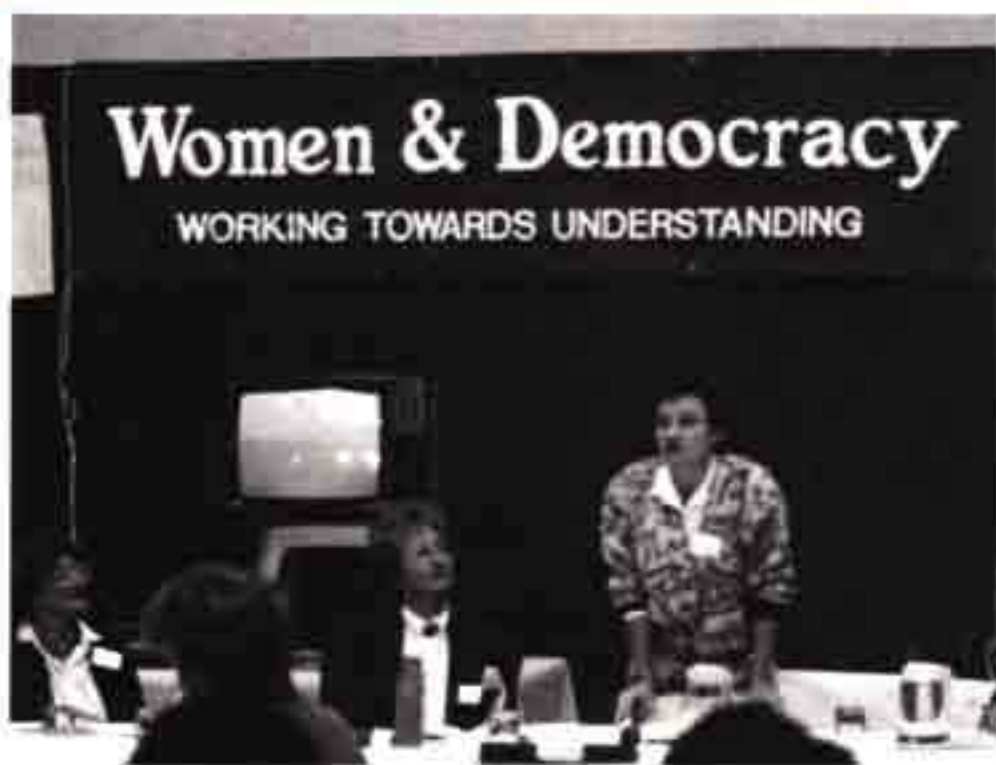


DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

THE OFFICIAL NEWS BULLETIN OF THE INSTITUTE FOR A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

OCTOBER 1988



Speaking at the Women's conference are (left to right): Christine Antonissen, Dr Caroline White and Ruth Tomaselli.



Sister Bernard Ncube, who had enormous impact on the conference. She is president of the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw).

“Your Children are our Children”

WHAT role can women play in working for change in South Africa? Women from very different backgrounds came together in Mossel Bay for a weekend conference from 2-4 September to address this question.

This was not a “tea-party” of ladies to talk about recipes and babyclothes. Women were confronted by a powerful range of speakers who presented, in no uncertain terms, the problems faced by women in South Africa today. The video, “Mama I’m Crying”, shown on the first evening, shocked women into realising how brutalised our society has become, and how black and white women are unaware of each other’s experiences. Amanda Kwadi of the Federation of Transvaal Women got the conference off to a rousing start by describing the crisis women in South Africa find themselves in. This was followed by a panel examining the experience of the majority of women in South Africa — women in rural areas, women workers, and women coping with urban violence. After this, another panel examined the ideological influences

Conference on Women and Democracy

Janet Cherry

on women — how women are socialised into playing subordinate roles in society, how the media influences how we interpret events, and the moving testimony of a woman growing up in an Afrikaner nationalist environment. Then there was a panel on Southern Africa, militarisation and the psychological effects of war. Lively group discussions and a provocative “Cultural Evening” completed the first intensive day of the conference.

The second day looked at how women could respond to the situation: given all that had been heard and discussed, what could women do to build democracy in this country? An overview of the role that

women have played in resistance to apartheid was given, followed by a highly stimulating and provocative talk on women and the Church in South Africa. Another video, “The Ribbon”, showed how white women responded to the crisis of 1985-6 and tried to promote peace and understanding. More group discussions focused on what women could do, and report backs were given in the final session.

In the process of the conference, women from diverse backgrounds — from NGK dominee’s wives to leaders of township women’s organisations — met each other for the first time. Through an intensive process of talks, videos and group discussions, they learnt to know each other and understand each other’s experience and backgrounds. Arising from this was a commonly expressed concern by all the women: a concern for the future of their children, and a concern with how their children were becoming involved in violence and conflict. While black women described the violence that children were subjected to in the townships, white

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One of the groups dramatises an exercise.



African delegates at the conference.



Some of the IDASA staff — after a meal.

Conference on Women and Democracy

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women explained the dilemma faced by their sons who are conscripted into the army. One of the most moving moments in the conference was when a black woman stood up in response to one of the white mothers outlining her dilemma — and said **“This is not only your problem. Your children are our children”**. Another subject of intensive discussion was the situation of domestic workers — many of the delegates to the conference being either employers of domestic workers, or domestic workers themselves. Despite difficulties with language — many delegates being confident in Xhosa or Afrikaans, their home language — it was extraordinary how much of a spirit of empathy and unity developed amongst the women present. From initial caution and shyness, by the end of the weekend women were relating in a relaxed and open way, and there was a tangible feeling of joy at the prospect of being able to find a way forward together.

The conference proposed various concrete ways in which women could take forward the spirit of the meeting, including arranging meetings between women's organisations across the spectrum, and establishing support groups for mothers.

Hopefully this exciting initiative will be followed by similar conferences in other regions, as well as a follow-up process of bringing many more women together to explore ways of working for democracy, peace and non-racialism in South Africa.

From the Executive Director

A perspective from abroad

DR ALEX BORAINÉ

crackdown is disturbing and depressing. In particular, I was distressed to hear about the further detention of Janet Cherry, who has already spent eleven months in a previous detention, as well as other members of our staff who have been forced to curtail their activities because of the possibility of being picked up by the police.

Nevertheless, despite these enormous odds and continuing restraints by the state, progress continues to be made by IDASA. Elsewhere you

will read of encouraging encounters which have taken place in many parts of the country through workshops, seminars and conferences.

Looking ahead, we have the historic and exciting conference involving Soviet Africanists, ANC leaders and a number of leading academics from South Africa. Hopefully this conference will neutralise the constant propaganda by the state which makes it difficult for white South Africans in particular to move from their support of apartheid towards the hazardous journey in the direction of a non-racial democratic South Africa.

Whilst several other interesting and worthwhile projects still await us during 1988, we have already completed our planning session and have drawn up an even more innovative and interesting programme for 1989.

I AM writing from Geneva where I am giving a series of lectures at the Graduate Institute of International Studies. The lectures are under the general heading, "1948-1988: Repression and Resistance".

Whilst I am here, I am taking the opportunity of visiting a number of European countries in connection with the programme of IDASA. I have already visited Finland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and West Germany. This has given me an opportunity not only to present the work of IDASA and its own needs for further funding, but also to have in-depth discussions with politicians, trade unionists and representatives from the churches.

Like so many other concerned South Africans, the news which continues to come from South Africa regarding additional detentions, harassments and a general

Responses to Janet Cherry's Detention

IT was with great shock and anger that news was received of Janet Cherry's detention on 23 September 1988. Janet was on her way to Harare, Zimbabwe to consult about a women's conference that IDASA is arranging, when she was detained at Port Elizabeth airport.

As was reported in the August 1988 edition of *Democracy in Action*, Janet was released from detention only on 30 July 1987 after spending more than 11 months in detention. This further detention has confused those who know her and who can vouch for her having complied with her restriction orders in the period between her detentions.

Janet is sorely missed from the Port Elizabeth office of IDASA, where she is employed as a research consultant. The Eastern Cape Region is indeed the poorer for the absence of her skills, deep commitment and unassuming manner. We trust she will be released in the very near future.

Keith J. Wattrus
Regional Director
Eastern Cape

THE reprehensible detention of Janet Cherry yet again, one of our valued colleagues in IDASA, must be seen in the broader context of national repression. The State appears determined to force its "solu-

tion" and its unilateral concept of imposed racial "group democracy" on our country. It continues to believe that it can buy political legitimacy through patronage and economic upgrading. That is why it is so intolerant of any attempt to broaden democracy on a voluntary and individual basis.

In the short term, this intolerance will disrupt and affect many (young) lives, and our thoughts are with Janet at this time. But if we are to



Janet Cherry

have a genuine non-racial democracy in South Africa, IDASA and many others who believe in this goal for our country must continue to use whatever peaceful means are at our disposal to promote this ideal. We must claim the future for this goal despite the repression and disruption of the present!

Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert
Director, IDASA

THIS is not a new experience. She was released in the middle of last year after eleven months in detention. She was, needless to say, not charged with any offence. She is currently employed by IDASA, the organisation which aims to find a democratic solution to South Africa's problems by discussion and negotiation.

"While I realise that in an uncivilised police state such as ours terms like democracy, rational discussion and negotiation are anathema to those in authority, I insist on my right to protest against the latest outrage.

"It is important that South Africans and the rest of the world appreciate that our rulers are experts in moral as well as financial bankruptcy.

Janet's father,
Prof Robin Cherry
of UCT

PROFILE OF IDASA'S STUDENT



André Zaaiman

MR André Zaaiman was recently appointed to the IDASA staff as the co-ordinator of University programmes and is based in Johannesburg at the Transvaal regional office.

He was born in 1960 in the Cape Province but grew up on a farm in the Kroonstad district. He was educated at Grey College in Bloemfontein and represented the school in hockey and life-saving. He then attended the University of the Orange Free State where he distinguished himself academically, graduating with both a BA and BA Hons cum laude. He was awarded an Honours Badge by UOFS for his academic achievements. He is currently completing his Masters thesis in conflict studies through UCT.

Whilst at UOFS he also achieved the distinction of representing the OFS provincial teams in gymnastics, badminton and diving (he was the OFS diving champion at the time)! His current interests include nature conservation, hiking, literature and philosophy.

It was therefore a particularly courageous decision when he recently resigned and renounced his commission as an officer (captain) in the SA Defence Force, and then was one of the 143 conscripts who made public their refusal to serve in the SADF. On that occasion he made a public statement clarifying his decision. **The statement of 3.8.88 reads as follows:**

My name is André Zaaiman. I did my National Service in 1978 and 1979 at the Infantry School in Oudtshoorn where I became an Officer in the South African Defence Force. On completion of my National Service, I was allotted to the Military Unit of the University of the Orange

Free State for my camps, and I was made a Captain in this Unit. I have been to the Namibian border, I have served in Angola in the early eighties and have been involved in combat in both these areas.

In taking part in this stand:

* I again renounce publicly my Commission as an Officer in the SADF.

* I reconfirm my refusal to participate in any way in the SADF until the system of Apartheid has been done away with completely and until the SADF acts in the interest of all South Africans.

* I express my solidarity with conscientious objectors Ivan Toms and David Bruce.

* I rededicate myself to actively work towards the removal of racism and to bring about a truly non-racial democracy with economic justice in South Africa.

