Georgian folk dancing and singing and had discussions with staff and students from the department of African Studies from Leningrad University.

One of the main purposes of the visit was to gain first hand knowledge of Soviet Union policy toward South and Southern Africa. In this they were greatly assisted by extensive and in-depth discussions with the following persons: Ambassador Vasily Solodovnikov (vice-chairman of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee); Viacheslav Tetiokin (permanent staff member of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee); Dr Victor Goncharov (deputy director of the Africa Institute); Dr Leongard Goncharov (deputy director of the Africa Institute); Dr Alexei Vasiliev (deputy director of the Africa Institute); Dr Vladimir Tikhomirov (research worker of the Africa Institute); Dr Lyudmila Vialemaa (research worker of the Africa Institute);

Vladimir Petrov (staff member of the ministry of Foreign Affairs); Dr Vladimir Shubin (international department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union); Dr Andrei Urnov (deputy head of the international department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union); Dr Irina Filatova (Institute of Asia and Africa, Moscow State University); Dr Valentin Gorodnov (Institute of World History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR).

IDASA's delegation noted that the Soviet Union is going through a challenging and exciting period of political reform and renewal.

"This is reflected by a great degree of open intellectual and academic debate — also with regard to the Soviet Union's role and policy towards South and Southern Africa. We found this to be particularly true of the academics we met from the various institutes of research and

higher learning," the group said in their statement.

It continued: "It would be a dangerous distortion of reality to seize upon the **personal** view of any single academic or official to determine what the **official** policy of the USSR is or how it has possibly changed with regard to South and Southern Africa.

"South and Southern Africa are going through a period of dynamic transformation and this is naturally reflected in assessments and analyses from various quarters in the USSR who have an interest in that part of the world.

"There is a clearly and often stated desire by the USSR for a **political** rather than a **violent** settlement of the conflict in South Africa. It is also clear that the USSR is willing to co-operate with other governments, for example the United States and United Kingdom, to assist in bringing about such a settlement. We were left in no doubt that the USSR regards it as the primary responsibility of those in power in South Africa to create the practical conditions which would make such a settlement probable."

than a **violent** settlement of the conflict in South Africa. It is also clear that the USSR is willing to co-operate with other governments, for example the United States and United Kingdom, to assist in bringing about such a settlement. We were left in no doubt that the USSR regards it as the primary responsibility of those in power in South Africa to create the practical conditions which would make such a settlement probable."

These practical conditions included the release of detainees and political prisoners; the unbanning of banned and restricted organisations; the dismantling of apartheid structures; the lifting of the State of Emergency and negotiating the transfer of constitutional power to a new democratic dispensation for all the people of South Africa.

"We found no evidence at all that the USSR is putting pressure on the ANC to abandon the armed struggle before the conditions for a negotiated settlement had been created by those in power in South Africa, or that the USSR is considering abandoning support for the ANC in favour of closer contact and relations with those who are in power in South Africa at present.

"This was also confirmed to us by the ANC representative in the USSR, Simon Makana, and we believe it would be a dangerous delusion for interest groups in South Africa to proceed on distorted or wrong assumptions in this regard."

The statement concluded: "With the above qualifications kept in mind, it is our view, from these discussions, that the USSR is prepared to play a positive and constructive role in bringing about a political settlement in South Africa and to reduce the potential for escalating violence in that region."

Van Rooi Beer tot Russiese heer!

Vyandbeelde werk nie meer nie, sê Rapport in dié onlangse hoofartikel.

HOE gerieflik was dit nie oor lange jare om die Rooi Beer as 'n gerieflike slaan-sak te hê nie. Was dit dan nie hy wat hoofsaaklik agter die "totale aanslag" gesit en alles wat daarmee gepaard gegaan het nie?

Maatreëls wat in wese ondemokraties was, kon, indien deur niks anders nie, ook maar as 'n noodwendige uitvloeisel van die allesomvattende bedreiging geregverdig word.

En nou? Skielik word met die Rooi Beer gepraat, en hóé! Sonder Sowjet-hulp, so lyk dit, sou sake nie reggekóm

'Ook ander vyandbeelde — byvoorbeeld Mandela en die ANC — word al plek-plek in 'n effens ander lig gesien'

het in Suidwes/Namibië in die mate dat dit wel reggekóm het nie — hoewel 'n mens daarvoor nie te vroeg wil oordeel nie.

Kykers van ons televisiediens (altdy erg sensitief vir veranderinge in amptelike houdings) moes seker 'n slag of twee diep asemhaal om gewoon te raak aan die gesig van 'n simpatieke Russiese heer wat simpatieke geluide oor Suid-Afrika maak. Dieselfde hoë Russiese

heer het later glo per helikopter oor die Witwatersrand gevlieg.

Ja nee, altyds iets nuuts uit Afrika . . .

Waarmee nie gesê wil word dat dit verkeerd is om met Russe of wie ook al te praat waar wie ook al bereid is om met óns te praat nie. Waarmee wel gesê wil word dat 'n mens nie kan ontkóm aan 'n sekere mate van skeptisisme oor die wyse waarop die Ryssiese vyandbeelde en vele ander vyandbeelde in die verlede in stand gehou is nie.

Nie dat daar nie 'n eksterne en interne bedreiging en selfs 'n "aanslag" was nie, totaal ofte nie. Daarvoor was die bewyse wel daar. Maar die vraag is geldig: Is Suid-Afrika gedien deur die wyse waarop daardie vyandbeelde só lewend gehou is dat talle in wese verkeerde maatreëls om verkeerde redes of glad geen redes nie ingestel kon word? En is dit nie so dat meermale by die stembus die kiesers se stem gewerf is op so 'n negatiewe basis soos die "totale aanslag", eerder as op die basis van positiewe beleidsrigtinge?

(Ons laat die vraag daar of die strategie so goed gewerk het omdat die kiesers gehoor het wat hulle wóu hoor.)

Die ironie van die saak is dat dit só gerieflik geword het om agter totale en ander aanslae te skuil dat ons die perfekte verskoning gehad het om te sê dit wat ons weet móét gedoen word, sal ons nog doen — net nie nou nie.

En nou is die Rooi Beer se vyandbeeld, indien nie daarmee heen nie, nie meer wat dit was nie! Ook ander vyandbeelde — byvoorbeeld Mandela en die ANC — word al plek-plek in 'n effens ander lig gesien. Hopelik sal ander (paaiboelies?) wat mag oorbly, dieselfde paadjie volg.

Terwyl die land weer eens 'n verkiesing tegemoet gaan, laat dit dan sonder onnodige gehamery op bedreigings en aanslae wees. Die Nasionale Party en sy leiding wat hom die jare negentig moet binnelei, kan dit doen in 'n klimaat wat meer as in 'n lang tyd gunstig daarvoor lyk om te hamer juis op die geleenthede wat wag om aangegryp te word.

Daarmee kan hy nie alleen sy nuwe uitdager, die Demokratiese Party, se bestaansreg in die gedrang bring om leier van ons toekoms te wees nie, maar aan almal in Suid-Afrika wat moeg geword het van vyandbeelde, die beelde van hoop bring wat mense bo alles tog van hóm verwag.



In Moscow . . . Enos Mabuza, Jane Slabbert, Simon Makana, Van Zyl Slabbert, Vasily Solodovnikov, Lyudmila Vielemaa, Johan Degenaar, Slava Tetiokin, Vladimir Shubin.

Current affairs focus on critical issues

NAMIBIAN independence, the Democratic Party, the state of the economy and corruption in the state were the themes of a current affairs lecture series presented by the Western Cape office of IDASA in Cape Town during March and April.

The speakers, Laurie Nathan, Dr Jannie Hofmeyer, Dr Peter Moll and Prof Sampie Terreblanche addressed themselves to the respective topics at four forums.

