

The people need to KNOW

Idasa book takes Rapport prize

A BOOK published by Idasa last year, which breaks new ground in South African history, has been awarded the 1992 Rapport prize for non-fiction in Afrikaans.



Die Derde Oorlog teen Mapoch by journalist Hans Pienaar traces the origins of the uprising in KwaNdebele in the mid-1980s back to two (well covered up) wars between the Boer and Ndebele people in the last century.

One of the judges, Dr Johan van Wyk of the University of Durban-Westville, says the book makes a significant contribution to the general historical record in South Africa, containing new information and analysis not reflected in some major English-language histories.

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Starved of information about our future....

South Africa's constitutional future is being formulated virtually behind closed doors by an unelected leadership at the meetings of Codesa. Most South Africans have little knowledge, let alone critical understanding, of the whole process of constitutional negotiations which is taking place at the aptly chosen World Trade Centre.

By HUGH CORDER

Some South Africans probably don't care, but the majority would like to be given some information on who is deciding their future, how they are operating, what they are discussing, etc. Given the ostensible and sometimes vocal and real commitment of most of the participating parties to democracy and the goal of the entire enterprise - a democratic SA - the fact that even the literate and interested public is starved of information is nothing short of scandalous.

How has the situation come about? I would suggest that there are two main groups of culprits, each of which is unconcerned about this matter for a range of diverse reasons.

The first group consists of the media - both written and spoken. One of the founding pillars of democracy is the accountability of the governors to their subjects. Between popular elections, the chief means through which accountability is sought is through the public's



A battery of media...but most of South Africa remains ignorant of the negotiation process.

Ken Oosterbroek, The Star

right to know what kind of people are in government, what powers they exercise, what policies they pursue and so on.

Crucial to the right to know is an openness of approach by the powerful and the duty of the media is to inform the public. In a country in which roughly half the adult population cannot read or write and the electronic

media are funded by the public, a special responsibility rests on the SABC's television and radio services. The SABC's performance has been poor. Apart from full coverage of the two plenary sessions, reporting of Codesa has been sporadic, uneven, boring and unsophisticated. It appears that many of those involved with the news

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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

EDITORIAL STAFF: Ronel Scheffer, Sue Valentine, Chantel Edwards, Moira Levy

Letters and contributions may be addressed to Democracy in Action, 1 Penzance Road, Mowbray, 7700.

NATIONAL OFFICE: Hill House, 1 Penzance Road, Mowbray, Cape Town, 7700
(Tel 021- 473127; Fax 477458)

WESTERN CAPE: 5th Floor, Nerina Centre 64 Buitenkant Street, Cape Town, 8001
(Tel 021- 4623635; Fax 4614635)

JOHANNESBURG: Kevron House, 39 Honey Street, Berea, Johannesburg, 2195
(Tel 011- 4843694/7; Fax 4842610)

PRETORIA: 299 Duncan Street, Hatfield, Pretoria, 0063
(Tel 012- 3421476/7, 3421478/9; Fax 433387)

DURBAN: 1219 Sangro House, 417 Smith Street, Durban, 4001
(Tel 031- 3048893; Fax 3048891)

PORT ELIZABETH: Fourth Floor, Standard House, 344 Main Street, Port Elizabeth, 6001 (Tel 041- 553301/3; Fax 522587)

EAST LONDON: Second Floor, Gladstone House, Gladstone Street, East London, 5201
(Tel 0431- 430047; Fax 438682)

BLOEMFONTEIN: PO Box 8098, Bloemfontein, 9300
(Tel 051- 484821/2; Fax 481580)

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...THE ANC THREAT OF MASS ACTION SMACKS OF A POLITICAL INFERIORITY COMPLEX...

...75%!!?...SOUNDS LIKE A NAT' MINORITY COMPLEX' TO ME.....



The politics of the pilsener

Over drinks at a recent Idasa conference, a PAC delegate offered reasons for his choice of beverage. He'd have a beer, the one with the initials that stand for "Here's to A New South Africa".

- *Made by Settlers' of Azania Breweries?*

Strictly speaking

Traditionally the SABC has had a rigorous policy to ensure the correct pronunciation of foreign names. However, when it comes to their own backyard, standards seem to slip seriously. TV commentary on the Comrades Marathon repeatedly referred to a top ten medallist with the very common surname of Mokoena (pronounced Mokwena) as "Mookoona".

- *Time to move from terre blanche to terra firma.*

Dubious distinction

And still on the Comrades Marathon. The amazed tones of commentators about how well black runners had done to take five of the first 10 positions made it sound as if the athletes were newcomers to the country let alone the sport.

- *It'll take a while for the spirit of the Comrades to triumph.*

Braaivleis bonding

A quick-thinking black truck driver saved fellow motorists from certain serious injury recently when he managed to avoid smashing into a number of cars after the

Ja-Nee

brakes of his truck failed. One white motorist was so grateful to the driver for saving his life that he promptly offered a fitting reward - an invitation to a braaivleis.

- *Maybe he'd have preferred the Chevrolet?*

Two houses to take away

We hear that not only did the visiting OAU delegation buy big in upmarket shopping malls, but certain members headed out into suburbia as well. On a drive through Pretoria one delegation member managed to buy two houses - without even getting out of the car!

- *Question is, who's money was he spending?*

Anxious for an angle

A phone call by an SABC employee anxious that a BBC-run training course for 10 (mainly black) radio journalists in an SABC studio in Cape Town was to train ANC members gave *Argus* reporter Willem Steenkamp the scent of a good story. However, despite confirmation by a senior SABC official and the BBC trainer that the course had nothing to do with the ANC, the *Argus* report focused strongly on the rumour of SABC anxiety.

- *Never let the facts get in the way of a good story.*

We were getting there – what's gone wrong?

It all looked so promising a few months ago. What's gone wrong? Here are a few unpalatable reasons for the present situation which has caused so much anxiety and concern.

Firstly, many naively believed in almost inevitable progress towards normality, as if the negotiation process would move steadily out of the valley of discord and distrust to new vistas of understanding and acceptance. All of us, in our optimism, hopelessly underestimated the smouldering anger which is the consequence of long years of repression, racism and abject poverty.

The failure of Codesa II to deliver is a painful reminder of the legacy of apartheid and the need to build trust in the midst of conflict. In the long term, the breakdown should destroy the cosy club atmosphere of an unelected body and bring a new sense of harsh reality.

Secondly, the negotiation process has largely been confined to a group of elites. This may be inevitable, but a dangerous consequence is the ever-widening gap between the grassroots and those at the top. At the very least, there must be a radical improvement in the communication between top-level negotiators and those they purport to represent. The secrecy surrounding Codesa committees and the inevitable leaks and rumours have not helped either.

Thirdly, the deliberations of Codesa have had no effect whatsoever in lessening the mindless violence with its bitter harvest of death, injuries and destruction of property. It is the unabated violence which is the greatest problem facing all of us, and which threatens not only to derail the negotiations but to tear asunder the very fabric of society.

Bloody-minded

Fourthly, the two major partners in the negotiations, the National Party and the ANC, must accept much of the credit and the blame for both progress and breakdown. The NP in particular has in recent weeks demonstrated a bloody-mindedness reminiscent of the dark days of apartheid. As the can of worms spills its inelegant mess of state corruption and involvement in the deaths of activists, the response has been not remorse but defiance.

The apparent indifference of Mr De Klerk is particularly worrying and in sharp contrast to his courageous actions in 1990 and 1991. Can the originators of apartheid be trusted? Is the government willing to accept the consequences of its brave statements on democracy and surrender its monopoly of power? These and other disturbing questions are being asked inside and outside of Codesa.

On the other hand, the ANC, coming out of a long period of enforced exile, imprisonment, bannings and harassment, has found it difficult to adjust to the demands of a political party moving towards elections. It is no secret that coming so close to the corridors of power, the ANC has often taken its eye off the negotiating ball and looked rather at the goalposts. This is understandable, but it also creates enormous problems. Compromises are made, only to find that they are not leading to the desired result. Pressurised by a demanding constituency, most of whose lives have been totally untouched by the negotiation process, the

ANC is forced into a position of talking tough and using the threat of mass action as an alternative to negotiations.

Temptation

The ANC should resist the temptation to encourage stay-aways, work stoppages and mass demonstrations, particularly in a time of economic downturn. Further, whilst the ANC has every justification in posing serious questions to Inkatha and the security forces, it would strengthen its own position if its leaders quite candidly stated "yes, we are no angels, there are many in our ranks who have succumbed to the use of intimidation and violence. We are opposed to this and will fight it at every level".

Finally, there are many other factors at work: the controversial role of Inkatha, the exclusion of the PAC and the Conservative Party from the negotiating process and, more significantly, the sinister activities of rightwing forces.

What can we do in the short term to make the best of an extremely difficult period of transition? This is not the time to wring our hands and bemoan our fate. We are in a trough, let's accept that the going will be hard and that the resolution of conflict and reconciliation is going to take much longer than originally imagined, and that, like all transitions, it will be messy. This is a time for courage, patience and action.

Action

Secondly, there must be a clearing out of the stables! Mr De Klerk must make a much bolder response to government corruption and allegations of state and security force involvement in death squads and violence. It is now no longer a question of laying the blame at the door of minor officials or even heads of departments. If there are ministers and senior people in government who have been involved or are involved, then appropriate action must be taken. Heads must roll. This will restore a sense of trust and strengthen Mr De Klerk's negotiating position.

Thirdly, negotiations must get back on track and if this calls for innovative ideas and extraordinary meetings then so be it. We cannot allow the negotiation process to weaken by simply muddling along and sticking to prescribed times, dates and places. In particular a rapid move towards an interim government must be attempted, whatever it takes. This objective should be reached before the end of 1992.

Fourthly, and most importantly, the strongest action must be taken to reduce the violence. Here the major players have an awesome responsibility, but if, despite all the good intentions of the peace accord, the state, the ANC and other actors, violence persists, South Africa should seriously consider inviting an international mission to assist in monitoring the violence. Impartial, professional observers from the European Community and the Commonwealth, working closely with the peace secretariat, could assist in identifying causes and those responsible. No initiative should be turned away from if it can lessen the carnage in our townships.

*Alex Boraine
Executive Director*

PRETORIA

The play's the thing

From June 30 to July 16 a group of American schoolchildren will spend time in the Pretoria region workshopping a play with their South African counterparts.

With Idasa's assistance, children from four schools (black, white, Indian and coloured) as well as several South African actors and playwrights will participate in the production which will be performed at the end of the two-week exercise.

The project was initiated by the American-based grouping, Creative Response, which specialises in breaking down racial and cultural barriers through theatre.

Afrikaners in the new SA

Afrikaners quo vadis? A public meeting on options for the Afrikaner will be held on **July 15** in Pretoria. Speakers include Van Zyl Slabbert, Jan van Eck,

Jan van Eck Koos van der Merwe and others from the NP, CP, HNP and AWB.

JOHANNESBURG

Winter school for teachers

From **July 10 to 23** Idasa's Training Centre for Democracy will run a **personal enrichment and skills advancement course** for teachers at a hotel in Swartkops between Johannesburg and Pretoria. The course will focus on issues of developing democracy and citizenship through the formal education system.

Teachers throughout the country are invited to apply to The Administrator, 39 Honey Street, Berea 2195. Only 50 places are available.

DURBAN

Naidoo: the prospects for peace

Jay Naidoo, a member of the National Peace Secretariat, will discuss progress and setbacks in the work of regional and local dispute resolution committees at a **Future Forum** lunch in Durban on **June 23** from 12.30pm to 2pm.

The cost is R50 and reservations should be made with Louella at (031) 304-8893.

EAST LONDON

Marching to a different beat

A **public meeting on conscription** will be held at the City Hall on **June 26**.

• Another meeting of the ongoing **Gender Forum** will be held at Idasa's office on **June 18**. Affirmative action is the subject under discussion and all women are welcome.

• On **June 6** an **education seminar** will examine ways of ensuring education for empowerment in the Border, Ciskei and Transkei areas.

Rural govt meeting

Rural local government comes under the spotlight at a conference to be held on **July 17 and 18** in East London.

The role of tradition and democracy as well as the allocation of land and services and the sustainability of rural development will be among the topics on the agenda.

Conference participants will include traditional leaders as well as representatives from civics, business, local and municipal government and political parties.

WESTERN CAPE

City seminar series

The role and place of **local government administration in transition** is the subject of the third City Future seminar. The

meeting will be held on **June 17** at 5.30pm in the Bellville Holiday Inn.