My statement addresses three questions, namely: Why have I served before in the SADF, Why have I been refusing to serve and Why am I prepared to go to prison for my refusal?

Why then did I serve initially?

I am an Afrikaner and was socialised into an Afrikaans way of life since childhood. Consequently, my perception of myself and the world around me was shaped through this process. It can be said that as a teenager I was very much the product of my society; and it was against this background that I reported for my National Service in 1978.

Through my military experience, I was led to believe that:

* South Africa's occupation of Namibia was legal

* that the SADF accepted that the solution to the conflict in both Namibia and South Africa, was 20% military and 80% political.

* that the SADF was a neutral force acting in the interest of all South Africans and Namibians, protecting them from an external aggressor.

* SWAPO and the ANC were not true nationalist movements and they both enjoyed very little popular support in their respective countries.

If one therefore takes these myths to be true, as I initially did, then one's participation in the SADF is

not only logical, but it becomes a matter of duty.

In addition to rejecting the mythology of the SADF, I have over the years, through intellectual debate and growth as well as through exposure to the realities of South Africa, come to question and finally reject the basic assumptions of the Afrikaner Nationalist paradigm. This process, difficult and traumatic as you can imagine, was so aptly described by the great Afrikaans writer, NP van Wyk Louw (*Liberale Nasionalisme*; 1958: 95) when he said, and I quote:

"Truth never constitutes the fruits of a problemless perception of the world; it is only laid bare in struggle. The great controversy lies in digging down under the base of the opposition, it is always undermining, it causes earlier thinking to collapse, and all this digging down is a digging down towards the bedrock."

South Africa as an objective reality has also changed considerably over the years, and all of this inevitably played a role in shaping my views. I can only remind you that we are living under the Third State of Emergency where the military plays a dominant role in taking political decisions through the State Security Council. SADF troops have been deployed in the townships. SADF troops execute political decisions that have no bearing on security matters (for example the recent use of SADF troops to seal off the campus at UWC to prevent the Nelson Mandela Birthday celebrations) and we are experiencing increasing militarisation in society in general.

The SADF also embarked on a campaign of destabilisation of the Southern African Region, and the international community has taken strong actions to demonstrate their disapproval of South Africa's policies.

I echo the sentiments of the Boer General, General J B M Hertzog (who incidentally protested, with all the other famous Boer Generals of the South African War, against the conscription of South Africans for the invasion of Namibia (then German South West Africa) during the First World War) when he complained in Parliament about the lack of individual rights in South

ORDINATOR - Zaiman's stance on the SADF

Africa in 1915 (I quote from Hansard, which in those days gave only a summary of the speeches):

"There was no liberty of speech for the public; no liberty of the Press, and all the ordinary liberties of the public had been taken away. They had nothing less than a despotism such as they found nowhere else in the world where there was any semblance of constitutional government. ... He would do his best while he was in Parliament to prevent the people from coming under slave rule, and especially slavery as a result of the acts of the Minister of Defence. The Minister would do well to listen to the voice of the people" (1 March 1915: 20-22).

It is also clear that the government, historically through apartheid and presently through control over the media, is deliberately striving to keep any knowledge of the objective realities of South Africa away from the public.

I now deal with the second part of my statement, namely, why I refuse to serve in the SADF. And it is clear that this question has in part been answered in the previous section. In brief then, my refusal to serve revolves around the following points:

1. I am not prepared to fight or to die for Apartheid or the National Party. I fail to see how the Government can negotiate with so-called Communist States such as Mozambique, Angola and even Cuba, and then pretend that the reason why they cannot negotiate with SWAPO or the ANC is because they are so-called Communist organisations.
2. I do not believe that the present Government is legitimate in the sense that it is based on the consensus of the majority of the people of South Africa. This statement is borne out by the lack of political rights for the majority of South Africans as well as the need for a State of Emergency, reflecting the unpopularity of the present government.
3. I believe that both South Africa and Namibia are involved in civil wars; no foreign troops have set foot on South African or Namibian soil. I further believe that SWAPO and the ANC have substantial support from within their respective

countries, as well as long histories of attempting to settle the conflicts peacefully.

4. I am definitely not going to risk my life in a war that is both unjust and futile, whilst politicians try to convince us that we are supposedly fighting for the protection of non-existent "civilised" and democratic values. I do not believe that this government knows what is best for me or for South Africa, and they should stop using pseudo-patriotic arguments to mislead and blackmail people into protecting the selfish interests of the National Party.

5. The SADF is playing a destabilising role outside South Africa through its actions in the neighbouring states, as well as inside South Africa through, amongst other things, harassment of democratic organisations and the deployment of troops in townships.

6. The occupation of Namibia by the SADF is illegal. In 1950, 1955, 1956 and in 1971, the International Court of Justice held that the United Nations had succeeded to the supervisory powers of the League of Nations. In 1971 the Court held that the United Nations had lawfully revoked South Africa's mandate for South West Africa and that the continued presence of South Africa was, and therefore is, illegal.

7. The South African government has committed itself to the implementation of Resolution 435 in Namibia which implies, inter alia, the holding of free and fair elections in that country. We can then safely presume that SWAPO will play a major part in these elections and that they stand a good chance of winning them. If the Government has already committed itself to a process that could potentially or is even likely to lead to a political victory for SWAPO in Namibia, then I would like to know why we still have to battle with that organisation. The death of every single person in that war has become totally senseless and unnecessary.

8. A Cuban withdrawal from Angola is not going to prevent a political victory for SWAPO in Namibia. Therefore, South Africa's actions in Angola, at the great cost of human lives, did not even make strategic sense.

9. I am not, in principle, opposed to the SADF. I think from a soldier's perspective, it is a fine and well-trained force with a proud history in both the First and Second World Wars. But it has become an instrument of deliberate and large-scale repression, serving narrow political ends in the name of democracy and freedom. I, and many other young South Africans, are not prepared to sacrifice our lives in the defence of tyranny.

Finally, I think my reasons for risking a jail-sentence have become obvious.

On 2 March 1915, General Hertzog was asked in Parliament why he never spoke out against the Boer General who in 1914 refused to be conscripted into the Union Army in order to invade the then German South West Africa. Hansard sums up his reply as follows:

"Either he (Hertzog) must say what they (the government) wanted him to say, or he must speak his mind openly to the public. If he had spoken openly, he and many others would have been in jail: where many others are at present. If he had said what the Minister of Defence wanted him to say and what pleased him, he would have become a political prostitute. What would the Minister have thought? For much less than he would have spoken, people have been imprisoned. He had been given the choice between prison on the one side, and political prostitution on the other."

I am not a political prostitute. And I have given to you today my convictions and beliefs as honestly as I can. It was Albert Camus who said "that in every act of rebellion, the man concerned experiences not only a feeling of revulsion at the infringement of his rights, but also a complete and spontaneous loyalty to certain aspects of himself. Thus, he implicitly brings into play a standard of values so far from being false, that he is willing to preserve them at all costs" (Camus; *The Rebel*: 19).

If truth then, as N P van Wyk Louw has suggested, is only laid bare in struggle; if going to prison in order to remain true to oneself is part of this struggle, then, so be it.

Staff Appointments and Changes



Rev. Canon Xundu



Nic Borain



Mrs. Judy Martin

AS of 1st October 1988 several structural changes were made to the staffing positions. Mr Noel de Vries was appointed to the position of Head Office Accountant. At the same time Mr Thaabit Albertus became National Administrator and Mr Nic Borain took up the latter's position as Regional Director for the Western Cape. In addition Mrs Beverley Haubrich was appointed as Public Relations Officer and Mr Ian Liebenberg re-joined the staff as Research Consultant.

New appointments made were Mrs Judy Martin as Donor Reporting Co-Ordinator and Mrs Veronica Taylor as Head Office Receptionist. Finally, the Transvaal regional office appointed Ms Nancy Gasela as Receptionist and Ms Melody Emmett as Regional Secretary, whilst

the Natal office appointed Ms Rose Louw as its Regional Secretary.

An important additional appointment was made to the IDASA Board of Trustees. The Rev Canon Mcebisi Xundu, who is director of the Justice and Reconciliation Programme of the Diocese of Port Elizabeth, was appointed to the Board as of 11.8.88.

LISA SEFTEL APPOINTED AS RESEARCH CONSULTANT

ANOTHER recent appointment has strengthened and enriched IDASA's staff — Ms Lisa Seftel has taken up the position of Research Consultant attached to the Transvaal regional office!

Lisa was born and brought up in

Johannesburg. In 1976 she was a Rotary Exchange Student to Minnesota in the USA. On her return she studied at the University of the Witwatersrand where she majored in Politics, following that up with an Honours degree in Industrial Sociology. During this period she served two terms on the Wits SRC. In 1981 she joined the NUSAS head office staff as Projects Officer.

After the formation of the UDF in 1983 she became active in white democratic politics and was general secretary of the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC) in 1985 and 1986. In August 1986 she was detained and kept in detention for a period of seven months. She is currently also active in the Johannesburg Five Freedoms Forum.

Application for Monde Mtanga's release delayed

KEITH J. WATTRUS

MONDE MTANGA, a regional co-ordinator in the Eastern Cape office of IDASA, has been detained without trial since 10 December 1987. IDASA has been taking what legal steps it can to secure his release, and on 28 September 1988 an application was brought to the Supreme Court in Port Elizabeth.

Counsel for IDASA had advised that on the basis of the affidavits before the court, no favourable judgement could be made in Monde's favour. They advised that the tenor of the application should be to argue for oral evidence to be led so that both Monde and those who had made the opposing affidavits

could be cross-examined in court.

Counsel for IDASA thus argued that the arresting officer had formed an impaired opinion when arresting Monde, and that, because of several disputes of fact, his evidence should be allowed to be tested in court. Not unexpectedly the application was turned down with costs.

IDASA now intends to apply for leave to appeal and, if that is granted, to appeal against the above decision. If the appeal is upheld then only will Monde be allowed to appear in court to lead his own evidence — a protracted process indeed but IDASA is intent on ensuring that justice is done.

Mrs Sebolelo Mohajane

AS this issue of *Democracy in Action* was going to print we were informed of the tragic and untimely death of Sebolelo Mohajane. She was killed in a car accident over the weekend of 8-10 October near Ladybrand in the OFS. IDASA extends its sincere sympathy to her family and relatives.

Mrs Mohajane served on the IDASA Board of Trustees since its inception, and was always a most supportive and enthusiastic member. Her positive commitment was a constant source of inspiration to other Board members and the Institute's staff. We know that she will be greatly missed, not only by IDASA, but by the many community organisations she served with distinction.

Mrs Mohajane, a trained teacher, had been the executive director of the Careers Centre in Johannesburg since 1983. She was married with five children.

Over one year later . . . Mntonga death: Senior Ciskei police officers on trial

WAYNE MITCHELL

he was handcuffed behind his back. He was told that W/O Bojana was torturing Mr Mntonga at the time. After Major Potwana had left, W/O Bojana telephoned him and told him Mr Mntonga was dying. Major Potwana returned to the office and found W/O Bojana trying to resuscitate Mr Mntonga. In an emotional outburst during the bail application, General Zandisele Ngwanya said that he was not the killer. He named W/O Bojana as a killer before pointing at a member of the investigating team in the public gallery. "There is W/O Gola," he said. "He is a killer."

"Even Brigadier Zibi, the investigating officer, is fully aware of who the killers are."