The Namibian lecture explored United Nations Resolution 435 and subsequent international agreements that were to lead to independence. It was somewhat ironic that just a few days after the lecture and discussion, which seemed hopeful and positive, Namibia was again involved in bloody fighting. As Mr Nathan said in his lecture: "Most Namibians will only believe finally in independence when they see the back of the last South African soldiers."

Dr Hofmeyer of the Democratic Party pleaded for a new "incorporative politics". He argued that the Democratic Party had the potential to transform the terms of the political debate in South Africa, and pleaded that people get involved from the start to ensure that the party took a positive direction.

Dr Moll listed at least 10 points of the government's economic policy which his colleagues considered to be positive. But he then went on to show that the government's political programme had contributed to the low growth rate and a gradually stagnating economy.

Prof Sampie Terreblanche's lecture was a highlight of the series. He spoke about how whites, and particularly Afrikaners, had become materialistic and "spoiled". He spoke about a characteristic of white nouveau riche to be pejorative to blacks. He ascribed the right wing ex-



Education researcher Meryl Plasket talks to Prof Hugh Philpot of the University of Natal at the trainers' forum.

tremism in Afrikaner circles to the "fiscal inability of the government to maintain the high level of patronage".

Finally he said: "The way to get rid of the structural corruption is to get rid of the system . . . to get rid of the National Party government". He added that "the National Party depends for its very existence on the corrupt system it has created". The National Party and structural corruption in its broad constitutional/political/social sense have become synonymous.

Natal teacher trainers' group on the cards

EIGHTY teacher trainers from 16 colleges of education met for the first time at the University of Natal recently for a forum on the teaching of "education".

Participants came away from the day with a commitment to work towards a special interest group of teachers of education. This will provide an ongoing reference and contact point for those in all colleges of education and in the universities — from all "own affairs" and homeland education departments in Natal.

The forum was organised by IDASA and the newly established Education Research Unit at the University of Natal as both issues of educational practice and inter-racial contact were involved. Teacher training of black teachers is carried out at colleges and universities by both black and white lecturers in the usual multiplicity of South African edu-

cational administrations.

Cynthia Mpathi, lecturer at the Umlazi College of Further Education, identified the critical need for a rethink on the education curriculum — both content and method of teaching.

Quoting from the Dickens novel, "Hard Times", she drew the parallels with the present curriculum which emphasises definition of educational terms without taking account of classroom issues and the present context within which schools are situated.

Describing a year's history teaching as 374 000 seconds of pain, a reporter from one of the working groups raised the central questions; Are we really trying to expand student horizons? Are the external examination, syllabus and inspectorate restrictive? Do we have freedom to explore?

Calling on teacher trainers to "be innovative despite restrictions", this group spelt out practical steps for improving teacher training.

A working group was selected to ensure that the initiative of the forum — contact and sharing of information — was continued. Participants hoped that this would lead to the founding of a subject group.

'Open City' debate begins on Reef

SOME 400 people attended the "Towards an Open Johannesburg" conference in April which looked at the possibility of an awareness programme on the issue of building a city open to all races.

During the conference, which was hosted by IDASA and planned in conjunction with Actstop and the Five Freedoms Forum, a number of calls for action were made by participants. These included:

- A call for an "inner city encounter" or "city plunge" where white suburban residents could be exposed to the reality of the inner city.
- A call to black parents to present their children for enrolment at white schools.
- A call for the establishment of a coalition against segregation and to improve the quality of life in the inner city.

A wide range of organisations participated in the programme which was structured to focus on key areas in Johannesburg which are affected by segregation and to identify areas where there are, or could be, moves to desegregate. Most speakers concentrated on the problems created by segregation in the inner city.

The problems created by the inevitable desegregation of Johannesburg have not really been dealt with in forums before and the personal testimonies of many of the speakers were very powerful.



Speakers at the 'Open City' conference: Ebrahim Patel of SARU, Steve Friedman of the SAIRR and Tony Leon of the Democratic Party.

Incremental gains: a way forward?

By WAYNE MITCHELL

IDASA has held several conferences, workshops and seminars which have looked at ways and means of bringing together individuals and organisations who are opposed to the apartheid system. The one principle, but not the only one, which these individuals and groups have in common is that they are seeking ways to create a non-racial democracy in South Africa. To date many different strategies have been employed with a great amount of energy. However, the status quo remains: the National Party is still in power together with its apartheid policies, backed by coercion, co-option and corruption.

Surely the time has arrived for those working towards a just democracy to sit down and reassess their *strategies* for securing further political gains.

One strategy which is yet to be fully opened up for debate in the search for a broader strategic objective to end the present impasse with the Nationalist government, is that of strategic incrementalist gains. Possibilities do exist for smaller local gains which could enhance the "national solution" to our present dilemma. The question which must be asked is: "Can non-racial political, social and economic structures be developed at a local level which will impact upon the strategy of a negotiated political settlement at the national level?" The answer in my opinion is yes, provided that the strategy is part of a "total strategy", a strategy which will require tolerance and understanding. The tolerance and understanding must be between all parties and organisations working for change despite past differences pertaining to strategy, which in many instances have become "holy cows" and should be reassessed. This tolerance must be exercised by government opponents currently working within governmental structures and those who are engaging in extra-parliamentary political activity.

The debate surrounding strategic incremental gains also needs to take place as a result of the emergence of an increasingly broad range of actors, who through co-option and coercion will, and have, become involved in promoting change at the local level by using governmental structures. This will occur due to the fact that there is unlikely to be a major breakthrough on reform (despite Nationalist promises which will be forthcoming prior to a September election) as well as the increasingly dim prospects for revolutionary change, a

strategy which has been dealt a severe blow by the State of Emergency.

The question is should "government puppets" or genuine non-racial democrats occupy these governmental structures of influence? Numerous indications point to the fact that anti-apartheid activists have recognised the utility of negotiation as a tactic for enhancing local control.

Prior to its banning in 1988, there was an active debate within the UDF over whether or not to participate in governmental institutions, including the con-

'Tolerance must be exercised by governments opponents currently working within government structures and those who are engaging in extra-parliamentary political activity'

testing of elections. A week after the government-backed incumbents of the Soweto Town Council were defeated in the municipal elections, the new council quickly began to negotiate an end to the Soweto rent boycott with leaders of the democratic movement. The passage of the Free Settlement Act through Parliament this year is likely to produce new opportunities for local non-racial political activity. More importantly, as the government remains in protracted leadership changes, the environment is likely to remain fairly conducive for exploring new avenues for promoting incremental gains and changes.

The discussion around such a strategy will also need to take into consideration the question of "empowerment". Empowerment is generally viewed as the means of transferring economic resources and opportunities to the black majority in the form of scholarships, grants, investment capital and other forms of humanitarian assistance. For a strategy of incremental gains to be successful, attention will need to be given to the political consequences of economic upliftment. Specifically, which institutions, organisations and individuals are best placed for creating alternative non-racial structures? It need not be the intention to catalogue such organisations but it would be useful to illuminate existing and prospective areas available within the political spectrum. It will also assist in the identification of the potential

alliances which are, or will be, most able to utilise the strategy in the development of non-racial structures.

Obviously from the above one would have deduced that a incrementalist strategy implies a need to look at the "participation" option, including regional services councils as possible bodies for non-racial decisionmaking and economic upliftment, the prospects of black economic action, as well as the establishment of trade and producer groups which would advance democratic interests.

The most important questions which need to be addressed and to which answers must be given prior to the implementation of such a strategy are "What conditions will maximise the chances of success?" and "How will success be defined?"

The answers to these questions will depend on the roles which both extra-parliamentary groups and those already engaged in governmental structures choose for themselves. Hopefully they will come together to formulate closer co-operation and strategies. Those operating within the governmental structures will need to realise that their role must not be to engage in "Third Force" politics but rather to become part of a broader movement for change by engaging and co-operating with extra-parliamentary organisations.