Karoo conference

Poverty and development in the Karoo will be the focus of a conference to be held from **June 26 to 28** in Beaufort West.

Rev Beyers Naudé will open proceedings which will be attended by farm workers, local community representatives, development agencies as well as business, church and other interest groups. The conference is open to all.



Rev Beyers Naudé

Making democracy work

A meeting will be held on **July 8** to look at **democratic mechanisms for new cities**.

How people participate in decision-making, how to ensure accountability and what are the most effective forms of representation will be among the questions discussed.

BLOEMFONTEIN

African study tour

A group of 40 farmers, teachers, academics, politicians and business leaders from the Free State will be heading off for a **study tour** of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi from **June 27 to July 16**.

The aim of the visit is to gather first-hand knowledge of the successes and failures in land reform, socio-economic development, education, local government and civil society in those countries.

The group, which will form an informal OFS "think tank", will reflect on the similarities or uniqueness of South Africa in relation to the experiences of other African states.

UN aid likely soon?

By WARREN KRAFCHIK
TENTATIVE PLANS for United Nations socio-economic assistance to South Africa were laid at a conference of South Africans and UN officials in Windhoek in May.

The United Nations group included representatives from 26 affiliated agencies. The South Africans represented political parties, organised labour, business and non-governmental organisations.

In the discussion on socio-economic needs, education, health, housing and job creation were prioritised. It was stressed that these priorities must be addressed within the context of a national development strategy capable of meeting goals of growth and redistribution, simultaneously.

Participants recognised that the first step in addressing socio-economic needs was to mobilise existing resources in South Africa that are not efficiently utilised. However, given the scale of inequality, external finance would also be required. United Nations assistance will further be useful in the fields of technical expertise, human resource development, institutional capacity building and poverty relief programmes.

Most of the debate at the conference focused on the appropriate institutional mechanisms to channel UN assistance to South Africa during a transitional period. The South Africans raised two issues:

Firstly, as socio-economic functions are unlikely to fall under joint control in a transitional government, assistance from the UN would need to be channeled through a more representative institution. It was suggested that the socio-economic negotiating forums, which are emerging at a local,

In the footsteps of Plaatje

Two years ago Idasa decided to sponsor the publication of an Afrikaans book which offers a critical reinterpretation of an important slice of South African history. The book, edited and produced by Idasa's media department, was recently awarded the 1992 Rapport prize for non-fiction in Afrikaans.

Hans Pienaar has a minor but nevertheless serious regret about his award-winning *Die Derde Oorlog teen Mapoch*. In the rush to meet printing deadlines, his original intention to dedicate the book to that great South African journalist, Sol Plaatje, was forgotten.

This omission will definitely be rectified in a future edition, says Pienaar, who has drawn much of his inspiration for *Mapoch* and journalism in general from Plaatje, editor of one of our first "black" newspapers at the turn of the century and author of the journalistic masterpiece, *Native Life in South Africa*.

Quotations from Plaatje's work feature prominently in Pienaar's book, which illuminates the fibre of Boer life in much the same way as Plaatje reflected black people in his time - without fragmenting the total South African experience.

Pienaar is quite chuffed about his Rapport prize. No more so than Idasa. Ever optimistic, we accept it as another small sign that the Afrikaner establishment is beginning to face up to its history. That is what *Mapoch* set out to achieve: it is history that at times pierces the myth with devastating accuracy and at other points suggests misunderstandings, always trying also to affirm the reader's right to accept or reject, to take responsibility or to lay the blame elsewhere.

It is a harrowing and, at times, wonderfully humorous, tale of a hundred years of conflict between Afrikaner and



Hans Pienaar: encouragement for probing journalism in Afrikaans.

By **RONEL SCHEFFER**

Ndebele (the Mapoch people or Ndzundza tribe) which culminates in the recent history of uprising in KwaNdebele in the mid-1980s. Most of the suffering is experienced by black people but we are given glimpses of heroes - on both sides of the divide and a few who straddle the two camps. That at least makes it a little more palatable.

Pienaar cut his journalistic teeth in the mainstream Afrikaans press, then freelanced, then moved to the alternative *Vrye Weekblad*. Working on a novel now, he is employed again as a sub-editor on *Rapport*.

Mapoch essentially is a product of the hard slog of inves-

tigative journalism (hundreds of interviews, long hours of collecting and sifting through documents) and it is enhanced by Pienaar's imaginative treatment and writing talent. He hopes that the Rapport award will serve as encouragement to probing journalism in Afrikaans, that Afrikaans journalists in the mainstream will start taking a leaf from the book of publications like *Vrye Weekblad* and *Die Suid-Afrikaan*.

Pienaar plans to rework the book for publication in English in the near future.

Ronel Scheffer is production editor in Idasa's media department.

The book is available from The Media Department, Idasa, 1 Penzance Rd, Mowbray 7700. Price: R30,00

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regional and national level, constitute the most inclusive, legitimate structures presently able to play such a role in South Africa.

Secondly, the capacity of the different UN agencies to respond in a co-ordinated way to support growth and redistribution goals simultaneously was questioned.

The UN group acknowledged that future technical co-operation with South Africa would be more demanding than in other countries. Special institutional mechanisms would need to be created to facilitate greater programme co-ordination and to deal with grassroots organisations rather than only with a central government.

What was important, from their point of view, was that substantial effort be invested in building up the capacity and central co-ordination of the negotiating fora to enable them to act as facilitating and implementing agencies for external assistance.

It was agreed that a follow-up meeting would be held to further consider these issues as well as concrete programme proposals.

Warren Krafchik is an economics consultant with Idasa.

A key symposium by the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce:

Affirmative Action and Black Advancement in a Democratic SA

August 12
Mount Nelson Hotel
08h15 - 16h50

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Franklin Sonn, Wiseman Nkuhlu, Albie Sachs, Linda Human, Clive Thompson

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For details contact:

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CT Chamber of Commerce,
PO Box 204,
Cape Town, 8000.
Tel (021) 23-2323.

Mislukking - en mislik - in Malawi

Deur HENNING MYBURG

Erens uit my kinderjare is daar herinneringe van President Hastings Banda van Malawi wat met groot trompetgeskal in Suid-Afrika aankom op amptelike besoek om die goeie verhoudinge tussen die twee lande te bevestig.

Dit was met hierdie gedagtes in my agterkop dat ek geesdriftig die grenspos tussen Zambië en Malawi bestorm het om my kort besoek aan die land te begin. Dit sou interessant wees om iets te sien van die land wat in 1991 'n ekonomiese groeikoers van 10 persent kon handhaaf.

By die grenspos is daar die gewone toegangsdokumentasie wat voltooi moet word. Ek vul in: kom vanaf Suid-Afrika, werk vir Idasa, is 'n politieke fasiliteerder van beroep.

Skielik is daar beroering. Ek moet herhaaldelik verduidelik presies wat ek in Malawi wil doen, naamlik voorbereidings tref vir 'n politieke studietoer deur 'n groep Vrystaters.

Uiteindelik begin hulle 'n vorm invul getiteld "Arrest on entry". Drie ure na my aankoms by die grenspos word ek Malawi binnegelaat onder 'n "Provisional Restriction Order" met streng opdrag om reguit Lilongwe toe te ry,



Henning Myburg...
"arrest on entry"

by 'n spesifieke hotel in te boek en die volgende oggend by die doeane-kantore aan te meld.

Ek doen so en rapporteer om 08h00 die volgende oggend by die aangewese kantoor. Weer dieselfde storie: verduideliking en uiteindelik aan die Kommissaris van Polisie! Om 17h00 is almal ten einde laaste oortuig van die onskuld en goeie bedoelings van my sending en word ek toegelaat om weer te vertrek Zambië toe. (Die tyd begroot vir Malawi was om).

Op pad terug na die grenspos maal die woorde van 'n kelner in die hotel die vorige aand deur my kop: "Ons is ontevrede en opstandig omdat ons niks mag sê nie, ons het geen geld nie, die regering het al die geld, die moeilikheid gaan oor demokrasie."

Henning Myburg is streekdirekteur van Idasa in die Vrystaat.

The people need to know

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gathering and presentation (particularly on television) are having difficulty adjusting to a different political game.

The print media (with singular exceptions) are marginally better, but most reporting is tucked away on the inside pages and analytical pieces are seldom encountered: hardly a fulfilment of our newspapers' much-vaunted independence and public service function. The media are not fulfilling their function in this regard.

The second group which must carry the blame for the lamentable lack of information comprises all the parties at Codesa.

One appreciates that government in this country has long been characterised by paranoid "official secrecy" and an imperious style. One readily acknowledges, too, that political compromise and negotiation can often be achieved more effectively and expeditiously behind closed doors. But it is equally true that outrageous statements, stupidity and stonewalling are unlikely to be indulged in when the full glare of publicity or at least the possibility of disclosure, is brought to bear.

'It is not good enough that some clever public relations agency be called in once the talking is over'

Few, if any, of the delegations have been prepared to divulge their policy on a number of crucial constitutional issues and the names and backgrounds of their delegates and advisers. It does not help to reply: "Oh, but these are only discussions about transitional arrangements," for the shape of those plans will have a considerable influence on the final constitutional form. In addition, Codesa is apparently drawing up a list of constitutional principles which will form the building blocks of the future constitution and bill of rights.

It is not good enough that some clever public relations agency be called in, once the talking is over, to sell the final product to the people before an election for a constituent assembly. The future electorate has a right to know what is going on, and to be kept

informed by intelligent and critical public commentary. If this does not occur, the finished product will have little chance of legitimacy.

'An uninformed society cannot be democratic; an ignorant electorate cannot be effective'

Here are some practical steps which will go some way to rectifying this sad state of affairs:

- A state-funded information campaign, using commentators acknowledged to be non-partisan and critical, and a Codesa equivalent of Hansard in printed form.
- Greater allocation of time and resources by the SABC and the press to achieve a continuing and analytical treatment of the negotiation process (eg regular radio slots - we no longer have "Parliamentary Report" - but we still have several stock exchange reports!).
- Accessible presentations of this information. The media could employ journalistic devices like weekly Codesa supplements, profiles of the leading public actors, a Codesa barometer, fact files and joke columns.
- Information campaigns (adverts, newsletters, meetings) by the political parties to inform and consult with their constituencies. They have a duty to inform and educate their constituents.
- A massive public education campaign about democratic government, its demands, benefits, structures and procedures, to establish a democratic culture in a country which knows only authoritarian violence as a means of political expression.

There are many more mechanisms which could be imaginatively explored. The first steps need to be taken urgently to inform the public. An uninformed society cannot be democratic; an ignorant electorate cannot be effective.

Prof Corder is a member of the Civil Rights League and a lecturer in the Department of Public Law at the University of Cape Town.

A quest worth pursuing

South Africa is not on the point of collapse or disintegration; nor is she on the point of imminent breakthrough to a trouble-free democracy, says Idasa director DR VAN ZYL SLABBERT in a new book. Here are some of his conclusions.

"South Africa is the largest graveyard of political predictions in the world. She has been condemned, cursed and dismissed more often than understood. The complexity of her problems has undermined the confidence of many competent analysts. Very few, if any, would have predicted that she could now be busy with negotiating away domination and seeking to put democracy in its place.

"The dynamics of this transition have unleashed a flood of creative energy in all areas of societal life. Most key actors on national, regional and local levels display a willingness to engage rather than confront, to create rather than destroy. South Africa is not on the point of collapse or disintegration; nor is she on the point of imminent breakthrough to a trouble-free democracy.

"One of the hopeful signs is a growing awareness of the gravity of the problems that have to be solved. In short, South Africa's quest for democracy is not as easy as some pretend, nor as futile as others predict. As long as the impact of the past on the present is not ignored when the future is negotiated, it is a quest worth pursuing with as much vigour as the extraordinary people of South Africa can muster."

With these words, Van Zyl Slabbert closes his latest book, *The Quest for Democracy: South Africa in Transition*. It's an upbeat conclusion to a sobering analysis of the way forward.

Ending apartheid is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the establishment of a true democracy. The current negotiation process could end in a number of possible undemocratic transitional scenarios; for the next few years South Africa could hover between a fresh clampdown and a government of transitional unity (GOTU) – an unelected multi-party arrangement. The virtual collapse of negotiations at Codesa II raises a fresh series of imponderables about South Africa's future, and makes this sobering assessment all the more relevant.

In the final chapter the most important



Key actors: most display willingness to create rather than destroy.

