

INTOLERANCE

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VIOLENCE

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Equipped to kill. Suitably equipped for democracy?

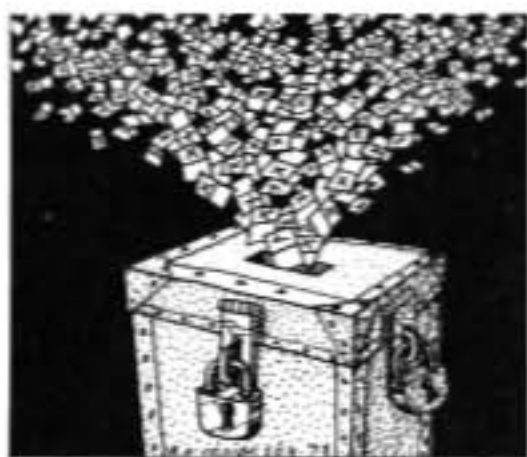
AVIGAIL UZI, Southlight

VOTER ALERT

Growing demand for voter education amid anxiety about free and fair elections

AS 1993 dawned, it was billed as the year of reckoning for South Africa. With this sense of urgency came a new realism, and in most quarters a commitment to moving forward and a readiness to prepare for change. Notably, talk of an election moved from cloistered negotiating chambers and elevated public podiums into the streets and meeting places where ordinary citizens gather to discuss the things that affect their lives. Serious election groundwork has now begun.

Already last year there were accusations of electioneering as politicians clashed noisily and the deadlock in negotiations produced the clamour of mass action along with sighs of resignation and groans of despair. By contrast, quietly and tenaciously, another group of people were talking about the elec-



tion too. The National Education for Democracy Forum was established to enable churches and non-governmental organisations to pinpoint the needs of South Africans who have never voted before. In this way combining the networks, experience and resources of

By MARIE-LOUISE STRÖM

numerous organisations, the forum could aim to provide non-partisan voter education to the broadest possible spectrum of hitherto disenfranchised citizens across the land.

Now known as the Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE), this loosely coordinated structure has focused on four main areas so far: making recommendations on the Electoral Act, encouraging individu-

als to obtain identity documents, co-ordinating the development and distribution of training materials, and exploring the use of the mass media in the voter education campaign. New focus areas will include the co-ordination of training programmes and monitoring initiatives country-wide. Participation in non-aligned forums at regional level is also growing as the prospect of an election becomes more real.

For IDASA's Training Centre for Democracy, voter education is becoming very real. In addition to being actively involved in each of the working groups of the IFEE, compiling a list of resources for education for democracy, and producing a training package for rural voters, specifically those who cannot read, the Centre now receives several requests a day – from companies and community organisations – to run voter education seminars in all parts of the country. Indeed, with no prospect of the

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DEMOCRACY in ACTION



Idasa's goals are:

To promote the development of a democratic culture in South Africa

To address fear, prejudice, anger and other obstacles in the transition to a non-racial democracy in South Africa

To engage influential groups and individuals who may be outsiders to the transition process

To provide, wherever possible, information on critical issues and to explore ways of addressing these

To facilitate discussion of constitutional and developmental issues relevant to Southern Africa

To assist and encourage others to contribute to the attainment of these goals

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Heaven help us

If the David Frost interviews weren't exactly overflowing with insights, the venerated interviewer did at least give us an update on Afrikaner views of heaven.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht was not amused when Sir David cunningly enquired after his views on apartheid and heaven. 'Heaven is a different dispensation,' was all he would bark.

— Perhaps Sir David should pursue the topic with President De Klerk who hinted, in his interview, that although optimistic about the future, he didn't foresee that the political settlement would bring 'heaven on earth'!

Doing it the right way

UN monitors present at the disruption of the infamous Democratic Party meeting in Guguletu felt very strongly about the turn of events according to press reports.

'It is very sad,' said Mrs Helene-Maria Lim. Mr Vladimir Zhagora amplified: 'We will try to figure it out, think it over and analyse it and then put it in a report.'

— Be sure to send us a copy.

Watch the cricket? What for!

According to our cricket correspondent beer cans were not the only things flying around at the recent cricket match between the West Indies and South Africa.

A Newlands spectator who tried to insti-

Ja-Nee

gate a 'wave' early on in the match was bluntly informed: 'Hey whitey, sit man, dis nog altyd lowtide. Twenty past three is high tide.'

However, the spectator persisted and after creating a minor wave sat down flushed with success — only to be floored by the next observation: 'Ag man, daai was maar net 'n microwave!'

On the subject of beer and its consumption, a matronly white woman faced the wrath of the crowds when she stood up to answer a call of nature during one of the highlights of the match.

Unfazed by the torrent of 'boos' and 'sit-downs' that followed she moved a bit quicker after being told 'miskien, as ons vir jou Madam call sal jy gaan sit'.

— Right now, could someone please let our correspondent know what the final score was?

Did you know?

So whatever happened to the tale doing the rounds in Cape Town that a group of 'coloureds' who got together to write a journal article elicited some less than friendly interest from ANC intelligence? We can't find the answer. Suddenly no-one knows anything about what was last week's talk of the town.

How long until Cinderella parties come to the ball?



AT long last it appears that the leaders of the two major parties in the negotiation process, the National Party and the ANC, have accepted the absolute necessity for a resolution of the current political stalemate.

South Africa is a deeply divided society and the decision to form a government of national unity for a period of at least five years is the only sensible choice. It will give South Africa the much-needed stability and consensus which will be essential in dealing with the socio-economic challenges in the second half of the '90s. It is more than probable that if the MPLA and Unita could have reached a similar agreement prior to Angola's election, that country would not now be locked in violent conflict. The art of negotiation is not to gain as much as possible for one's party, but to reach compromises which will be to the greater good of all.

Our political leaders, who have come in for very strong criticism for their lack of statesmanship, deserve praise for reaching this important milestone (it is ironic that a great deal is owed to the once-despised and feared Joe Slovo for his seminal paper some months ago calling for a government of national unity to last for at least five years!). It is of course important to persuade as many of the other parties as possible who will be attending the next round of multi-party talks to agree with this basic concept.



Angola, September 1992.....government of national unity in SA a sensible choice.

TO exclude the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party would be disastrous. However, despite the progress that has been made, we cannot be too sanguine about the prospect of all the parties agreeing to a government of national unity. South Africans have been disappointed too often to assume that all will proceed smoothly.

If a major actor, say the CP or the IFP, refuses to endorse the idea of a government of national unity, what will happen? Separately, they have the capacity to severely disrupt the process. Together, they could increase the climate of violence and instability.

In particular, Buthelezi's flirtation with secession has grave implications. Fortunately De Klerk and Mandela are not unaware of this. Therefore it can be expected that some concessions will have to be made in terms of self-determination on the one hand and regionalism on the other. To achieve this will take the wis-

dom of Solomon! (The move by some MPs from the NP and the DP as well as Solidarity could have a moderating influence on the IFP. On the other hand, it may encourage the IFP leadership to take an even tougher negotiating stance.)

But what if the CP and/or the IFP remain intransigent? Can they be allowed to delay the process indefinitely? And if not, what is the cut-off point when the major parties representing the majority of South Africans will decide to proceed to an interim government without one or both of these parties? Because the costs would be very high, this can only be seen as a last resort. But the one commodity that South Africa does not have is unlimited time. The socio-economic pressures demand a speeding up rather than a slowing down of the process. It is this fact which has driven the ANC and the National Party to set

aside some of their demands in order to reach consensus. The pressure is on all other parties to make similar concessions in order that the process can be carried forward. Political bickering can only worsen an already serious economic climate.

The CP and the IFP, therefore, should be under no illusions that they can delay the process indefinitely. Unreasonable demands and interminable delays will not receive the support of the international community, nor the major political parties. More importantly, unnecessary delays will receive the censure and condemnation of the majority of South

Africans who have grown weary and impatient with the machinations of some political leaders.

To proceed without the CP and/or the IFP is not desirable and could be very dangerous. But to delay the process indefinitely could be an even higher price to pay. Sooner rather than later the tough decisions will have to be made. Hopefully the multi-party negotiations will give all parties an opportunity to support a rapid move towards elections for an interim government, which will be truly representative.

Alex Boraine
Executive Director

TRAINING CENTRE FOR DEMOCRACY, JOHANNESBURG

Back to school

A weekend seminar for school principals on democratic management will be held in the Magaliesberg from March 5-7.

The aim of the seminar is to assist principals and deputy principals in developing skills to manage schools in a more democratic and efficient manner. This is the first of a number of workshops for principals. For more information contact Vino Subramoney at Idasa's training centre, (011) 484-2610.

Educating for democracy

A conference on methodology, programmes and principles of education for democracy will be held in Vereeniging from June 2-4. Anyone interested in this field is welcome to attend. More information is available from Paul Maseko at the training centre.

Electoral education

The next national meeting of the Independent Forum for

Electoral Education takes place on April 21 in Pretoria.

The meeting is open to all independent organisations involved in electoral education. For more details contact Pumla Qirana at (011) 484-2984.

WESTERN CAPE

Capacity building in Cape Town

A series of capacity building workshops to support initiatives for democracy and development are planned throughout March with organisations in Lotus River, Ottery and Grassy Park.

The workshops will focus on structures, strategies, training and communication. For details, contact Vincent Williams at (021) 462-3635.

A Cape metro chamber?

On March 31 a seminar will be held to examine the workings of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Chamber and the potential for a similar body to facilitate urban transition and transformation in Cape Town. Details are available from David Schmidt at Idasa.

PORT ELIZABETH

Single cities in E Cape

A seminar on local government in the Eastern Cape will be held in Port Elizabeth on March 24-26.

The seminar will bring together civic, political and municipal officials from throughout the region and aims to standardise the processes involved in setting up single city administrations. For details contact Max Mamase at (041) 555-3301.

EAST LONDON

Dealing with drought

Drought relief and development will be the subject of the next meeting in Idasa's seminar series in East London on March 6.

Speakers will include Ms Janet Love of the National Consultative Forum on Drought Relief, as well as a representative from the East Cape Agriculture Union. The venue is the Holiday Inn.

The topic for the April 3 seminar is finance for regional development. Proposed speakers are Bob Tucker and Patrick Bond. For further details con-

tact Glenn Bownes at (0431) 43-0047.

'Big three' on negotiations

Three national political figures are lined up to address a public meeting on the present phase of negotiation on March 25.

This meeting was postponed earlier due to the unavailability of one of the speakers. This time round it is hoped that Cyril Ramaphosa, Roelf Meyer and Frank Mdlalose will all be able to attend.

One city options

A workshop on "Options for single city" will be held in Grahamstown on April 5. Among the speakers will be Rory Riordan, the former town clerk of Port Elizabeth, P K Botha, Stutterheim civic leader Chris Mangwangqana and Stutterheim town council representative Nico Ferreira.

Durban

Federal option

A Future Forum meeting on March 10 will examine the question of federalism and the federal option for Natal/KwaZulu.

Speakers still need to be confirmed, but putting the case against the option will be Natal businessman Tony Ardington.

For further details and reservations, contact Louella Tifflin at Idasa (031) 304-8893

Bloemfontein

Capacity building in Virginia

A capacity building workshop for progressive organisations will take place on the weekend of March 19-21 in Virginia.

For further details please contact Kobus van Loggerenberg at Idasa.

The Redistribution of land

(Volume 5 Number 1)

How should existing imbalances regarding land rights be addressed?

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BAROMETER ON NEGOTIATIONS

Yet another bitter winter ahead?

By PAUL GRAHAM

THE South African year seems to run from spring to bitter winter. By spring, there is the scurry to get negotiations back on track. By Christmas, there must be a symbol of progress as a confidence booster. Then we go and have a well earned holiday.

We return to find the tough questions (we thought we had answered) still hovering in February, and we get multi-party business under way in conjunction with parliament. By Easter the grind is on and negotiators are feeling the pinch. By winter we are back in the trenches as the violence overtakes us. Then it's spring again.

After a number of years of this pattern, it is not surprising that ordinary people have the jitters every time a party disagrees with the consensus on the way forward.

What is the growing consensus – otherwise known as the infamous 'deal' between the government and the ANC? There is very little in this 'deal' that has not appeared before. So bilateral meetings (or meetings between two parties only, except meetings between the government and COSAG), have been – not only in the case of the ANC and government – about how to get public multilateral consensus on the road map.

The road map pictures a country which levels the political playing field and makes the state and government an impartial administrator through the Transitional Executive Council; prepares for elections to find a representative body which can run the country and write a new constitution; and then governs the country with a Government of National Unity to caretake South Africa through the difficult first years of reconstruction and development.

Having a road map is a very good thing. However, everybody knows that maps don't tell you about the condition of the roads.

'If we do not trust South Africans with the process, how do we expect them to value the product?'

And even having one is no guarantee that you will not get lost along the way. When the map is a do-it-yourself one, charting new and unknown territory and drawn by those who must also follow it, some sympathy needs to be extended to those putting it together. It will be surprising if they can stick to their promised schedule.

Two questions continue to plague South Africans.

In Angola, with the benefit of hindsight, it was the failure of the parties and the international community to demobilise the armies, control the weapons and build a new impartial security structure allowed the unresolved issues to escalate back into war.

We need to remind ourselves that in South Africa there is only a truce. Every time the negotiations falter there is the danger of slipping back into low level war – and not all the combatants are going to wait for permission from their leadership.

Secondly, the Concerned South Africans Group (a loose alliance of parties opposed to any secret ANC/government deal and interested in resolving questions of regionalism and federalism prior to any settlement which might diminish their ability to influence these question) and other apparently smaller parties seem to be expressing much more clearly the deep feelings of many South Africans. Fear, ignorance, and suspicion are apparent on all sides. It is all very well pushing ahead because the end is good, just and will benefit everybody. However, unless ordinary people are taken into confidence and carried along, they become a potent source of disruption. The evidence suggests that secrecy rather than openness has become the virtue. If we do not trust South Africans with the process, how do we expect them to value the product?