"They arrested the wrong people deliberately in order to defeat the ends of justice."



Eric Mntonga

The bail application was opposed on the grounds that people were very angry about the murder and might take the law into their own hands if the accused were released.

Major Mthuthulezi Hlela, head of the murder and robbery squad in Ciskei, testified from the state in opposing the bail application. Major Hlela said a docket for the case had been opened after Mr Mntonga's death in July 1987. The investigation was conducted by Colonel Feliti.

TWO Ciskei police generals, including the head of the security police, are among six Ciskei policemen arrested in connection with the death of IDASA's co-director of the Border region, Mr Eric Mntonga.

Those arrested and presently facing charges in connection with Mntonga's death include Major-General Zandisile Witness Ngwanya (42), Major-General Phakamile Ngcanga (50), Colonel Mabandla Mbejeni (47), Major Phikeleli Potwana (42), Warrant Officer Thamsanqa Hlulani (31) and Warrant Officer Khayaletu Ncandana (34).

Mr Mntonga was found dead on a lonely road near King William's Town in July last year, the day after he had been summoned to appear at the Tamara police station in Ciskei.

The arrest of the six policemen followed a letter of protest sent to President Sebe by the Executive Director of IDASA, Dr Alex Boraine.

Testifying in an application for bail, Major-General Zandisile Witness Ngwanya, second-in-command of the Elite unit in the Ciskei police, said he wanted it to be known that Mr Mntonga's killers were all "outside" and that innocent people had been arrested.

Ciskei's Deputy Attorney-General, Mr V. Notshe, opposed the bail application.

General Ngwanya denied he had been involved in the killing of Mr Mntonga and claimed that some of the killers were members of the investigating team. He alleged that the people responsible for Mr Mntonga's death were Warrant Officer Bojana, Warrant Office Mncono, Captain Hlela and other policemen he did not know. He said there were fifteen policemen in the office where the interrogation took place, among them Warrant Officer Soci, who was now a member of the investigating team.

General Ngwanya accused the leader of the investigating team, Brigadier Fikele Zibi, of favouritism by not arresting Warrant Officer Bojana. He also said that the head of the security branch in Mdantsane, Brigadier L Nhonho, should have been charged as well because Mr Mntonga's killers were working under his command.

He told the court that Major Potwana had told him that he had gone to the police offices where he found Mr Mntonga being suffocated with a piece of plastic while

An inquest was concluded without any arrests having been made.

The case was handed over to Major Hlela at the beginning of September 1988 and he made his first arrest — that of General Ngwanya — on 10 September.

Major Hlela opposed bail on the grounds that the accused would interfere with State witnesses or abscond; it was easy to flee from Ciskei even without travel documents. Major Hlela pointed out that all the police witnesses were juniors to General Ngwanya and some of them had worked under him in his office.

Major Hlela told the court that he had difficulty gathering evidence in the case and it seemed that the accused had withheld information. The accused had concealed information on the case since July last year and it was easy for them to destroy evidence if they were allowed out on bail.

Major Hlela also pointed out that the public was deeply concerned about Mr Mntonga's death and wanted justice to be done. Evidence of this was the packed courtroom every time the matter was heard.

The magistrate, Mr Ayanda Njozela, in refusing bail said there was a possibility that General Ngwanya could interfere with the State witnesses. It was clear that General Ngwanya had an intimate knowledge of the case since he had, in his evidence, named some of the State witnesses as conspirators in the crime. He had also told the court of the names of the alleged perpetrators of the crime and had gone as far as to name the actual killer as W/O Bojana.

Mr Njozela said General Ngwanya was aware of the contents of the letter from Dr Alex Boraine which had opened the "can of worms". Information had been suppressed for more than a year and General Ngwanya had contended that he had suppressed information, Mr Njozela said.

He refused bail and the case was postponed to October 14 for the Attorney-General's decision. All the accused were remanded in custody.

After the adjournment of the court, people in the public gallery, numbering about 300, went outside and lined the street outside the court building. They jeered as the six accused were driven away to Middeldrift prison in four police cars accompanied by a Casspir.

IDASA- werkswinkel: Suid-Afrikaanse universiteite in 'n nie-rassige demokrasie

HÉLÈNE ROUSSOUW
Universiteit Stellenbosch

Die Saterdagprogram het aan elke universiteit se verteenwoordigers die ruimte gegee om die politieke tendense op sy kampus te skets. Hieruit het duidelik geblyk dat sommige organisasies kies om binne die strukture te werk, en ander kies om eerder buite die strukture te werk. Die een stroming kies om steeds die huidige bestel te kritiseer, terwyl die ander stroming eerder kies om die huidige bestel te wil vervang. Hierdie keuse hang af van die individu se lewens- en wêreldbeskouing en werklikheidsvisie.

Susan Booyens (RAU), Jannie Gagiano (US) en Dr Bernard Lategan (US) se insette het gelei tot 'n interessante bespreking rondom die moontlikhede om 'n gesindheids-

verandering onder Afrikaners ten opsigte van Apartheid teweeg te bring. Studente en dosente se ervaring het daarop gedui dat persoonlike kontak met swart- en bruinmense aan hulle bewys het dat 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika wel moontlik is. Geleenthede vir sulke skakeling op 'n interpersoonlike vlak blyk dus die beste moontlikheid te wees, om gesindheidsveranderinge teweeg te bring. Hierdie geleenthede vir skakeling moet geskep word deur soveel organisasies en liggame as moontlik sowel studente- as dosente-liggame.

Geleenthede soos dié bring mense van verskillende politieke oortuiginge bymekaar en die beter verhoudinge wat op dié wyse geskep word, help om konflik te hanteer in 'n land waar konflik onvermydelik geword het.

Notes on evaluation

THE evaluation rating for the workshop by participants averaged 82% (which left the co-ordinating team quite satisfied). All participants unanimously agreed that more such exercises were of utmost importance in the current process of socio-political transformation. Universities which attended: Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Stellenbosch, Port Elizabeth, Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit. Number of participants: 36.

DIÉ IDASA-Werkswinkel in September het aan studente en dosente van oor die hele politieke spektrum in Suid-Afrika die geleentheid gebied om op 'n persoonlike vlak te skakel en idees uit te ruil, ongeag eie politieke affiliasies. Dit was dus 'n redelik heterogene ideologiese groep wat bewys het dat ons kán saampraat en ervarings deel. IDASA fokus op die wit gemeenskap en juis daarom het Afrikaanse studente en dosente hul ervarings aan die universiteit — medium vir die stimulering van intellektuele denke en debat — met soveel vrug gedeel. Dit was juis die groter bewustheidsvlak van die universiteit en die groter mate van blootstelling wat mense ontnugter en met realistieser oë na die aard van mense-verhoudinge om hulle begin kyk. Die besef dat 'n abnormale situasie bestaan wat genormaliseer moet word, maak studente betrokke by verskillende studente-organisasies.

Prof. Lourens du Plessis (US) en mnr. Mark Behr (NUSAS — Stellenbosch) het 'n interessante debat uitgelok rondom studente-politiek en die geskiedenis en effektiwiteit daar rondom. Dis veral duidelik dat dié geskiedenis huidige tendense direk beïnvloed en dat studente moet leer uit die foute van hul intellektuele voorgangers. In Mark se woorde: "Rookge vulde kamertjies help, maar rookge vulde kamertjies los nie probleme op nie."



Some of the 36 participants at the National Students' Workshop on "Afrikaans Campuses and a non-racial Democracy"

Anticipating the Future

KEITH J. WATTRUS

A fascinating array of prominent speakers gathered in the Port Elizabeth City Hall on 22 September 1988 at an IDASA conference arranged to explore constitutional and economic options for a future South Africa. IDASA hoped that, by sharing their research and experiences, these speakers would open up a new vision for the future; a vision which could reintroduce hope and confidence into long-term planning. Panel discussions were structured in such a way as to encourage debate about practical steps which could be taken along the path from the present situation, constrained as it is by current policies, towards that better future.

The conference was opened by the Ambassador of Switzerland, Jean Quinche, who delivered the keynote address in which he traced the establishment of the Swiss political system and led the audience

through the steps which culminated in the constitution of 1874, which constitution is adhered to (in adapted form) to this day. He warned against believing that the canton system could easily be adapted to the South African situation by dividing South Africa into many cantons. "Switzerland has not been divided into cantons but it was the cantons who joined and created the confederation", he said.

The supreme and governing authority of the Confederation is a Federal Council composed of seven members. There is no separate Head of State, no president, no prime minister and of course no king. "Swiss people have always been against giving too much power to a single person", Ambassador Quinche remarked.

At the end of this opening address, the first panel discussion commenced, its subject being:

A FUTURE CONSTITUTION

Prof Dennis Davis

Prof Davis is a graduate of Cambridge University, England, and is currently lecturing at the University of Cape Town where he is Associate Professor of Law.

He opened by saying that specu-

lation over a new constitution is a very dangerous exercise because in South Africa there is a lack of any existing social practice of rights. "A constitution which provides democracy will need to provide for certain rights which 'trump' claims based on social interest. Without a rights tradition this becomes particularly difficult".

Prof Davis referred to Dr Albie Sachs, who has said that, in the process of reconstructing South Africa on the site of the destroyed Apartheid fortress, self-determination for all South Africans will be the essential objective, national liberation the substance of the process, democracy the form and human rights the goal. Sachs goes on to warn that economic imbalances caused by Apartheid will have to be redressed, because any constitution that protects the benefits of Apartheid while purporting to destroy the fortress will never attain legitimacy.

Referring to the Freedom Charter, Prof Davis pointed out that it is precisely because the Charter does not envisage a constitutional model of central planning that a system of law emerging out of the Charter can address itself to the problems of hierarchy and administrative centralisation in enterprises and collective bodies.

Ms Frances Kendall

Ms Kendall co-authored the book *South Africa — The Solution* with her husband, Leon Louw. She is currently involved in publicising "Groundswell, SA", a movement aiming to promote the canton system as a viable constitutional alternative.

She noted that while some aspects of a new dispensation are open to discussion and compromise, both blacks and whites have certain "non-negotiable" demands. For blacks these include the total unambiguous scrapping of apartheid, full citizenship, and equal civil and political rights in an undivided South Africa. White non-negotiable demands include the preservation of Western values and



L—R: Swiss Ambassador Jean Quinche, Keith Wattrus and Prof Douglas Irvine (Chairman).

sufficient protection to allay their fear of black retribution.

Ms Kendall felt that a territorially based federal system, devoid of ethnically based features, is most promising for South Africa. Power could be devolved along federal lines to a large number of units, thereby not only reducing conflict but also accommodating diversity by allowing a greater variety of political, economic and welfare policies to function simultaneously.

Ms Kendall concluded by referring to referenda as the most reliable way of determining what citizens want government to do regarding particular issues. "Ordinary people of all races would be actively involved in the formulation of policies affecting them." This system would automatically provide protection for both minorities and majorities, the latter being no more than groups of individuals having common values, preferences and interests.

Dr Tom Lodge

Dr Lodge, a graduate of the University of York, England, currently lectures in Political Studies at Wits University and is renowned for his research and writings on the African National Congress (ANC).

In this discussion, Dr Lodge outlined the arguments in favour of a unitary majoritarian constitution. "It is conceivable that people could be educated to find merit in such options as consociationalism, cantons, federalism and so on, but I think it is unlikely that such education will have much success — not as long as the chief advocates of such schemes are rich, white and privileged," he said.