The extra-parliamentary organisations, on the other hand, will need to be tolerant of those working for change from within the system. If those operating within the governmental structures are to exert maximum influence it will need to be able to torpedo government plans which are contradictory to that of a non-racial democracy. Such actions will provide more platforms from which the extra-parliamentary groups could implement their political programmes. In the words of Friedman (*Weekly Mail*, April 6-13, 1989): "This would give an incentive to continue co-operating with the Democratic Party (or in my words, those co-operating in governmental structures) even if it continued to insist that participation was not an option for it."

The strategy and idea which has been outlined in this article is but one of many which deserve urgent attention. However, it is all very well intellectualising — let us also begin to organise and practically apply the insights gained through these protracted discussions.

□ Wayne Mitchell is the National Co-ordinator of IDASA.



The opening function . . . Jenny Boraine, Ruth Chinamano of Zimbabwe, Alex Boraine, Gertrude Shope and Stan Mabizela, chief representative of the ANC in Harare.



Delegates Anita Worrall (Cape Town), R and Leana Uys (both from Durban) listen to a speaker.

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in the history of the resistance movement that such a broad spectrum of South African women have had the opportunity to sit down and discuss the conflict in their country. "We may differ on some points, but we are all mothers of that country and it is our duty to salvage it from its problems," she said.

Opening the conference, Zimbabwe's first lady, Mrs Sally Mugabe, reminded the delegates how fortunate they were to have an open forum to discuss their problems. Zimbabweans struggling for freedom and justice did not have such an opportunity before independence.

IDASA's executive director, Alex Boraine, related the significant responses of two Zimbabwean women, one black and one white, to the question whether the bush war could not have been prevented. The black women said: "They gave us no other choice." The white women said the war occurred because "many of us were trying to prevent the future instead of preparing for it."

Against the backdrop of the traumatic experiences of Zimbabwean women, the South African women had much



After all the talking . . . the women are treated to a braaivleis by the Cuban Embassy in Harare.

food for thought. They heard accounts of reconciliation from women who were guerrillas and women who were supporters of Ian Smith.

Ruth Chinamano, a doughty former guerrilla who spent years in jail and in the bush, introduced the subject of women's liberation which was to become one of the key topics of the conference. Many Zimbabwean women who made a major contribution to the liberation struggle, received no political rewards, she said, urging her South African counterparts to ensure that they were not overlooked in the same way. They heeded her call, at least verbally. The final communique from the conference stated that "it was generally agreed that the liberation of women needs to be integrated into the struggle for the eradication of apartheid".

The ANC delegation was impressive: politically astute, well informed and well-educated. Among them were political scientists, lawyers, teachers, social workers and nurses. Many of them attained these qualifications after leaving the country. Some left in the 1960s, others after the Soweto uprising and a few only in recent years. They are all homesick, even if their exile is a "pur-

poseful one", as Lindiwe Mabuza, who will soon become the first woman to take up the post of the ANC's chief representative in Washington, put it. But, she added: "Your foreignness constantly reminds you of home."

The harsh reality of the suffering of those in exile hit home when young Jackie Jolobe told during a plenary session of the conference how she lost her husband, a student, in a car bomb explosion in Gaborone. They had been married only five months. They were preparing to go to work — she was late and he went outside to start the car. She heard a bang, but thought nothing of it until a neighbour came running with the appalling news. "It is hard to tell what I saw," said Jackie. "It was just pieces of something or whatever."

Thorny questions like destabilisation, militarisation, conscription, "soft targets" and Namibian independence were dealt with at the conference. While no consensus was reached on most of these issues, they were put on the agenda and the women agreed that they could begin to find ways of achieving a reduction of the conflict in the country.

In her assessment of the conference,



Cape Town delegates Carla Sutherland and Rhoda Kadalie note down some of the ideas for promoting peace that emerged from group discussions.



Olivier,
tively



ANC members Frene Ginwala and Thenjiwe Mtintso.



Cape Town delegate Anita Chapman in conversation with Stephanie Kemp of the ANC.

Frene Ginwala stressed that the conflict has its origin in two different perceptions of South Africa — one a society divided for all time on racial and ethnic lines, the other a non-racial and democratic country.

The women identified a number of areas for action: they could continue — in their homes, families, workplaces and organisations — to break down the barriers between the races, counter the propaganda images of ANC demons and brutal Afrikaners and campaign around specific issues of injustice.

Ginwala made a moving appeal to the Afrikaner women at the conference. "The doors are wide open for you in a free South Africa," she said. "From what we know of the history of our country, there is more to your culture than an exclusive inward focus and a rejection of the rest of South Africa."

She continued: "Retrieve the best of Afrikaans culture — it is rich and the common heritage of all South Africans. You fought against injustice, colonialism and imperialism. Why did it have to stop in 1902?"

"In the three days of our discussion a chink has opened in the barriers be-

tween us. This has been a two-way process, and our understanding has been enhanced through the exchange of our personal experiences.

"We in the ANC have learnt how you see and understand words like 'violence' and 'negotiations', the SADF, what we call the 'regime' and many of you see as the legitimate government of our country.

"Most importantly, you have confirmed that there is a large and growing number of women occupying the middle ground who are genuinely concerned about the state of our society and seeking a way forward. This is the beginning of a process which encourages us.

"Some women may wish to stand aside, saying we are not responsible for creating this situation — and it is true that neither black nor white women in South Africa exercise effective political power.

"But as citizens of our country, one half of the population of South Africa, we cannot absolve ourselves from the responsibility of seeking a way out. And perhaps, precisely because we did not initiate the policies that have brought

our country to this present sorry state we may be able to open a way forward. Let us go from here and chart that way."

There was much soul-searching, on all sides, at the conference. One white liberal woman warned against the "political snobbery" which led to the exclusion of many women who would genuinely like to make a contribution to change, but do not have the impeccable credentials required by some in the mass democratic movement.

There were many ironies too. Perhaps one of the most striking was that many of the members of the internal delegation — perceiving themselves as being miles apart politically — would never have met had they not travelled to Harare. It was in this context that I overheard a leading Black Sash member tell an Afrikaner woman that, to her, one of the highlights of the conference was meeting and getting to know this particular Afrikaner woman.

As ANC veteran Ruth Mampoti put it, quaintly pronounced in Afrikaans: "Die stryd doer (duur) voort. Aluta continua."

Ronel Scheffer
IDASA Director of Publications

Monde free after 497 days in detention

GREAT jubilation reigned in IDASA's Port Elizabeth office on 19 April when it was learned that Monde Mtanga, the Eastern Cape regional co-ordinator, had been released from detention. Monde, who had been detained on 10 December 1987, was released after 497 days without ever having been charged. Significantly he was not served with any restrictions after his release.

Unremitting pressure for his release had been exerted, not least of all by IDASA's attorneys, who were preparing an application to be heard before the

full bench of the Eastern Cape division of the Supreme Court. Thankfully this will not be necessary now.

Monde was one of the detainees who in sheer desperation took part in the hunger-strike, calling to be either charged or released. We salute his courage and resolve and know that his irrepressible spirit will be welcomed by the Eastern Cape staff who are now finally back to their full complement.

Keith Wattruss
Regional Director,
Eastern Cape



Monde Mtanga

ANC Riglyne verdien ons aandag

Verlede jaar het die ANC die Vryheidsmanifes hersien en nuwe grondwetlike riglyne die lig laat sien. Prof Johan Degenaar, hoogleraar in die politieke filosofie aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch (regs), bespreek die riglyne.



ONS SAL aandag móét gee aan die ANC se "Konstitusionele Riglyne vir 'n Demokratiese Suid-Afrika". Binnenslands en buitenslands het die politiek so verander dat ons nie die oë kan sluit vir dié her-siene weergawe van die Vryheidsmanifes nie.