Paul Graham is programme director with Idasa.

Voter alert

From Page 1

Electoral Act being passed for another few months, it is difficult to meet all the expectations of people clamouring for voter education now. And yet the education process must begin.

For now, it is still possible to place voting and elections in the broader context of democracy, but as technical details become clear and the election draws near, the demand for voter education will be overwhelming. Concentrating on the how and where of voting will become so important that it will be difficult, at least for a while, to look beyond the election to the principles and procedures that make democracy a sustainable means to an end.

A recent seminar in Soweto that brought together a politically literate group of church and student leaders underscored many of the difficulties facing the trainers for the first-time voters. To start with, voters are uncertain what they will be voting for: the differences between a transitional executive

council, constitution-making body, government of national unity and subsequently elected governments are far from clear. This string of complex phrases drawn from the Western democratic tradition shows the difficulty of translating such terms into African languages and accurately conveying what they mean. Research into this problem has been commissioned by the IFEE and has further emphasised the complexity of the task.

Attempts to explain the system of proportional representation, and in particular the different implications of national and regional lists, are met not only with confusion but, even more significantly, with deep suspicion. The obvious fear is that the voting system will permit the present government to manipulate the election results to its advantage. There is a similar lack of faith in the government officials who will inevitably be involved in administering the election itself. Not even the guaranteed presence of monitors is enough to allay deep-seated suspicions that officials will mislead voters on election day. The need to promote thorough understanding of the mechanics of voting is therefore very clear.

The numerous examples of possible intimidation at every level have immediate bearing on the voter education campaign. How will non-aligned organisations be able to conduct training seminars in areas where free political activity itself is not allowed? The anger and anxiety provoked by such questions often expresses itself in an unwillingness to accept opposition at all. On another level, how will millions of disempowered South African women grow to understand the vote as a means of liberating themselves? The intimidation inherent in domestic subservience and illiteracy is a problem that falls way beyond the scope of voter education in its present form.

Anxiety is potentially disempowering, and the list of election anxieties grows and grows. But these difficulties present us with a growing list of challenges too: a list that confirms the urgency of voter education now, and the importance of education for democracy after the first election and for decades beyond.

Marie-Louise Ström is a tutor at Idasa's Training Centre for Democracy.



By STEVE COLLINS

NGOs team up against violence

'Fighting' through the ballot key message

FOR the last 10 years, attempts by non-governmental organisations to address the ongoing violence in Natal have met with limited success.

Where they have been successful, they often found themselves undermined by forces in the region that are keeping the violence going. In the last months of 1992, Idasa - along with a host of other NGOs - decided to assemble a think-tank for a weekend to deliberate a course of action. The other organisations included the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, Legal Resources Centre, Diakonia, Lawyers for Human Rights, the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness and the Black Sash.

The 40 participants invited met in Durban on January 31 to try to develop a multi-faceted approach to the violence, using all the resources and influence available to them. The group was told that although they worked in specific organisations that are trying to help create peace, in the workshop they could speak as individuals, free from whatever positions their respective organisations held on the violence. It was hoped that this would encourage creative discussion.

In itself, the mix of participants created an atmosphere of excitement. There were members of the observer missions of the OAU, the EC, the UN and international churches meeting with violence monitors, church agencies, community mediators, local and international policing experts, researchers, lawyers and invited guests from Italy, Mozambique and America.

Participants felt that in order to develop a multi-faceted approach to the violence there was a need to establish better communication among organisations. Other issues were the need to define the roles of different sectors, to understand the obstacles to development, to create a sense of hope, to learn from others, to strengthen the structures of the Peace Accord and to design realistic and innovative solutions that are rooted in the communities most affected by the violence.

Everyone present accepted the complexity of the violence and the fact that there is no single solution to the problem. The think-tank, divided into small groups, was asked to use a method known as 'the causal chain' in an attempt to arrive at two key causes of

the violence.

Once again, the complexity of the problem emerged as each of the groups identified different areas. These included a scarcity of resources, the illegitimacy of the process of political change, the failure of the Peace Accord, the alienation of powerful actors such as tribal authorities and the youth, the lack of political tolerance and democracy, existing power relations and partisan government bureaucracies (including the police and security forces).

By the end of the first day some of us felt

The participants chose the areas they thought they could work on and set out to develop a vision around these and a way to achieve their objectives.

The failure of the Peace Accord attracted the most attention and discussants quickly concluded that, if strengthened, the accord would be an important factor in achieving peace.

The NGOs identified more than 30 areas where organisations could play a role in supporting local peace initiatives. Possible methods ranged from providing information,



At the workshop: Joergen Nielsen (Commissioner of Police, Denmark) with Charles Ndakeni (SA Council of Churches) and Paul Graham (Idasa).

more depressed than ever with a long list of seemingly insurmountable obstacles to development, but we all committed ourselves to the following day's proceedings which would look at solutions rather than revisiting the problems.

Early the next day, the delegates decided to focus on four key areas for discussion:

- the failure of the Peace Accord;
- obstacles to development;
- the lack of political tolerance and democracy; and
- the culture of violence, where violence is seen as the only option to resolving conflicts.

skills training and monitoring the justice process to promoting the acceptability of local initiatives.

The problem of the culture of violence is clearly one that will not be solved by a single, short-term solution. Once a community has come to regard violence as its only solution because of a lack of state support and accountability in the form of an effective justice system, the only answer is for the state to begin providing a policing and security system.

In South Africa this will mean changing the security forces to be more representative, responsive and answerable to local communities. However, the think-tank felt that NGOs had a role to play in presenting alternatives to communities, and in particular to youth who have had to bear the brunt of the violence and have become alienated from the process of political change.

The workshop broadly accepted that human and physical development was the ultimate answer to the violence. However, delivery of the kind of development required



Victims of violence are buried at a mass funeral.

Natal Mercury

to Natal voters

is far beyond the ability of NGOs. Such development is the responsibility of the government which has access to the resources of the entire country.

The problem up to now has been that both the national and KwaZulu governments have tended to use development as a political tool and resources have been squandered in corruption and waste. The workshop felt that a more in-depth stakeholder analysis of KwaZulu and Natal was necessary. Links should be developed, and support given, to other initiatives such as the recently launched Democratic Development Forum which is engaging the state about development priorities.

Ideas for NGO initiatives in schools and tolerance workshops were also raised. The vision presented in this discussion was one of a 'participatory peace movement that delivers'.

The final key area identified was the lack of political tolerance and democracy. Education for democracy was seen as crucial in building a climate of peace and co-operation rather than of violence and competition.

The forthcoming general election was seen as an opportunity to educate large numbers of people about the basis of democracy and the freedom to choose through the vote.

The idea of 'fighting' through a ballot box, as opposed to physical clashes, was raised as one of the central messages for voter education in Natal. The ideas raised at the workshop will be taken to the Education for Democracy Forum in Natal by many of those at the workshop who are part of the forum.

While the two-day exercise probably raised more problems than solutions, it is hoped that NGOs will incorporate some of the lessons from this experience into their programmes during the next year.

Intolerance: the beast in all our hearts

A culture of looking within is necessary to root out political intolerance

BY ALISON CURRY

MANY of us think of political intolerance as 'something out there'. It is the startling headlines we glimpse as we crawl our way to work. Ensconced in our vacuumed cars and lulled by the sounds of a soothing stereo, we encounter the news as outside of our real lives.

And at night, enmeshed in our secure homes – both sanctuary and prison of our consciousness – the frozen images we see of warring factions are only fleeting imprints on our filofaxed existence.

Yet for many South Africans intolerance is not an 'issue' but an integral reality of their lives. It is an intake of breath at a Soweto station when a body falls onto the concrete and turns red. It is the sight of a woman screaming as flames engulf her body. Not always manifested in violence, it can be the subtle nuance of arrogance which assumes supremacy, which assumes compliance.

But it is a reality to which people adapt, not one they feel they can change. Violence is not theorised or analysed, it is simply adapted to...lived around. So intolerance and its accompanying violence is still *out there* – with the leadership of different factions or *those people* (blacks, whites, management, the union) who are seen as the problem.

We have lived so long in a culture of blame, it has become difficult to envisage any other way of being. Everyone is convinced that the problem is out there. If they (the other group or party, the leadership, members, management, staff) would only see X or do Y, the problem would be solved.

As activists many of us were so busy waging a larger war – against that amorphous enemy 'the system' – that we did not have the time, energy or inclination to look within. The enemy was too large. To

indulge in criticising our leaders or, even less, ourselves, was seen as contradictory to the whole impetus of our involvement.

Even now in a less heightened political environment we tend to mix in circles of people who think like us. Any situation in which we are exposed to people who have very different values or cultures is seen as 'an encounter' or 'an event'. It is something outside of how we mould our values and beliefs – an exposure, not an immersion.

While the flock mentality in which we all live is very reassuring because it validates our core beliefs, we often miss the opportunity to really grow by exploring different perceptions of the world. Only when we are really open to having our beliefs and actions challenged, will others feel okay to do so.

How tolerant are we as individuals in the way we relate to others in our home and at work (before we even begin to look at our broader involvement in society)? Do we

really listen? Do we try to understand where the other person is 'coming from'? Do we give him or her a chance to share or the desire to share the feelings that shape their actions?

A couple of years ago such sentiments would have been regarded as trite or bourgeois intellectualising. Now a culture of openness and tolerance within an organisation is becoming a necessary imperative for effectiveness on the ground.

We can only begin to meet the challenges of the 1990s when we start to develop a new culture – a culture of looking within – which entails a very different risk to facing the teargas of the past.

'Violence is not theorised or analysed, it is simply adapted to...lived around'

Alison Curry is a tutor in Idasa's Training Centre for Democracy.

By PAUL GRAHAM

THESE have been strong and increasing calls for South Africans to undergo a programme to develop their tolerance towards one another.

'No go' areas, the ready resort to weapons in order to deal with differences, political competition which seems designed only to eradicate the opposition, and the regular deadlock of peace structures all point to intolerance as a major threat to democracy.

The apparent unwillingness of some people to accept a free and critical press has meant that journalists have personal experiences which inform their reporting on the dangers of allowing an intolerant society to continue.

However, before any educational programme begins, the objectives of such a programme should be defined clearly. The forces driving people to behave in an intolerant manner need to be understood.

Resources could be spent developing a programme which has little impact. The experiences of public health programmes on Aids prevention and population growth should provide salutary lessons.

South Africa has many communities which have been fighting a battle for survival. Political oppression and socio-economic need have driven these battles. Leadership theory regularly describes the need for situational leadership. A classic example is of the sinking ship in which the captain acts autocratically and her commands are willingly accepted by the crew. Under conditions of high threat authoritarian leadership is not only appropriate, it is welcomed. The relationship between the leader, the community and the outside world is defined within this perception of threat.

The individual conforms to the norms of this authoritarian community for good reason – it ensures his survival. And because survival is only possible with coherence, the costs of dissent and individualism are too great to bear for this group. Territories (both in the real landscape and in the 'mindscape') become no-go areas and are defended vigorously and violently. Of course South Africa has additional problems. There is a growing warrior class. Young men – and to a lesser extent women – have become the defenders of these territories. They are trained and available. Serious unemployment amongst these same young people ensures that they stand apart from the citizens of the country. While the big wars are in a state of suspension and the little wars are increasingly privatising, the warrior class remains mobilised – if only by their own decision that there is no better choice for them. Communities that discover they have self-appointed private

Political intolerance: long haul to new culture

Public examples of political intolerance in recent months have intensified pressure for (preferably) quick remedies. But are there any?

armies protecting them are only one symptom of a massive system of warriors throughout the society.

Finally, there is the problem of homeland-linked political parties. There is little tolerance for political parties which are perceived as having been established with 'apartheid' money to create an impression of legitimate support for homeland governments. The subtle and not so subtle tactics used to win support for these parties during the 'total onslaught, total strategy' era of the 1980s has meant that some of these parties' claim to a legitimate place in the political landscape is put in question.

A programme to achieve a culture of tolerance will have to address directly the needs which drive intolerance. Personal security will have to be assured. Economic independence – whether through job creation or community development – addresses one source of insecurity. A responsive and reliable police force and judicial system will address another. In regard to the problem of existing political parties obtaining legitimacy, legislation which ensures that all parties re-register with disclosure of membership, financial openness, and adherence to a code of conduct might be the only way to 'heal the memories' and establish a new basis for healthy and tolerant competition.

The development of this environment

waits in large measure on a political settlement within which the rehabilitation of government services, a culture of democratic rights and an economic programme can be negotiated.

Within this environment, programmes which develop self-esteem and self-confidence, a spirit of *ubuntu*, and an independent attitude are necessary. These form the backdrop to more specific programmes of citizenship and community responsibility. Dr Oscar Dhlomo, of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, makes the point that we should beware of merely reaching for Western sources and values during such programmes. Specifically African traditions must be identified and reclaimed. The development of the skills necessary for dealing with continuing competition for resources – such as skills in negotiation and mediation – can underpin a tolerant society but it is the environment of security and respect for others which drives people to choose these non-coercive problem solving methods.

There is also a fear of totalitarianism which lies at the heart of this upsurge in concern for tolerance. Dealing with this fear requires programmes which bring people from different cultural and racial groups back into contact with one another. One of the dangers of the race for power which an election engenders is that of polarisation around parties. In South Africa, despite all our weak efforts to the contrary, parties con-



Rightwingers protest against black youths' presence in a Reef park.