Rodger Bosch, Southlight

conclusions of the book are outlined:

- South Africa has embarked on its quest at a time when two clearly discernible trends are influencing international relations: the trend towards good governance and a commitment to a democratic system of government as well as the trend towards sound management of market-driven economies. There is a growing convergence on criteria that countries use in judging each other's responses to these trends.

'One of the hopeful signs is a growing awareness of the gravity of the problems that have to be solved'

- The quest for democracy is motivated also by the need to get rid of domination. In South Africa this took the form of colonialism, ie white minority domination. However, South Africa cannot solve this problem through conventional colonial transition, ie white withdrawal or an externally imposed formula for transition implemented and monitored by some external international agent.

- Other failed attempts at transition away from domination have left legacies which affect the current negotiations; partition, technocratic reform and attempts at revolutionary transition.

- There are powerful external and internal forces, planned and unplanned, which have

combined to make negotiation a compelling option to deal with the transition away from domination to democracy. There is no need to seek extraordinary explanations or fall back onto simplistic psychological causes.

- The difficulty of identifying key players in the negotiation process arises from the dynamics of the process itself and the problems that have to be dealt with at different stages of transition. Realignment, new parties and

alliances, as well as shifting patterns of leadership, tactics and strategies, have to be taken into account.

- Clusters of problems can be distinguished analytically in different phases of the negotiation process, though they are entangled in reality. Normalisation, democratisation and consolidation overlap and interact, adding to the complexity of the process and the uncertainty of the outcome.

- An identifiable sequence of phases of negotiation does not guarantee a trouble-free unfolding of the process. South Africa may be similar to other countries undergoing transition, but there are important imponderables which can have a significant impact on the outcome of the process: for example, an unresolved security situation; transitional legitimacy; ideological intensity; economic performance; and youth.

- The prospects of South Africa becoming a democracy are daunting and challenging, but not out of the question. They depend on the critical role of key political actors; the strategic choices they make concerning the different problems during the different phases of transition; how they react towards one another; the obstacles and opportunities that have to be overcome and exploited. It is the interaction between such strategic choices and basic structural conditions inside South Africa that hold the key to South Africa becoming a democracy.

("The Quest for Democracy: South Africa in Transition" is published by Penguin Books.)

Codesa: Trojan horse of black liberation?

Codesa is being used as a tool to depoliticise and deradicalise black people in South Africa, according to STRINI MOODLEY, publicity secretary of Azapo. This is an edited version of a speech he delivered at an Idasa forum in Durban recently.



Moodley: Codesa won't deliver

When the mythical Cassandra of Troy stood on the walls of her city and looked down at the mammoth wooden horse that had been dragged before her city gates by the Greeks, she warned the Trojan people to reject the fraud that she knew would lead to the destruction of her people.

Fate so designed that nobody listened to Cassandra and the Trojan people dragged the horse through the city gates and celebrated and caroused that entire night.

When the Trojans had exhausted themselves with celebration and fallen asleep, the Greek soldiers who were hidden in the belly of the wooden horse emerged and began to slaughter the Trojans.

After 10 years of valiantly warding off the attack of the Greeks, a simple ruse – the Trojan horse – saw Troy and its people completely destroyed.

In a sense, we of Azapo suffer the same frustration that Cassandra had when she urged her people to reject the wooden horse.

Codesa is the Trojan horse of black liberation.

Azapo's frustrations are exacerbated by the realisation that as our planet hurtles towards the 21st century, the greater part of the human race remains firmly fixated in the Dark Ages.

Nothing has been more illogical and vicious than the wars that have been brought on by unscientific notions such as tribe, race, religion and language. Even more illogical is the notion that the human race can only resolve differences if these notions are made the criteria for any form of negotiations.

Codesa is a product of that mindless view that tribal, ethnic, language and religious differences are the cornerstones of our future existence. We must first see ourselves in our different tribal, religious, language, racial and other garments and apparel before we can talk about resolving conflicts.

What is even more appalling is that many of those sitting around the Codesa table are or have been linked to violent repression which even now rips out the lifeblood of children and women.

Codesa is a denial of the value and true meaning of democracy. It is part of the conspiracy that has distorted democracy so completely that the yardstick by which we measure democracy is the United States of America.

How Azapo would do it

Strini Moodley faced a lively audience after his address. Asked whether he hated whites, Mr Moodley replied in the negative, adding "but I love blacks more".

Here are some of his responses to other questions:

What can/is Azapo doing outside of Codesa to realise its objectives?

Azapo will continue to mobilise and educate the people for the seizure of power. To conscientise the masses politically remains important and will be redoubled in the face of all the confusion in the country. Azapo will continue with community projects that empower the people.

Is Azapo not marginalising itself by shunning Codesa especially as it polls very low support in political surveys?

No. Azapo is aligning itself with the people and Codesa is going to fail because it is not an expression of the people's demands and aspirations. Whatever is said about support in market surveys is not necessarily true.

What is Azapo's relationship with the patriotic front at this point?

Azapo wants a true patriotic front made out of true patriots with a clean record of non-collaboration. It is busy laying the basis for this patriotic front to emerge. Soon there will be a meeting of unions affiliated to Nactu, Cosatu and other independent unions to address economic and political issues. Political organisations like the PAC and ANC will also take part.

Why Codesa is undemocratic

On the Sunday before the whites only referendum, the National Party put out a double-page advertisement in all the Sunday newspapers.

The headline to that advertisement read, "If you are scared of majority rule, vote Yes!" This advertisement, for the first time, told the truth about Codesa.

Underneath that headline the advertisement went on to say, "A Yes vote will allow us to do what the Rhodesians never did: Negotiate from a position of real strength, a democratic constitution that prevents domination and offers security to those who have a lot to lose. Protect your rights to political freedom, your own religion, own values, language, right to own property, savings, investments and pension funds. AT CODESA MOST OF THESE GUARANTEES HAVE ALREADY BEEN SECURED."

Not a single party within Codesa objected to the advertisement. Up to that time the liberal media and political observers, analysts and commentators were lauding Codesa for its programme to bring liberation to black people.

Not a single party – barring, perhaps, the NP – is truly representative as none of them have truly tested their strength democratically at the polls.

In fact, as far as Azapo is concerned 95 percent of the people

sitting at Codesa have no right to sit there. They belong to a discredited, illegitimate regime, or to puppet banana enclaves run by military dictators or by NP appointees who rule over some of these bantustan enclaves.

Some of them have stolen money and they earn fat cheques from the government to ensure that black people remain oppressed and exploited. Every day there are revelations of programmes and plots by De Klerk's security agencies and puppets of how they are involved in committing terror and violence against black people. There are revelations of billions of rands being defrauded through the government's various agencies.

These are the people who are sitting at Codesa to discuss the future of this country. There is no doubt in Azapo's view that Codesa will, in the final analysis, fail to deliver the goods to black people.

Since 2 February 1990 nothing, I repeat nothing, has happened which dramatically alters life for black people.

And just as the Trojan horse put the Trojan people to sleep, Codesa is depoliticising and deradicalising black people. We are being numbed into a sleep because we believe that Codesa will solve our problem.

Azapo's vision for a lasting settlement

A truly democratic solution cannot be implemented with the participation of De Klerk as the NP or the government.

The liberation movement - all its components - must come to terms with the reality that none of us singly can bring liberation. Solidarity is the key to our liberation.

Despite the misguided argument that the regime is too powerful to unseat, the liberation movement has the capacity, the resources and the will to work out a programme of action.

If De Klerk is serious about wanting to resolve the conflict in this country, then he has only one honourable option - to suspend his parliament and resign as a government.

If De Klerk indicates his willingness to resign, he must make that known to the liberation movement and to the world at large. The liberation movement can then work out how a transitional authority can smoothly take over the day-to-day running of government, take over the budget and finance, quarantine the security forces, bring in a peace-keeping force, and oversee fair and free elections for a constituent assembly.

If De Klerk wishes to discuss these points with the liberation movement, he must meet us at a neutral venue, at a meeting chaired by a neutral co-ordinator.



National Women's Coalition: spirit of generosity.

Anna Zieminski

A 'minor' process where people - not power - count

By BEA ROBERTS

The past year has witnessed the mushrooming of a variety of negotiating forums, alliances and social contracts, Codesa possibly being the most important - and most precarious. But for those who despair at the difficulties and deadlocks of the national process, the personality clashes and party-political jealousies, nevertheless, here and there, cause for cautious optimism exists.

One such initiative is a process which was started in 1991 and culminated in April this year, with scant media coverage. (However, women are no longer surprised when their actions fail to capture the national consciousness for more than the briefest of periods - but the determination to succeed continues to grow).

The National Women's Coalition was launched at a meeting in September 1991 when a range of women's organisations, service groups, political parties and church groups met around one common objective: to ensure that women's equality, and the means to enforce it, would be entrenched in a future constitution.

On April 25 and 26 more than 250 women from more than 40 organisations country-wide met in Johannesburg to plan and workshop the process needed to determine what rights South African women want. With the mix of the SACP and the Women's Bureau,

Women for South Africa and Cosatu, the Rural Women's Movement and the Association of University Women, the Black Sash and the Executive Women's Club, the ANC, National Party and Inkatha, the chances of reaching consensus seemed slim indeed at the outset.

Procedure did pose problems, not unusual given that women came from such diverse socio-economic and educational backgrounds, and from radically different political schooling. But even though procedural differences took almost three hours to resolve on Saturday morning, something was gradually emerging as the two days unfolded. Could one call it a sense of common purpose? Or was it perhaps the Sisterhood...

Gender certainly was the unifying issue - no matter where women came from, all had a common sense of frustration at the discrimination they experienced at personal, societal and structural levels. However, little time was wasted harping on this. The emphasis was very much on the future and a determination to transcend the present.

But what made the weekend a unique experience, more than the actual achievement of common purpose and recognition of common ground, was the spirit in which it took place. To be sure, there were bitter

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arguments, aggressive discussions, moments of intense exasperation. But – and perhaps this is where men could learn a few lessons – in the final analysis other qualities claimed victory; compromise, tolerance and especially generosity. The quest was not for power, but for a shared vision and consensus.

This was illustrated particularly well on the last day when the time came to elect a steering committee. Once again, procedure posed problems, and momentarily it seemed as if petty differences were going to undermine what had thus far been achieved. Once again, however, the spirit triumphed, and a committee emerged which surely has to be the most representative elected body in politics today, cutting across political, racial and class divides.

Elected unanimously, and to great acclaim, as convener, was Frene Ginwala of the ANC, with a steering committee comprising women from Inkatha, the National Party, the Democratic Party, the Rural Women's Movement, Kontak, Cosatu, the Union of Jewish Women and others. And the faces of the delegates reflected their genuine pleasure at this motley group.

The thought of the work lying ahead is sobering. If the Women's Coalition is to be true to its stated commitment of reaching women in the far rural areas of this country, it will be a slow and time-consuming process to achieve its objectives. But somehow the weekend inspired faith, particularly in the ability of women to overcome the odds. (I mean, who would have guessed that by the end of the weekend buoyant mamas, reticent tannies, hardline feminists and even the odd purple rinse would be awkwardly bonded, arm in arm, in song – "Malibongwe", the celebration of women).

I had a little fantasy as I drove away on Sunday afternoon, an impossibility, but such is the stuff of fantasy. I imagined all those women resigning their positions, and uniting on the political front to form a mighty and unified Women's Party. Representing the majority of South Africa's people, we would of course be a forceful presence, at Codesa and beyond. We would not need to fight for power, because it would come from within. And perhaps, for a change, this country would be built on principles of peace and caring and sharing.

Common vision and common purpose brought together a group of the most diverse people imaginable. Perhaps this is the lesson to be learnt by the national political players – that is, if they have time to stop, reflect, and absorb these "minor" processes in their race for power.

Bea Roberts is a regional co-ordinator in Idasa's Pretoria office.

Peace process: what hope for a solution?

Prompted by the violence which rages through many townships the National Peace Committee held a crisis meeting recently. Identifying the lack of trust in the security forces as a "major obstacle" in achieving peace, it also decided that all National Peace Accord signatories should meet as soon as possible. THOMAS SMIT spells out some of the problems with the Peace Accord in the Border region.

A common reproach against organisations and individuals participating in the peace process is that they lack tolerance and tact. Generally it is so. Our emotions are more easily stirred than our intellect, and the stuff of violence is very stirring.

But everyone has become so careful not to stir the emotions that they resign themselves to tolerating defeat. Recently the chairperson of the National Peace Committee was quoted as saying that the peace committees are "fragile structures finding their way in a subterranean world of horror".