Dr Lodge thought that a basic precondition for the existence of democracy is that all citizens should have a uniform set of political rights. He could not believe that according group rights, i.e. rights which are enjoyed by members of particular races, communities, localities or regions, could conform with the principle of uniformity. The provision of political rights to South Africa's blacks would have to be accompanied by a fairly great degree of economic redistribution. "This redistribution could take several forms — from the politically popular but economically damaging option of forced confiscation, through various forms of state take-overs or participation in enterprises



Frances Kendall, joint author of South Africa, the Solution.

with compensation to former owners, to redistribution through the fiscal system and much more ambitious types of public social investment than presently exist. All these would require a government with strong powers — and fairly centralised ones, in order to overcome regional development disparities."

"South Africa's characteristics don't suggest a particularly pressing requirement for federal forms of administration," he continued. "Certainly there is a great cultural and linguistic diversity — but members of different communities inhabit more or less the same geographical space.

"Why do so many people have problems with the notion of majority rule?" Dr Lodge asked. "Whites under majority rule in post-apartheid South Africa are unlikely to be the object of systematic persecution on a racial basis; they are sufficiently numerous and monopolise skills to an extent to make this rather unlikely unless an extremely racist black administration takes over."

"The best guarantor that the post-apartheid administration will respect certain freedoms is the extent to which those freedoms remain alive when it accedes to power. Every time a newspaper is closed down, every time a man, woman or child is held without trial, every

time a policeman goes unpunished for torturing or killing a prisoner, every time a family is arbitrarily evicted from its home, every time a book is banned, and every time an organisation is restricted, permanent damage may be being inflicted on the political culture of this country. For a democratic culture thrives best in a democratic environment — it is difficult to incubate democracy under repression," he concluded.

Prof Dawid van Wyk

Prof Van Wyk is Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of South Africa but has been seconded to the KwaZulu Natal Indaba where he is Director.

Prof Van Wyk said he would be surprised if the constitution of the future was not "one big compromise", which, he acknowledged, would be unlikely to satisfy the purists and the ideologues. It will not be worked out and/or introduced by the "sole and authentic representative of the people" of South Africa because political pluralism in South Africa was far too strong for that. A future constitution is likely to develop in a piecemeal fashion with continuous changing and "reforming".

Prof Van Wyk was sceptical of a "national solution" to the "national problem", stating that only ideology and an obsession with power would argue against a high degree of decentralisation in South Africa. The gravest danger of this national approach is that the achievement of the solution will be determined by the slowest "reform" or change factors in South Africa. This means that "right wing", conservative whites in one part of South Africa will dictate the speed of change in the rest of the land.

Referring to the KwaZulu Natal Indaba, he said that it demonstrated that it is possible for people with highly divergent political viewpoints and aspirations to come up with an agreeable compromise, and furthermore showed the viability of regional options without threatening or impairing the search for a "national" solution. Prof Van Wyk suggested that a future constitution would have to succeed, as the Indaba had done, in reconciling the two ostensibly contradictory requirements of universal and group participation, with preservation of freedom of association.

Ms Helen Zille

Ms Zille is an independent researcher and freelance journalist in Cape Town. She was formerly a political correspondent for the *Rand Daily Mail* and now edits the *Black Sash Magazine*.

"Constitutional stability generally results from an alternating and interactive process of conflict and negotiation, until the point is reached where the major antagonists believe compromise to be preferable to ongoing conflict," Ms Zille said. She continued by referring to this stage as the "shared perception of stalemate"; a mutual perception that one can achieve more by reaching a settlement than by continuing the struggle for power.

The only thing that could be predicted with certainty about a future constitution was that no model placed on the bargaining table at the outset would likely emerge intact at the end of the bargaining process, Ms Zille thought. "The model that emerges will be a reflection of the compromise reached."

Ms Zille felt that although there was no shortage of "ideal" models for a future South Africa, the real problem in our society is that we have not done enough work on the process, "on finding a way in which we can get from where we are now to a point where the major actors will be prepared, indeed seriously committed, to discussing the alternatives, and where the shared per-

ception of stalemate is such that a compromise is possible."

Reference was made to a local initiative of the Cape Town City Council which was prematurely interrupted because it was discovered that the climate for negotiations did not exist at the local level. "As things currently stand, the interests, objectives and ideologies of the major actors are too widely divergent, and the sense of trust, understanding and urgency too limited to enable constitutional negotiations to be feasible," Ms Zille remarked.

Zille urges conference to use "every chance that comes up to resolve conflict and problems by negotiation."

She felt that it was necessary that we concentrate on creating the appropriate climate, which meant using every chance that comes up to resolve conflict and problems by negotiation. This would help to establish the credibility and feasibility of the concept of negotiation, "particularly if it led to the empowerment of communities to direct and control their own destiny," Ms Zille concluded.

The second panel discussion had as its theme:

A future economy

Mr Bobby Godsell

Mr Godsell is group industrial relations and public affairs consultant for the Anglo American Corporation and is currently chairman of the SA Employers Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (SACCOLA). He is co-author of the current best-seller *A Future South Africa: Visions, Strategies and Realities*.

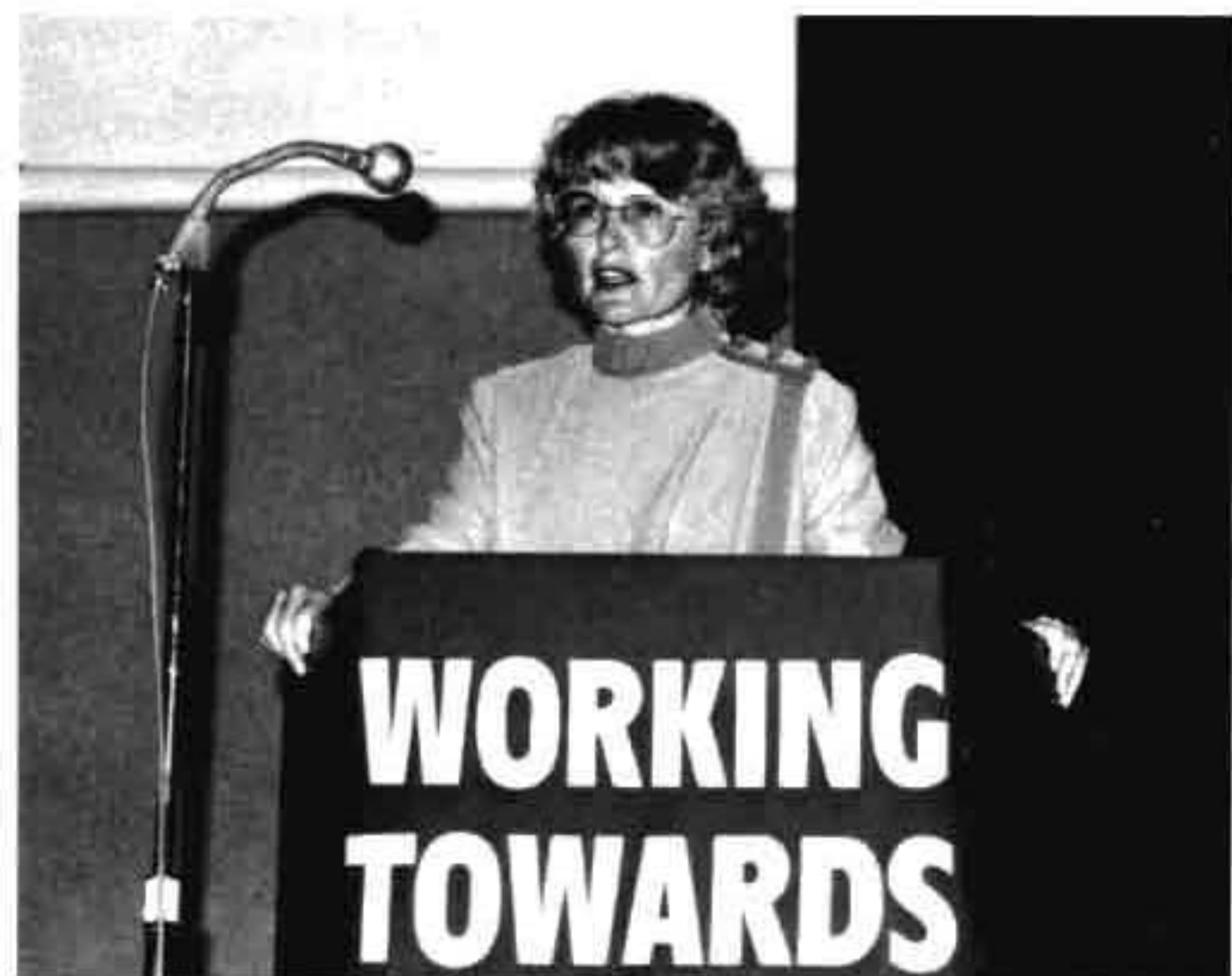
Mr Godsell titled his address "Growth, Equity and Participation", the three ideas around which he felt a desired economic future should focus.

The growth imperative ought to be obvious to all, he stated, because of the critical need for development in areas such as housing, schooling and health care. Apartheid has not only exacerbated our poverty but has also disguised its true nature. "Many believe that South Africa is an essentially rich country, but with a gross national product of around R2 000 per head we are far from being able to offer all our people a quality of urban life, housing, schooling and health care to which they legitimately aspire," he said.

"Apartheid has been an enemy of growth and very significantly has made economic progress a divisive instead of a uniting objective for our people," Mr Godsell remarked. "Besides this it has forced a misuse of economic resources and has bedevilled South Africa's economic relations with world markets," he continued.

Mr Godsell pointed out that two types of economic equality can be distinguished — equality of opportunity and equality of entitlement. Equality of opportunity means quite simply that all people should have equal access to the sources of wealth, and some progress has occurred here in the last two decades. However, inequalities in the entitlement and reward of white and black South Africans remain vast. "Economic policies which address opportunity but ignore entitlement are doomed to failure," he said.

The third goal is that of creating a participative economic culture. The socialism/capitalism debate has tended to focus crudely and abstractly on rival systems of owner-



Helen Zille (journalist) and editor of SASH.

ship of economic resources while ignoring the pattern of effective economic control. "In this regard the rise of mass unionism in South Africa is already achieving the most significant shift of power in the country's history," Mr Godsell noted. The existing pattern of hierarchical and authoritarian control is being destroyed and people are being empowered both collectively and individually: "Workplace democracy is not only a vital form of political liberation but also an essential part of economic growth," he concluded.

Mr Charles Meth

Mr Meth is a lecturer in Economics at Natal University in Durban, a position he returned to after spending some eighteen years in industry, mostly internationally.

Mr Meth felt that the oft-cited two reasons for the ills in the economy, viz. that firstly there was too much government intervention which did not allow enough leeway for entrepreneurial skills, and secondly that real wages were too high, needed closer scrutiny.

He argued that the reason why we have an economy in which the majority of workers earn much less than a living wage, but are yet too highly paid to enable South African manufacturers to compete effectively, is to be found in the peculiar growth path caused by "racial capitalism". "Coercive mechanisms in the labour market have not been mere racist aberrations but have served certain interests, notably mining and agriculture, very well," he said.

Mr Meth argued that it was in fact the "relative" freedom of capital to do more or less as it pleased in South Africa that had given rise to a manufacturing sector profoundly unsuited to compete in international markets. He could not agree with the reflex responses of attacking wages and advocating deregulation, and advanced the view that what were in fact ethical disputes could never be resolved by appealing to objective criteria.