Graeme Williams, Southlight

express their opinions about the state of that country, about its rulers, and about the conduct of other citizens. That citizens should be free to organise others. That freedom implies that citizens have the space, the opportunity and the skills to organise.

In an article in the recently published *Preparing for Democracy* (see advert page 13), Vincent Maphai writes on democracy and intolerance: 'Attitudes will take time to change, but this change can be sped up where appropriate supportive institutions are in place. Political tolerance will not be occasioned by pious platitudes from the leadership; it requires organisational and institutional transformation at all levels.'

tinue to be predominantly racially divided. We have not yet managed to overcome this cleavage in our society.

However, there are already models of tolerance in South Africa. Programmes will need to look towards these. Uniformed church organisations are a regular feature of township life. They encourage visible differences and often have very strict codes of conduct. Yet people go about their business unhindered. Other forms of religious tolerance (not always a feature of societies in conflict in other parts of the world) regularly manifest themselves here. Vigorous support for a particular soccer team, accompanied by

all the regalia of such support, has not deteriorated into the hooliganism seen in Europe.

A programme to develop tolerance, rooted in a firm commitment to the institutional transformation which will provide the necessary environment of support, is not a soporific to reduce citizens' concern for justice and reconstruction. There are strong suspicions that those who call for tolerance are actually calling for the status quo to be maintained. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The development of a culture of tolerance in a democratic country is designed to ensure that every citizen, without fear, can

development of a culture of tolerance must go hand in hand with a steady and sure transition to political democracy. Neither can wait for the other. But the creation of tolerance is a long term activity. While tension, violence and the needs which drive people to intolerance still exist, special mechanisms to reduce the cost to the country of this intolerance must be introduced now. The Peace Accord, monitoring structures, consultative forums around questions of policing and security, relief programmes, and even combined policing groups may be necessary to protect us from ourselves.

Paul Graham is Idasa's Programme Director.

Ushering in democracy.....with tolerance

By PAUL ZONDO

A PEACE deal was struck between competing political parties at an Idasa-facilitated workshop on tolerance and voter education in KwaNdebele on a weekend early in January.

More than 250 delegates from the African National Congress (PWV region) and the ruling party in KwaNdebele, Intando Yesizwe (IYP), attended the workshop and agreed to establish ties which would sustain them during the run up to elections.

Also present were two representatives of the United Nations Observers Mission in South Africa.

The general secretary of the IYP, Mr Mighty Mgidi, said that it would be difficult to come out with a model for political tolerance, and that leaders often contributed to the problem by not dealing with the troublesome issues timeously.

South Africans had entered a period of uncertainty, fear, hopelessness, confusion and intolerance and this was characterised by a lack of understanding of how to usher in democracy.

He said that unfortunately the prevailing conviction was: 'we want to be the only organisation in the area' whereas what was needed was an acceptance of multi-party

co-existence. In KwaNdebele this tension had fortunately never reached a level of national attention and had never led to open physical confrontation.

The deputy chairperson of the ANC in the PWV region, Mr Mathole Motshekga, said political intolerance was not confined to KwaNdebele only, but was a product of apartheid and rooted in a history where people who held different views and interests were banned, killed, exiled and the like.

The conference also addressed the need for a process whereby all would adhere to the principles of political tolerance. In addition

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Ushering in democracy

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tion, delegates drew up a series of resolutions and a draft a code of conduct.

The resolutions included:

- all members shall accept and practise the principle of political tolerance;
- all members have the right to constructive criticism;
- all people and organisations shall be afforded the right to assembly;
- the right to own property shall be guaranteed;
- the right to life shall be guaranteed;
- all organisations are to have free access to media and amenities without hindrance;
- discipline is to be exercised by the respective executive committees of the transgressors;
- the system of hereditary rules is to be observed and respected;
- agreements made at national level by both organisations need to filter down to the grassroots, and this should be the responsibility of both organisations;
- the IYP should not monopolise KwaNdebele state resources because state resources belong to all the people of KwaNdebele;
- the civil service must be separated from politics;
- there must be a clear distinction between IYP and the KwaNdebele government;
- since the IYP has influence in the government it should support other community organisations which have genuine problems with the government; and
- communication channels to be created at all levels through the secretary-general in order to resolve problems.

It was agreed unanimously that a joint report-back meeting to members in the region be organised, and the secretaries general of both organisations were mandated to form a regional liaison committee.

A liaison committee was appointed with the task of ensuring the implementation of the resolutions and code of conduct.

Elements of the code of conduct included the freedom to organise and canvass support; the right to free assembly and equal access to venues; freedom of expression (including access to the media and the right to positive criticism);

and a commitment to the protection of lives and property.

This new deal entrenching peace and tolerance in KwaNdebele has already begun to give rise to other events.

The IYP and ANC are now looking to a bright future where they will be organising joint political education programmes such as voter education, and the message will be filtered through to grassroots membership.

Ronnie Mamoepa, ANC regional publicity secretary, said the conference deserved praise since it had served as a 'pace setter' for promoting a culture of democracy in our country.

Paul Zondo is a regional co-ordinator in Idasa's Pretoria office.



UN observer Antonio Cubeiro with Idasa's Braam Viljoen at the workshop.

Have you seen them? What do they mean?

The SABC seeks a way of changing the world while changing itself.

By SUE VALENTINE

YES, what do they mean? Those brief adverts on television with South Africans of varying shades of pigment and political belief, airing their views on liberty, equality, the economy and a host of other 'popular' concerns.

Reaction to the 'People Say' campaign, produced by advertising giant Saatchi & Saatchi for the SABC, is varied. Some regard it as an SABC image-building effort, others see it as an attempt to encourage debate and build tolerance in a divided society.

Both perceptions are correct. In recent years the SABC has been at pains to polish its tarnished image - hiring consultants to advise it on how best to tell the world it is changing, at the same time as attempting to fulfil its role as public broadcaster.

Certainly the initiative to air a diversity of viewpoints and to promote public debate is encouraging. No matter how long it has been in coming, the use of the national airwaves to attempt to foster understanding and tolerance is a welcome development.

What exactly is being done *inside* the corporation to encourage a climate of tolerance, independent investigative and credible journalism remains shrouded in defensive secrecy. Besides the public relations exercises, there's been little attempt by the SABC to



Ruth Tomaselli: audience in the dark

What other

Gavin Stewart, professor of journalism, Rhodes University

'The ads do seem to raise people's awareness of each other, but I'm a bit bewildered at the people they're choosing... They seem to be taking fairly far-out views to the left and the right and I'm not sure what this actually achieves.'

'It reminds me of the Archie Bunker series in the United States which was intended to ridicule bigotry, but had

Abantu VANHU
bathi VARI
Batho ba re
People say
Vhathu vha ri
BANTU BATSI



'People Say' regular: Hilda Grobler, writer and DP election candidate in Durban

expose its inner workings and guiding principles to public scrutiny.

The co-ordinator of the 'People Say' project is the SABC's assistant executive editor of TNP (Television News Productions), André le Roux, who said the series arose from a desire within the corporation to address the soaring levels of intolerance prevalent in South African society.

In the face of these good intentions it might appear cynical to rehash the SABC's track record. However, while people and institutions must be allowed (and encouraged) to change, it would be naive not to remark on the irony in the SABC's hiring of an advertising agency to redress the ignorance and intolerance it allowed to develop – and helped to create – through segregated stations and programming, and politically determined news coverage and comment over the past 40 years.

At the same time, however, the need for a climate in which political differences are tolerated and political debate and even political competition can flourish is essential, and all efforts that genuinely support this objective are to be encouraged.

So what does the SABC's fledgling initiative hope to achieve and how? The aim, says Le Roux, is to expose South Africans to the different points of view held by fellow citizens. The corporation commissioned an independent research survey and used the findings to inform the campaign.

One of the most resounding messages

from the survey, says Le Roux, was the almost total lack of tolerance throughout South African society. Although many paid lip service to the concept, the right of others to hold other viewpoints and to act upon them evoked a very different response. According to the findings, only a tiny minority (two percent) of South Africans could live with and understand the concept of democratisation.

The first attempt – a series of interviews with various individuals on the subject of tolerance – was never flighted and the project was sent back to the Saatchi & Saatchi drawing board. Just how much this cost the SABC (and taxpayers) no one is saying, but 'it cost us money', concedes Le Roux.

The second phase involved a 'fairly random' selection of ordinary, but articulate, South Africans, who took part in lengthy interviews, often conducted in an argumentative style on a range of subjects. This done, various sound bytes were cut out of each interview and compiled to represent a range of opinions around certain themes. The result is there for all to see on TV1 and CCV-TV three or four times a day.

As yet there has been virtually no public response to the 'People Say' spots. According to Le Roux, the only phone calls to the SABC have been 'mainly from right wing people who have reacted in a very intolerant mode'. In most cases callers have reacted to certain views put forward or against the presence of black people. A common line, says Le Roux, has been: 'what is this, is it communist inspired?'

As far as he is aware, there have been no inquiries or comments from black viewers. The general silence is puzzling.

'We don't know what this lack of response means,' says Le Roux. 'Either the ads are meaningless and not effective or people have been taking them in their stride... From informal chats I've had it seems people are discussing them and they do identify with one or other of the faces.'

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(media) people say....

quite the opposite effect.

'I can't see how these ads will do much more than reinforce people's positions, there is not enough length or depth to do anything. The intention is marvellous, but I think the effect is minimal.'

Ruth Tomaselli, lecturer, Centre for Cultural and Media Studies, University of Natal

'I don't know how this kind of selection can ever be a legitimate exercise. The audience doesn't know the context or the questions being asked... The range of opinions are manipulated: none of them are

weighted in terms of the number of people who might hold such opinions.

'The assumption that is implied in these adverts is that this is a genuine vox pop. It purports to show unsolicited opinions, but we are left asking who is this and why are they doing it? The makers of the programmes never reveal themselves.'

Jane Argall, co-ordinator, Ecumenical Resource Centre, Durban

'My impression is that not many people are watch-



Gavin Stewart: effect minimal

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Have you seen them?

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'We also don't know if perhaps there isn't an irritation factor creeping in - we've been flighting the spots a maximum of three or four times per day, per channel.'

Some of these questions will be answered by qualitative and quantitative audience research surveys which are about to be undertaken by Auckland Park's research department. It is hoped that by the end of March, at least some light would have been shed on what South Africans think of 'People Say'.

Planning and research director at Saatchi & Saatchi, Sandra Fisher, says some of the informal feedback she has received indicated that while people found the adverts interesting, they did not know what to do with the information.

'Our main problem has been how to take it a bit further. The aim is to help people understand each other better and to break down stereotypes,' she said.

This concern has prompted a recent adaptation to the ads with the message 'Listen...Talk...For understanding...For a better future' rolling up on the screen at the end of each spot.

Whether or not they will enhance the impact of the ads remains to be seen. Also unknown is the cost-benefit ratio of the project.

'We haven't even had inquiries from the media - either official or unofficial'

One of Le Roux's early concerns was that the ads might provoke a reaction similar to the outcry against the use of R4,3m of taxpayers' money for the notorious 'Info song' in 1986/87. But public response has been lethargic, to say the least. 'We haven't even had inquiries from the media - either official or unofficial,' he adds.

Saatchi & Saatchi and Le Roux both declined to say how much this campaign has cost. According to Fisher the adverts that have been aired thus far constitute phase one of a long term strategy presented to the SABC by the agency.

'Obviously we're not doing this for free, but it is a special situation which we're negotiating with the SABC,' said Fisher.

According to her the project is part of an initiative to improve the SABC's image - but to do so through the corporation making a positive contribution and fulfilling its role as a public broadcaster.

Thus an additional concern of Le Roux's is the need to see whether or not 'we are getting any mileage out of this or do we regard it simply as an exercise in exposing people to each other'.

The answer to this question will indeed depend on what the people say.

Sue Valentine is Media Director

What other people say

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ing the ads with care and interest because not many people know what they are aiming to achieve.

The concept is a good one: to use sound-bites to allow voices from below to speak. But the SABC should apply itself more fully to this project. It needs to commit itself to reporting fully, to establishing credible principles of selection of the interviewees, and to explaining the intentions of the idea to the viewing audience.

'Channel 4 in Britain once carried a series of programmes called Talk Back in which a space was cleared for anyone at all to say anything for a few minutes without any editorial intervention. The only exclusion I believe, was of party political statements. It seemed to work. Viewers knew they had access to that space too. Perhaps it is an example which could be looked at more carefully.'

Larry Strelitz & Lynette Steenveld, Journalism lecturers, Rhodes University

'Clearly the vox pops have been edited to bring together contrasting views. The underlying intention of these inserts is to air a multiplicity of South African views about South Africa, the presumed aim being to promote the idea of dialogue.

'One must assume that the assumption behind this is that the process encourages political tolerance.

This is a liberal conception of the way in which ideologies are formed. A materialist analysis of ideological formation is that ideas are rooted in material circumstances and one would therefore argue that such a programme would have minimal effect.

'These programmes in fact tell us more about the SABC than about the outside world. The SABC has shifted its position and is now in the business of consensus forming.'

Mixing

Do we still need public service broadcasting? And if so, how should it be constructed? RUTH TOMASELLI addressed these issues at a recent Idasa seminar. This is an edited version of her paper.

IT IS a truism that broadcasting in South Africa is on the verge of the most profound transformation since the start of the radio service in 1924.

Discussions on broadcasting policy have centred on the establishment of regulatory mechanisms and structure, particularly the composition and appointment of a new governing board. So loud has been debate around these issues, that it has drowned out dialogue of what content could or should be. And content is more than just news and current affairs programmes.

We need strategies for ensuring that culturally valuable content will be a priority in the near and mid-term future. To avoid the repetition of past mistakes, a programming policy must be put in place that is able to survive the period of transformation within the SABC.