Fleshing out the metaphor a little, the national peace structure can be likened to a large blind mole. One of its blind spawn is the Border/Ciskei Regional Peace Committee. Blindness in this case is an hereditary disorder, written in its genes, the National Peace Accord (NPA).

The Border/Ciskei Peace Committee, formed six months ago, is the second oldest regional committee, after Natal/Kwazulu. Called the Border/Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (B/C RDRC), its key players are the ANC and the Ciskeian government.

Six Local Dispute Resolution Committees were created, but the RDRC development sub-committee recently broke away from the peace structures to become a development forum, in order to involve the Transkeian government and the PAC.

Neither the Transkei nor the PAC are signatories to the NPA. Both have stated separately that they have serious problems with the NPA and therefore do not want to be part of the peace structures.

The area's RDRC secretariat is a full-time body of seconded personnel. After the departure of the first chairperson, it consisted for a long time of only the

ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's representative, and the part-time chairperson. The other members of the secretariat had vanished.

Business originally showed keen interest, but its promised representative on the secretariat never fully materialised and after the severance of the Development Forum, it is unlikely to do so in the future.

The Ciskei government was forthright in its total disregard for the RDRC. It withdrew its representative on the secretariat when it announced its withdrawal from the regional peace structure.

'Our emotions are more easily stirred than our intellect, and the stuff of violence is very stirring'

Recently it was agreed that the South African government second a person to the secretariat. The Ciskeian and South African governments' secondments came equipped with vehicles and salaries paid for by the South African taxpayer. Yet the ANC's seconded person has no access to those vehicles for peace work. This seems to fly in the face of provisions laid down by the NPA:

- "The required financial and administrative resources of the National Peace Secretariat, and the other bodies established by it, will be provided by the Department of Justice"

- "Members of the NPA's LDRC's and Justices of Peace not in the full-time employment of the state shall be entitled to remuneration and allowances to be paid by the state."



until the Border region ANC ended its programme of action.

A meeting, hosted by Pretoria, was held between the ANC and the Ciskei government, where the ANC agreed it would amend its programme of action, and the Ciskei government agreed it would amend section 43 to bring it in line with related South African legislation and the NPA. The ANC amended the programme of action, but the Ciskei government subsequently has publicly refused to amend section 43.

'The National Peace Accord has no teeth. Public censure and moral persuasion remain the only means to ensure participation'

The problem of the Ciskei withdrawal is that it illustrates that in practice the NPA has no teeth. Public censure and moral persuasion remain the only means to ensure participation, let alone good faith.

This is the dagger that hangs constantly over all NPA structures. It has struck in this region and elsewhere. And these wounds are left to fester unattended, endangering the whole body.

The first LDRC established by the RDRC outside the Ciskei, in Cathcart, has had a similar fate. The black town council of Kati-Kati township announced recently that it was withdrawing from the peace committee.

One of the reasons for involving black town councils and homeland governments in the peace structures is to discuss ways they can be abolished peaceably and transformed into democratic structures.

The peace process should never pretend to provide legitimacy to obsolete structures. It should provide legitimacy to a process of peaceful transition only. Otherwise it falls into the trap of ensconcing the conflict.

The Ciskei government has reiterated its unpreparedness to participate in the regional and local peace structures. But, two months ago, the Ciskei did agree to a process of mediation by two members of the National Peace Secretariat. As yet, however, no date for the mediation has been set.

The mole is maimed. With each passing day the likelihood of its revival diminishes. Time is running out. We must take cognisance of sensitivities, but not be paralysed by them. The alternative is to join the palsy of the peace process in tolerating defeat.

Thomas Smit is a former director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Border region, and is the ANC representative on the B/C RDRC.

War or Peace? Dispute resolution committees across the country face huge obstacles.

Six months after the Border region of the ANC requested financial assistance for seconded personnel not in the employ of the state but doing the work of the RDRC, nothing has materialised. Yet the South African government has no scruples with adding hundreds of thousands of rands to the Ciskeian coffers after overspending on their budget.

Nine months after the adoption of the NPA, the enabling legislation for the long overdue Local Justices of Peace is still awaited. Yet, we have been surprised by mind-boggling bureaucratic efforts:

- Ten SA government representatives are flown to East London for one afternoon to do a "Needs Assessment";
- A secretary seconded from a government department in East London is removed summarily and replaced by another on temporary transfer from Port Elizabeth with a car and put up in a hotel for two weeks;
- Two specialists are flown in from Pretoria to commission an office computer.

Peace requires investment in capable human resources, not merely capable equipment. It requires a pooling of financial and human resources as never before in order to reach people on the ground.

The Ciskei government pulled out of the regional and local structures on the day that it signed the NPA and was admitted to the National Peace Committee. It also happened to be the day that it had undertaken to

report on the repeal of section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act, which restricts the holding of meetings.

The Ciskei government gave several reasons for its withdrawal from the RDRC: the Border ANC's "programme of action"; the alleged bias of the chairperson of the RDRC (a contention it had made and withdrawn during the original birth pangs of the RDRC); and the alleged use of the RDRC by the ANC as a forum to score political points.

Strangely enough, now that these complaints, founded or unfounded, have been addressed, Ciskei still stays away.

In March, the chairperson of the RDRC resigned, no longer prepared to tolerate defeat.

The RDRC, through its newly immobilised executive, is channelling "political point-scoring" and dispute resolution away from the broader RDRC, and the newly elected interim chairperson has so far been wholly uncontentious.

The ANC programme of action - the campaign for peace and democracy - contrary to some over-zealous newspaper speculation, was not a failed coup nor Vula 2, but a protest action, subsequently adopted by a popular front of organisations, and toned down to an exercise in voter education and a people's assembly.

The Ciskei government submitted to Codesa a statement supported by two other parties that Codesa suspend its activities

Making investment work

The question of foreign investment for a post-apartheid South Africa and the value of an investment code were the subject of a two-and-a-half day forum near Rustenburg late in April.

Missing from the weekend's discussions, convened by Idasa and private sector concerns, were labour representatives, Azapo and the ANC. A hastily faxed ANC paper was read by UCT academic and ANC economics policy adviser Alan Hirsch. The remaining 40 delegates seemed to concur almost too easily, prompting someone to remark that perhaps the different constituencies were not being entirely true to themselves. However the air of agreement was stirred most effectively by SA Communist Party representative Essop Pahad who injected some stimulating questions into the debate.

The conference was opened by one of the conveners, Prof Wiseman Nkuhlu (economist and rector of the University of Transkei), who said that South Africa did not have adequate savings to undertake the kind of restructuring needed in the first few years of post-apartheid rule. To develop a programme that would have any meaningful impact required resources from outside the country.

Central questions that emerged during the conference were how to ensure that foreign investment made an impact on the welfare of the marginalised and, at the same time, made South Africa attractive to investors. This led to lively debate on the nature of investment policy and whether or not there was a need for a separate code of conduct for investors.

Almost all participants – which included a range of political parties, chambers of commerce and black business forums – agreed on the need for a stable political climate and foreign investment. However, some cautioned that foreign investment should not be seen as a panacea for all ills and that the manner in which it came into the country needed to be regulated to some extent.

The chief executive of the German Chamber of Commerce and a representative of the Binational Chambers' Consultative Committee, Klaus Schuurman said countless numbers of foreign fact-finding missions were visiting South Africa, but they could not find any facts because everything was in a state of flux.



Siphoshe Shabalala (PAC), Hennie Bekker (NP) and Essop Pahad (SACP)

He said the long-term potential of the country was of no interest to investors; they wanted to know what they could get in the short term. A declaration of intent regarding future investment and industrial policy was urgently needed.

By SUE VALENTINE

Nafcoc representative Max Tlakula said foreign investment should bring with it the transference of technology and skills so that black business people could attain skills they did not have.

Lot Ndlovu of the Black Management Forum said foreign investment should not be attracted to South Africa at all costs. It should only flow into the country once apartheid was dead so that it could not hinder or delay the transformation process.

While he agreed that foreign investment would be valuable in promoting economic growth, creating jobs, offering South Africa entry into foreign markets and providing additional revenue for government social spending, Ndlovu said South Africans should also be realistic about the nature of foreign trade and investment.

He said international trends indicated that a virtual "closed shop" agreement operated among the developed nations.

Democratic Party MP Brian Goodall said it was the responsibility of the government of the day to set the example by investing in the country. "You cannot expect foreign investment if there is no local investment."

Gavin Woods of the Inkatha Freedom Party said the IFP favoured foreign investment provided there was protection for

labour, anti-trust laws were adhered to and that environmental issues were considered.

SACP politburo member Essop Pahad said many South Africans were sceptical of foreign investment for fear it would take away their independence and integrity and because foreign investors' primary concern was to make money, not the welfare of the people.

Pahad said it was "pie in the sky" to talk about political stability if one did not look at the issue of redistribution. "We need to make people who have been marginalised feel that they have a stake in the process and in society."

He said he did not believe that capitalism would provide sufficient economic growth to satisfy South Africans. Another social system needed to be sought, one in which foreign investment would still have a role.

Nationalisation was not necessarily a principle of socialism, but it could form part of a programme to achieve certain objectives. He added: "we are too used to giving threats... 'if you don't do this, all the money will go to Eastern Europe'. Not much money is going to Eastern Europe... what business in the West wants is the markets of Eastern Europe, not to invest there."

University of the Transkei economist and PAC member Siphoshe Shabalala said the link between economic growth and human progress was not automatic. There had to be an explicit commitment to benefiting those who were marginalised and oppressed.

"Foreign investment should assist South Africa's ability to be competitive. We do not want to be a third world economy, we do not want to perpetuate centre-periphery relations... The African people are not objects of development, but creators of wealth," he said. African entrepreneurs should play a central role in rebuilding the country, but they could not do so if they were limited to spaza shops and small retailing concerns. Hi-tech and manufacturing capacity needed to be developed.

All important stakeholders should also participate in negotiations with foreign investors, said Shabalala.

A short video by the SA Chamber of Business, emphasising South Africa's high rates of company tax and inflation along with

other negative factors militating against foreign investment, provoked some sharp discussion. Alan Hirsch said some of the conclusions drawn by the video were open to debate in terms of how certain data had been interpreted. Capital flight from South Africa during the 1980s was not due only to high inflation and low returns, but to specific political factors.

Suggestions in the video that tax holidays (not offered by the South African government) were an important incentive to foreign investors were also disputed by several delegates. General consensus during the course of discussions was that local and foreign investors should be treated equally.

According to Goodall, incentives should relate to the nature of the investment and not its source. Therefore they should be available to local and foreign investors.

Addressing the issue of overseas perceptions of investment opportunities in South Africa, World Bank consultant and policy analyst Witney Schneidman said the attitude of most potential investors was "let's wait and see".

"The key question is, will the South Africa of the 1990s be any more attractive to investors than other parts of the continent?" He said companies were looking first and foremost for predictability; even the advent of a socialist system would not be a turn-off to foreign companies so long as the situation in the country was stable.

He felt South Africa did not have much time in which to demonstrate its stability to investors. If the violence continued for another 24 months the window of opportunity that was now open would close.

He said the strongest allure for potential investors was the size of the South African consumer market which was likely to expand over the next decade and could become the largest in Africa.

The conclusions and way forward that emerged from the various presentations and small group discussions tended to coalesce around the need for greater research into the African debt problem, for ways to address the crisis in Africa and for a code clarifying the country's position regarding foreign investment.

In addition, the establishment of an interim government which signified a distinct break with the past could be of great importance for relations with the international community.

Sue Valentine is Media Co-ordinator with Idasa.

Malaysian miracle: is there a catch?

A fascinating guest at the investment forum was the deputy governor of the Malaysian reserve bank, Dr Lin See-Yan.

Dr Lin was at pains to tell delegates that the "rhetoric and emotions" he had witnessed during the forum were very similar to those in Malaysia in the late 1960s; and yet now, in 1992, Malaysia was into its sixth year of rapid growth, with no inflation.

"When we became independent in 1957 we were the world's largest exporter of rubber and tin. We had the most skewed economy ever seen - it had been completely controlled by the British who then left us with nothing except a fairly good civil service."

Malaysia's response to this situation - and to the question of how to ensure economic growth - was to diversify the economy. This meant moving away from rubber and tin and going into import substitution. In Malaysia's case, palm oil.

However, despite the finely laid economic plans, in 1969 there were massive riots in reaction to racial discrimination and poverty.

Research at the time showed that the Malaysians owned less than one percent of corporate wealth in Malaysia. Half of the country's population was classified as poor, while two thirds of the economy was owned by foreigners.

By contrast, by the end of 1990, said Dr Lin, 30 percent of corporate wealth was owned by Malaysians.