Binnenslands ervaar al hoe meer mense politiek as 'n omvattende proses waarin alle politieke groeperinge 'n rol speel, eerder as net 'n stryd tussen opponerende politieke partye.

En in die buiteland het pres. Michail Gorbatsjof se beleid van *glasnost* nie net beweging in die Russiese politiek gebring nie, maar ook in internasionale verhoudinge.

Dit het implikasies ook vir Suid-Afrika en vir die ANC. Die gesprekke tussen Suid-Afrikaners, ANC-lede en verteenwoordigers van die Sowjet-unie is reeds 'n gevolg daarvan.

Dit maak dit nodig dat ons die ANC se standpunte ken en die riglyne is 'n belangrike sleutel daartoe.

Die inleiding tot die riglyne bring onder ons aandag dat 87 persent van die oppervlakte van die land en 95 persent van die produksiemiddele in die hande van blankes is. Ons as blankes moet hierdie feite in gedagte hou wanner die ANC soveel klem plaas op die noodsaaklikheid van politieke en ekonomiese gelykheid vir alle burgers.

Sentraal in die dokument staan aangeleenthede soos 'n nie-rassige demokrasie, die skepping van een Suid-Afrikaanse nasie met beskerming van kultuurverskille en taalregte, 'n handves van menseregte, en vryheid van assosiasie — almal beginsels waarmee die meerderheid van Suid-Afrikaners hulle kan vereenselwig.

Soos in die Vryheidsmanifes, verbind die ANC hom in die dokument tot demokratiese beginsels. Dis in algemene terme geformuleer sodat wye steun daarvoor verkry en oor die besonderhede onderhandel kan word. Iets wat kritici wat kla oor die onvolledigheid van die dokument nie altyd verstaan nie.

Die Sowjet-Unie se raad aan die ANC was om blankes se vrese te probeer beseer en nie sosialisme te sterk te stoot nie. In dié lig moet 'n mens die feit sien dat daar in die dokument duidelik gekies word vir 'n veelparty-staat en 'n ge-

mengde ekonomie. Ook dat die nuwe dokument niks sê van die aanvanklike eis dat myne, banke en monopolie-nywerhede genasionaliseer moet word nie.

Hoe 'n oorgangsperiode na 'n sosiaal-demokratiese post-apartheidsamelewing behoort te lyk, is 'n sentrale probleem

'Die strategie van geweld is nie net kontra-produktief nie. Dit is ook kontradiktories'

in die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek. Mense het nou besef dat die retoriek van nasionalisering en sosialisering nie ideologies verantwoord is nie en dat dit geensins met moderne ekonomiese insigte rekening hou nie.

Kultuur- en taalregte word wel in die ANC-dokument beskerm. Groepregte en federalisme word egter afgewys, want die agterdog is te sterk dat dit gebruik sal word om bestaande bevoorregting te bestendig. Blankes sal dié vrees van die swartes moet verstaan:

In die geval van groepregte en etniese federalisme is die vrees dat die toekenning van hulpbronne en besittings tot voordeel van die reeds bevoorregte groepe sal wees, terwyl geografiese federalisme weer die reeds bevoorregte streke sal bevoordeel.

Daar is verskillende redes waarom die ANC besluit het om sy demokratiese doelwitte weer so sterk onder die aandag van Suid-Afrikaners te bring:

- Die feit dat hy met die strategie van geweld en die mobilisasie van die massas in die swart woonbuurtes nie die verwagte resultate bereik het nie.

- Druk wat op die ANC uitgeoefen word deur Westerse regerings en raad wat aan hom gegee word deur Suid-Afrikaanse kongresgangers dat hy groter sukses sal hê indien hy ontslae kan raak van sy onvermydelike beeld van 'n terreur-organisasie.

- Die invloed van die beleid van *glasnost* (oopenmaking) en *perestroika* (herstrukturering) en *demokratizasiya* (demokratisering) deur die Sowjet-Unie op die denke van die ANC.

Dit is opvallend dat die keuse vir redelikheid in die politiek volledig deur die PAC verwerp word omdat dit, soos die Vryheidsmanifes, die swart Suid-Afrikaners sal verdeel en dus die bevrydingstryd sou verswak.

Die PAC wys in dié verband op 'n uitspraak van Robert Sobukwe dat

'Die proses-karakter van die politiek van die toekoms vereis dat al die deelnemers immers gewillig moet wees om hul eie aandeel aan die doodloopstraat van die politiek van die verlede krities in oënskou te neem'

mense wat in die naam van redelikheid in die bevrydingstryd toegewings begin maak, "verraaiers van Afrika" gebrandmerk moet word.

Een van die stellings in die dokument wat kritiese aandag gekry het, lui dat enige vorm van rassisme en etniese eksklusiwiteit onwettig verklaar moet word.

Dit hou inderdaad 'n gevaar in. Die ANC loop met dié bepaling die risiko om politieke opponente wat 'n etniese basis het, soos Inkatha, onregverdig in die ban te doen. Dit is juis dié vorm van onverdraagsaamheid waarteen in die post-apartheid samelewing gewaak moet word.

Call for clarity on key points of guidelines

Die ANC se konstitusionele riglyne is, net soos die Vryheidsmanifes, 'n belangrike dokument wat die denke van baie Suid-Afrikaners oor die toekoms van ons land medebepaal. Daarom is dit te verwelkom dat dit die demokratiese tradisie so ernstig opneem.

Die dokument maak 'n duidelike keuse vir evolusionêre politiek, vir onderhandeling eerder as blote magsoorname. Ons moet ook onthou dat die ANC die enigste bevrydingsbeweging is wat die Genève-konvensie onderteken het.

Die feit dat die ANC hom verbind tot demokrasie is een van die hoopvolle tekens wat ons toekoms betref en dis een van die hoekstene van die gesprekke tussen Suid-Afrikaners en die ANC.

En dit is presies om dié rede dat die ondemokratiese strategie van geweld wat deur die ANC gevolg word, steeds krities aan die orde gestel moet word.

Die strategie van geweld is nie net kontra-produktief nie. Dit is ook kontradiktories. Hoe kan 'n mens demokrasie voorstaan en kies vir geweld as strategie? Die ANC sal moet beseef dat hy met elke bomaanslag aan geloofwaardigheid inboet en dat die kwaliteit van demokrasie in die post-apartheid samelewing saamhang met die kwaliteit van demokrasie op die weg na 'n onderhandelbare bedeling.

Dit spreek vanself dat dié uitspraak ook geld vir die regering. Ons blankes moet swart Suid-Afrikaners se persepsie van strukturele en fisieke staatsgeweld op hulle lewe nie onderskat nie.

Die proses-karakter van die politiek van die toekoms vereis dat al die deelnemers immers gewillig moet wees om hul eie aandeel aan die doodloopstraat van die politiek van die verlede en die hede krities in oënskouw te neem.

(Met erkenning aan RAPPORT)

The March edition of Democracy in Action reported on the Durban seminar which launched the current series of national workshops on responses to the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines. Following that seminar half day workshops were held in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. This is an excerpt of a report by sociology lecturer Yunus Carrim who attended the Pietermaritzburg workshop.

THE opening session of the Natal discussion was followed by workshops in Durban and Pietermaritzburg that drew about 50 people each. The participants — including businessmen, academics, lawyers, town planners, social workers, religious leaders, political activists, trade unionists, sportsmen, students and others — came from a wide cross-section of political opinion.

Dr Ian Phillips, political science lecturer from Natal University, explained that the ANC had originally planned to publish a fully-fledged draft constitution. This was shelved, however, because the ANC recognised that it does not represent the entire anti-apartheid movement and, more importantly, it believes that a new constitution should be "the product of the deliberations of a sovereign, popularly elected constituent assembly".