While the audience's desire for commercial television should be fulfilled, policy should realise the goal shared by both proponents of public service and market/commercial broadcasters - the extension of the notion of freedom and cultural expression. This means both the negative freedom from restrictive legislation, censorship and discriminatory licensing provisions, and the positive freedoms of citizens and communities able to express themselves, and receive broadcasting which fulfills their needs.

To ensure both, a mixed system, consisting of market and public service broadcasting (PSB), is required.

Somewhat cynically, Australian Michael Tracey suggests that while in PSB, producers acquire money to make programmes, in a commercial system they make programmes to acquire money. In a more positive vein, he suggests that PSB should be structured to encourage competition in good programming, rather than competition for numbers, and that PSB has a deep commitment at all levels to the education and cultural expression of the public - the audience-as-citizen.

Traditionally, PSB fulfills the Reithian exhortation to 'educate, inform and entertain'. The traditional Reithian characteristics

it for the public good

of PSB would include independence, programme balance, geographic balance and impartiality.

From World War II to the mid-1970s, wherever they occurred, PSB largely dictated the cultural, intellectual and creative geologies of the societies which spawned them. By the end of the 1980s, PSB everywhere was being forced to re-examine its purpose, nature and mission in the wake of a widespread assault on its importance, even legitimacy. Between 1970 and 1990 broadcasting became a potent symbol of a collision of ideas over how Western society should be organised, not just economically, but also culturally, creatively and morally.

The roots of this clash can be traced to changes in technology, financial constraints and political interference.

The emergence of the multi-channel society changed viewing habits and encouraged the rise of market values. Multi-channel broadcasting eliminated the ideal of balance. Increased programming meant more entertainment and, concomitantly, fewer educational, public affairs, children's and regional programmes.

Geographic coverage too suffered. Rural regions not sufficiently lucrative to warrant expensive capital outlay lag behind in the provision of communication services. Witness the uneven coverage of M-Net and TSS - both channels which depend on advertising revenue for their viability.

Fiscal constraints constitute a body blow to PSB. Internationally, it is no longer possible financially to depend on licenses. Revenue has needed to be supplemented by advertising and state allocations, both of which potentially impinge on the independence of broadcasters.

Costs have simultaneously increased. The SABC faced a serious financial crisis a few years ago, similar to that experienced by national organisations worldwide. Operating costs in South Africa are higher than most Western economies, since we have to import much of the machinery and technical backup.

The most characteristic response to fiscal squeeze has been the 'downsizing' of national broadcasters, in response to their long-held habit of bureaucratic bloating.



While such pruning is in some areas overdue, the problem arises when it diminishes the creative ability of production teams.

The strategy of breaking the SABC into business units (a policy which has attracted the ire of 'leftist' commentators who see it as a precursor to privatisation of the SABC) has had a contradictory effect on the possibility of PSB.

In Natal, the area with which I am most familiar, the severing of the financial umbilical cord which tethered them to Johannesburg, has given Natal broadcasting far more autonomy. Since both NPR Stereo and Radio Zulu are profitable stations, and Radio Lotus is now producing a small, but viable surplus, the Natal operation has been able to establish a well run independent newsroom to service local news, and 'export' news back to the centre. However, the downside of this is that in circumstances in which individual units are entirely responsible for their financial health, the temptation to stay away from culturally valuable, but economically less rewarding programming becomes almost insurmountable.

Programming accounts for the largest expenditure, with the result that it is cheaper to import than to produce, a factor which has important consequences for the concept of national programming, and the spectre of

cultural imperialism. In response to the lack of adequate and consistent funding, PSB fare is being homogenised and important forms of production like the single play and the innovative documentary are allotted fewer resources, and the impulse to co-produce becomes relentless.

It is in the political arena that much of the problems of PSB have been most manifest. Three requirements for politically 'independent broadcasting' exist:

- politicians must abstain from interfering with the day-to-day running of the corporation;
- broadcasters must resist such interference by remaining in control of reporting of news and current affairs; and
- public confidence - the acceptance by both pressure groups (reviewers, commentators, academics, political analysts) and the 'general public' (usually voters/taxpayers) that the broadcasting service is indeed independent.

In the era of *kragdadigheid*, there was a belief that to sustain the general well-being of society, the state not only had a right, but a duty, to make strategic interventions and decisions through nominated institutions, such as that of the national broadcaster. The consequence of this line of thinking are still deeply etched into the face of the SABC.

The notion of the centralised bureaucracy, the basis on which national broadcasting institutions historically have been arranged, is now in grave disfavour. 'Privatisation' has become the watchword. While the feeling is more cautious than three years ago, the idea remains that in a multi-channel society, any sort of centralised government interventions are neither necessary nor proper, since what matters is consumer sovereignty.

What kind of programming are we getting? Faced with these assaults, particularly those emanating from the market, PSB internationally has resorted to two tendencies. The first, which is simply a rehash of old arguments of 'high' and 'low' culture, is to produce highbrow programmes, leaving the philistines (and profitable) 'drek' to the

Onbekend oor harde teerstrate

*lag baba lag
jou pappa het gaan jag
met sy teleskopiese Sauer & Sohn 30.08*

*wielie wielie ons dorp se walies
die vingers deur die tralies
is wit en vet en bloot
buite die lekkergoedhuis
word waaragtig vuur gestook*

(Antjie Krog, Die Jerusalemangers)

Die stof van Mangaung buite Bloemfontein gaan nie sommer in 'n mens se klere sit nie. HENNING MYBURGH (regs), 'n tydelike inwoner van die township, het die lewe aan albei kante van die spoor ervaar.



manne-by-die-braaiers-met-die-bierhand geblik. Welgeluksalig sit ons later in die losie en wag kwykend vir die eerste skedel en been om te breek. Tussendeur praat ons driftig oor d-s, dop en dōnner. Die ritueel is noodsaaklik om nog 'n week se orkestrade te kan verduur.

Laatmiddag ry jy versadig terug terwyl jeugreffreine van oorwinning opklink: 'Die besem, die besem, ons vee alweer, ons vee alweer die ander in die see.'

Terug tot by die spoorlynduikweg, onderdeur die duikweg en ooswaarts weg van die spoorlyn tot by die huis van Aliena

gesteld daarop dat mense op haar erf hulle goed moet gedra. Bierdrink is uit; daarvoor moet jy om die hoek na die sjebeen gaan of jy kan later in die aand om die konkavuur in die erf langsaan gaan sit waar iemand dalk genoeg bymekaargeskraap het vir 'n paar bottels.

In die huis, die sjebeen en om die konkavuur sal die gesels vanaand soos gisteraand gaan oor die stryd om lewensmiddele in die hande te kry en oor wat die politieke partye daaraan doen. Aliena het geen ooghere vir politiek nie en daarom sal die gesprek in die huis nie veel verder gaan as die plaaslike

probleme soos die twis tussen die taxi-eienaars en die gesubsidieerde busmaatskappy wat mense direk uit die township tot op die dak van 'n sentrum in die middestad van Bloemfontein wil vervoer nie. Dit beteken goedkoper vervoer vir die passasiers maar geen inkomste vir 'n hele klomp taxi-bestuurders en hawkers nie.

Om die konkavuur en in die huis is daar in die algemeen opstandigheid

omdat die blankes wat alreeds alles het nou ook die bietjie wat die hawkers en die taxi bestuurders het, gaan vat. Niemand weet veel van die negotiations forum en vredeskomitee wat gestig is om dié soort probleme te besleg nie. Dié wat daarvan wil weet, moet gewoonlik die aktiviste gaan vra.

Mense beweeg heen en weer na die enigste kraan voor in die erf om water te gaan haal vir kosmaak, was en ander doeleindes.

Die konkavuur hou lank aan. Die invloed van geld en werk word bespreek. Daar kan woedend gestry word oor God. Bestaan hy? Is hy wit of swart? Hoekom help hy nie? Later sal almal dans. In 'n kring, rukkend en driftig, al om die konkavuur.

Laataand word alles stil onder die hoë, geel ligte. Die stank van die puttoilette hang swaar in die lug.

Henning Myburgh is streekdirekteur van Idasa in Bloemfontein.

Om vanuit Molatedistraat by die stad se sportkompleks te kom, ry jy met slaggaterige stofstrate deur Phahameng, Bochabella en Batho, verby die nywerheidsgebied en onderdeur die trein-spoor.

Die strate hier is oorvol met vuil sokker spelende kinders, voetgangers en 'Zola Budds'. Vasgedruk tussen die rye halfhuise met hangrade, spook daar die hele tyd die klap van 'n klip op jou kar. Daniël Rampimpi en sy bende is weer los en hierdie kar is dalk die enigste in die straat. Deur die geraas en die gedruk sal 'n mens tog kan hoor: 'Hei, Leburu, o ya hokae, mpalamise? Vat my saam, Ntate, vat my saam.'

Hierdie deel van die reis is soos baie ander regoor Afrika. Vanaf Dar es Salaam oor Nairobi tot Addis Abeba. Van Abidjan en Lagos tot Asmara.

Vanaf die treinspoorduikweg verander die reis. Eers is daar die sakesentrum. Swartmense peul uit groot busse wat lomp bo-op winkelsentrums by 'n dakterminus stop. Saam, maar onbekend, maal almal oor harde teerstrate.

Ná die sakesentrum ry 'n mens verder deur Westdene, Generaal Dan Pienaar, Universitas en uiteindelik Parkwes en Willows. Hier is die strate stil. Motors swiep geruisloos verby en sus tot stilstand onder diep skaduwees. Pop-up sproeiërs stotter per afspraak orent onder toesig van anderkant-die-treinspoor. Saam klee hulle stil tuine in 'n hemelskleed. Iewers ver agter toe vermoed ons spa-baddens vir Mevrouw/Mevrou (ná 'Jog Gym en Joga').

Vanuit die diep parkeerskaduwees stap jy deur lushowe na die sportarena. By die hekkie vertoef ons eers 'n bietjie en raak



Rantiena in Molatedistraat. Hier woon Aliena Rantiena met haar twee kinders, Temba en Patricia. Haar man is twaalf jaar gelede dood in 'n treinongeluk toe hy tydens rangeerwerk tussen twee trokke middeldeur gedruk is.

Die pensioen wat sy kry is nie genoeg om haar en die kinders behoorlik te onderhou nie en daarom laat sy ander mense toe om teen R100 per maand óf 'n kamer in haar huis te huur óf 'n deel van die erf te gebruik as 'n staanplek vir 'n shanty.

Op die oomblik is daar Seliena Pholoholo en haar man, Thami, wat albei verpleërs is, Samuel Rampai wat tuinwerk doen by die boere aan die ander kant van die spoorlyn en Thengiwe Rampai wat los werkies in sy politieke party se streekhoofkantoor doen. As gevolg hiervan is Aliena se huis in 'n beter toestand as ander in die omtrek waar omtrent al die inwoners werkloos is. Alles in die huis is pynlik netjies en Aliena is uiters

A cultural shopping spree for better future...

By ERIKA COETZEE

WHAT kind of city can Cape Town become in the years ahead? How does a city with such deep divisions and inequalities become a more democratic and inclusive home for all its people? What is important to its inhabitants? How can they become part of the process of transition and how will it impact on their everyday lives?

Many of the programmes run by Idasa's Western Cape office during 1992 sought to address questions such as these. Events initiated around this theme tended to be very technical and...well...serious, attended by participants in conservative suits who quite freely used expressions such as 'metropolitanisation', 'discretionary revenue' and 'the regressive impact of user charges'.

Yet these questions were also explored over a five-day period by a group of effervescent young people from around the Peninsula. Taking part in an educational and creative programme hosted in conjunction with the Arts Foundation around 'symbols for a Democratic Cape Town', they brought with them an array of multi-coloured tackies, beads and t-shirts, fresh ideas, open hearts, a great deal of talent, enthusiasm and humour.

They set about addressing the complexities of democracy and transition by investigating what people in and around Cape Town thought about the city and the future, how they lived and how they gave meaning to their lives.

The first half of the programme focused on information-gathering in the form of something like a cultural shopping spree. The young people scouted the city collecting new experiences, insights, recurring patterns, interesting logos, colours, stories, faces and perspectives. They searched out statues and relief works on buildings, commercial trademarks on shopfronts and shopping bags, murals on bus stops and walls. They became cultural consumers and found that Cape Town was not simply an old-style department store with goods neatly displayed in separate categories. It could also resemble a flea-market jumble sale where you scratched.

At an advertising agency they examined the use of symbols in the production of media images and messages. On Robben Island, ex-political prisoner Lionel Davies led the young explorers on a mental journey through the corners of prison life and the memories that inhabit this symbolic location of resistance and solidarity. In a Langa hostel, they met a herbalist who let them in on the deep secrets of pain, ill-luck and



Cultural shoppers: footsore in downtown Cape Town.

Peter Bouman

healing. In Harare, Khayelitsha they saw symbols used to communicate political allegiance and services offered on walls and spaza shop signs; they encountered the second life of trademarks on wrappers and packets, used as wall paper in shacks.

After two days of non-stop shopping their minds began to roam the exciting prospects of the creative work that lay ahead. They could choose from three art forms – mural painting, sculpture or graphic design – to express something about the city, the symbols they had seen and also what the city itself symbolised.

A powerful logo for the city, a lively mural and a diverse range of sculptures were among works produced. These are on display at the Arts Foundation (021) 253977.

Erika Coetzee is a regional co-ordinator in Idasa's Western Cape office.

Some ideas on symbols

A concise booklet which illustrates the functions of symbols in political and social life is now available from Idasa.

An introduction on the meaning and characteristics of symbols is followed by sections on symbols and conflict, the political dimension of symbols, and symbols and democracy. It concludes with an examination of current and historic symbols from the city of Cape Town.