Explaining how this came about, Dr Lin pointed to the launch of the new economic policy in 1969. It aimed to eliminate poverty, regardless of race, and to create a commercial sector among the poor. This required a break with old attitudes which associated certain categories of work with certain racial groups.

The policy was to promote economic growth with the government at the helm. The activities of the private sector were to be steered as carefully as possible, but without recourse to nationalisation.

However, despite wide diversification of the Malaysian economy, in 1982 the prices of all its main exports fell simultaneously. The Malaysian government decided to abandon redistribution in favour of economic growth and to surrender the control of the economy to the private sector.

"Although the government still controlled policy-making, we realised that the private sector only works when the private sector runs it," said Dr Lin.

He added, however, that "if you let them, the private sector will chase profits from here to infinity", and stressed the need for

clear government policy and efficient civil service.

The present attitude among civil servants in Malaysia was that the private sector should be encouraged to make money, because for every dollar they make, the civil service receives 35c.



Deputy governor of the Malaysian reserve bank, Dr Lin See-Yan

Noticeably absent from Dr Lin's address was the role of the unions - or lack thereof - in his country. He gave little explanation of the tension, if any, between recognition of political and civic rights and the implementation of economic policies determined by the Malaysian government.

In response to questions, Dr Lin said Malaysia inherited Britain's unions after independence. "They were very vocal and no one wanted to antagonise them, but the unions were not compatible with what the government wanted - wages linked to productivity."

He said that a flexi-wage system had been established whereby companies determine, on a yearly basis and depending on profits, what basic wage to pay. In good years big bonuses are paid out to staff, during recession wages come down, but unemployment is avoided.

Fundamental to Malaysia's success, said Dr Lin, was that its economy was reorganised in order to make it more competitive. This included a commitment by government to spending large sums of money on education and technical training.

A balancing act

Norway has fared remarkably well in creating autonomy at local government level – but the system is now facing a growing range of challenges. **DAVID SCHMIDT** shares some insights from a recent study tour hosted by Idasa. The delegation included civic association executives, academics, town planners and councillors.

How autonomous should local government be from the central state? This question is close to the heart of our political debate. That it is both complex and difficult to resolve became ever more apparent to me during our visit to Norway.

Take the case of the recent local government restructuring in the Hamar area.

Hamar, 100 km north of Oslo, is a town of some 16 000 people. Its current concerns are reflected in the massive speed skating arena being built as a major venue for the 1994 Winter Olympics. So are its origins. It is designed like a giant upturned Viking ship.

Hamar, like Norway as a whole, has moved very far from these warlike beginnings. It is a society characterised by harmony, and consensus at all levels.

Consensus is the oil of the entire political system, it underlies social relations. The police force patrol unarmed. In the police district of Hamar, incorporating 26 000 people, there have been no murders during the last four years. For us from South Africa, where life has become so cheap, this was a truly amazing statistic.

The prevailing harmony and consensus was recently disturbed in Hamar by a controversy surrounding the legislated merger of local municipalities.

Norway's history of strong local democracy dates back to 1837. It is rooted in a tradition of a strong independent peasantry which over generations was able to maintain its political rights and effectively defend local interests against the centre.

Since World War 2, the role of local government has expanded considerably to include significant social welfare and health functions. This has meant that the centre has come to play more of a role. Local government has in fact become a primary instrument of the Norwegian welfare state.

As this role has expanded, central govern-



Deliberations in the Hamar council chamber: Free State academic Koos Bekker (left) with representatives from the Socialist Left, Town and Country and Labour parties.

ment has tried to rationalise local government to ensure more effectiveness and cost efficiency.

In line with this trend, it was proposed that the municipalities of Hamar, Vang and Loten be merged. In the urban centre, Hamar, the municipal council voted 49-1 in favour of the merging. Hamar needed land outside its boundaries in order to expand. It also provided services to the surrounding areas although residents in these areas did not pay taxes to it.

The non-urban areas were vociferous in their opposition. Vang, Loten and Ringsaker held referendums in which "no" votes of between 95 and 99 percent were recorded. Their councils voted unanimously against merger.



Hamar, past and present: Max Mamase, publicity secretary of Sanco and Idasa regional co-director in the Eastern Cape.

The situation has been very similar in other areas of Norway – the urban centre strongly in favour of merging, the smaller surrounding communities against.

The scale of resistance in the Hamar-Vang area however had little impact on the Storting, the national parliament. It decided that Vang and Ringsaker would be included in Hamar. The merger was duly implemented.

The outcome might seem to imply that Norway has a very centralised system of government within which local government might have many functions but little autonomy and power.

The nature of local autonomy is however more complex than that. If anything, the "Norwegian system" is one in which both centre and periphery may be seen as strong at the same time. Hagen and Naustdalslid describe it as "a dialectical synthesis of centralisation and decentralisation".

They point to an interplay of tensions between centre and periphery that almost always end in a "draw" with no clear winner or loser. With every shift in the balance, the party that has "tilted down" has adapted in such a way as to regain the balance.

The forced merger thus has had its consequences. In the elections earlier this year for the new council, a local grassroots grouping called By-Og Bygdelista (Town and Country) that had opposed the merger won 12 percent of the vote and the Labour Party lost its absolute majority in Hamar for the first time in generations.

"I'm here as proof that local democracy works in Norway. This is so even if it may appear rather contradictory in that the centre

Norway leads the way among advanced countries on women's rights and progress, particularly with regard to employment opportunities, equal pay for equal work and participation in political institutions. This achievement is the product of a long and intense struggle by women in Norway to assert their rights and those of their children.

It also is the product of the Equal Status Council, established in 1972 to promote equality between men and women in all sectors; the family, work, education and the broader community. In pursuit of these objectives, the council mediates between government, women's organisations and the broader public. Its seven members, plus an administrative component, represent the major political parties, the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions and the Confederation of Norwegian Business and Industry. The objective is to secure the consensus of all the key stakeholders of political and economic power in Norway.

Whether this is applicable to South Africa can be debated because it is rooted in a social contract political framework – a decision-making process based on mediating the different interests of labour, business and the state. In other words, significant policies have to be negotiated by all social actors to minimise conflict and ensure success.

In 1977 the council's efforts resulted in a Department of Family Affairs and Equal Status, located in the Ministry of Family and Consumer Affairs, which sought to coordinate and assess the government's

Women take their rightful place

Can Pretoria emulate Oslo in legislating for equality between the sexes? EDGAR PIETERSE gives his views.

equalisation policies. In the same year the ministry instructed municipalities to establish Municipal Equal Status Committees to advance the objectives of the Equal Status Act at local level. They enjoy the support, advice and guidance of the Equal Status Council and have had a reasonable influence where they have been implemented.

These mechanisms and institutions were further entrenched by the Equal Status Act of 1979. The introduction of the Act declares: "This Act shall promote equal status between the sexes and aims to improve the situation of women. The public authorities shall facilitate equality of status between the sexes in all sectors of society. Women and men shall be given equal opportunities for education, employment, cultural and professional advancement...Discrimination between men and women is not permitted." The law also set up two institutions – an Equal Status Ombudsman and an Equal Status Appeal Board – to enforce the Act.

Norwegian law also introduced a quota system to facilitate opportunities for women to develop into positions of influence and power. A minimum of 40 percent of either gender must be represented in

structures and committees across the board – political, religious, educational and economic.

The leftwing parties – Liberal, Left Socialist and the Labour Party – have a minimum of 40 percent of women at all levels within the party. In 1986 this principle was applied at cabinet level; today eight out of 18 ministers are women, including the current prime minister.

Affirmative action is practised by government, education and business sectors as a critical strategy to enable women to develop appropriate skills. Underscoring the Norwegian commitment to changing attitudes on the role of women is a national process of rewriting textbooks in all disciplines to rid them of sexist references and making changes where appropriate in teacher training.

The Norwegian women have a long history of struggle that goes back at least a century. The current culture, measures and institutions did not fall from the sky. Nor has the struggle against sexism ended. Norwegians point out that it has been a hard and bitter struggle to accomplish current achievements and a long and hard struggle awaits them to ensure full equality.

We in South Africa could learn a few lessons from Norway about advancing the power and rights of women. At the end of the day we will not be able to reconstruct our country on the foundation of good intentions; we need workable and democratic institutions and practices that will thrive in a culture of equality, work and learning.

Edgar Pieterse is a researcher at the Foundation for Contemporary Research in Bellville.

overrode the local in this instance," said a representative of the Town and Country grouping.

"The truth is that Norway is about the most decentralised system I know of. Our system has managed to keep the periphery alive in an almost unique way."

Local democracy in Norway faces a growing range of challenges. There is great concern in some quarters that if and when Norway joins the EEC the costly special provisions in respect of the periphery will fall away and a much more centralised system will evolve.

There is also an undercurrent of criticism about the professionalisation of local government. Politics is becoming the job of experts and there is a widespread feeling that lay people have lost their say.

The model democracy that is Norway has

been possible because of its small homogeneous population and an ever-rising affluence. This latter pillar is under threat. The economy is struggling. There is growing unemployment. The oil revenues that have underpinned economic growth in recent times are finite. This resource crunch is going to profoundly challenge the national consensus in future.

Amongst the ideas that have relevance to our current situation are:

- **The Free Communes Experiment** which allows certain municipalities to explore democratic and administrative mechanisms not permitted by legislation as pilot projects for the local government system as a whole.

- **The local government funding system** which ensures equity across the country and has played a decisive role in maintaining a strong periphery. The grant for each municipi-

pality is calculated by means of a formula where the idea is that every municipality has to provide a certain volume of services at an estimated average cost depending on the number and composition of the population.

"South Africa and Norway find themselves at opposite ends of the democratic process. You are struggling to create democracy for the first time. We are struggling to prevent our model democracy from distorting," we were told by the Town and Country representative. There is a truth in this. Perhaps the greatest lesson is that, for democracy, there is never room for complacency. It is not an end state that is achieved by a country at some point in its history but something that has always to be striven for.

David Schmidt is Idasa's regional director in the Western Cape.

More than pawns in a numbers game

Wide agreement on the urgency of addressing South Africa's population growth rate dissolved into hotly contested policy and political debate on how to go about it. BEA ROBERTS reports on a recent Idasa seminar in Pretoria.



Debating the population crisis: from left, H Swanepoel, J Jordaan, G du Plessis, B Klugman and O Chimere-Dan

In a developing country like South Africa how to achieve the fine balance between limited resources and the needs of an expanding population was a critical question.

In his opening address to the seminar HSRC researcher Johan van Zyl said the present population growth (approximately 2,7 percent) outstripped the economic growth rate (below 2 percent). If enough jobs were to be created for the society, an economic growth rate of between 3 and 5 percent was needed.

Two issues were debated at some length: the need for a population policy and the need for a programme to curb population growth.

On the one hand, a picture of doom was painted by economist Johan Jordaan, who regards the population issue as South Africa's "time bomb" and propagates a two-child family to be enforced as official policy. He said economic incentives should be used to control fertility and sterilisation facilities expanded dramatically.

Sharply opposed to Jordaan was Patience Tyalimpi, a fieldworker for over 20 years with the Planned Parenthood Association, who said that the very term policy "sends a chill down my spine". She said official policy had worked against people for a long time

and argued rather that people should be cared for.

Although the present government has no official population policy, a population development programme (PDP) has been in operation for a number of years. The PDP follows a combined approach of socio-economic upliftment along with community education and information.

David Malatsi from Contralesa rejected the PDP out of hand, saying that traditional leaders would not support it until a democratic government was in place.

Dr Helen Rees of the ANC made it clear why no current programmes could succeed. Until there was a new constitution, she said, ordinary people would not trust the state. It was imperative that people felt ownership of whatever programme or policy was implemented.

Although the ANC had no clear population policy, she sketched a framework within which such policy could be worked out: the equitable distribution of resources, the designing of appropriate technology, socio-economic development, financing of small projects, and in particular the upliftment of women.

Barbara Klugman of the Women's Health Project sounded a warning, saying that it was easy to make glib statements without

putting them into practice. She challenged an earlier comment that fewer children would "free" women - free to do what? There was nothing calling women before they had access to skills training, education and jobs.

Klugman also said that giving women access to contraception was not enough if this was not followed with proper care. Women not only needed birth control, but had the right to Pap smears and treatment for infertility and sexually transmitted diseases.

Speaking from her experience of working in the rural areas, Grace Ledwaba added to this, pointing to the paternalistic attitudes of medical and paramedical staff towards rural women. She called for re-education of such personnel and reiterated that control of fertility would not improve if women were not equal participants in policies and programmes fundamentally affecting their lives.