"For me no discussion of an economy which 'works' is possible as long as there is agreement between the capitalist class and the state to restrict the terms of the debate," Mr Meth said. He stated that freedom was not synonymous with free enterprise and his own hunch was that a significant amount of restruc-

turing, which the free market cannot do, was going to be necessary.

"In this regard the rise of mass unionism in South Africa is already achieving the most significant shift of power in the country's history."

Bobby Godsell

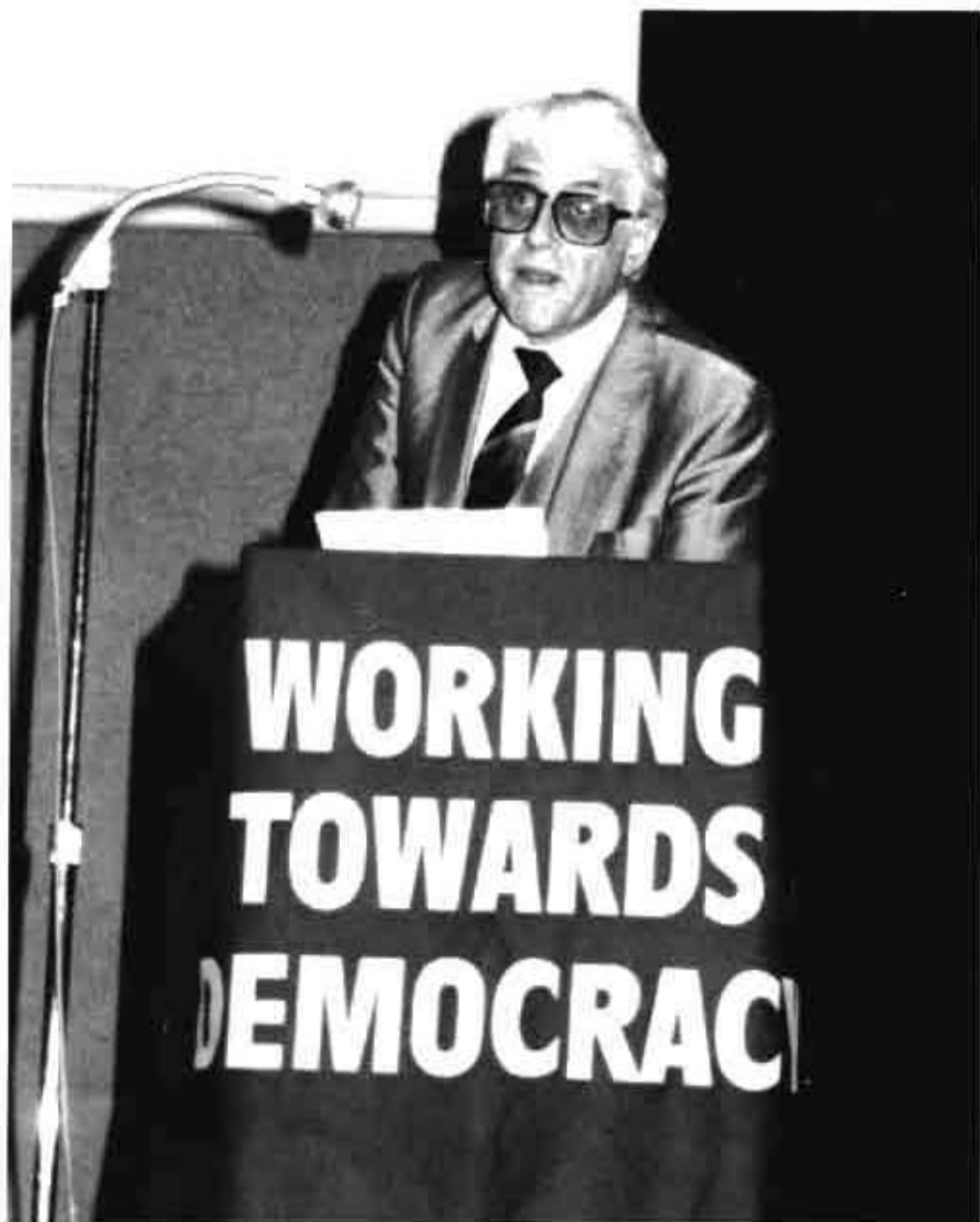
Prof Sampie Terreblanche

Prof Terreblanche is a professor in Economics at the University of Stellenbosch. From 1979 to 1985 he was a member of the Economic Advisory Board of the State President.

Prof Terreblanche saw three stages in the future economy: the

crisis phase, the transitional phase and the post-apartheid phase.

The crisis phase: Prof Terreblanche saw the decline in the South African economy as very much a structural phenomenon, rather than a cyclical phenomenon as some government spokesmen allege. This structural character arose out of the high international dependency of the South African economy and the growing international isolation that is experienced. "Over the last 30 years the economy has become far too capital intensive and consequently every revival in the economy causes a sharp increase in the import of heavy capital equipment," Prof Terreblanche explained. "In accordance with the Verwoerdian dream, labour was made expensive and even unavailable while capital was made artificially cheap by a low interest rate policy, an overvalued Rand and by all kinds of tax concessions on investment," he added.



Prof. Sampie Terreblanche of the University of Stellenbosch.

"There is no reason to expect the situation to improve and every reason to fear that the present decline will continue as long as the present or another apartheid government is in power," he warned.

This transitional phase: This phase would only commence once a new and truly reform-orientated government makes a creditable commitment about the dismantling of apartheid and starts to take visible measures to that effect. In this phase economic growth would be desperately needed to create maximum job opportunities and to cause a sharp increase in the tax capacity of the economy. "More than just normalising economic relations with the rest of the world will be needed; we will also need a Marshall Aid programme." Prof Terreblanche said.

"During the transitional phase we will be faced with a very difficult and on-going trade-off between economic conditions conducive to a high economic growth rate and political conditions conducive to the closing of the "welfare" spending gap, i.e. for redistribution purposes," he said.

The post-apartheid phase: This phase could only be entered once a fully developed non-racial constitutional system with a concurrent welfare state system was in place. "Although I am not optimistic that the post-apartheid stage will be reached in the foreseeable future, I still hope that the future economy of that stage will have the following characteristics," Prof Terreblanche concluded:

"(a) A market-orientated economy.

(b) A labour-intensive economy based on appropriate technology.

(c) An economy with a well-developed and well-organised welfare state system (including a well-developed educational system).

(d) An economy with a necessary large (but not too large) bureaucracy with a fair degree of efficiency.

(e) A full internationally integrated economy and at least part of a Southern African Economic Confederation.

(f) A fairly stable, prosperous and unitary system of Democratic Capitalism, structured to fit the situation in South Africa that in all probability will still be described as unique."

Exploring Port Elizabeth's forgotten past — first in history workshop series

Janet Cherry

ON the evening of 16 August, a group of 70 students, academics and interested members of the public came together to critically examine the history of Port Elizabeth. This project was the first in a series of "History Workshop" events which IDASA Eastern Cape region is convening. The aim of the project is to promote, debate and stimulate research on the much-neglected history of the Eastern Cape.

The theme of this seminar was the history of resistance — and we were most fortunate to have Joyce Kirk, a lecturer in African History at Ohio State University, present a paper on "African Resistance to Residential Segregation in Port Elizabeth in the early 1900's". Joyce, a black American historian, wrote her Doctoral thesis on the history of Port Elizabeth, and was in South Africa at the time doing further research. Other inputs were given by Gary Baines, lecturer in history at Vista University, who spoke on "The Development of Worker Resistance in Port Elizabeth, 1850 — 1920", and by Janet Cherry, who spoke on "Women's Role in Political Resistance in Korsten in the 1950's". Jeff Peires, lecturer in History at Rhodes University, chaired the meeting.

The papers were followed by questions and discussion among those present — including students from Vista University and the University of Port Elizabeth, high school students and history teachers, members of the Port Elizabeth Historical Society, academics from both universities, and a local museum curator. Hopefully such open discussion will stimulate the creation of a truly non-racial history of Port Elizabeth — one which takes into account the experiences of the majority of residents of the city.

This first seminar, which generated considerable interest in the subject, will be followed by oral history research groups involving students, social history tours of Port Elizabeth, meetings of high school history teachers, and further seminars where research will be presented.

Negotiation Seminar

Max Mamase

THIS seminar was held under the auspices of the UPE Negotiating Unit run by Mark Anstey. The seminar was held between 18-20 August 1988. Community-based organisations and Trade Unions as well as IDASA were represented. The people were taught about negotiation skills and processes.

Participants were given exercises for "practice" purposes. The improvised demonstrations were indicative of internalised ways of negotiations which are a copy-book of the South African situation. This is a positional type of bargaining which always forces people to bottom lines, and sometimes deadlocks. People were taught how to negotiate on the basis of merits or standards. This is called "principled negotiations".

Some of the exercises were too sensitive for political consumption. It was clear that the people who prepared the material relied mostly on what the security department uses to inform the white public. This material met with resistance from the comrades because they were portraying an incorrect image about our organisations. After long deliberations people agreed to do these exercises, having noted their objections.

Township fact finding tours

Max Mamase

ON 1 September IDASA took nineteen scholars and nine teachers from Alexander Road High School on a fact-finding mission. These tours originated in conjunction with the educative role of IDASA. The people were astonished to see the socio-political and economic conditions of Red Location.

This area is internationally known for its slum outlook. Red Location had its origin as occupied barracks (in 1899) by British soldiers. After the Anglo-Boer War in 1902, Red Location was evacuated by the soldiers. In 1903 the Location Act was introduced and non-racial areas like South-End and Korsten were drastically affected by the Act. The Afri-

cans from both those areas were moved to Red Location. Today all the houses are dilapidated. The first 45 blocks are now occupied by 389 disabled people and are in a shocking condition. The people on this trip therefore have vivid images of this situation and its historical background.

They also spoke to residents who shared their experiences of winter rains and cold days with them. They said that they are suffering the consequences of the South African Government's neglect but that they are calling for international comprehensive/mandatory sanctions to be imposed on the Botha Government, so that they can also experience this corrosive poverty. The tour passed on to Soweto (Port Elizabeth).

This is one of the areas that is facing forced removals. The area is occupied by about three hundred thousand people; there are no schools and no crèches. Social conditions are pathetic. Needless to say, this was a most educative experience for all the participants.

People's Education Seminar

Max Mamase

THIS Seminar was held at Rhodes University on 19 September 1988. There were eighty-seven participants including academics. The seminar was addressed by Dr Neil McGurk and Sue Krige.

Dr McGurk said that People's Education is a struggle against the Afrikaner education system which dominates political and economic power in this country. The Afrikaner education system is rejected by the majority of the people in this country. This coherent white culture has resulted in the monopoly of the executive boardrooms of our land. He articulated People's Education as an integrative system, a democratically based social system which will enable the Africans to be free from the bondage of Bantu education. The debate on the subject was outstanding.

History curriculum development was analysed by Sue Krige. She said that as far as she was concerned, no individual can reflect

any particular history alone; therefore history writers have to sit down with people of that historical experience so as to analyse and articulate their history. She criticised authors who have written history books without consulting the relevant people concerned, and cited a number of history books which, in her opinion, were irrelevant.

A rousing debate followed!