The booklet has been compiled by Erika Coetzee of Idasa's Western Cape office and may be ordered from the Media Department at (021) 473127 or 1 Penzance Rd, Mowbray 7700.

Winds of change

Military governments and one-party states are rapidly giving way in southern Africa as country after country introduces multi-party elections. As South Africa's own first universal franchise poll approaches MOIRA LEVY looks at the lessons to be learned from our neighbours further north.

THE winds of change have amounted to something of a hurricane in this part of the world in the past two years. Harold Macmillan would have been swept off his feet.

Since Namibia set the multi-party elections ball rolling in November 1989, everyone is doing it – or talking about doing it – and the idea has spread north and east across the sub-continent.

Latest is an announcement from the ruling military council of Lesotho that the first general election in 22 years will be held in March, the same month that Swaziland is also promising to hold some form of direct poll. And even Malawi's president-for-life, Hastings Banda, has surprised the world by announcing a referendum on the future of one-party rule, also to be held in March. This follows the setting up of an opposition Alliance for Democracy in October last year.

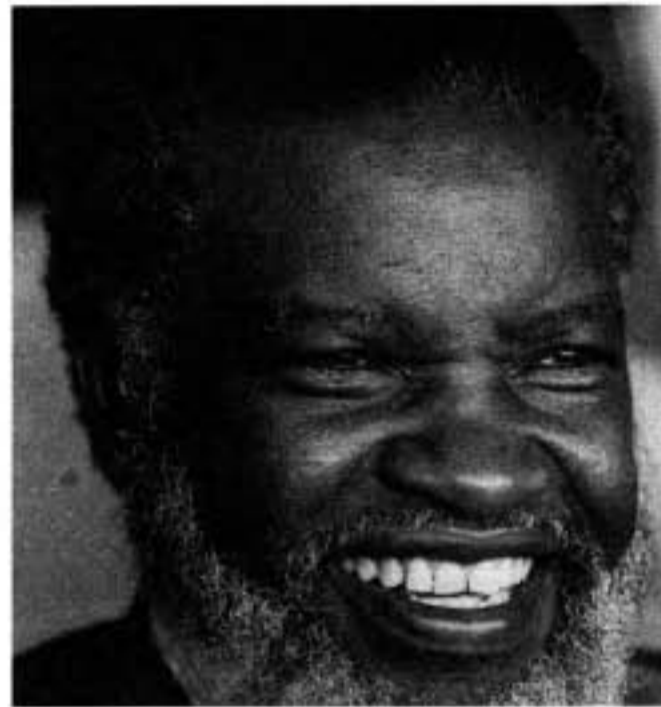
And of course there are those who have gone beyond the talk, the referendums, the promises. As South Africa's first multi-party, non-racial election approaches we would do well to look to our neighbours who have recently held fully fledged one-person-one-vote national elections for lessons in how it's done – or how it's not done.

Notwithstanding the considerable economic, social and political differences between South Africa and the surrounding countries, this country does not stand in isolation, and we cannot afford to ignore the lessons presented by the examples all around us.

First and foremost it is important to note that this change of political heart does not come out of the blue. The world is fast becoming impatient with a continent that displays a seemingly limitless capacity to absorb aid without translating it into development and growth. In the context of the post-Cold War shift of focus from the devel-

oping world to the struggles of eastern Europe, Africa risks becoming increasingly marginalised unless it can demonstrate that it can take up its rightful place in the international community.

While the multi-party elections that have been held in the recent past is an encouraging trend, they have a lot to do with the demands of international donors for evi-



1989: Sam Nujoma of Namibia now leads one of Africa's success stories.

dence of a shift away from one-party rule and they need to go beyond an electoral exercise aimed largely at satisfying funders' criteria.

Put even more bluntly, demonstrating intent to the world by holding an election does not translate into a fully-functioning and legitimate democracy; South Africa cannot be reminded often enough that a one-person-one-vote election is not a magic formula that can conjure up a democracy.

Angola is the most glaring example of this to date. Perhaps the first lesson to be learned from this desperately sorry case is that a commitment to holding multi-party elections requires, above all, a prior commitment by all participating parties to accept its outcome.

While Unita's Jonas Savimbi went on record repeatedly before the September 1992 poll pledging to respect the result, he lost no time in storming off in a sulky huff when the ruling MPLA's victory became known,

launching a fresh round of civil war with renewed vigour, despite categorical UN recognition that the poll was free and fair.

This leaves Angola in an impossible impasse. Unita increasingly holds the upper hand militarily; the more it drags the country back to a prolonged and ghastly war the more such political support as it may have had is further diminished. This in turn consolidates popular support for the government while at the same time undermining its ability to rule.

This brings us to the second glaring lesson to be learned: even after the poll Savimbi still possessed the means to return to the battlefield. While it cannot be seriously disputed that the rebel Unita army had backing from some South African and Zairean elements, the fact remains that promises to disband the warring armies in Angola and unite them into one single force by the time of the election came to nothing. The UN was not equipped to disarm either army or carry out the consolidation plans.

Hence the third lesson South Africans can learn from Angola's tragedy: the UN did not have the resources – indeed, some might say the will – to ensure a peaceful transition. The UN had 210 military observers and 77 police observers spread out across this huge country, falling far short of the authorised 350 and 316 respectively. In other words, a country with a population 10 times the size of Namibia was allocated a tenth of the number of UN observers.

Senior journalist and Africa expert on *The Guardian* newspaper, Victoria Brittain, reports that soon after the fighting broke out UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali requested President Dos Santos to meet Savimbi in Geneva for talks. She wrote then: 'The secretary-general's initiative follows three months in which thousands of Angolans have been killed and tens of thousands ousted from their homes. The new government which emerged from the multi-party elections has been prevented by a vast military offensive on the part of Dr Savimbi's Unita troops from exercising its administration in roughly three-quarters of the country.'

Brittain argues that by offering Savimbi a meeting, he is 'effectively colluding with the Unita leader's refusal to abide by the democratic process' and says the invitation 'ignores the flagrant illegality of Dr

raising a storm



1991: Frederick Chiluba of Zambia took over reins of power peacefully.

Savimbi's behaviour'.

Here are the facts: a huge enthusiastic turnout, with a poll of 91 percent of the population, gave the MPLA 57,8 percent of the vote. President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos won 49,57 percent of the presidential vote, and immediately agreed to hold another run-off presidential election against Savimbi to satisfy the sceptics. Nevertheless, he won more of the popular vote than Bill Clinton (with his 43 percent) – which raises the question, would America, the UN and the international community as a whole have sat back, as they did in Angola, if former president Bush refused to accept the results?

The international community also failed in its responsibilities to Africa in the Kenyan election. Despite clear evidence of massive ballot rigging – publicly acknowledged by outside observers – the international monitoring committees chose to accept a second class solution, hastily accepting the outcome of the poll. Faced with clear evidence of a regime that stopped at nothing to return to power, the foreign observers obviously decided to throw in the towel and leave it to the Kenyans to decide.

Prior to the poll it was common knowledge that some opposition nominees had been beaten up, bought off for about R1,5 million a parliamentary seat, even kidnapped. As a result, 17 candidates from President Daniel arap Moi's ruling Kenya

African National Union party (Kanu) were elected unopposed.

Ballot boxes arrived late or unsecured, others were found stuffed with ballot papers pre-marked in favour of Kanu. Polling stations opened hours later than scheduled. The government is said to have refused to issue identity cards to around three million young people, the youth that Kanu feared would no longer accept the old order. There were also reports of authorities refusing to grant the required permits for opposition rallies and suggestions of Somali refugees in the north eastern province being allowed to vote – as long as they voted for Kanu.

Kenya's elections present a set of lessons for South Africa. Just as Moi had gloomily predicted, tribalism erupted as a major obstacle. Ethnic clashes in the Rift Valley in the west between Moi's minority Kalenjin tribe, allegedly with the help of the army, and other groups left unknown numbers dead. Many Kenyans believe the clashes were instigated by the government to prove Moi's repeated declaration that multi-partyism cannot work and can only lead to bloodshed.

The Kikuyu and Luos, the country's largest national groups, voted solidly for the opposition – pointing to another lesson that South Africans would do well to heed. If the opposition had spent campaigning time directing their challenges at Moi instead of engaging in vitriolic and damaging attacks on each other they could have put up a joint front and, without doubt, won the election.

The massive and very popular Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (Ford), formed soon after a ban on opposition parties was lifted in December 1991, quickly degenerated into mudslinging between the octogenarian Oginga Odinga and the younger Kenneth Matiba. The party spilt into Ford-Asili under Matiba and Ford-Kenya under Odinga, and both of these wrestled with a third party, the Democratic Party, led by Mwai Kibaki. The result: the three parties won a total of 3,3 million votes compared to Kanu's 1,9 million, but Moi, ruler since 1978, was sworn in for another term of office.

As a result, it appears, many Kenyans direct their anger not so much at Moi himself – after all he was doing nothing more than was already expected of him – but at the opposition for their internecine squabbles.

Kenya could be facing years of degenerat-

ing chaos and collapse as the disappointment of the failed attempt to rid the country of its dictatorial leader sets in. Or, ironically, it could be on the brink of a real shift in the direction of democracy. The election campaign had the president for the first time setting aside his usual arrogance and indifference and appealing to the electorate for votes. His awareness that a joint opposition effort would have swept him aside must be a sobering influence. In addition, Moi lost almost his entire cabinet in the election, including his closest confidantes.



1993? Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique is preparing for multi-party elections.

Notwithstanding his New Year prorogation of the first multi-party parliament, a day after it opened, there are the signs that while the elections failed to remove him from power, Moi may be for the first time accountable, vulnerable and forced to be sensitive to the strong parliamentary opposition he now faces.

Does this then suggest that there is hope in Africa for democracy after all? Look at Zambia. After his crushing defeat, veteran leader Kenneth Kaunda, brandishing his trademark white handkerchief, wiped away a tear or two along with 27 years in power, and handed over peacefully to Frederick Chiluba's Movement for Multi-Party Democracy in 1991.

And Namibia can be hailed as the success

Statesmen put heads together on Africa

A high-powered group of former world leaders gathered in Cape Town recently to discuss ways of halting Africa's increasing marginalisation. Idasa's executive director, ALEX BORAINÉ, was one of the team of international and local advisors who aided their deliberations.

'If Africa is not to be marginalised it will have to help itself rather than depend on handouts from the international community'. This was the essential message to come out of discussions held in Cape Town in January by the Interaction Council, an organisation of former heads of state and prime ministers.

The former leaders met to focus on the very real danger of Africa being increasingly

marginalised by the rest of the world. They will report back to their full council in Shanghai in May, and their recommendations will be passed on to their successors in countries around the world.

The three-day summit was chaired by the former prime minister of Britain, Lord Callaghan of Cardiff, and attended by several former heads of state including Olusegun Obasanjo from Nigeria, Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo of Portugal, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Daniel Lisulo of Zambia and Lopo Fortunato do Nascimento from Angola.

It has been said that there is nothing more ex than an ex-politician! Why then take seriously former heads of state who probably no longer enjoy the influence they once had? Certainly this was the concern many felt when they first heard about the Interaction Council meeting.

Two points should be made in this regard: firstly, as one-time heads of state in powerful countries they have access to the present rulers and therefore their findings on problem centres throughout the world are conveyed to their successors. This means that their analyses and proposals are considered at the highest levels. Secondly, they bring a considerable amount of collective wisdom and experience to their meetings and studies.

Certainly my overall impression as I sat in the meetings was that there was a mood of real seriousness, a great deal of preparatory work had been done and, by having experts from different parts of Africa in attendance, they were able to arrive at the nature of the problem of the marginalisation of Africa and possible ways and means to overcome this.

International participants and advisors included Karen Brutens of Russia, (advisor to the President Gorbachov Foundation); Kenneth Dadzie from Ghana, (secretary-general of the UN Council for Trade and Development); Edem Kodjo, (former OAU secretary-general); Graca Machel, (wife of the late former president of Mocambique and president of the National Unesco Commission); Robert McNamara, (former World Bank president); Tim Thahane, (vice-president and Secretary of the World Bank); and Makoto Watanabe, (vice-president of Japan International Co-operation Agency).

In addition, a few South African commentators were invited to join the meeting and I was there in that capacity.

FIRST up on the agenda were issues of survival – conflict management, settlement and prevention; the population explosion; HIV and Aids as well as other health issues; and responses to acute/chronic disaster situations.

The second area of study was political and economic development, which had to be examined together. We looked at defining democratic systems appropriate to African circumstances, which would include good governance, accountability, a legal system open to all and the curbing of military expenditure. The core values of democracy, human rights, a free press and efficient and humane leadership was discussed at length.

Hand in hand with this discussion went the question of education and development and this involved looking at capacity building, including sound management. The point was made repeatedly that in the past Africa, in the main, had been able to feed itself and one of the major areas of concern



Children collect water near Maputo in Mozambique.

PAUL WEINBURG, Southlight

was to refurbish and restructure agricultural development to expand exports and to work towards an increase in domestic savings.

A third concern was how African countries, individually and collectively, could engage the international community. It was emphasised that debt relief was a key to economic recovery, that trade protectionism should be on the agenda and resources to assist African countries in economic and social development and the enhancing of efficiency in international organisations should be included. The major stress ought to be on helping Africa to help itself.

The second half of the seminar focused on South Africa – its internal economic and political problems and its place in southern Africa and Africa. To assist the Interaction Council a number of South Africans were invited to address the seminar – including the State President, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, (Mandela was in the US attending Bill Clinton's inauguration), Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the IFP, the PAC's Barney Desai and the DP's Colin Eglin. Others from different organisations included Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu of the Independent Development Trust, Judge Goldstone and the Rev Frank Chikane of the South African Council of Churches.