The rural culture called for a specific approach to sex education and this could not be imposed by academics. She challenged participants at the seminar to stop theorising about the population problem and to come to the rural areas to see the harsh realities

Support across the board for a state with many

By KERRY HARRIS

A recent Idasa evening seminar entitled "One Nation, Many Faiths - Religious Freedom and a New Constitution" provoked lively debate, but also almost universal consensus on the importance of freedom of religion in a secular unitary state being enshrined in a new South African constitution.

Constitutional expert, Christof Heyns, began with an anecdote attributed to Paul Kruger which summed up how to handle situations where systems of belief clashed: two brothers had to share a farm. Kruger advised one of them to divide the land, and

to give the other first choice.

Heyns said that from this "perspective of tolerance" we would have to devise rules relating to the new South Africa where solutions would be acceptable to all, regardless of religion.

Both the chairperson of the constitutional committee of the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting and the SA Communist Party's



Raymond Suttner: "SACP recognises the importance of religion".

central committee representative defended religious freedom.

However, the common ground ended when Prof Andries Raath called the secular state a "myth" and argued that religious diversity could only be accommodated in a multi-dimensional model (an Afrikaner state would uphold religious freedom in its

Pushing democracy à la United Nations

Among key international models for training for democracy is the so-called "Model United Nations" conference. Canadian researcher JOAN DEVRAUN, who has done some of the groundwork for Idasa's recently established Training Centre for Democracy in Johannesburg, explains the concept.

While the phenomenon of Model United Nations (MUN) conferences is prolific in North America with almost every university hosting its own, it has only just started in Europe and remains virtually non-existent in Latin America, Africa and Asia, with the notable exception of the International MUN in Tokyo.

Essentially an MUN is a realistic simulation of the actual United Nations and its various organs. The participants are students. MUNs usually simulate the activities of the Security Council (SC) or General Assembly (GA) and its committees. Student participants assume the roles of diplomatic representatives to the UN and consider UN agenda items.

Ideally, through role playing, they will acquire a greater understanding of global issues and the complexities of the international system. Although the GA and SC are the most frequently simulated bodies, virtually any international organisation can be adapted to a model conference.

For example, the Nebraska MUN, hosted by the University of Nebraska, is one which covers a very broad and all-encompassing agenda. In 1992 the following agenda items were discussed by the GA: disarmament, the plight of aboriginal peoples, the situation in South-East Asia, Aids and immigration, Zionism as racism, prisoners of conscience, the Kurdish question, the situation in the occupied territories and ethno-territorial sub-nationalism.

The agenda items for the Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc) were international banking and limiting the profitability of munitions manufacturers. In addition, there was also an Ecosoc commission on ecology which discussed a range of issues in separate working groups.

This agenda should probably be less ambitious and more focused. What becomes apparent from considering the agenda of the Nebraska MUN, however, is that any issue of interest to the UN or one of its many specialised agencies could be addressed.

For example, if Idasa's Training Centre for

Democracy hosted Africa's first MUN conference and simulated the governing council of the UN Development Agency (UNDA), any variety of relevant developmental issues could be addressed by student participants. Pressing current issues concerning democratisation and development, for example, could be dealt with realistically by youth in an MUN format. Certainly if the resolutions passed by MUN delegates are adopted by the real UN it would not be the first time. This was the case with the national Canadian MUN which I attended as the "ambassador" to Afghanistan in 1987. The benefits of an MUN conference in South Africa would, in all likelihood, be similar to those experienced by participants around the world.

Ideally, the MUN serves as an educational forum. In order to persuade other member states, the student "ambassador" must not only know his or her assigned country's position on the issues but also exercise persuasive writing and speaking abilities and exert leadership and diplomatic abilities. Ideally, the MUN experience provides the student with an appreciation of the skills of caucusing, negotiating, consensus building and compromise.

In contrast to the Nebraska MUN, the European International MUN conference (TEIMUN) in The Hague has a more concentrated and, in my estimation, superior agenda.

Having attended TEIMUN in July 1990, playing the role of judge on the International Commission of Jurists, I can attest to it being a superb experience. TEIMUN was established in 1988 by The United Nations Association of the United States of America (UNA-USA) and is now organised by the Dutch Students' Association.

UNA-USA is in fact "more than willing" to assist in setting up an MUN component to Idasa's training centre, which is an option the institute could seriously consider. Invitations to Africa's first MUN could be issued worldwide to past participants of other international MUNs.



Contralesa's David Malatsi: "Large families are a form of security".

with which women have to cope – lack of schools, transport, health care and, added to that, oppression under tribal laws and culture.

It would seem that for now, the political process is the single major factor frustrating efforts to find solutions to the problem.

religions in SA

constitution). Raymond Suttner of the SACP advocated a "secular state with...many religions" and said the SACP recognised the importance of religion in people's lives, but felt it would be imperialist to retain the current preference given to Christianity.

Prof Willem Saayman of the Pretoria Central branch of the African National Congress said the ANC supported as little state intervention in religion as possible. He believed South African society would only be free if it allowed its citizens to pray to the "unknown god".

Kerry Harris is a regional co-ordinator in Idasa's Pretoria office.

Local talks – on all fronts – need oomph

THE PROBLEMS besetting regional negotiations surfaced again at a recent workshop on education held in Port Elizabeth.

The workshop had been called to address the "Education Crisis in the Eastern Cape" and arose out of the Interim Education Planning Committee, a broadly composed forum which has been

meeting in Port Elizabeth for more than a year. Though almost everyone that matters in Eastern Cape education was present, there appeared to be a general reticence to get down to the serious stuff.

Ordinary South Africans have for far too long had their decision-making abilities stunted by centralised government, and now suffer from the

very worrying malaise of not believing that they have the ability to effect change. They consequently pick away at the agendas of the apparent controllers, not for one minute stopping to strategise about how to successfully wrest the initiative away.

The government is certainly not about to legislate into being all types of local forums which will effectively take the responsibility for decision-making away from themselves. Sure, their representatives will sit in on local discussions; sure, they will vote and profess to be bound by decisions reached. But at the end of the day, there are just too many mechanisms in place for ensuring that they can continue to dictate the pace.

How to empower the discussions, in whatever area, is what the new game is really all about. Codesa's own agonies over this are but a small foretaste of what all regions are set to experience as they enter local negotiations. Insecurities about how far, or how fast, local discussions may proceed need to be rapidly dispelled.

So where does this all leave education in the Eastern Cape, or in any other region for that matter? Perhaps a leaf needs to be taken out of the local government debate which has successfully separated the provision of services from constitutional discussions. For the moment the debate about books, classrooms and teachers should proceed. These at least are relatively apolitical issues which can be addressed at a local level.

But the single-education department debate is waiting in the wings! And many of the same people are going to be working shoulder to shoulder tomorrow, trying to implement the single education system at the local level. So they might as well get used to the idea, and one another, now!

At the conclusion of the Port Elizabeth workshop participants were encouraged to continue further discussions in their existing working groups which deal with different aspects of the education crisis.

Keith Wattrus
Regional Co-director

Cronje: DP may not weather storms

THE DEMOCRATIC Party may not survive the current stormy political climate, according to Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown.

Mr Cronje, who has resigned from the DP to join the ANC, told guests at a recent Idasa lunch-hour forum, that there was no charismatic black leader left outside party politics who would join the DP and attract a large number of black voters.

Mr Cronje said he doubted whether the DP would survive in current conditions. The party, he said, was under the misapprehension that it would fill the gap for those blacks unhappy with the ANC and the NP.

When asked what the ANC was doing about attracting whites into its fold, he said the June policy conference would discuss this issue.

Regarding the future of ANC/SACP links, he said they would probably have to part ways before going to the polls.

Simon Ntombela
Regional Co-ordinator

Vroue wil aangesig van politiek verander

SUID-AFRIKA se politieke gesig is 'n mansgesig en dit moet end kry. Die tyd is ryp dat vroue na die hoogste politieke strukture van die land beweeg.

Dit was die mening van sprekers op 'n seminar met die tema "Vroue in die Nuwe Suid-Afrika" wat in Mei deur Idasa in samewerking met die vrouevereniging van Vista Universiteit in Bloemfontein aangebied is. Die vroue het besluit dat 'n Vroueforum – 'n soort platform van waar alle vroue hul regte binne 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika kan beding – in die Vrystaat gestig moet word. Beter koördinering tussen bestaande vroue-organisasies

behoort ook deur so 'n forum aangespreek te word.

Me Sheila Camerer, NP-LP vir Rosettenville, het gesê vroue wil 'n nuwe ooreenkoms hê wat gelyke regte en status binne 'n nuwe grondwet verseker. Sy het gewys op die noodsaaklikheid van vrouestemme by Kodesa waar slegs 17 vroue uit die totaal van 380 afgevaardigdes in werkgroepe ingedeel is.

Me Rita Mfenyana, oorspronklik van Rusland en 'n lid van die ANC Vroueliga, het gewaarsku dat vroue nie onder die wanindruk moet verkeer dat, indien daar geen diskriminerende wetgewing is nie, dit

noodwendig diskriminasie sal stopsit nie.

Me Sandra Botha, lid van die uitvoerende komitee van Nasionale Vroue Alliansie, het gesê die voorreg om ten volle deel te neem en om gelyke regte op alle terreine van die samelewing te hê, sal afhang van die regering, werkgewers, akademiese en professionele instansies, unies, kerke en families. Die wil en die moed om te verander sal egter van vroue self moet kom.

In haar verwysing na die oorsake van die toename in gesinne met 'n moeder as enkel hoof en broodwinner, het Me Ellen Gaborone van die

Mangaung verpleegkollege die klem gelê op die belangrikheid van vroue om as moeders hul kinders aan te moedig om terug skool toe te gaan en hul professioneel te bekwaam, veral swart meisies, omdat daar ook tradisioneel op 'n kulturele vlak teen hulle gediskrimineer word.

Dr Lesley Greyvenstein van die PUK het vroue aangemoedig om met 'n bewustmakingsaksie te begin deur hul insette onmisbaar te maak in die werksituasie.

Gardiol van der Linde
Projek-organiseerder

Ekonomie soos die vlug van flaminke?

DIE VRYSTAATSE Goudvelde is nie net bekend vir sy minerale rykdomme nie, maar ook vir die groot troppe flaminke wat oral in die streek by waterpanne voorkom.

Dit was dus seker bemoedigend vir goudvelders wat gebuk gaan onder geweldige ekonomiese onsekerheid vanweë die lae en wisselvallige goudprys om te hoor hoe die ekonoom Pieter le Roux sy positiewe ekonomiese scenario vergelyk met die vlug van flaminke - waar die opstygning wel stadig is, maar die samewerking van die flaminke in formasie verseker dat die afstand wat afgelê word groot is.

Prof Le Roux, wat by die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland doseer, het gesê die land het die potensiaal om deur gesonde ekonomiese en fiskale beleid (wat makro-ekonomiese populisme uitsluit) gewenste vlakke van groei te bereik en op die langtermyn te handhaaf.

Die geleentheid was 'n seminar wat Idasa op 20 Mei in Welkom aangebied het - die eerste sodanige projek in die Goudveld. Dit is ingelei deur Dr Van Zyl Slabbert wat gewaarsku het dat alhoewel demokratisering die omstandighede vir ontwikkeling kan skep dit nie noodwendig ontwikkeling sal waarborg nie.

Afgesien van 'n politieke ooreenkoms wat moontlik by Codesa beding kan word, is dit

ook belangrik dat verskillende ander ooreenkomste tussen die belangrikste rolspelers gesluit sal moet word. Dit sou onder andere 'n siviël-militêre pakt, 'n ekonomiese pakt en 'n ontwikkelingspakt insluit.

Dr Ronnie Bethlehem, groepskonsultant van JCI, het in sy bydrae die sake-sektor aangespoor om 'n meer kreatiewe benadering tot die verandering wat in die omgewing plaasvind, te hê. Die ekonomiese debat behoort van 'n groei-deur-herverdeling (of omgekeerd) te verskuif na 'n gesprek oor 'n groei-en-ontwikkelingsstrategie. En in plaas van staatsinmenging in die privaat sektor behoort daar die nodige insentiewe geskep te word om die bedryf aan te spoor om sy sosiaal-maatskaplike verantwoordelikheid na te kom.