Church and Politics Workshop in East London

Steve Fourie

"IN all my travels around the world I have never, ever come across a nation where so many people want to be known as Christians." This observation by Dudley Weeks, an author on conflict management, and the fact of the conflict-ridden nature of our society provided the impetus for a group of approximately forty people to spend a day together exploring the role of the church as an agent of change.

IDASA and Rhodes University jointly facilitated the workshop on the theme: "Hope through the Church; Mission Today". It was held on a Saturday during August. Mr Gerald Hawkes led the workshop, which was built around three presentations: "Two sides of the Frontier" by Dr Margaret Donaldson, "Domination and Love" by Dr Felicity Edwards and "Gospel and Conflict" by Mr Tom Cunningham. All four teach in the Divinity Faculty, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

The first presentation captured the imagination of the participants, who soon found themselves participating fully as they grappled with the dilemmas raised by conflict in society. The unlikely vehicle for this immediate and enthusiastic involvement was a look into the past. Dr Margaret Donaldson presented the participants with two incidents from the time of the Frontier Wars and asked them to rewrite these in such a way that they could be used in a

school in a future non-racial South Africa. Participants soon discovered that their attempts to accurately portray these events from a previous period of conflict in our land without the bias of any segment of our society led to in-depth discussion about the present conflict. Writing for his church newsletter, one of the delegates commented that the discussion "provoked intelligent and incisive comment from both blacks and whites at the seminar". In fact, some suggested that this experience of looking at conflict from other perspectives was a liberating experience. No doubt, many also had a new appreciation of the study of history!

Dr Edward's address on "Domination and Love", in which she suggested the need for a paradigm shift in thinking about relationships — from the paradigm of domination to that of communion, provoked a great deal of discussion. She indicated that the key to the new paradigm is the concept of "mutual indwelling". For most of the delegates these observations offered a very new way of looking at the relevance of the Christian faith, hence the great interest in them. The call for faith which is radical, open and prophetic was particularly well received.

In his presentation, Mr Tom Cunningham argued that the church had authority to proclaim the gospel but could expect to encounter conflict in this process of proclamation. He cited the controversy which followed the World Alliance of Reformed Churches' declaration of apartheid as a heresy as an example of this conflict. Because Christianity is a "conflict-engaging" religion Christians should seek to change structures of injustice rather than expect miraculous change. Delegates were encouraged to examine the ways in which they respond to situations of conflict.

A feature of the workshop was the amount of time spent in small groups so that much of the learning took place through the interaction between participants. In designing the workshop the whole focus was on facilitating an experience rather than merely arranging for addresses to be delivered.

The high level of participation and the numerous positive comments and requests for more such workshops all point to a successful workshop.

WESTERN CAPE

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EDUCATION FOR CHANGE

IDASA, in conjunction with the white schools' organisation PUPA (Pupils United for Peace and Awareness) held a conference at the new education building at the University of Cape Town on 1 & 2 October. The conference brought together pupils from all over the Western Cape. Through panel discussions, videos, workshops, simulation games, cultural activity and personal interaction the delegates explored a myriad aspects of their life in South Africa today.

At the crack of dawn on Saturday the New Education Building received final touches of preparation for the conference. PUPA and IDASA members stood nervously at the registration table awaiting the arrival of the first delegates.

Thirty six hours later the same people leant exhausted against the same tables. The months of hard work had been worth it.

From the opening address, in which Jan van Eck urged the students to respect each other's backgrounds, to the closing ceremony where the conference choir led the singing of Nkosi Sikelele iAfrika the delegates were challenged by new experiences.

The conference was the high-point of a process that was intended to stimulate the growth of student, parent and teacher organisations in the white schools of the Western Cape.

IDASA worked closely with Pupils United for Peace and Awareness in conceptualising, planning and running the conference.

"It was a really good experience for us," said Fiona Sass, Co-ordinator of PUPA. "At the same time as giving us the chance to learn organisational skills, the conference allowed us to reach pupils from schools all over Cape Town."

Nic Borain, the IDASA conference organiser, said: "For me the most exciting thing was to see pupils from such vastly different backgrounds and life experiences confront each other with their prejudices and misconceptions and have these changed through experience."

"At one point on the Saturday afternoon I stood looking into the quad of the Education Building where about 70 white and black school students were learning a traditional dance; somewhere above me another group was learning Nkosi Sikelele, and the notes of new songs being written by several other small groups of participants filtered up to me. We were so clearly in Africa and the laughter and the singing and the stamping feet seemed so optimistic."

However, it was not all plain sailing. There was a constant tension



A group learning the "gumboots" dance.

between the black pupils' political ideas and what the white pupils were prepared to entertain.

"You must remember that many of the WECSCO (Western Cape Students Congress) people are veterans of detention, police repression and beatings," said Fiona Sass. "Some of them have even been shot. We have been very sheltered. But somehow, the more arguments we had the more we came to understand and agree with each other."

A teacher who observed at the conference summed up the feelings of many who attended. "This was a real sign of hope. These pupils reached each other across an incredible gulf. The conference developed a critique of the education pupils receive and at the same time was, itself, a **concrete alternative** — an educational experience that helped redress the failing in both the black and white educational experience."

All in all, a "mind-changing experience" was the unanimous verdict of all pupils!

Understanding conflict in South Africa — an IDASA series

Thaabit Albertus

SOUTH Africa is a conflict-ridden society with a legacy of apartheid stranded upon polarisation and violent conflict. For some, this destructive mode of conflict is determined by ethnicity, whilst for others it is determined by race, laws and/or class. When confronted with the immense impact of conflict people become cynical of the ways and means of enabling fundamental socio-economic change. Alternatively, they are simply incapacitated by the challenge to resolve this violent stalemate.

In order to contribute to the understanding of this phenomenon, IDASA is currently hosting a series of seminars entitled, "Understanding Conflict in South Africa". The following topics will be addressed:

1. Framework for the Study of Conflict 21 September 1988
2. Justice, Freedom and Peace 28 September 1988
3. Ideological Conflict in Modern Society: A South African Context-



Group discussion in session.



Free group activity . . . after the serious work was done

ualisation 5 October 1988

4. Prejudice in Human Society: The South African Case 12 October 1988

5. Interpersonal Conflict: A Social Psychologist's View 19 October 1988

6. Strategies and Tactics for Peaceful Change 2 November 1988

Speakers who have participated in the series thus far and who will be participating in the forthcoming seminars include Prof Ampie Muller (University of the Western Cape), Prof H.W. van der Merwe (Centre for Intergroup Studies, University of Cape Town), Prof Jannie Malan (University of the Western Cape), Prof Peter du Preez (University of Cape Town) and Mr Jannie Gagiano (University of Stellenbosch).

The two seminars held thus far have been attended by 30 and 40 participants respectively. The series will hopefully contribute to a better understanding amongst an ever-growing number of attendees.

Second objective of the series is to motivate people not only to become informed about the nature of conflict as a social phenomenon, but also to encourage people to transform potentially destructive conflict into positive transformative conflict. It is said that conflict is not inherently negative, but that it has a positive side too.

Further, it is an important aim of the series to highlight the fact that it is necessary to manage conflict by tackling the root-causes. These objectives are thus an integral part of this series and co-determines the parameters of the chosen subjects.

It is envisaged that a weekend seminar will be arranged in conjunction with academic staff involved in conflict studies at UWC and the Centre for Intergroup Studies at UCT for participants in this programme. Practical skills in the management of conflict will be taught at this seminar. This will take place in November 1988. Those who would like to enrol are urged to attend the remaining midweek seminars held at IDASA's offices in Mowbray.

It is in this way that IDASA hopes to contribute to the understanding of our conflict-ridden society. It further hopes to assist people to become informed and involved in the transformative process. We trust that people will begin to define themselves as part of the solution and act accordingly, rather than remain observers of the problem.

Die Vryheidsideaal in Suid-Afrika

IAN LIEBENBERG

OP Saterdag 10 September het die seminaar getiteld, "Die Vryheidsideaal in Suid-Afrika" in Stellenbosch plaasgevind. Dit is aangebied deur die Stellenbosche Aktuele Aangeleentheds Kring (SAAK) met 'n borgskap van IDASA.

Die seminaar het gefokus op die verskillende maniere waarop die vryheidsideaal tot uiting gekom het in Suid-Afrika. Daar is ook gekyk na 'n vergelyking tussen die Afrikaner se vryheidsstryd en die huidige vryheidsstryd in Suid-Afrika.

In sy openingsrede het Prof. Colin Bundy van die Universiteit van Kaapstad daarop gewys dat Suid-Afrika vinnig besig is om een van die mees repressiewe samelewings in die huidige era te word. Binne dié konteks moet daar gekyk word na bevryding.

*"Die parlement
het eerder 'n
struikelblok
geword op die
pad na vryheid."*

Adv. Johnny de Lange

Mnr. André van Deventer van die Instituut vir Sowjetstudies het gefokus op die parallelle tussen die Afrikaner en die huidige bevrydingsstryd. Sy referaat was getiteld "Comrades in Combat — African and Afrikaner nationalism". Nie net is daar duidelik aantoonbare parallelle nie; ook die strategieë om bevryding vertoon ooreenkomste. Albei het hulp van buitelandse moont-hede ontvang en het swaar geleun op guerilla-oorlogsvoering. Ten slotte was sy konklusie "dat die Vryheidsideaal in albei van die groeperinge 'n instrument kan wees om hulle bymekaar te bring".

Die rol van die parlement in die strewe na geregtigheid en as middel tot verset, is deur mnr. Wynand Malan van die Nasionale Demokratiese Beweging uitgelig. Hy was van mening dat die parlement 'n belangrike rol kan speel in die stryd teen onreg. In reaksie op dié stelling het Advokaat Johnny de Lange geargumenteer dat die parlement eerder 'n struikelblok geword het op die pad na vryheid.

Die rol van onderwys het ook onder die soeklig gekom tydens die seminaar. Dit is jammer dat die spreker van die Demokratiese Onderwysersunie nie teenwoordig was nie. Dr. Japie Coetzee van die Stellenbosch Departement van Opvoedkunde het aangetoon dat 'n "goeie vertrekpunt" sou wees om minstens ruimte te laat vir skole van "eie keuse" en "oop" skole. Dit het aanleiding gegee tot 'n warm vloerbespreking. 'n Groot deel van die seminaargangers het onomwonde aangetoon dat die tyd vir een unitêre en 'n nie-rassige onderwysstelsel in Suid-Afrika lankal aangebreek het.

Na middagete is die video "Cry of Reason", 'n profiel van dr. Beyers Naudé, vertoon. Die video het klem gelê op dr. Naudé se bewuswording van onreg in Suid-Afrika en hoe sy betrokkenheid by die bevrydingsproses gelei het tot sy inperking deur die regering. Dit het egter ook aangetoon dat hy onder 'n groot deel van Suid-Afrikaners hoë agting geniet.

Die rol van nasionalisme het ook onder die loep gekom. Mnr. Phathekile van CAWU het aangetoon dat nasionalisme 'n inklusiewe begrip is en dat almal in Suid-Afrika een nasie is, of behoort te wees.

Prof. Willie Breytenbach het in respons hierop aangetoon dat nasionalisme as 'n "invented myth" wel so 'n funksie kan vervul. Hy wys egter ook daarop dat nasionalisme in Suid-Afrika verdelend opgetree het in die verlede.