If it wasn't clear before the meeting started, it became crystal clear that South Africa's economy was in considerable distress and this would limit South Africa's ability to meet the unrealistic expectations of many in Africa. On the other hand, it was clear that South Africa had many advantages in terms of transport systems, technology, infrastructure and the like, which would certainly make it a major actor on the continent.



Lord Callaghan with Kenneth Kaunda and President De Klerk

ERIC MILLER

Although members of the Interaction Council were left with an impression of a highly complex situation, there was nevertheless an upbeat mood regarding the possibility of the renewal of multi-party negotiations leading to elections within 12 to 15 months. It has to be said, however, that neither the IFP nor the PAC shared the optimism of the government and the ANC.

It is difficult to assess the full significance of the summit. One thing is certain – the more exposure that South Africa gets to world leaders and people of influence, the better it will be for its own re-entry into the international community.

In the second place, the question of the marginalisation of Africa is extremely

serious and it is by no means certain that Africa has convinced the rest of the world that it deserves to be taken seriously. For too long Africa has been a recipient rather than a contributor. It is clear that if Africa wishes to take its rightful place in the world community, it will have to be far more serious on issues like security, militarisation, economic development, corruption, population control and accountable government.

With economic blocs being formed in different parts of the world, the next five years will determine whether Africa remains in the backwaters of economic development, with all its attendant problems, or whether it begins to assume responsible and efficient government and focused economic efficiency and development.

Multi-party winds of change in Africa

From Page 17

story for democracy in Africa, despite its disastrous start to the campaign with allegations of Swapo torture in its camps, a massacre of returning Swapo troops due either to a misunderstanding or worse, and South Africa's efforts at destabilisation by secretly funding anti-Swapo parties to the tune of well over R100 million.

When the crucial Ovamboland vote came in, Swapo had 40 percent to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance's 38 percent, securing for

itself 57 percent of seats in the constituent assembly.

Later, Swapo's support was quietly consolidated in the first multi-party local government elections held late last year.

Which brings us, finally, to Mozambique. The UN has deployed a task force ten times the size of the group sent to Angola. The UN special envoy to Mozambique, Aldo Ajello, has taken a high profile, declaring he is determined to see a genuine settlement and avoid the mistakes of Angola and elsewhere.

Ajello is not prepared to rush a settlement. For one thing, he insists the international force in Mozambique will not permit the election campaign to begin until all military forces are disarmed and dispersed. Rather than repeat any mistakes, the UN is willing to postpone the October 1993 election date, and Ajello has stipulated that the country must be

given 18 months to prepare for elections.

South Africa could do well to look to these recently war-ridden neighbours for inspiration. Possibly herein lies elements of the formula for electoral success: an international monitoring force that demonstrates its seriousness, partly in its size; an end to private armies, obviously under mutually agreed conditions that guarantee all parties are equally disarmed; a detailed pact, worked through by all participants until no ambiguities can be claimed as excuses for any abrogations of promises; and if necessary, despite our eagerness to reach the long-awaited election day, a softly-softly approach that checks and double checks all loopholes to ensure that our expectations of a democratic future match the future that our country deserves.

Moira Levy works in Idasa's Media Department.

Mixing it for public good

From Page 13

commercial stations. The second path is to mass produce low-budget, poorly developed educational and current affairs programmes. I fear the SABC has taken the low road with dated imported educational programmes filling up afternoon space, and the excellent 'Slabbert on Sunday' languishing as a well-kept secret, while the saga of John Bishop's moustache occupies its own headlines.

Do we need public service television? In the face of a multi-channel, free-market ethos world, is PSB still organisationally, financially and philosophically viable?

My answer is yes. National television is an institution in which we construct, distribute and consume symbolic forms. The market will undersupply programmes directed to groups who are relatively poor, the elderly, children, and minority language groups who do not provide safe consumer returns. Nor is it likely that commerce will fulfill the need for other culturally valuable services - scientific and communication research, education and other forms of cultural production.

The apartheid legacy has created a dire need for both formal and non-formal education. White Eurocentric cultural expressions have predominated; PSB is thus not a luxury, but a necessity.

PSB nurtures the public sphere as a means of serving the public good. It does so because it understands that while within civil society individuals pursue their own private self-interests, it is within the public sphere that they function as citizens. It is a fundamental principle that public broadcasting must motivate viewers as citizens possessing duties as well as rights, rather than as individual consumers possessing wallets and credit cards.

If we concede that such services are necessary in a democracy (however defined), we need to resolve two policy problems:

- how much should be spent on the provision of such services?
- how to ensure that the programmes offered meet the needs and desires of the audience(s)?

For public service programmes to be truly successful, three ingredients are needed: excellence in pre-production, presentation and the promotion of PSB.

Ruth Tomaselli teaches in the Centre for Cultural and Media Studies at the University of Natal, Durban.

Changing institutions AND attitudes

A group of seven South Africans visited the United States recently to study the successes and failures of equal opportunity programmes in universities. AMANDA GOUWS gives an outline of one such programme.

BESIDES the need to address problems and to prioritise goals, equal opportunity programmes in certain universities are more than a means of putting disadvantaged people into positions they were unlikely to reach on merit.

They also represent an integrated effort to create diversity, by removing barriers which otherwise deny opportunities to large categories of people because of race, gender, disability or sexual orientation.

The main focus of our visit was on the practical issues around the implementation of equal opportunity programmes - the experiences of targeted groups, strategies and institutional arrangements, how to change institutional culture and overcome resistance, and how to develop curricula that include race and gender issues.

'While the institutional structures change behaviour, the development of culture is necessary to change attitudes.'

Equal opportunity and affirmative action are closely linked. Whereas equal opportunity is an anti-discrimination principle that usually makes employers comply with the law, affirmative action involves specific measures to redress serious disadvantages suffered by racial minorities, women and other designated groups. It aims at creating substantive equality. Affirmative action can be seen as a means to an end - a means to the advancement of minorities and women.

The tour took place under the auspices of the Equal Employment Research Project at the University of Cape Town. The campuses visited included Hunter College in New York, Spellman College in Atlanta, Rutgers University in New Jersey and the University of Madison, Wisconsin.

At the University of Madison, Wisconsin, the 'Madison Plan' set an example of substantive equality through the management of multi-cultural diversity. It was designed with the participation of teaching and administrative staff, students and commu-

nity leaders.

Started in 1988, the programme set in motion equal opportunities at every level of the university. This included:

- providing access through minority student recruitment and aid and enhancing the recruitment pool;
- providing a diverse education with an enhanced curriculum and bridging programmes;
- enhancing the recruitment pool for minority teaching staff;
- providing retention measures for faculty and pay equity; and
- providing a non-discriminatory environment through policies against sexual and racial harassment.

The plan aims not only to change the institution, but people's attitudes as well, through the creation of an institutional culture which is hospitable to women and minorities.

The Madison Plan is aided by state and federal laws prohibiting discrimination, but a number of measures have been introduced into the university at the level of both staff and student recruitment.

Recruitment of students from low income families has been enhanced through a partnership between the university and the undergraduate student whereby costs are financed through a combination of grants, work and small loans. The goal is to serve 150 new economically disadvantaged students per year.

The recruitment of women and minorities onto the academic staff is a top priority. To retain faculty staff, child care, parental leave, spousal accommodation and mentoring programmes for women faculty are offered. When staff retire and resign they are replaced with minorities and women. Attempts are also made to change the profile of non-academic staff.

The appointment of an affirmative action officer with 'signing off' rights is a crucial component of the Madison Plan. She monitors the recruitment and appointment process. When an applicant is appointed she makes sure that the correct process was followed, that efforts were made to recruit



women and minorities and that the most suitable candidate was appointed. If she is satisfied she 'signs off', endorsing the appointment with her signature. She has the power to stop the hiring process if tainted and she also has an important watchdog function that goes beyond merely tending to complaints.

An enhanced curriculum is also offered to enable students to recognise, understand and appreciate cultural differences and to teach about the contributions of the many ethnic and racial groups in society. A compulsory undergraduate ethnic studies course has been introduced which is co-ordinated by a committee and taught by the best scholars in the university. Attempts are also made to integrate ethnic studies and women studies with the mainstream curriculum.

Student orientation and monitoring are key components of the attempt to change attitudes through the creation of a hospitable institutional culture and a non-discriminatory environment.

To make the campus a multi-cultural community where academic and social functions are combined, a multi-cultural centre has been established. The social functions encourage students to increase contact with others while the academic function is aimed at promoting appreciation of other cultures.

A system of individual mentors who are

sensitive to the needs of minority students as well as a series of tutorial programmes are offered.

It is important that institutional structures and policies lay the groundwork for the development of the institutional culture. The Madison Plan has managed to carefully integrate these two aspects. While the institutional structures change behaviour, the

'US universities also had to implement equal opportunity programmes in conditions of shrinking resources'

development of the institutional culture is necessary to change attitudes towards multicultural diversity.

The reasons for its success are varied. They include the strong commitment by the chief executive officer, Donna Shalala (now appointed to the Clinton cabinet), who is committed not only to the goals of the plan, but has ensured that the plan is implemented at every level.

In addition, a 'critical mass' of minority students and women has been integrated into the university so that they are visible and feel comfortable voicing their own concerns. Resources to reach the goals and constant fundraising help ensure that a plan of

this magnitude is implemented successfully.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, there is some resistance which originates mainly from four sources:

- from those who favour formal equality over substantive equality;
- from those who focus on merit and traditional criteria of academic standards (or admission) and not on goals and results;
- from those who favour a traditional curriculum (usually Eurocentric) over a non-traditional curriculum; and
- from some targeted students themselves who feel stigmatised.

What does all this mean in the South African context?

Apart from the need for a strong commitment by the top managers of any university to make a similar plan succeed in South Africa, legislation on a national level to act as a motivating factor is crucial.

Without legislation prompting non-discrimination, it is unlikely that some universities in South Africa will voluntarily take steps to implement equal opportunity programmes. The one university in South Africa that is in the process of implementing an impressive programme is the University of Cape Town.

South Africa is faced by the problem of the 'magnitude of numbers'. Programmes in the United States were designed to accommodate minorities (except in the case of women). To truly have equal employment programmes that are representative of the proportionality of groups in South African society, we shall need a reversal of numbers of teaching staff and students - something that cannot be done without massive resistance from a white minority and especially white men.

Furthermore, South African universities are experiencing serious financial problems and shrinking resources. Without resources such programmes are likely to fail. It is important to note that US universities also had to implement equal opportunity programmes in conditions of shrinking resources. This forced them to apply resources creatively and make important choices such as diverting funds away from certain areas and applying them in the pursuit of equal opportunity and diversity.

The most intractable problem to overcome is the attitudinal resistance from teaching staff and managers, especially middle-level managers, who have already decided that affirmative action amounts to reverse discrimination. Without their co-operation immobilism of affirmative action is a great probability.

Dr Gouws teaches in the politics department at the University of Stellenbosch.

By THORAYA PANDY

Eritrea: beacon of hope for all

ON MY return from an Idasa-hosted visit to Eritrea, Kenya and Ethiopia most people I spoke to had never heard of Eritrea.

When I explained where it was, many asked, 'did you take food along?' and, 'I hope you wore a bullet-proof vest'.

Such was the level of knowledge about a country that is so peaceful and has achieved so much that it would put many to shame. Eritrea is a beacon of hope, not only for Africa, but the entire world.

I first heard about the struggles of the Eritrean people in 1991 when I met relief workers from the region. Their stories came alive the moment I set foot in Asmara.

There was nothing striking about its buildings, it did not have the conventional historic appearance that could tell me I was in Eritrea, but what was startling was how almost spotless and beggar-free the place was. It was impossible not to feel tranquil and peaceful throughout our stay there.

Unlike Kenya and Ethiopia, and the sometimes nightmarish encounters we had with beggars, we could move about freely at any time during the day and night without a single worry. As a woman I found it particularly congenial being able to walk out on my own, even in the early hours of the morning.

Crimes like rape and sexual violence, in fact crime in general, is something Eritreans don't worry about because it simply does not happen. Everyone is too busy trying to rebuild their country after the devastation of 30 years of war against Ethiopian rule.

When the victorious Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) marched into Asmara after defeating the Mengistu Haile Mirriam regime in May 1991, they found very little money in the banks. The entire socio-economic infrastructure had been destroyed and over a million refugees had to be repatriated.

Amidst endless difficulties – and within just two years – the EPLF (which serves as the provisional government) has established a civil service framework, laid the basis for a foreign service, staffed hospitals with doctors and nurses, opened primary and secondary schools all over the country, provided a police force and a legal system with functioning magistrate's courts. They have even opened the university – which was virtually destroyed by the Ethiopian government – and have staffed it with qualified academics who are teaching up to 500 students.

Perhaps the greatest achievement and wonder is that government officials are not being paid, except for basics such as food

and lodgings. Neither the president nor ministers, neither the judges nor teachers are receiving salaries.

Women, in particular, have played a central role in rebuilding their country. Hundreds of women have come forward to work voluntarily in all departments of the provisional government.

Many were fighters in the EPLF and had formed one-third of the combat forces of liberation army. Together with their menfolk, they occupied the forward-most trenches of the armed resistance.

These women are clear and steadfast that their contribution and sacrifices were not in vain. Women's issues are high on the agenda of the provisional government and many women hold key government positions.

'Neither the president nor ministers, neither the judges nor teachers are receiving salaries'

The National Union of Eritrean Women (NUEW) is playing a central role in formulating government policy. At present its membership stands at 200 000 and it is still reaching out to women in remote areas. Among its activities are workshops to train and provide skills to women on health, leadership, financial management and literacy.