• Die totstandkoming van 'n Metropolitaanse Kamer vir die Vrystaatse Goudvelde (VGV), of 'n soortgelyke onderhandelingsforum om nuwe plaaslike regeringstrukture vir die VGV te beding, het ter sprake gekom tydens 'n informele middagete-vergadering wat Idasa saam met die burgemeester van Welkom, Mnr Alwyn Röhrs, aangebied het.

Die vergadering is bygewoon deur verteenwoordigers van stadsrade en civics in die streek en het saamgeval met



Welkom byeenkoms: Antjie Krog, Essop Pahad (SAKP) en Van Zyl Slabbert saam met Vista studente en lede van die civics.

die besoek van Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

Mnr Röhrs het daarop gewys dat belangrike ekonomiese inisiatiewe reeds onderneem is in die vorm van die totstandkoming van die VGV Ontwikkelingsentrum - 'n inisiatief wat die hele streek betrek by 'n verbeeldingryke nywerheidsontwikkelingsaksie om as ondersteuning te dien tot die goudmynbedryf.

Alhoewel verteenwoordigers van die ANC en die Noord OVS Civic bedenkinge uitspreek het oor die houding van sommige stadsraadslede en amptenare, was hulle oor die algemeen positief oor die gedagte van 'n plaaslike regeringsforum vir die VGV en die verwagting is dat inisiatiewe in die verband binnekort geneem sal word.

Vroeër in die dag het Dr Slabbert ook die dagbestuur van Nampo op Bothaville ontmoet.

Kobus van Loggerenberg
Streekkoördineerder

Codesa packages at library

THE GENDER Forum initiated by Idasa's Border office has successfully negotiated with the mayor of East London and the city's reference library for resource packages on Codesa to be compiled and kept at the municipal library.

Making this information available to the public is seen as an important step in achieving democracy because one of the strategies of repression has been to censor important information on national issues.

This is especially important in the Ciskei region where people are still unable to meet freely for discussion on national matters without prior permission.

The Border Idasa office thanks the mayor, Mr Carl Burger, and the librarian, Ms Claire Davis, for their co-operation.

Ndumi Gwayi
Regional Director

OFS students rally for democracy

AN HISTORIC conference of OFS student leaders took place in Bloemfontein during May.

The two-day conference was attended by some 80 SRC members from 10 tertiary institutions in the province. Delegates came from the universities of the OFS, Vista and Qwaqwa, as well as from tech-

nical and teacher training colleges. The conference was convened by Idasa and focused on the role that students can play to facilitate more community oriented tertiary education.

Other issues included the democratisation of tertiary institutions, the accommodation of cultural and political

differences on campus and the effect of the education crisis on tertiary education. In order to address all of these issues, the conference decided to establish the OFS Student Leaders Forum, a co-ordinating structure run by SRCs in the province and assisted by Idasa.

It is probably the first initia-

tive of this nature in the country and student leaders seemed determined to achieve their objectives and to build on the relationships established during the conference.

Its next meeting will take place on August 19.

Kobus van Loggerenberg
Regional Co-ordinator

Call for rural focus

A STRONG call for a conference on rural local government was made at a two-day workshop hosted by Idasa in Plettenberg Bay during May.

It was Idasa's first venture into the southern Cape and it attracted some 100 delegates representing municipalities and civics in the region as well as structures like the Cape Provincial Administration, the Regional Services Council and Development Action Committee. Presentations were made by a range of local government specialists.

The meeting felt that the question of rural local government should be given priority and responded positively to a suggestion by the Knysna municipality for a major conference on the subject, possibly to be held in Oudtshoorn. It was felt that more interest groups such as farm workers, farmers and the rural poor within the homelands should be included.

Max Mamase
Regional Co-director

Economics made easy

AFTER A number of meetings with civics, trade union members and other concerned parties in the Border area, it has become clear that the economic development debate is being conducted "above the heads" of grassroots membership.

The Border office of Idasa recently hosted a workshop to foster a common understanding of the concept of development among ordinary people. Alec Erwin, of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, was the guest speaker. Further workshops may be held in conjunction with the Border Development Forum.

Ndumi Gwayi
Regional Director

Peninsula wants to talk, but...

A NUMBER of stumbling blocks to negotiations about a future metropolitan government for greater Cape Town emerged at Idasa's second City Futures seminar in May.

All present - some 100 delegates from a cross-section of town councils, community structures and interest groups - declared themselves eager to start the process. But there was uncertainty about who should initiate it, how far it could or should go and, very importantly, whether it could get off the ground while many black communities were experiencing economic hardship, often at the hands of the same authorities who want to engage them in talks.

A delegate from the South

African National Civics Organisation vividly illustrated the last point: "It is difficult to talk while someone is pointing a gun at you. The City Council never talks to you - it just switches off your lights."

"In the whole of the Western Cape people have been squatting for years, but new buildings are going up in the city. It's no use!"

In spite of these strongly expressed sentiments, participants resolved to pursue vigorously the establishment of a forum to thrash out a negotiation process. The possibility was raised that the City Futures seminar series could be helpful in this regard.

There was consensus about the inevitability of some form

of metropolitan government in the area. Key issues to be decided include the boundaries and functions of the metropole and how it will relate to smaller local authorities.

Mr Clive Keegan, the deputy mayor of Cape Town, who also warned against an imposed solution from the national level, was of the view that the metropolitan government should be supported by strong local authorities with considerably redrawn boundaries.

Mr Roland Hunter, from Planact, cautioned against "messy compromises" that may result from attempts to accommodate all interests.

Ronel Scheffer
Production Editor

Nurses prescribe strong medicine

NURSES IN the Eastern Cape have decided to take radical surgery and establish a democratic association for nurses in opposition to the mandatory membership of the South African Nursing Association (Sana).

The Democratic Association of South African Nurses (Dasan) plans to launch in July and has approached Idasa for assistance in defining democracy within the new association.

The interim secretary for Dasan, Sister Doreen Foster, said efforts to democratise Sana had failed and the Minister of Health, Dr Rina Venter, although affirming the existence of Sana, had seen no legal impediment to the formation of another association.

Sr Foster said the move was a breakthrough in a profession which for years has been unyielding in response to nurses' requests for democratic decision-making mechanisms

Prejudice, conflict examined

DEMAND CONTINUES for the "Schools in Transition" workshops run by Idasa's Western Cape office in conjunction with education facilitators. Recent workshops for teachers included one at a former "whites only" school which has opened to all races, and another at a "coloured" school hoping to do so in the near future.

The first workshop focused on race and gender issues, particularly ways of uncovering unconscious or indirect prejudices. It also included a discussion on language issues, the question of "standards", admissions and staffing policies in the context of "open schools".

The theme of the other work-

shop was how to deal with conflict in the school environment. Various kinds of conflict were addressed, as well as the relationship between conflict, discipline, authority and communication.

Through a variety of exercises, the participants explored different notions of "discipline" and "authority" as well as the diverse ways a teacher may be "blocking" communication in a class, thereby intensifying potential conflict situations.

At both workshops, many participants highlighted the need for schools to establish an on-going process for staff interaction around topics such as these.

Erika Coetzee
Regional Co-ordinator

both in health care programmes and their own administration.

Some of the challenges which face Dasan are the oppression of nurses by other nurses and the absence of a court of appeal for nurses. (At the moment the South African

Nursing Council [SANC] has arbitrary powers for discipline within the profession).

Dasan hopes that the association will soon be a national body.

Ndumi Gwayi
Regional Director (and a former nurse)

A 'proper' look at co-operation in southern Africa

ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: FROM CONFLICT TO CO-OPERATION? by Jesmond Blumenfeld, Oxford University Press, 1992.

By ANTHONI VAN NIEUWKERK



Isn't it wonderful that with apartheid's decline the countries of southern Africa are finally beginning to work together again? In fact, if the region was to co-operate to further economic interdependence and to bring to fruition the political ideal of a regional common market, would it not be to the mutual benefit of all in the region?

The rhetoric flowing from a wide variety of businesspeople and politicians seems to indicate so. There is certainly no lack of examples to underline this argument: members of the SADF are training Angolan soldiers to lift mines from underneath roads; Transnet is working closely with SADCC members in countering the ravages of the region-wide drought; South African expertise was involved in averting Mozambique's biggest yet oil threat. The list of South African concerns involved in various projects in the region goes on and on, and is growing daily.

Indeed, the regional political landscape, viewed through South African eyes, looks promising. The days of Marxist one-party states and of destabilisation are over. President De Klerk's diplomatic crusade into Africa is nothing less than a tour de force, and the volume of trade is increasing concomitantly.

Clearly, these developments, viewed together, create a strong impression of a region putting past hostilities behind and reaching out to a shared future, based on co-operation which will benefit all.

Not everyone, however, shares this view. Many academics - Blumenfeld among them - warn that the future of southern Africa might not be as rosy as politicians predict. These writers ask for a measure of realism when the political and economic future of this region is considered. In fact, a cursory

glance at the literature on the region reveals a depressingly long list of impediments to a peaceful, democratic and economically prosperous southern Africa. Blumenfeld's book makes a contribution to this growing debate by focusing on how best to view and understand past and present economic relations in southern Africa.

In doing so, he takes a hard look at the contribution of the

"radical" neo-Marxist approaches to international economic relations (the so-called dependence school) and the conflicting liberal economic theorists' essentially functionalist views. In Blumenfeld's view, neither of these approaches has (so far) proved to be a satisfactory or fruitful point of departure, a situation he tries to rectify by "revisiting dependence and interdependence" (chapters 13, 14). For Blumenfeld, the lack of a proper perspective on intra-regional economic relations leads to serious misperceptions, and in his study he sets out to debunk a number of popular misconceptions.

'It is not apartheid per se which constitutes the core inhibition for closer economic relations in southern Africa'

In particular, he takes issue with the fairly simplistic but often heard argument that the ending of apartheid will be instrumental in resolving all the region's economic problems. According to him, "The message of this study is that it is not apartheid per se which constitutes the core inhibition for closer economic relations in southern Africa, but rather the lack of any overriding common political interest in real economic integration" (p9).

Blumenfeld substantiates this thesis by pointing, first, to the historical development of economic exchange relations in the region (part one of his study), and how this became

the source of conflict and potential disintegration. This historical examination reveals that, from the outset, there has been a perpetual tension between the integrative pulses emanating from the underlying unity of the regional economy, and the lack of political impulses towards any form of unified political authority over the wider region. Blumenfeld seems to be talking of a vacillation between two positions, or the working of centrifugal and centripetal forces in the region. In his view, economic co-operation and integration have fared best in periods when there has been an overriding, and widely shared, political interest in the potential benefits.

'A balance of prosperity in southern Africa will be determined within the region itself'

However, these conditions have never pertained either long enough or widely enough to carry the region decisively towards economic union, let alone political union. In periods when the political interest of the regional states have strongly diverged, the structural imperatives for economic co-operation have come under increasing strain, leading to heightened conflict over the nature and terms of the exchange between them. Importantly, Blumenfeld points out that the tension between economic and political interests in the region has always been complicated by the contradictory influences which arise from the fact of the economic dominance exercised by and from the economic heartland centered on the Witwatersrand.

This analysis leads Blumenfeld to conclude that there are few objective grounds for believing that this inhibition (the lack of incentives for economic co-operation) will be significantly eroded if and when South Africa achieves democracy. By so arguing, he arrives at one of the biggest obstacles in the way of closer economic co-operation and integration: "As the countries of Western Europe are discovering, real

economic integration involves the overt surrender, to a greater or lesser extent, of political sovereignty over those issues, policies and processes where sovereignty is perceived to be most crucial" (p9).

How then does Blumenfeld see the post-apartheid regional economy? In his view, whilst peace and political stability in any region are necessary conditions for economic prosperity and co-operation, they are not sufficient conditions. He argues that the conditions for translating reconciliation and rapprochement into an imperative towards economic integration are not strongly in evidence. Why? First, given the region's conflictual legacy of recent history, its states will need to find ways of overcoming the propensity for economic conflict and create instead a propensity for co-operation. This will require the active development of an appropriate political and institutional framework within which confidence and mutual respect can be built. However, there is enough evidence that sovereignty is not likely to be surrendered very readily in southern Africa. It would therefore be prudent, Blumenfeld advises, to discount grandiose ideas about a southern African common market.

Second, the belief that, in the post-apartheid era, conflict between South Africa and the neighbouring states will evaporate is too simplistic. There is – and will remain – throughout the region a legitimate fear that South Africa, however governed, will always exercise overwhelming economic power. This fear will need to be addressed before there can be any prospect of creating a prosperous regional order. Third, South African membership of SADCC will pose serious questions about its future role.