Die laaste sessie het die ekonomiese debat aangeroe. Die Vryheidshandves is deur een spreker voorgehou as 'n belangrike model vir ekonomiese bevryding en geregtigheid. Francis Kendall van die Groundswell-beweging het minder staatsinmenging en meer vrye/informele markgeleenthede bepleit as middel tot bevryding. Kritiese vrae is gevra en 'n goeie vloerbespreking het gevolg.

Ten slotte: Heelwat minder mense (± 70) het opgedaag as wat verwag is en daar was veel ruimte vir ko-ordinerende en organisatoriese verbetering. Tog was dié eerste oefenloopie nuttig. Dit het daarin geslaag om die riep om konflik in ons sameleving uit te lig. Daar is ook aangetoon dat 'n nie-rassige bena-

dering kan bydra om die noodsaaklike, nodige veranderinge teweeg te bring. Die blote feit dat so 'n seminar plaasgevind het op Stellenbosch, is 'n bewys van die behoefte by Suid-Afrikaners om saam na so 'n nie-rassige oplossing te soek.

NATAL

NATAL REPORTS ON THIS PAGE
BY PAUL GRAHAM

Natal Regional Office opening

DR Van Zyl Slabbert recently opened the Natal regional office at a reception held in the new office in Durban.

Introducing IDASA to a gathering of community and church leaders, academics, politicians, and consular staff he explained that the Institute was committed to the concept of free association and would be working towards a non-racial democracy.

Mr Paul Graham, regional director, introduced some of the plans of the local region and announced that IDASA was organising a conference on "The Right to Speak" in November. This would be the first large-scale public education event in Natal organised by IDASA.

The reception was followed by a public meeting attended by about 800 people (report below).

Peace in Angola/Namibia

SWAPO was confident that Namibia would become independent as a result of the latest peace talks — 800 people heard this view outlined recently at a public meeting organised by a Durban coalition in the City Hall.

Advocate Anton Lubowsky, a prominent trade union lawyer and SWAPO member from Windhoek, explained the conditions which made it unlikely that the present peace talks would fail.

These were the financial position of South Africa, the setbacks of the

war, the resolve of the international community, and the growing internal resistance to South African occupation within Namibia itself.

He was talking, after a reception by IDASA director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, of the history of SADF and government involvement in Angola and Namibia.

The meeting was organised by a coalition which included IDASA, the Durban Democratic Association, Black Sash, NUSAS, Diakonia — a church-based social action agency, and, prior to its restriction, the End Conscription Campaign.

Providing people with an opportunity to receive first-hand information about the situation in Angola and Namibia, the meeting was attended by a broad cross-section of people from the city.

It was the first large-scale meeting on the peace talks and the regional war to be held in Durban.

Swapo speaker confident that Namibia will become independent as result of latest peace talks.

SHAPING OUR FUTURE — a pioneering workshop series takes off

A SERIES of workshops for people interested in shaping their future is being run by the Natal region.

The workshops, which take place once a month, grew out of a University conference *Shaping our Future* held earlier this year. This conference identified the fact that many white South Africans felt overwhelmed by events and became isolated and passive.

The monthly meetings under the general title *Shaping our Future* provide people with a way out of their passivity. They provide a meeting place where information not easily found in the media is given and

where people can be put in touch with organisations working for a non-racial democracy.

The first meeting focused on the street children of Durban, the second on the municipal elections.

Twenty-two participants discussed whether they should vote, whether not voting allowed those of other political persuasions to take over, and the manner in which the State of Emergency restricted information and debate.

After these initial discussions, during which participants got to know one another and express their own responses to issues, Durban City Councillor Crispin Hemson spoke of his experience in the Council.

Explaining that he had stood for Council in 1978 to try to promote some change in City Council structures, he told of working with a group of PFP-related Councillors on various city projects.

He also discussed the Regional Service Councils and the manner in which the National Security Management System was taking power away from local authorities.

Ian Mkhize of the township-based Joint Rent Action Committee (JO-RAC) traced the history of the organisation, explaining that blacks had frequently tried to work within the system without success.

To have really democratic elections, he said, three conditions needed to be met.

These were the freedom to openly espouse any cause, freely available information, and the elimination of factors that inhibited democracy such as racial classification.

In the absence of these conditions, township people questioned the motives behind the elections, seeing them as "a public relations exercise for the state".

Conditions which made the present municipal elections unsatisfactory were the State of Emergency, restrictions on information, racial classification, detentions and "rampant vigilante activity".

Mr Mkhize's talk led to a lengthy and animated debate on the question of participation.

Shaping our Future is an ongoing series and participants are invited to suggest topics and participate in the planning of meetings. The next meeting will deal with questions of democracy and what this means for white politics.

As others see us

DOROTHY KNIGHT

"The time has come," the walrus said, "for yuppies and trade unionists to meet." So armed with open minds and smiling faces we set off

into dark Mamelodi with Louis Brendenkamp from IDASA as our guide.

We were welcomed into Donsie's home as if we were the long-lost son. After having met his family and some friends — Jerry, Joe and Morris from NUMSA — we were invited to sit down for a discussion on South Africa's problems.

As the evening went on, in between snacks and tea, we started questioning them on all aspects of the trade unions. Delicate subjects (to us it seemed) like foreign financing, viewpoints on violence and ANC support were answered without hesitation. We were surprised

to hear that they had the same sad feeling we had about the banning of the ECC.

Time was also spent talking, discussing, arguing and complaining about the forthcoming municipal elections and the role of the Conservative Party in South Africa. Many conclusions were made, thought of or discarded.

We questioned each other about what we can do to make a better place to live in. Morris wants to be my neighbour, Donsie and his stop-street/robots has his own way of showing democracy. Mildred (Louis' wife) wants a house in Mamelodi Gardens and Louis is a part-time gardener in the townships.

Towards the end of the evening Donsie gave a blow to our fragile yuppie egos when he said that he would like to meet more influential people next time. I mean really — one engineer, one doctor, one vet, one English lecturer from Tukkies and myself, a journalist — what more could he want? Kobus Neethling?

We did somehow feel like the old farmer in Morris's joke, astounded by Donsie's, Jerry's, Joe's and Morris's knowledge about world affairs.

So you don't know the joke?

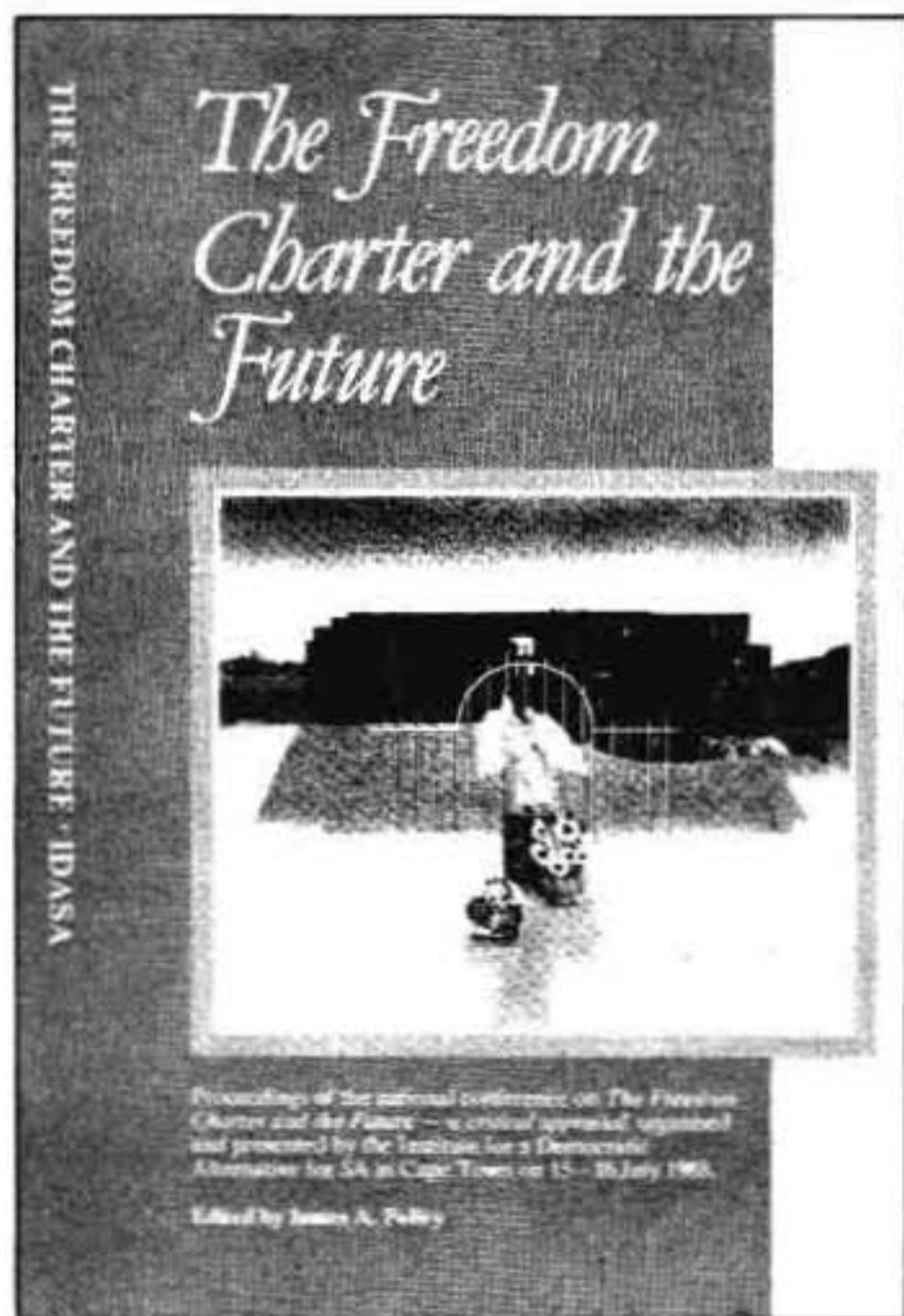
The schoolteacher wanting to educate some delinquents about South African literature said to his class: "We are all sad about the death of the great writer, Alan Paton. Now, class, someone please tell me who wrote the book, 'Cry the Beloved Country'?"

Accompanied by the "glazed doughnut" look the answer came: "Ons weetie."

Very upset with the happenings of the day, the teacher went to the old farmer on whose property he stays.

"You know," he said to the farmer, "the children of today know nothing. Today I am standing in front of my class and I ask them who wrote the book, 'Cry the Beloved Country' and they all answered 'ons weetie.'"

"Dis nog niks," said the farmer puffing his pipe, "gisteraand het iemand my mielies gesteel. Vanoggend roep ek toe al jou skoliere bymekaar en vra of hulle weet wat het my mielies gesteel. Hulle antwoord toe ook, 'ons weetie.' Ek sê jou nou dis hulle wat die boek geskryf het."



IDASA has just published the book displayed above, **THE FREEDOM CHARTER AND THE FUTURE.**

It contains the proceedings of the Freedom Charter Conference held in Cape Town in July 1988, comprising 20 lecture presentations, the Freedom Charter itself and some photographs.

The book can be ordered from:

THE MEDIA CONSULTANT, IDASA,
1 PENZANCE ROAD, MOWBRAY 7700.

ENQUIRIES (021) 47-3127.

The book sells at R8,00 per copy (postage included) and cheques/postal orders must be made out to IDASA when ordering.