According to NUEW president, Askalu Menkorios, the union and the government are looking at the feasibility of providing credit facilities to women, particularly rural women.

Menkorios explained that at its last congress, the union decided to break away from the EPLF. It was felt that that even though NUEW members supported the government, it was important for the women's organisation to be independent and to provide a voice to all women in Eritrea.

Menkorios' own story is an engrossing one. She was born and brought up in Asmara, studied in the USA and later worked as an air hostess. In 1975 she joined the EPLF where she served as a 'barefoot' doctor, offering basic medical care to the wounded.

Menkorios speaks proudly of the active

participation of women in the armed struggle. Asked why so many women joined the armed forces, she said: 'Everyone was affected by the atrocities committed by the enemy. They burnt our villages, tortured us – especially women and children. We lived in fear all the time.'

'Women were not going to sit about while their menfolk did the fighting.'

Women ex-fighters in Asmara are conspicuous by their cropped hair and army-like attire. Though many were injured in the war, they appear to feel no hatred or resentment. They speak only of rebuilding their country and maintaining the peace for which they sacrificed so much.

The people I met in Asmara were but a small part of the Eritrean nation, but they seemed to embody the lessons of what discipline and self-reliance can achieve. It still surprises me that this country, without any foreign support or aid (except being granted sanctuary by Sudan), and with a population of just 3.4 million was able to defeat the biggest army in Africa.

In April this year they will go to the polls to vote, no doubt, for continuing peace and progress.

During our visit to Kenya it was interesting to meet the well-known Kenyan environmentalist and human rights activist Professor Wangari Mathaai. She speaks with determination about involving the public in conservation efforts.

Mathaai gained international recognition when she and the Green Belt Movement, which she heads, succeeded in overturning a decision by the Moi government to convert a public park into a parking area.

'We were able to galvanise a lot of support abroad and more especially, locally. Kenyans realised that environmental issues affected them. They came out clearly in support of the Green Belt Movement to save the park,' she said.

She initiated a national tree-planting campaign to avoid deforestation over a decade ago. Since then, more than seven million trees have been planted, involving millions of Kenyans, particularly women.

Mathaai's active campaigning around environmental issues have resulted in several clashes with the Moi government.

She has been detained, arrested, beaten up and continuously harassed, but nonetheless says she will continue to challenge and fight government policies whenever necessary.

Thoraya Pandey works for *Speak* magazine in Johannesburg.

'Oos-Transvalers' take the plunge

By IVOR JENKINS

AT THE beginning of 1992 Idasa's only links with the Eastern Transvaal were those with the regional director's home town, Waterval Boven.

To many Idasa was a "red" organisation to be regarded with suspicion. There was a suggestion that it was too English and lefty, and that the region could only be sorted out by authentic 'Oos-Transvalers'. Nevertheless, when intervention was needed in two local processes - Nelspruit and Boven - Idasa was called in all the way from Pretoria!

This, unwittingly, was the start of a relationship which seems to be flourishing. Not only are most of the players committed to the role we are playing, but political and personal associations within the region are growing. The long history of polarisation between groups, and the resulting isolation, is being broken down.

The process grew, due largely to the frustrations and disempowerment experienced during local level interventions in Nelspruit and Boven.

Idasa convened a series of meetings to which all the polit-



Job-creation workshop: Dr Patrick Maduna of Inyandza with Mr Dolf Maré, NP MP for Nelspruit.

ical groups in the region were invited. The main areas of contention were whether such a forum should address constitutional or developmental issues and which groupings should be represented.

Towards the end of last year a new spirit of optimism seemed to unfold in the region and an historic meeting was held in Nelspruit at the end of November. It was the widest range of players ever to sit around a table in that region - the PAC, SACP, ANC, Inyandza Movement, IFP, DP, NP and Afrikaner Volksunie. Although they inevitably came with different approaches and agendas, there was clear common ground - the need to facilitate communication between

political groups and other structures in the region, and to cultivate an understanding of the needs and concerns of different stakeholders.

In an attempt to bridge the constitutional/development debate, consensus was reached that this forum would remain informal but attempt to work out common approaches to development and government in the region.

In this way was born the Eastern Transvaal Discussion Forum, a forum with no teeth but with great potential to achieve a satisfactory deal for all in the likely event of a new regional dispensation.

"Bread and butter" issues remain pressing, however. Concurrent to the above pro-

cess a steering committee consisting of Idasa, the ANC, Cosatu, the Regional Development Advisory Committee and the Development Bank of Southern Africa was planning a workshop on regional development, with particular emphasis on job creation.

The two-day workshop, held in Nelspruit in February, was characterised by the vigorous participation of the 70 delegates who came from all corners of the region. Well represented were Cosatu, the ANC and SACP, as well as Nactu and the PAC. The workshop began with a contribution by Prof Wiseman Nkuhlu, of the Independent Development Trust, who sketched a sobering economic scenario but also made a number of useful concrete proposals.

A range of specialists from various sectors gave inputs on energy, mining, agriculture, public works, the informal sector, manufacturing, tourism, and trade and industry. They looked at the problems and possibilities of growth in the region, and their contributions sparked furious debate on retrenchments versus cost-effectiveness in the areas concerned.

The small group discussions produced a unanimous recommendation that a regional economic and development forum should urgently be formed - a sign of how close these groups have moved towards each other.

The seed for a second forum, independent from the discussion forum, was sown in this way. It will find concrete ways to address regional development problems. A working group was appointed to oversee the implementation.

East Cape process reaps results

PERHAPS it is because the Eastern Cape has known for longer the rending effects of economic downturns that it is now approaching so seriously the matter of reconstructing its economy.

Working together is the watchword for the emerging East Cape Economic Development Forum which was launched in February. Five groupings - business, trade unions, political groups, civic groups and regional government - are represented in the forum.

Working groups have been formed to address economic

development, job creation, skills development, community upgrades and so on.

One of the groups, facilitated by Idasa, has already achieved meaningful results in restructuring the state's nutrition programme. In the past year this programme has operated in the region with its good intentions clouded by the lack of accountability of so many of its recipient organisations.

With its new feeding year beginning on April 1, every effort has been made to create a system which will improve the screening of applications for nutrition assistance and make

the programme more accountable to the communities it purports to serve.

Within this process, it has been disturbing to notice the obstructions that mitigate against a co-ordinated allocation procedure. This seems to substantiate rumours about the scams and graft operating among some of those who receive this assistance. But truth and honesty must prevail in the end, and accountable transparent mechanisms - resulting from participatory processes - are the means to that end.

Keith Wattrus
Regional Director

Ivor Jenkins is the regional director of Idasa in Pretoria.

Local restructuring must tackle inequalities

A SEMINAR examining the logistics of local government in transition, organised by Idasa's Border office and local development group Corplan, brought together a panel representing viewpoints across the political spectrum.

The mayor of East London, Mr Carl Burger, Mr Danie Bezuidenhout from the Cape Provincial Administration, the general secretary of the South African National Civic Organisation (Border), Mr Sam Mazosiwe, and Mr Tony Majeke from the ANC national office explored the implications from different angles.

Mr Burger evoked a barrage

of questions by announcing that while he acknowledged a commitment to a new dispensation through the national negotiation forum, it must be realised that experts employed by the city council were working 'behind closed doors' to establish a one-city administration.

Participants from the floor immediately questioned the apparently unilateral planning exercise, the process of identifying 'experts' by the city council as well as the notion of working behind closed doors.

From Sanco's point of view the crux of local government, according to Mr Mazosiwe,

was to redress apartheid inequalities. Sanco saw an urgent need to disband local authorities who were unilaterally restructuring local structures and who continued to work within the existing legal and constitutional framework.

Sanco believed that specific guidelines had to be set and time-frames and deadlines proposed for local-level negotiations.

Mr Bezuidenhout admitted that the transition process was too slow, and proposed the following stages of change:

- an interim negotiation process;
- the development of a legal

and constitutional framework of local government;

- a transitional phase;
- the launch of a fully-fledged restructured local government system.

Mr Majeke said the ANC experienced serious difficulties in local government negotiations because local authorities seemed to be intent not on attaining a democratic local government process but rather in ending the rent boycott. The ANC felt that there could be no meaningful local negotiations under the existing constitutional framework, he said.

Ndumi Gwayi
Regional Director

New blood for '93

THE new year sees several new faces in Idasa offices around the country.

The latest tutor to join the Training Centre for Democracy in Johannesburg is ALISON CURRY. A sociology honours graduate from the University of Cape Town, she spent many years in the trade union movement in the Western Cape working in media and education.

After studying in England, she decided to enter industry to gain exposure to 'the real world' and worked for a group of engineering companies in Cape Town and a marketing and training company in Johannesburg.

Although no stranger to Idasa, another new face in the Training Centre is PAUL MASEKO who has moved from his position as regional director in Idasa's Durban office to take up the post of public relations officer.

TEBOHO LOATE, a former schoolteacher and principal of Lefikeng Secondary School in Botshabelo, has been appointed as a regional co-ordinator in the Bloemfontein office. In 1992

he left his job to study for a diploma in distance education at the University of London. Returning to Johannesburg he worked for the South African Institute of Distance Education before taking up the Idasa appointment.

He is also a founding member and current chairperson of the Bloemfontein Initiative for Reconciliation and Democracy (Bird) and is involved in various educational initiatives.

In Port Elizabeth, RACHEL MATHEBE and NAZLIE FATAAR have joined the staff as personal assistants to Max Mamase and Keith Watrus respectively, and SANDRA WREN has taken up the position of regional co-ordinator.

Sandra has a BA degree from the University of Port Elizabeth and has worked briefly in business as well as for voluntary and service organisations.

Both Rachel and Nazlie were awarded their national diplomas in office administration



New faces... (from left) Rachel Mathebe, Nazlia Fataar and Sandra Wren have joined the Port Elizabeth office.



Alison Curry



Teboho Loate

from the Port Elizabeth Technikon last year. Idasa co-director in Port Elizabeth, KEITH WATTRUS, who has worked for the organisation since June 1987, will be on sabbatical from March 1 to August 31.

During this time he will complete his studies for a master's degree in business leadership and will spend two months in Texas, USA on a group study exchange sponsored by Rotary International.

Durban development forum gets a kickstart

THE establishment of the Durban Functional Region's interim development committee on December 9 last year signified the first step towards an integrated metropolitan development plan for Durban.

The DFR-IDC's objective is to create a broadly representative forum to consider development initiatives in the region. This would entail initiating and assessing development projects/processes according to the needs of the area. The DFR-IDC would also facilitate effective community participation in development.

The chairman of the DFR-IDC, Mr Terry Rosenberg, described the initiative as an 'historic breakthrough' for full community participation in the development of Durban.

This sentiment was supported by the Durban City Council Management Committee chairman, Mr Peter Mansfield, who said he hoped the formation of the new body would change the emphasis from consultation to participation.

The DFR-IDC has established three sub-committees in the run-up to a proposed DFR development summit and the launch of the Metropolitan Development Forum.

- The short-term sub-committee will investigate projects and processes that require action prior to the establishment of the full forum. This committee will have to develop guidelines by which projects can be evaluated.

- The long-term sub-committee will develop a set of proposals on development for presentation and consideration at the summit. These would include a broad vision to guide development in the DFR, as well as the organisation of the Development Forum.

- The summit sub-committee would look at the logistics of the DFR summit itself, which would include facilitating broader participation at the summit and in the proposed forum.

The three sub-committees would fall under a steering committee which would be the

decision-making body.

Given the current transitional climate, this forum would only have 'de facto' powers leaving implementation entirely in the hands of existing authorities. This may present problems when the forum starts dealing with substantive issues as it would rely on consensus decision-making.

Organisations and authorities participating are: the Natal Indian Congress, the Port Natal/Ebhadwe Joint Services Board, the Natal Municipal Association, Inkatha Freedom Party, the National Party, the Durban Housing Action Committee, the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the Inanda Civic Association, Solidarity, the South African National Civic Organisation, the Democratic Party, the Advisory Committee on planning of the Joint Executive Authority and the Durban City Council. The process was facilitated by Idasa and Operation Jumpstart.

Charles Talbot
Regional Co-ordinator

Education minister at crisis talks

A TOP government delegation, lead by Minister of Education Sam de Beer, met educationists from the Border/Ciskei region on January 19 at a crisis meeting organised by Idasa's Border office.

United Nations and European Commission observers also attended the meeting at which the local delegation highlighted the plight of education in the region and its negative bearing on the economy and socio-political stability.

Lack of consultation, the disastrous 1992 matriculation results and a communication breakdown in the Ciskei were cited as the main concerns. The suspension and transfer of teachers were also key issues.

Mr De Beer praised the optimistic and constructive manner in which the meeting was conducted. Citing the communication breakdown as his chief concern, he said 'there can be no education without communication with the community'.

Ndumi Gwayi
Regional Director

Breakthrough in local government

AN acceptable formula for local government restructuring during the transitional period has, until recently, caused considerable tension and controversy. This is now set to change with the imminent establishment of a local government negotiating forum.

The creation of the forum was announced by Mr James Sadie, director of the National Committee of Local Government Associations (NCOLGA), at an Idasa-convened seminar, 'Towards a National Framework for Local Government', held on February 10 in Cape Town. The forum will establish

national guidelines for interim local government restructuring.

The forum, which is expected to hold its first meeting soon, is the outcome of months of talks between delegations from the South African National Civic Organisation, the NCOLGA and the government. Mr Sadie said the proposed forum would have 50 members, 25 from statutory bodies and 25 representing non-statutory bodies. The composition of the two sides will be convened by Sanco and the NCOLGA.

Critical issues for the forum include the suspension of the

controversial Interim Measures and Provincial Affairs Amendment acts, rent and service charge boycotts and the writing off of arrears.