The drafting of the constitutional guidelines has to be seen as part of the ongoing process of giving the Freedom Charter a more concrete meaning. Dr Phillips pointed out that the Zimbabwean resistance movement was relatively ill-prepared for the Lancaster House talks — and the ANC wanted to ensure that

Prof Dawid van Wyk ... participated in guidelines workshops in Durban and Cape Town



when negotiations begin in South Africa it is in a much stronger position, with a clear set of guidelines on which there is widespread agreement.

Dr Phillips emphasised that the constitutional guidelines were open to the fullest discussion — and, unlike the government's, were not being imposed from above.

The majority of the participants in the Pietermaritzburg workshop welcomed the publication of the constitutional guidelines and saw it as a bold and significant step in the right direction — but they felt that greater clarity was required on several issues. They felt that the guidelines were still much too

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Economic policies delegates' main concern

IDASA's Western Cape office ran a closed ANC Constitutional Guidelines conference late in March

The purpose of the conference was to elicit critical feedback from white South Africans involved in the sectors of law, parliament, academia and business.

Most people who attended agreed that the ANC's constitutional guidelines were a significant contribution to any discussion about the future of South Africa.

In this spirit, many delegates were highly critical. The main problem

that was expressed was that the guidelines were vague and open to a host of interpretations. Indeed, many of the debates were about different interpretations. Were the guidelines setting the stage for the implementation of socialism? Do the guidelines indicate that the ANC is in favour of an independent judiciary? Do they favour a Bill of Rights?

The conference started with inputs from Prof Hugh Corder, and Prof Dawid van Wyk, both of whom had recently discussed the issues with the ANC at the Harare law conference.

After a plenary discussion the con-

ference broke into workshops chaired by Prof Laurie Ackerman (national identity), Prof Sampie Terreblanche (economy, land and workers) and Lee Bozalek (state and franchise).

Clearly, one of the main concerns of this audience was the extent to which the ANC intends to intervene in the economy. Most participants argued against state intervention and expressed concern at any socialist orientation in the ANC.

Everyone agreed that the debate was what was important, and IDASA will be running similar events where different groups can engage in debates about the future.

Guidelines debate

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general and universal — and were difficult to disagree with as they stood at present.

The notion of a unitary state aroused some debate. It was felt that a strong central state could abuse power, and was not the most effective mechanism to ensure significant economic development and wealth redistribution. The regional unevenness and cultural diversity of the country warranted some form of a federal option.

Understandably, federalism had a racist and negative connotation in the South African context — but a federal structure based on geographic and economic grounds could ensure non-racialism and popular control.

Proponents of unitarism argued that a strong central state was vital to ensure the socio-economic restructuring and wealth redistribution that was necessary to the stability of the post-apartheid society. Apartheid had entrenched ethnic divisions — and only a strong central state could forge a new national identity among the people. A centralised state could easily co-exist with strong organs of local government.

There was general disquiet expressed among the participants in the workshop that the judiciary was not clearly granted independence in the constitutional guidelines.

The participants agreed that there was much further discussion required of the constitutional guidelines. Many of them felt that the guidelines should be discussed in conjunction with the Kwa Natal Indaba proposals and the recently released Law Commission Bill of Rights.

While the discussions on the ANC Constitutional Guidelines were very important, they tended to be somewhat abstract and rather technicist.

But the shape of the new society will ultimately be determined in the course of political struggles. The precise content of the post-apartheid society will depend crucially on the manner in which it comes into being and the balance of social forces at the time.

Such factors as the class or strata which dominates the anti-apartheid movement; the precise strategies and tactics adopted to end apartheid; the terms on which negotiations occur; the influence of the international economy; the role of foreign governments; and so on, will impinge directly on the practical meaning given to each clause in any constitution.

Discussions on constitutions must therefore include an analysis of social processes. It was the failure of the IDASA workshops to do this that was their major weakness.

(With acknowledgement to POST NATAL)

HISTORY



High school students listen intently as the history workshop is explained.

Understanding the past

“UNDERSTANDING the Past to Build the Future” was the title of the first of two workshops in a series on “Making History” hosted by IDASA’s Eastern Cape region in March.

The workshops aimed to stimulate an interest in history among school and university students, to encourage them to form “oral history groups” to do their own research, and to explore together their common history without prejudice.

The first workshop was attended by 60 high-school students, and was very much “action-orientated”, rather than listening to speakers, the students divided into groups and went through a series of exercises. Starting off by reading different historical accounts of a very emotional event in South African history, the murder of Retief by Dingane, the students then had to put on plays illustrating the different historical interpretations of the event.

It was learnt from this exercise that secondary sources are not “neutral”; that every historian has a point of view. They went on to examine different

primary sources — documents, letters, photographs, newspaper clippings, even poems and songs. The final exercise was one in which they practised interviewing each other, pretending to be historical figures. The evening was greatly enjoyed by all, proving that history need not be a “dry as dust” academic exercise.

The second workshop involved 30 students from Vista University who concentrated on obtaining oral evidence by means of interviewing older people in their community. Gary Baines, lecturer at Vista, explained how this should be done; and four elderly, experienced members of the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage community — including Graham Young, longest-serving city councillor in Port Elizabeth — were present to be interviewed by groups of students.

Hopefully these workshops will be just the beginning of a process of stimulating a vibrant interest in history, and will end in the production of local histories by students which can be presented to the public.



A demonstration of “history in the making” . . . veteran councillor Graham Young is interviewed by lecturer Gary Baines about his experiences in Port Elizabeth over the years.

A change of heart

. . . . that's what many women who took part in IDASA's Transvaal women's conference experienced

By BARBARA KLUGMAN

WHAT IS it that makes people reconsider their attitudes to themselves and each other? What sort of experiences give people the opportunity to re-evaluate their beliefs and lifestyles?

These were among the questions debated by a group of women from different organisations who met to plan the Transvaal women's conference on women and democracy which was facilitated by IDASA in March. Two different forces brought these women together. Firstly, IDASA nationally had planned to have women's conferences in all major centres in the country. However, dynamics within extra-parliamentary anti-apartheid structures in the Transvaal made it imperative that the conference should be set up in consultation with other anti-apartheid organisations.

One trend emerged immediately when the group began its discussions: a sense that conferences based on input from "experts" though often fascinating in the information they offer, do not always challenge participants to re-evaluate their lives or views, since participants are often passive listeners. This view led us to consider how else we might address the question of democracy. The challenge to us became clear: we should attempt to offer an experience of democracy in action; not an input, not a lecture, but a practice.

And with this in mind, we decided to experiment with a new way of bringing people together; not to hear from experts, but to hear from each other, to talk to each other and to feel, personally, what it might be like to live in a society in which people of all races interact with each other, listen to each other, and communicate honestly with each other.

The "conference" became a weekend workshop based on small group interactions. Women from the business world, professionals, domestic workers, factory workers and anti-apartheid workers; unionists, community organisers and researchers all met, face to face in groups of 10 to 12 people. With two



"Living" non-rationally at the Transvaal conference.

facilitators per group, they discussed their lives and their experiences.

Each group seemed almost to be a microcosm of the South African experience: at least the women's side of that experience. The women discussed their work, their families and their experiences of violence. The last day, Sunday, they discussed their visions of a future South Africa and the values that underpinned those visions. They also discussed and developed long term and short term goals for themselves as participants in the creation of that future South Africa.

At the beginning some women were

'Being able to share her very painful personal experience of life under apartheid in an atmosphere of respect and tremendous support, left her feeling at peace with herself and healthy'

disappointed by the group structure. They were expecting a conference and found themselves having to share themselves. Yet by the end of the conference, these very women were expressing delight. One woman who had begun with disdain but now, feeling warm and excited, said: "I've never had the chance to really talk to a black woman before." It offered a chance for women to step into each other's shoes and to imagine how it felt to wear them."

The intention of the groups, and the role of the facilitators, was to create a comfortable space in which women felt free to talk openly without judging each other, and thereby to explore new ways of being, to explore a more democratic way of relating.