In practice, the emphasis in regional economic co-operation is likely to remain on more ad hoc, and essentially bilateral, arrangements. The key determinant of the scale and scope of economic interdependence will be the willingness, and ability, of individual (private) economic actors to identify and exploit profitable opportunities for cross-border exchanges. Blumenfeld also believes that the scope for Western policy will be limited, and sees two directions: the provision of development assistance, and the encouragement of confidence-building measures between the regional states.

Given the above analysis, Blumenfeld's final comment comes as no surprise; indeed, it has been said before, but is worth repeating: the capacity to build a "balance of prosperity" in southern Africa will be determined within the region itself.

Antoni van Nieuwkerk is a researcher with the SA Institute of International Affairs.

Workers on the centre stage

OUR PRECIOUS METAL: AFRICAN LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA'S GOLD INDUSTRY, 1970-1990 by Wilmot James, Oxford University Press, 1992.

By HOWARD GABRIELS

This book is a welcome contribution to the debate on labour market policies in general and the challenges that the new state, employers and the labour movement will have to confront in the mining industry in particular.

The book is easy to read. The author's use of a brief conclusion at the end of some chapters helps to crystallise his views in a few lines. I am surprised that he did not employ this technique throughout the book.

James says that "it strikes me that although we know a great deal about how labour-coercive institutions originated and became institutionalised, we know precious little about the conditions under which it may disappear" (page vii).

In addressing this question, James chooses to adopt what he calls "a state centered analysis". He is however conscious of the weakness of this approach which often forgets to treat workers as principle actors alongside institutions of the state and capital. In this book he makes a valiant attempt at bringing the actions of workers onto the centre stage, especially in his analysis of the contest for control in the compounds.

Although the author tries to describe working conditions on the mines, it lacks real insight to a certain extent and comes across as a tourist's impression.

James gives an excellent analysis of how the Chamber of Mines (COM) sourced its labour supply from both the neighbouring states and internally from the homelands. Often these states have adopted anti-worker positions despite their socialist rhetoric in order to secure employment for significant numbers of their people. At times some governments would actively advise workers not to become involved with the unions.

When Malawi withdrew its workers from the mines in 1974, the COM started to recruit workers from the Transkei and other homelands. ERPM experimented with the recruitment of labour from the local townships



around Boksburg. This experiment was a complete failure.

Township workers, like the "Rhodesian" workers in the 1970s, resisted the authoritarian style of management. These workers would refuse to speak funakalo to their supervisors. By speaking English to mainly Afrikaans speaking supervisors they obviously undermined the

latter's authority.

James' central argument is that the "politicisation of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) followed directly from its weak position in the narrow collective bargaining framework that was created after Wiehahn" (page 92).

I want to argue that the material conditions of mineworkers politicised the members of the NUM. Secondly, the collective bargaining framework provided the union with the opportunity to engage both capital and the state.

The NUM represented workers who had no legal political voice. James' own research points to the vicious implementation of apartheid legislation in the mining industry. The oppression of mineworkers had two sources, on the one hand the state and its policies and, on the other hand, the callous implementation of these policies by the mine owners.

It should not be surprising that "the NUM embraced the concept of one person one vote" (page 109) and democratic socialism as an alternative political system.

The adoption of the Freedom Charter as a guiding document in the struggle in 1987 was one of the developments that led to the recognition of the legitimacy and support of the ANC, and ultimately, one could argue, to the unbanning of political organisations.

In its dealings with employers, the NUM never accepted the confines of Wiehahn's framework. It in fact creatively reshaped, together with unions in both Cosatu and Nactu, the industrial relations terrain with a combination of legal and organisational strategies as evidenced in the new Labour Relations Act.

In addition the NUM, its members and officials, were targets of state repression and harassment continuously. Between 1985 and

1990 the unions bore the brunt of Botha's security police. Several union offices were petrol bombed and scores of union leaders were detained.

Thus to argue that the unions resorted to politics because of the limitations of collective bargaining is to completely misunderstand the history of the labour movement.

The weakness of the book is its concluding chapter. In all fairness to the author, he reflects the confusing statements made by the unions and the ANC on economic policy. In the preface to a conclusion three critical questions are raised that now confront the labour movement:

- Negotiations for a political settlement are principally about race and not class.
- Workers' control over production processes will not be possible without assistance of the state.
- Nationalisation without workers' control is likely to draw state interests closer to the organised interests of capital (pg 31).

Recent developments such as the mining summit and Cosatu and Nactu's demands for the establishment of an economic negotiating forum indicate that unions are taking up the challenges. It is in the nature of the struggle for political and economic democracy that the unions would continue to create the space to engage in that struggle.

Another aspect is the struggle for the political independence of the labour movement. Already Cosatu at its 1991 national congress placed some limits on certain leaders holding positions in both the unions and political organisations. Moreover, the unions have shown that they have the will to confront both the state and capital on questions of economic restructuring and taxation.

There are a number of assertions that should not go unchallenged, such as the treatment of the strikes on the mines in this book. I have been reluctant to deal with these because I was an official in the NUM between 1984 and 1988 and it is easy to respond emotionally to dramatic events like strikes. However, the book would have been greatly enhanced if it had a chapter investigating the strikes and uprisings on the mines in this period more carefully.

Finally, the greatest concern is that the book relied heavily on information from the employers. James explains that the state of emergency made access to union officials difficult. Also some documents of the union were destroyed when the police raided Cosatu House prior to its bombing in 1987. Nevertheless this book should be read by all actors who are involved in shaping labour market policies.

Howard Gabriels is a former unionist and currently attached to the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in Cape Town.

Tolerance is democratic freedom

As I delivered a paper on political tolerance at the Idasa conference of which Albert Nolan is so critical, I feel the need to respond.

Nolan views political tolerance in the same way as Herbert Marcuse did. For Marcuse the problem with liberal tolerance is that it treats all opinions as equal and therefore preserves the repressive status quo. Thus liberal tolerance prevents intolerance towards prevailing policies, attitudes and opinions. Marcuse's solution was a call for intolerance towards "that which is radically evil" (the status quo).

This perception of tolerance is, however, problematic because it is tolerance itself which determines the successful exercise of citizens' civil liberties. Without the possibility for people to utilise their freedom of speech, association and assembly (which is what tolerance is all about) we end up with the appalling incidences of violence South Africans are witnessing right now.

While I also feel an urgent need for the redress of structural inequalities left to us by the legacy of apartheid, the redress will remain on an abstract level if it cannot be implemented where it matters most: on a grassroots level. This will be hard to do when people do not believe that their political adversaries should be accorded the same rights as they themselves.

To end oppression will not be enough if there is not a democratic culture to sustain the gains made through ending oppression. It is in this context that tolerance can be seen as democratic freedom.

*Amanda Gouwes
University of Stellenbosch*

Library needs neglected

In spite of the realities of the information society, national concerns for quality education in South Africa have largely ignored libraries, particularly in black education.

Creating a democratic ethos without libraries is not only a cause for serious concern but a sure road to information illiteracy. In 1983 the National Commission on Excellence in Education in the United

States made the startling disclosure that the educational leaders saw no role for librarians or libraries in areas related to quality education.

With the increasing diversity of information for both research and learning, South African policy makers must not be guilty of this type of gross injustice in their deliberations at Codesa. Librarians too, must intensify their efforts in persuading our political leaders that we can no longer mortgage our future by short-circuiting our educational and library needs.

As much as the world is entering a new technological age dominated by computers and communication systems which will fundamentally affect society as well as libraries, policy makers and librarians must take cognisance that though the cultural values are rapidly changing, particularly in an urban environment, such changes are slow in the rural areas.

It is therefore conceivable that new types of community libraries will have to emerge that will take into account guardians of traditional religions, cultural values and norms, healers, elders, story tellers, etc. Bookstocks will focus more on the immediate cultural environment as well as various outreach programmes. Identification with the local culture must be encouraged and fostered.

*Manikam Moodley
Alice*

(letter shortened)

Good stuff from 'liberals'

Iwould very much like to be one of your regular readers and would like to share with you the joke about how I first came to know your journal.

After writing a supplementary exam for matric in March this year one of my close friends gave me your magazine to carry my documents home. I took it for granted that it was just a useless thing.

I kill time by reading whatever I can lay my eyes or hands on so I read what I thought was a "useless thing". But what I read was very positive to what I am fighting for. It was the most interesting document I have read being written by what we call "liberals" in our township. So keep it up.

*Eric Gibaba
Kwamashu*

Affirmative action: reality or fantasy?

Affirmative action has become one of the buzzwords of our time. And like so many others – democracy, political tolerance, non-racialism – the concept has been misunderstood and sometimes deliberately abused.

People describe affirmative action both negatively and positively; some talk about it as reverse discrimination and tokenism, others as the means whereby the historical legacies of apartheid can be addressed – the words equalisation and empowerment come to mind.

Affirmative action means different things to different people, depending on the position they occupy at work or in society broadly. A white employee whose job is threatened by the company's affirmative action policy could conveniently write it off as reverse discrimination. On the other hand, a black employee who did not get promotion, despite the affirmative action policy, could see it as mere tokenism. This is not to suggest that cases of reverse discrimination and tokenism do not occur.

When a black person is employed instead of a more qualified white applicant is that affirmative action or reverse discrimination? When two out of 10 top positions in a company are reserved for blacks, is that affirmative action or tokenism? These are two questions to ponder.

I have observed two approaches to affirmative action:

The first is patronising. It disempowers people and reinforces the victim's apartheid mentality. It amounts to saying, "blacks have really had a hard time under apartheid and we must really help them. Why don't we set aside a million rand or so to establish a bursary fund, a housing subsidy scheme and such things; and why don't we appoint a few black managers and supervisors just to show that we are an equal opportunities company. It would make us look good in the eyes of the world, not to mention the Sullivan Code..."

The following example will demonstrate the consequences of such a patronising approach. A black person I know had been working as an ordinary bank clerk in Johannesburg for a number of years and had always striven for promotion. Two years ago, he was promoted to a managerial position; his salary was increased, he qualified for a more substantial housing loan, he was given a company car – all the benefits which go with the position. Today, two years later, he is on the verge of alcoholism. When asked why, he replies that he cannot cope with the pressures and expectations of his new position. What they did not provide when he was promoted was training for the skills, knowledge and expertise required for the job. When he realised that he was promoted not because of his capabilities but because of his colour, his confidence and self-esteem were further undermined, resulting in the nervous wreck that he is today.

Many of the personnel managers and social responsibility officers responsible for affirmative action policies and programmes are black. This reflects two myths: firstly, that affirmative action is only about blacks and, secondly, that only

blacks know what is good for blacks. True, often those who have been discriminated against understand far better what it means, but it does not necessarily follow that they also know the solutions. Is this not tokenism? Is this not patronising?

The other approach to affirmative action acknowledges the discrepancies of the past and makes a sincere commitment to address them. This is the approach of the companies and institutions that spend millions on education, skills training, management programmes, self-help schemes – without taking out

an advert in a glossy magazine each time they do so. It is often these smaller-scale affirmative action programmes that are more effective, precisely because they are honest and sincere.

Using the analogy of a marathon race, the three key elements of affirmative action can be summarised as:

- acknowledging that in the "new South Africa" marathon the starting blocks are not aligned; in fact some people have no starting blocks
- finding the means to realign, or replace, the starting blocks
- making sure that if runners drop out because they have not been adequately prepared we can provide them with the necessary support to get back in there and continue the race.

But the ultimate question remains: is affirmative action possible? My answer is a resounding YES! One has only to look at the programmes of the extra-parliamentary organisations during the early eighties to see where affirmative action has worked. It is not coincidence that many delegates at Codesa are products of the early eighties. The structures created and programmes launched during that time helped them develop their skills and confidence.

The key elements to these programmes were:

- this is what **we** want to achieve
- this is how **you** can help **us** achieve our goals
- **we** will train **you** to help **us** achieve our goals

In conclusion, I want to refer to an example from Germany. The (former) West Germans complain about the unproductiveness of their (former) East German counterparts. One official I spoke to said, "now that they are part of the Western world, they will just have to learn to work harder....!" The official ignored the fact that the East Germans never had reasons or opportunities to develop initiative. They were, in fact, discouraged from doing so. I think that the parallel with South Africa is clear.

I personally believe affirmative action is about empowerment – about creating opportunities, mechanisms and structures to allow disempowered groups (blacks and, particularly, women) to develop their educational, political, psychological and economic capacities in a sustainable manner.

By VINCENT WILLIAMS

Vincent Williams is a regional co-ordinator in Idasa's Western Cape Office.