The forum will have no executive or legislative authority but will play an important advisory role to the proposed Transitional Executive Council of an interim government. Concern was expressed about the 'two-sided table' nature of the proposed forum as it had the potential to exclude many important actors, such as the Democratic Party.

David Schmidt
Regional Director

Banks, civics talk bonds

A SERIES of Idasa-facilitated discussions between Eastern Cape civic organisations and financial institutions led to the launch of a housing forum in Port Elizabeth on February 22.

Earlier talks, on February 12, had brought together a joint ANC/South African National Civics Organisation delegation and representatives of the banking world to discuss the housing crisis, home loans and bond repayments. Advice centres were proposed to educate and advise potential home owners.

Max Mamase
Regional Co-director

Invite these authors to a constitutional bosberaad!

By SHAUNA WESTCOTT

A CHARTER FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN BILL OF RIGHTS DEBATE by Hugh Corder, Steve Kahanovitz, John Murphy, Christina Murray, Kate O'Regan, Jeremy Sarkin, Henk Smith and Nico Steytler, Departments of Public Law, UCT and UWC, and Legal Resources Centre, Cape Town, 1992.

This 'contribution' – in the form of a draft bill of rights and directives of state policy, with a brief introduction and more extended clause-by-clause commentary – puts some of the controversies and complexities of debates around a future bill of rights within reach of laypersons. It also adds both critically and synthetically to the discourse in which the constitutional committee of the ANC and the SA Law Commission have been the most prominent participants.

The authors' starting point was the revised ANC Bill of Rights for a New South Africa (1992) and the Interim Report on

Group and Human Rights (1991) of the Law Commission, but they also drew on charters of rights formulated elsewhere and on international covenants such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Their method was to 'work from the basic tenets' in the draft ANC Bill of Rights although they diverged from the ANC document in three important ways: they 'rearranged and replaced its very detailed enumeration of rights with a shorter list of broad entitlements', deleted various provisions that seemed incongruous, and introduced the following general circumscription clause as Article 1: 'This Bill of Rights guarantees the rights and freedoms set out in it subject only to such limits as can be demonstrably justified in a free and open social democracy.'

The introduction to the Charter for Social Justice begins with a discussion of constitutional review which is both interesting and frustrating – frustrating not only for its brevity but because lawyers seem to adore dropping into even their 'accessible' texts Latin phrases and references to cases which they assume the reader will either recognise

or be able to look up.

The authors go on to explain 'three key structural elements' of their proposed bill of rights: its style and language, its recognition of independent directives of state policy and the general circumscription clause referred to earlier. They argue that broad entitlements are preferable in a bill of rights to long detailed lists, for reasons that include being more accessible to all citizens, and avoiding various principles of statutory interpretation that require or encourage judges to be conservative.

A disturbing feature of the charter – and, it seems, of all contending documents – is its reticence on abortion, despite the authors' acknowledgement of the right to abortion in their commentary. They state their belief 'that a foetus that is not viable does not have a right to life' and that the rights of the mother 'are infringed by any limit on abortion'. However, Article 4(2) simply provides that 'Nothing in this article shall prevent legislation permitting abortion'.

One does not have to be clairvoyant to realise that a new non-racial legislature, which in all likelihood will be as overwhelmingly male as the present racist one, will interpret this as permission to carry on ignoring the fact that over a quarter of a million South African women EVERY YEAR endure the horror and risk to their health of backstreet abortions. I find it insufferable, furthermore, that a group of supposedly progressive lawyers are so little disturbed by the tyranny under which women are forced to live in this regard, that they, like everyone else, duck the issue.

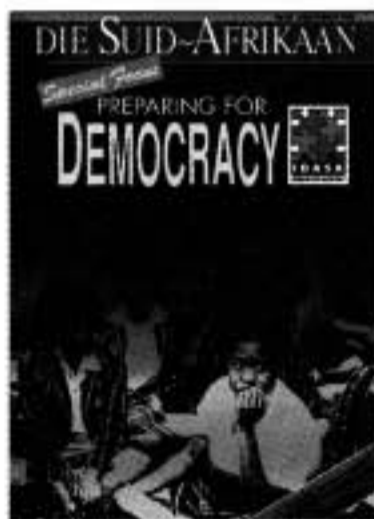
They do, to give credit where credit is due, criticise the ANC draft's protection of reproductive rights which, they point out, might be interpreted to cover only the right to reproduce. 'More importantly,' they say, 'in implicitly granting reproductive rights to both parents, the ANC clause disregards the imbalance of power and interests between men and women and makes it too easy for men to block decisions relating to reproduction taken by women by, for instance, vetoing a decision to have an abortion or even a decision to be sterilised or use contraception.'

Interestingly, the charter omits anything like the ANC Bill's Article 14(4) provision that the legislature may 'prohibit the circulation or possession of materials which incite racial, ethnic, religious, gender or linguistic hatred, which provoke violence, or which insult, degrade, defame or encourage abuse of any racial, ethnic, religious, gender or linguistic group'. The authors regard this as 'too sweeping a curtailment of free expres-

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PREPARING FOR DEMOCRACY

South Africans want to know what democracy means and what we need to do to prepare ourselves. IDASA and *Die Suid-Afrikaan* have produced a supplement which starts to answer these questions.



- Short descriptive articles ● Contributions by specialists
- A must for those involved in education for democracy

Having lost sleepless nights about the need for teaching of democracy in South Africa, I sometimes wonder if as South Africans it is voter education that should be our priority. Perhaps we rather need to educate the politicians to understand what the people need – Nomavenda Mathiane

There is no inevitability about democracy! It must be sought, fought for and won in every generation. – Dr Alex Boraine

Copies of the 48-page supplement can be obtained (R3,00 or a donation) from any Idasa office or be ordered from the Training Centre for Democracy, 39 Honey Street, Berea 2198

A voice for individuals

OUT OF SILENCE: Fighting for Human Rights produced by Chuck Olin Associates Inc, 1992. Running time: 52 minutes.

ON December 10, 1948, forty-eight countries voted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a document which had taken two years of discussion and debate to complete.

This video documents the drafting of the declaration and its subsequent use by various human rights organisations to highlight the plight of individuals facing repression in countries that do not abide by its regulations.

The successful November 1989 uprising in Czechoslovakia and the current repression in Guatemala are given as case studies for how

the declaration has been used by non-governmental organisations to give individuals an active voice.

The purpose of the video, according to the producers, is firstly educational and the accompanying booklet provides several points for discussion. Secondly it wants to create a sense of solidarity with others involved in the fight for human rights.

What the video does do is inform and educate the viewer about the valuable work and achievements of human rights organisations throughout the world and the significant role the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has played in facilitating this work.

● *The video is available for loan or for copying from Idasa's media department, 1 Penzance Road, Mowbray 7700 (Tel 021-*

What is desirable and viable

BROADCASTING AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, Critical Arts Volume 6 Number 1, 1992.

EVERYBODY'S talking about it, some might influence it, a few will do it, others will simply hear about it...but in some way changes to the SABC will affect us all.

Amid the clamour for the re-regulation of the airwaves, this issue of the journal "Critical Arts" offers one of the more comprehensive assessments of what is desirable and what is viable in the creation of an effective public broadcast service.

In particular, the article by Richard

Collins, 'Broadcasting policy for a post apartheid South Africa: some preliminary proposals', is one of the more comprehensive critiques of the Viljoen Task Group and an insightful contribution to the debate on broadcasting in South Africa.

Other contributions focus on the development of telecommunications in South Africa, language and national unity in South Africa, the Zimbabwe post-colonial broadcasting experience and lessons from the Australian communications industry.

● *The journal is available in bookshops and from the Centre for Cultural and Media Studies, University of Natal, Durban.*

Invite authors to bosberaad

From Page 26

sion', pointing out that Salman Rushdie's (superb) Satanic Verses could be legitimately suppressed under such a provision and that a documentary film on Nelson Mandela was one of the first works to be embargoed under a similar provision in Canada.

The commentary to the charter touches fascinatingly on the controversies surrounding issues such as privacy (suggesting as useful J S Mill's definition of the private sphere as that in which one's conduct does not harm others, so that, for instance, a drunk person should not be punished while a soldier or police officer drunk on duty should); environmental rights (opting, sadly,

for an anthropocentric rather than a biocentric approach on the basis that rights for natural 'objects' are not appropriate in a bill of rights); socio-economic rights (addressed in the directives of state policy); and property (suggesting a possible property clause but arguing against its inclusion).

The charter itself, with its attached directives of state policy, has a simplicity and elegance that is compelling, although its preamble, which begins with the lyrical first phrases of the Freedom Charter, quickly declines into "a dying fall". It certainly deserves to be widely read and to be taken seriously. Could the authors be invited to a constitutional bosberaad or two, do you suppose?

Shauna Westcott is a freelance journalist and editor.

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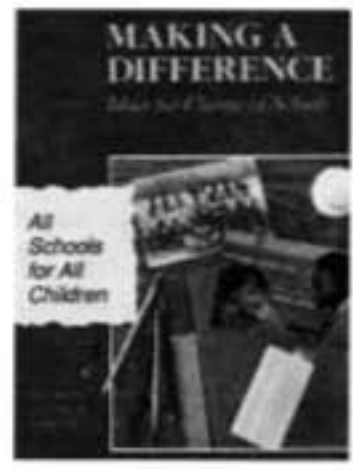
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mixed-race classrooms — language policy, class size, interracial tolerance, cultural dominance. Published by Idasa and Oxford University Press

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A package of six workshops for women who want to turn all the talk about women's rights into action. Designed by activists and tried and tested, it comes with posters and other illustrations.

DEMOCRACY

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A 40-minute award-winning video on the challenges presented by democracy, featuring South Africans young and mature, ordinary and prominent.

The day I became yet another crime statistic

READING about crime and violence in the newspapers is always an eye-opener, but it can never prepare you for the shock of becoming one of the statistics. In just one hour in January, my belief in my safe passage in my country, my city, my neighbourhood, on my very own street changed dramatically.

I live in Rondebosch East, a former white working class area which rapidly changed character when Group Areas Act restrictions were relaxed. The residents have never been particularly concerned about safety and there are no high fences, fierce dogs or rapid response security companies. I have never been much concerned about my personal safety because neither I nor anyone close to me has ever been a victim of crime. Now I am far more conscious of the dangers women face in our society.

It was the night before my son's first day at school. It was hot and I decided to pop into the cafe down the road for a Coke – a normal everyday activity. As I was getting back into my car, Coke in hand, a man put his foot in my car and said 'keep quiet, move over, I've got a gun'. At first I couldn't understand what he was saying, and he repeated his threat.

I moved over, and he got into the car. I started shaking and crying thinking that he was going to kill me. But at the same time it was unreal, as if it was not happening to me.

He told me that if I didn't do exactly what he said he would shoot me. He drove around the corner and picked up a friend, who was waiting for him. They asked if I had any bank cards on me. I offered them all my cards, begging them to let me out. They told me to keep quiet, saying they were taking me with them. The driver kept threatening to shoot me.

I then realised that they were very young and were obviously stoned and drunk. This made me a little calmer and I felt that I needed to take control of the situation. I told them I would withdraw money at the autobank and that they should just leave me there. At this the driver's threats grew worse. He told me to shut up, that they would leave me when they were through with me. I then realised that I needed to escape quickly and when we came to a very busy intersection I seized my chance to escape and jumped out.

I leapt into a car behind me, explained to the driver what had happened and appealed for help. My rescuer's response was to speed off to a friend's house, explaining that he was going to fetch a gun.

Completely shaken by this I ran away from him and rushed into the nearest respectable looking house, explaining to the very startled residents what had happened.

They took me back to my car, now stalled on an embankment and surrounded by a large and very angry crowd. They were beating and kicking the driver, saying that they wouldn't

allow white men to touch their women. I asked if anyone had called the police but most of the crowd said the police would just protect these white men. I finally managed to persuade someone to phone the police and found myself in the position of trying to stop the crowd from assaulting my abductor.

I felt the law should be brought in to deal with this crime. Somehow I expected some sympathy or support from the police, or at the very least a degree of efficiency. Yet when the

police arrived all they seemed interested in was getting a statement from me – immediately. They simply bundled the youth into the van – no breathalyser, no search for the

weapon. I was in no condition to talk, so they proposed following me home to take my statement there. That horrified me even more. There was no way I was going to allow them to bring that man to my home. Finally they agreed that I could go home, and report for a statement later.

When my husband and I went to the police station to give them a statement on my abduction the policeman in the charge office didn't know what an abduction was. It took the arresting officers an hour to

write a two-page report – they couldn't even spell the name of my street although it is only two roads from the police station. Since then my husband's efforts to find out about the investigation have drawn a blank; the police say they have no records of the case.

To add to the irony, we discovered that the abductor was a 17-year old, light-skinned coloured youth. He had been badly assaulted by a crowd simply because they thought he was white. Strange as it may seem, I started feeling a little sorry for him. When the police took him to a cell, he started crying.

At the same time I was angry. I felt violated. What horrified me most was the fact that the youths showed a complete lack of respect for women. It seemed all I was to them was an easy victim. I felt I could never feel safe again in my own neighbourhood.

It seems I was not the only one who felt this way. I thought that I had good relationship with my white neighbour, but it was obvious that he had not overcome past prejudices. He told my mother that he has warned his wife to keep away from the shop as the area was unsafe now that so many black people had moved in – a 'little Mecca' is how he described it to my Muslim mother. He added there had never been incidents like this in the past when the area was still white.

Today, I have installed safety gates on my doors, burglar bars on my windows and drive with my car doors locked and my windows rolled up. And while I take all these precautions, I remain angry that I am forced to live like this, and am determined never to be a victim again.

By SHIREEN BADAT



Shireen Badat is administrative assistant in Idasa's media department.