Was it successful? Most of the women in their groups and in their evaluation forms, said that they had enjoyed the "conference". Most of them asked for more, for follow-up. Some groups arranged to meet each other again, some specifically to see to what extent women had been able to carry out the short term goals they had set themselves. Within the groups most women felt that they had developed a deeper self

understanding, and a deeper understanding of others. They had moved politically, not by joining a new organisation, or by taking on a new ideology, but by experiencing the positive effects of "living" non-rationally, by acknowledging each other's experiences and views, and in the warmth and respect generated within the groups.

It needs to be said that not all women felt this way. Some still yearned to hear from the well-known women at the conference; some felt uncomfortable or angry about the group experience. Still, the conference seems to have been a great success and in response to participants' requests for follow-up the planning group is considering a number of possibilities, as well as the format of future workshop-conferences. In addition to the informal reunions arranged by groups in their own right, a general follow-up "in-put" conference is being planned by IDASA.

The experiences of a number of women capture the general value of the weekend. One woman who had arrived at the conference depressed, told how she felt physically and emotionally revitalised by the end of the weekend. Her sense of being "held" by her group, of being able to share her very painful personal experience of life under apartheid in an atmosphere of respect and of tremendous support, left her feeling at peace with herself and healthy!

Another woman who had begun by calling herself "just a domestic worker" felt pride at the tremendous respect the group members expressed towards her and about the struggle she is waging to improve the lives of the members of her community.

The conclusion of the facilitators and planning group was that the conference moved people on an attitudinal level rather than a cognitive one, and that, in our view, is after all where real communication begins: with the heart, not the head, in the process rather than the product.

□ Barbara Klugman was one of the group facilitators and a member of the conference planning committee.

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NEWS

Kaunda's gift to Maties: without freedom there can never be peace

PRESIDENT Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia would be prepared to meet his counterpart in South Africa if the country fulfilled its commitment to free elections in Namibia.

This was one of the undertakings Pres Kaunda gave the 18 University of Stellenbosch student leaders on their controversial visit to Lusaka in April which saw Matie SRC members meeting with top ANC officials in defiance of an SRC ruling on such talks. The group argued that the SRC motion did not preclude them from speaking to the ANC "as individuals".

They say Pres Kaunda expressed hope that South Africa's political problems would be solved. He told the students that he did not "hate Afrikaners, but rather the things that President Botha and his regime are doing".

Tour leader Mark Behr said the three-hour breakfast meeting with Pres Kaunda was very fruitful. SRC president Pierre van der Spuy presented the Zambian leader with a bottle of Cape wine and a Matie tie. At the breakfast, Kaunda

handed out the students' plates himself, led them in prayer, and with other Zambian delegates sang a folksong. The Maties replied with a Great Trek folksong.

On the question of sanctions, Pres Kaunda reportedly told the students: "Sanctions are the better of two evils, and are vastly preferable to bloody revolution."

Mr Behr said he told Pres Kaunda that it was a privilege for them as students to meet leaders who are not "accessible" to them within South Africa's borders.

"The most important gift Pres Kaunda gave us was the notion that without freedom there can never be peace in Southern Africa.

"Zambia experiences harsh economic problems, but the racial harmony is excellent. South Africa has economic prosperity, but racial hatred. The ideal is to work towards racial harmony combined with a workable economic system," said Mr Behr.

(With acknowledgement to The Star)

New twist to Mntonga case

THE Mntonga murder trial may not have seen justice done entirely, but it is seen as a step in the right direction.

Six Ciskei policemen, including two generals, charged with the murder of IDASA's Eric Mntonga were sentenced to between two and 12 years effective imprisonment last month.

Mntonga, who was co-director of the Border branch of IDASA, died in July 1987 as a result of assaults received while in detention in Ciskei. His body was dumped on a deserted Ciskei road, with stab wounds inflicted after his death, in a police cover up. The policemen were all found guilty of the lesser charges of culpable homicide and defeating the ends of justice.

While the leniency of the convictions and sentences was criticised by many observers, the fact that the trial took place at all was surprising, as the circumstances of Mntonga's death were initially covered up by Ciskei. The policemen were only arrested more than a year after the incident, as a result of a letter written by IDASA executive director Dr Alex Boraine to Ciskei authorities in which he named policemen believed to have been involved in the murder.

The trial of the six has not been the end of the matter.

A further two policemen are now facing charges of murder in connection

with the incident, after they were extensively implicated during the main trial.

In addition, a high ranking Ciskei policeman is facing charges that may relate to the case. Colonel Vuyani Genda was detained during the trial, and policemen said in evidence that this was because he passed on information to IDASA about the murder. Although Genda is now facing unspecified charges of treason, Ciskei attorney-general Willem Jurgens, who prosecuted the Mntonga killers, denied that this was related to the murder.

"I'm delighted that charges were actually laid — it's almost unusual. It's so often that the police get away literally with murder," he said. However, he was disappointed that the sentences were so lenient. "I'm displeased, to put it mildly."

Dr Boraine said he was worried about allegations concerning Genda. "If he is in any way being charged with giving information to IDASA about the court case I must say I have never met the man or received any information from him," he said.

While Dr Boraine said that the case was "almost unique" in putting policemen on trial, he pointed out that "the whole thing doesn't bring Eric back".

Enews

SA economy still on the decline

The South African economy will proceed through three stages during the next 30 or more years, says Prof Sampie Terreblanche.

I HAVE no reason whatsoever to be optimistic about the future of the South African economy. The South African economy is still on the decline that started in 1974 after the oil crisis.

The average growth rate was less than two per cent annually and the per capita-income declined by 0,5 per cent annually and by more than one per cent annually since 1981. It is important to realise that this decline is not a cyclical phenomenon as some government spokesmen allege. It is very much a structural phenomenon.

Over the last 30 years the South African economy has grown in an inappropriate and "skew" way. It has become far too capital intensive. Consequently every revival in the economy causes a sharp increase in the import of heavy capital equipment. Given that South Africa does not have the necessary foreign exchange and can no longer get hold of it, a structural ceiling puts a limit to the growth rate that can be maintained.

It is important to realise that in accordance with the Verwoerdian dream of a white South Africa, the economy was deliberately "structured" to be capital intensive on the one hand, and as independent of black labour as possible on the other hand. In its attempt to make the South African economy less dependent on black labour it ironically enough became more dependent on imported machinery. The external sector of the economy has thus become the structural Achilles heel of South Africa as a white-controlled country.

If this crisis phase is to continue for another 10 to 15 years the end result can be disastrous. Then the transitional phase will be much more difficult and painful and last much longer.

The transitional phase will only com-

'The immediate purpose of the democratisation process will be to close the "welfare" spending gap between black and white as soon as possible'

mence once a new and truly reform orientated government makes a credible commitment to the dismantling of apartheid. The length of this phase will depend to a very large extent on the level of growth that can be obtained and on the nature of the economic growth. The growth rate will have to be at least five per cent annually to accommodate the 350 000 (or more) that will enter the labour market annually. To maintain this kind of growth it will not be enough to normalise economic relations with the rest of the world. We will also need a Marshall-aid programme.

The transitional phase will be completed when the democratisation process

'Let us not bluff ourselves: the trade off between growth and redistribution will be an extremely difficult problem and also an on-going problem during the whole transitional phase'

has proceeded to that point where the majority in parliament can be black. The immediate purpose of the democratisation process will be to close the "welfare" spending gap between black and white as soon as possible. In per capita terms the "welfare" spending on the relative wealthy white is at least six times larger than the "welfare" spending on the very poor and less developed blacks!

The closing of this gap will put a heavy burden on the tax capacity of the South African economy and we will have to be careful not to overstrain this tax capacity of the economy. A balancing act will be necessary. Or to use the old Russian expression: We must be careful not to cut the wool so short that we cut into the skin!

I suppose that the negotiation process between all the relevant groups will have, inter alia, the task to agree on such compromises. But let us not bluff ourselves: the trade off between growth and redistribution will be an extremely difficult problem and also an on-going problem during the whole transitional phase.



THE ARGUS

Although I am not optimistic that the post-apartheid stage will be reached in the foreseeable future, I still hope that the future economy of that stage will have the following characteristics:

- A market-orientated economy.
- A labour-intensive economy based on appropriate technology.
- An economy with a well-developed and well-organised welfare state system (including a well developed educational system).
- An economy with a necessary large — but not too large — bureaucracy with a fair degree of efficiency.
- A fully internationally integrated economy and at least part of a Southern African Economic Confederation.
- A fairly stable and prosperous system of democratic capitalism structured to fit the situation in South Africa that in all probability will still be described as unique.

□ Prof Terreblanche is a professor in economics at the University of Stellenbosch and economic advisor to the new Democratic Party. This is an edited version of a paper he delivered at an IDASA conference.



Lecturers from the education department of the University of Port Elizabeth at the people's education seminar.



Speakers at the people's education workshop . . . Jeremiah Sulelo, Max Mamase, George Mashamba and Fana Zungu.

PE debate continues

A PEOPLE'S education seminar hosted by IDASA in Port Elizabeth in March focused on various aspects of this evolving education system.

The meeting, which was attended by academics attached to the education department at the University of Port Elizabeth and Vista University students, heard three addresses dealing with the origins and development of the term "people's", people's education as a nation building exercise and developing concepts within people's education.

The speakers were Jeremiah Sulelo of Vista University, George Mashamba of the Education and Policy Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand and IDASA's Natal co-ordinator, Fana Zungu, who is a past chairman of the Natal branch of the National Education Union of South Africa.

The debate was constructive and critical and all present felt that the discussion on people's education should continue. It was generally felt that the definition of people's education was not yet convincing, and that ultimately an "investigation" group — consisting of establishment education interest groups and those who are developing people's education — should be set up.

The concept of people's education is very "loaded" in South African politics. This must be understood against the background of the struggles waged by different peoples of the world against all kinds of oppression such as Nazism, facism, imperial-

ism and colonialism. The concept of "people's" became very much in vogue after the defeat of Nazism in Eastern Europe and after World War II, resulting in the establishment of "people's democracies" in these regions. "People's struggles" were waged in countries like Cuba and China.

Although the new governments of those countries were formed by groups with differing and diverse political beliefs, it was the communist parties that took the lead in every aspect of politics. This historical background has stigmatised the concept of people's education in South Africa. Therefore it is our duty to clarify this concept and its usage in the South African context.

The Freedom Charter speaks of the "people's government" which shall govern all sectors of the population irrespective of colour and race. It is anti-apartheid, anti-racism and anti-oppression.

Max Mamase
Eastern Cape
Regional Director

Video-reeks toon belofte

DIE MAANDELIKSE video reeks wat deur IDASA in die Wes-Kaap aangebied word, het reeds twee suksesvolle geleenthede beleef. Met die projek word beoog om 'n verskeidenheid video's in Bellville — 'n oorwegend Afrikaanssprekende gemeenskap — te vertoon.

Op 16 Februarie is die video "Cry of Reason: An Afrikaner Speaks Out" vertoon. Dit handel oor die

lewe van Dr Beyers Naudé wat as gesiene N.G. Kerkman betrokke geraak het by die "swart ervaring" van apartheid. Die video toon hoedat Dr Beyers Naudé as Afrikaner steeds (en toenemend) hoë agting geniet onder 'n groot deel van die burgers van Suid-Afrika. Dit toon ook hoedat Dr Naudé met sy betrokkenheid by die destydse Christelike Instituut, en later die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke, bygedra het tot 'n daadwerklike Christelike getuigenis teen die sinnelose leed wat die beleid van apartheid en, meer onlangs, die minderheidspoging tot eensydige hervorming, aangerig het. Dit toon ook trefend hoe die man Beyers Naudé daadwerklike versoening uitleef.

Op 16 Maart is die video "The Dakar Conference" vertoon. Dit het gehandel oor die epogmakende besoek wat 'n groep Afrikaners in 1987 aan Dakar (Senegal) gebring het. Die video het gefokus op die besoek in die algemeen, maar ook op die konferensie waartydens Afrikaanssprekende Suid-Afrikaners indringend met 'n afvaardiging van die ANC beraadslaag het. Die video, wat 'n in-diepte blik op dié historiese ontmoeting bied, is goed ontvang en het 'n goeie bespreking tot gevolg gehad.

Die vertonings, aanvanklik vir klein groepe bedoel (dit sal moontlik later uitgebrei word), is tot dusver goed bygewoon. Die persone het ingesluit mediese dokters, predikante, teologiese studente en 'n verskeidenheid professionele mense. Daar word gehoop dat die video en interaksie-aande binnekort uitgebrei kan word tot

groter groepe, asook tot ander areas. Tot sover blyk dié vertonings 'n uiters bemerkbare konsep te wees en die gesprekkeleenthede wat daardeur geskep word, vertoon baie potensiaal.

Ian Liebenberg
IDASA Navorsingskonsultant

People's health project starts

A WORKSHOP to promote contact between the medical fraternity and community organisations was facilitated by IDASA in East London in March.

The theme was "Towards People's Medicine" and three papers on primary health were delivered by representatives of the medical fraternity. The lack of clinics, inoculation programmes and health education in the region were highlighted.

The young doctors and nurses who attended the workshop undertook to maintain close contact with community organisations and to endeavour to involve a wider spectrum of medical professionals in community health issues.

Cindy Deutschmann
Border
Regional Co-ordinator

Look into SA's future

THE FIRST public forum presented by IDASA in East London this year attracted wide interest.

Sixty people attended the forum which was held under the broad theme, "South

To Page 19

Serious oversights in Lijphart's solution for SA

MACHTSDELING: DE OPLOSSING VOOR ZUID-AFRIKA?

by Arend Lijphart (Uitgeverij Gottmer en Beht, Bloemendaal, Haarlem, 1987)*

SINCE Lijphart's "Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration" was published in 1977, the theory of consociational democracy sparked off a fierce academic debate. The theory and application of consociational democracy was questioned. Arguments for and against consociationalism — also called pacificatory democracy (Dutch: *pacificatie-demokratie*) — were published widely in the Netherlands, Belgium and the rest of Europe. Eventually this academic exchange also reached the United States and South Africa.

Some elements of consociational democracy, although adapted to the "peculiarities" of South Africa, are to be seen in the President's Council Report of the early 1980s (constitutional committee). After further adaptations a form of "sham" consociationalism was implemented by Act No. 110 of 1983 in the form of the tri-cameral parliamentary system. Which, by the way, excluded the majority of South Africans as no black person was allowed to vote for parliament as a central legislative body. This contributed partly to the fact that the theory has become one of the "casualties of 'reform politics' in South Africa" (Pierre du Toit, in *Politikon*, vol. 13(2), December 1986, p. 106).

Machtsdeling: de Oplossing voor Zuid-Afrika? is a restatement by Lijphart of the case for consociational democracy in South Africa. It also deals with other constitutional proposals in the South African context. The proposals of several political parties, the SPROCAS-Report, Buthelezi-proposals (1982) and criticisms against the theory of pacification is dealt with. Lijphart concludes that most of

these proposals include elements of consociational democracy. However, very few of them went the whole way. Some other proposals were never implemented. He correctly refers to some of these proposals as semi-pacification and quasi-pacification. Such proposals, it is said, have very little hope of succeeding in broadening the basis of democracy in South Africa. An extreme example of this phenomenon of quasi-pacification is the 1983 tri-cameral constitution. It is suggested that this "sham constitution" is not only a bad step (in the wrong direction?) but also that it would result in a political impasse. And greater polarisation and violence, one feels like adding.

The book reflects intensive research and "a bibliography which is a compliment to many South African scholars" to quote Pierre du Toit (*Politikon*, 1986, 13(2)).

There are however some problem areas. Lijphart suggests a system of full pacificatory democracy as a solution to South African problems. Even if one accepts the assumption that consociational theory is sound, and that it can be transplanted to Africa (which is indeed a very, very optimistic assumption), there remain several inadequately addressed issues.

Firstly, in the whole book there is barely a single reference to the role of non-civilian (para-)military decision-making and policy-implementing bodies as found in South Africa. The State Security Council, the structures of the national security management system and militarisation are not discussed at all. Does the mere existence and operation of these bodies and structures not severely influence the process of attaining democracy? It can be argued convincingly that it is putting severe restrictions on any process of democ-

ratiation. Not to mention this, is a severe oversight.

Secondly, South Africa is a highly politicised country. It does not necessarily follow that the masses will follow their leaders into a negotiated settlement based on consociationalism (and this applies to all the major actors — NP, CP, ANC, PAC, UDF, etc). This issue is not discussed properly. The fact that the major actors in the liberation struggle (ANC, UDF, PAC and National Forum) and their followers give preference to a non-racial unitary system based on universal suffrage is not sincerely taken. Surely more attention could have been given to the link between high politicisation, the unitary state option and consociationalism. In that respect, the theory could have gained some practical application. This, however, was not done. In this respect, the book seems to lack practical application value.

This, together with the issues discussed above, are serious limitations in the theory and *Machtsdeling* barely succeeds in dealing efficiently with that.

The book is no doubt a sincere contribution to the South African debate. One hopes that the aforementioned limitations will be seriously addressed in later works.

IAN LIEBENBERG
Research Consultant, IDASA

* English Title: "Power-Sharing in South Africa" by Arend Lijphart, University of California, Berkley: Institute for International Studies, 1985.



Regional focus

From Page 18

Africa — A Look Into The Future". The main speaker was IDASA board member Professor Peter Vale, who is the director of the Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University.

The topic was a very wide one and allowed for a very

broad look at South Africa's future, including the crisis within the National Party, the independence of Namibia and the social and economic implications this process could have for South Africa. Prof Vale also touched on corruption within government structures, an issue which is particularly relevant in East London where an MP has resigned under a cloud of corruption allegations and

almost the entire city council was unseated in the October municipal elections indirectly as a result of corruption allegations.

During question time, issues such as IDASA's involvement in the Democratic Party were deliberated. Some people appeared to be under the impression that the newly formed Democratic Party was the parliamentary wing of IDASA! However, the issue

was clarified to the audience who learnt that IDASA's director of planning and research, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, would be advising the new party in his private capacity while the institute itself would obviously, in the interests of a democratic future for South Africa, be prepared to share debating platforms with the DP.

Cindy Deutschmann
Border
Regional Co-ordinator

Students break down race barriers

KEITH WATTRUSS reports on a weekend outing . . .

WHAT DO you get when you throw together for a weekend 56 Afrikaans, English and Xhosa-speaking scholars from the supposedly disparate communities of the "black, Chinese, coloured, Indian and white" people? Why, a microcosm of South African society, of course! And, not surprisingly, the epitome of harmony.

The objective of this type of outing, which was held in Port Elizabeth recently, is to remove scholars from their normal environments and place them with scholars of similar age but from different communities for a weekend. This enables them to communicate and interact with fellow pupils whom they would not ordinarily meet because of interferences and obstacles artificially created by legislation such as the Group Areas Act.

A carefully planned programme leads them through the awkward introduction phase into the phase when interaction becomes more relaxed and spontaneous. At all stages the process is monitored and facilitated whenever necessary. It is encouraging to notice how readily high school pupils adjust to an environment of this nature and the lingering thought is that if adaptation is so easy at this level why should it be any more difficult at all other levels?

The weekend outing in March followed a similar course to the very successful pioneering event arranged by IDASA in the Eastern Cape in June, 1988. This time 56 scholars boarded the bus in Port Elizabeth to set out for the Tsitsikama Lodge and the fact that a 48-seater bus was the transport, instead of the 60-seater which had been ordered, only served to hasten any break-down in barriers that might have been necessary! The noisily-singing bunch that tumbled out of the bus at Tsitsikama after their two-hour trip certainly showed no signs of estrangement (and that's putting it mildly!).

The scholars had been paired-off before they left Port Elizabeth and after supper on the Friday evening each person was given the opportunity of introducing their partner to all the others. This not only served as an "ice-breaker" but provided poignant insight into the often vastly-differing backgrounds of their colleagues.

The evening ended with the showing of two videos which dealt sensitively with the burdening questions of the alienated South African communities. As they watched the videos the scholars were asked to consider several questions:

- The similarities and differences in the experiences of the different communities

- The symbols of wealth and poverty focused upon in those communities and to what extent these represented reality
- Whether societies could be classified as "good" or "bad"
- Whether a common culture was possible in South Africa and
- Whether the videos gave them hope for the future.

Saturday morning began with the cacophony of a farmyard! The reason for this was that each scholar was individually handed a piece of paper which read "When you get the signal, make the sound of a . . ." and in the space provided was inserted one of seven different kinds of farm animal! When given the signal the scholars had to listen for those who were making the same sound as themselves and link arms with them. In this way they sorted themselves into working groups which they maintained for the remainder of the weekend.

An exercise was then given to each group, the design of which had as its purpose the teaching of co-operation rather than individualism. Keeping absolutely silent, participants were required to piece together different parts of a puzzle which required that they offer to others any parts in their own possession if they thought these parts would help the others to complete their puzzles. Success depended on their ability to gauge one another's needs and satisfy those needs by sacrificing their own.

Thereafter groups had to consider the questions posed to them while watching the videos the previous evening. These had to be discussed in their groups and attempts had to be made to reach consensus on the answers. These thoughts had then to be symbolically drawn onto paper-posters which were then placed on the walls of the lecture-room as reminders.

The morning session was brought to a close with a lecture by visiting educationist, Mr Peter Ranby of Sacred Heart College in Johannesburg. This informative and thought-provoking lecture addressed issues such as expectations from education, relevance of education if it is only for the "piece of paper" at the end, altruistic ideals being experimented with in education and educational requirements of a new South Africa. The freshness of many of Peter Ranby's ideas and approaches had his audience engrossed and for once they did not mind being late for a meal!

After lunch, the working groups were asked to go away and prepare a one-act play with the title "South Africa in 2010 —



Students portray their vision of the future in drama.



The group enjoys a walk along a mountain trail.

as we see it". This was to be enacted before all the others that evening. Late afternoon saw the scholars finally being let loose onto the volleyball courts, swimming pool and soccer fields, something which they had been yearning for since arrival. With some amusement we watched the young boy who had been wearing a T-shirt reading "I only play SACOS sport" decide how he fitted into this! His decision did not take long!

Saturday evening saw the production of the plays and what inspirational masterpieces they turned out to be. The sheer exuberance of the players once again made this the highlight of the weekend. With no dexterity they plunged headlong into the prickliest issues and, surprise, surprise, emerged unscathed on the other side. Another lesson had been learned — to solve a problem confront it rather than avoid it.

Sunday morning saw the scholars hiking along the many Tsitsikama mountain and river trails where the beauty of the setting was perhaps perfectly matched in the beauty of the friendships that had developed.

An environment so far removed from reality made it easy to achieve many of the objectives of the outing. But harsh reality was driven home again when the bus driver had to make a detour into the black townships to drop black scholars off in their area and when the Indian children all went back home to their demarcated suburb. Now the children saw how ridiculous such defining-lines were. And now hopefully they were better equipped to not only argue for, but also cope with change.