Justice and Truth in South Africa?



Credit: Ken Gooch (UCT)

This is an edited version of Prof. A. du Toit's inaugural lecture delivered at UCT in late September (edited by himself). The lecture will be published in full by UCT in the near future.

Prof. du Toit is a valued member of Idasa's Board of Trustees.

THE history of discourse about truth and justice in South Africa is marked by all the inherent ambivalences and ambiguities characteristic of the liberal tradition in our colonial and postcolonial society. To begin with it was very much the story of "British Justice" imposed by the new colonial power from the beginning of the 19th century on the existing racial status hierarchies of colonial society, and vigorously protested by the *trekboer* community as intolerable "gelykstelling" (or levelling). Quite soon, though, truth and justice were consistently espoused by local Afrikaner officials, the Van Rynvelds, Truters and Stockenströms, whose political thinking came to be strongly influenced by a seminal rule of law ideology. Let us look at one such ambiguous moment associated with the first entry of the new and more vigorous British legal machine and the emergence of a distinctive public discourse about justice and truth in South Africa. On 19 January 1815 the new Court House in Cape Town, which had become necessary when the proceedings of the court were opened to the public in 1814, was inaugurated with an address by the Chief Justice. This was Johannes Andries Truter, soon to become the first South African to receive a British knighthood as Sir John Truter, and he chose as text for his address a saying from Cicero: "Everything is precarious the moment we lose sight of Justice".

In his book *Justice in South Africa*, Albie Sachs quotes from this fine passage, but also reminds us that the new Court House had been erected in the yard of the former Government Slave Lodge and that Truter himself had been under a cloud for his part in looting the Treasury as the British troops approached Cape Town in 1806 (pp. 32, 34). More seriously, he goes on to analyse the political significance of the "external lustre" so associated with the administration of justice as a basic instrument of rule. The nett effect of the Charters of Justice and the accompanying measures, which so appalled many of the Afrikaner colonists as intolerable "gelykstelling", were much more ambivalent in Sachs's account. In short, the discourse about justice served to legitimate a particular system of domination. I don't know whether or not you will be persuaded of the truth of this claim, but I should tell

you that this work, *Justice in South Africa*, is a banned publication. In fact, it is a banned publication twice over, once by decree of the Publications Board and also by the Department of Justice since Albie Sachs — who had twice been detained for lengthy periods before he went into exile, and whose *Jail Diary* is one of the most moving and humane documents of recent South African political history — is a "listed person". It is also relevant to add that, more recently, Sachs has made an important contribution to the debate, so dear to the liberal tradition, about the need for a Bill of Rights, by arguing that this is wholly compatible with the aims and spirit of the Freedom Charter. Finally, you should know that this same Albie Sachs earlier this year was the victim of a car-bomb in Maputo: you will no doubt vividly recall that horrific front-page picture showing him crawling away from his car after his arm had been blown off in the explosion. We are talking of justice and truth in South Africa.

Let us rather return, from this all too barbaric and disturbing present, to the comforting distance of 19th century politics when the discourse of truth and justice could still be more assured even in the context of frontier wars. More than anyone else, it was Andries Stockenström, the most significant and controversial Colonial political figure of the first half of the 19th century, who made justice and truth his own political creed. Caught up in the violent and partisan conflicts which brought frontier politics repeatedly into open war, Stockenström fervently believed that his political conduct could be guided by universal principles: "I have the cause of truth to serve; I am to call 'murder, murder', and 'plunder, plunder', whatever be the colour of the perpetrator's skin."

Here we may surely hear the authentic voice of the Universalist and humanist commitment which has continued to inspire the best part of the 'moral tradition' in our liberal politics, and which still find their contemporary representatives in such exemplary figures as Helen Suzman or organisations such as the Black Sash.

But it has to be added that Stockenström's actual liberal politics was a much more ambiguous matter. He did not, and could not, face up

to the full social, cultural and political implications of truth and justice in a post-colonial society. That was the rock on which Hoernlé's liberal spirit would also come to founder at the onset of modern South Africa.

In his *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit* Hoernlé attempted to rethink the theoretical foundations of liberal politics in the specific conditions of South Africa with a view to finding a basis for its "possibilities".

In the event, Hoernlé was not able to follow through on his radical critique of the postcolonial system of domination, nor to draw the full consequences of his questioning of the moral and political bases of a liberal ideology in the context of conquest and incorporation. Had he done so, he may well have found reason to link up with, and to carry forward, the earlier discourse of justice and truth. We are the poorer for his failure in what remains a desperately needed project.

Let us, in conclusion, take a hard look at what I have called the crisis of confidence in the "moral" tradition of liberal politics in South Africa, a generalised failing of moral will that has made it increasingly difficult for us to even talk about truth and justice in South Africa at all. That crisis of confidence has been a long time coming, and I will not detain you with its various reasons and causes which are many and familiar. Suffice to say that its signs are all around us. As good an example as any may be found in what is currently no doubt the most influential and incisive political commentary to appear in our liberal press, that by Ken Owen. In lucid and entertaining prose Mr Owen has sustained a powerful liberal critique of the many excesses and irrationalities of an increasingly authoritarian government. In Van Zyl Slabbert's words, He is "the most eloquent English-language Press chronicler of the sustained and massive assault of those who govern on what has remained of the values and institutions which could make up a liberal democracy in South Africa" (*Leadership*, 1988, Vol. 7/3, p.20). A worthy representative, then, of the traditional discourse about justice and truth? That would be a serious misunderstanding. The dominant tone of Mr Owen's coruscating wit and of his devastating polemical shafts is not

Let us take a hard look at the crisis of confidence in ... liberal politics in South Africa, a generalised failing of moral will that has made it increasingly difficult for us to even talk about truth and justice in South Africa at all.

that of serious moral commitment but of a comprehensive cynical disillusion. His is not a discourse about truth and justice. It would not be unfair to say that Mr Owen will not let any overriding concern for nuanced and uncomfortable truth spoil a good polemical sally. And when Human Rights spokesmen and others mount a campaign against the execution of the "Sharpeville Six", Owen will typically raise questions about the ulterior motives of any such moral crusade, insist that their reprieve or not must basically be a political decision, and argue that the best ground for clemency is the cynical one that it is not in the government's interest to create political martyrs (*Cape Times*, 4/7/88). This is a long way indeed from a stand simply on the grounds of justice and truth.

The same distrust of moral discourse has become a pervasive feature of many academics at our liberal universities as well. There are many reasons for this: the influence of the positivist ideal in the social sciences, the spread of the technocratic ethos, the many historical defeats of liberalism in South Africa, and so on. At present there is certainly no lack of academic involvement in the study of local social and political developments, and academics contribute in a variety of ways to the making of public policy as well as to devising strategies of opposition. But they also take increasing pains not to do so on any explicit moral basis. Consider a representative example in a recent publication by one of South Africa's most respected social scientists, with a distinguished career in liberal circles, most recently as Pre-

sident of the Institute of Race Relations: Lawrence Schlemmer. Professor Schlemmer has recently assumed the position of Director of the important new Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, which has just published, almost as a manifesto, a paper called *"Beyond Protest: Thoughts on Change Strategies in South Africa"*. As we are wont to expect from him, Schlemmer's paper gives much sober food for thought. Precisely for that reason, we should take quite seriously what he has to say about moral discourse and public policy. For Schlemmer's position paper amounts to an outright rejection of the different varieties of what he calls the "moralists". Apart from revolutionary confrontation, Schlemmer distinguishes three main forms of committed and sustained opposition to the racial order in South Africa. These are (1) protest and the expression of moral outrage; (2) strategies of pragmatic moral pressures; and (3) strategic analysis (p.1). Like Peter Berger and Bobby Godsell in their new book, *A Future South Africa: Visions, Strategies and Realities*, Schlemmer is primarily concerned with arguing for the need for strategic analysis, and warns against the dangers and confusions inherent in either version of the "moralist" approach. Schlemmer is prepared to grant that the moral pressure approach "may have some strategic

ability if it is used with careful discipline" (3). However for (1), the expression of moral outrage and protest, he has no use whatsoever. The moral protest position, he says, "need not necessarily imply concrete objectives since a moral posture is often its own reward" (p. 1). To Schlemmer moral protest and outrage is no more than a question of "achieving immediate emotional release", of futile "emotional catharsis" (p.2). Schlemmer looks to a form of *strategic analysis* apparently purged from all moral connotations whatsoever. This position is "based on careful analysis and the assessment of strategic opportunities" (p.2); it is concerned with identifying ongoing "processes which take changes and reforms beyond the limits intended by decision-makers" (p.6); it recognises the essential "interests" of the parties concerned, distinguishing between "core" and "marginal" interests; it seeks to devise mechanisms which can "seduce" or "reward" reactionary political groupings into accepting reform and change. If there is any moral component to the strategic task of "facilitating" the slow and painful process of change, then it is resolutely suppressed. In this perspective the phenomenon of moral outrage appears simply as a lamentably dysfunctional and irrational factor.

Perhaps, if we are still even residually concerned with truth and justice in South Africa, we need to take the social significance and political functions of "moral outrage" rather more seriously. Schlemmer is right that, both internally and internationally, moral outrage is a major component of the committed and sustained opposition to the apartheid order. But it would be wrong to dismiss that simply as moral posturing, or as irrational emotional gratification. Part of the problem is that we tend to think of moral protest in terms of actual organised demonstrations or petitions, typically by students or other marginal groupings. But this is to look at some of the attendant symptoms, not at the underlying social forces and experiences. In its most basic forms the experience of moral outrage and protest which sustains opposition to apartheid is to be found at quite a different level. It is to be found in the struggles through which migrant labourers and their families refused to remain separated

by the pass laws and influx control; it is to be found in the experience of whole communities uprooted by the Group Areas Act which has made District Six into such a searing public symbol; it is to be found in the indomitable resistance of traditional rural communities like KwaNqema or Magopa to their forced removal as "black spots"; it is to be found in the will of squatting communities such as Crossroads and KTC not to be moved, coming back again and again after their shacks had been destroyed or razed; it is to be found in the traumatic experiences of individuals and families who fell victim to the Race Classification and Immorality Acts; it is to be found in the moral courage which enables a solitary Black Sash member to stand in silent protest in the midst of uncaring suburban bustle; it is to be found in that which brings young white conscripts to declare in public that they cannot fight an unjust war or go with the troops into the townships, even if this would cost them six years of their lives. I could go on, but the point should be clear. Moral outrage and protest is not an irrational encumbrance to strategies for change; it is a major source for the social and political processes which give rise to and sustain resistance against the injustice of the apartheid order.

What might be concluded from this for our topic of truth and justice in South Africa? At least this: if the liberal tradition of discourse about truth and justice has proved highly ambiguous and more often than not abortive, then the struggles of our recent history have certainly established a popular and effective *sense of injustice*. From this, there cannot be any going back, but it also does not ensure the achievement of truth and justice.

But if our liberal tradition of discourse about truth and justice can find appropriate ways of relating to the current historical experience of injustice, it may yet be able to contribute to the liberating rather than repressive components of that popular moral outrage. To do that it will have to come to terms with its own ideological functions and historical failures. Perhaps we may yet learn how we might also be empowered by the intellectual and political traditions that have too often imprisoned us in the past.

Moral outrage and protest is ... a major source for the social and political processes which give rise to and sustain resistance against the injustice of the apartheid order.

Studente besoek aan Maputo

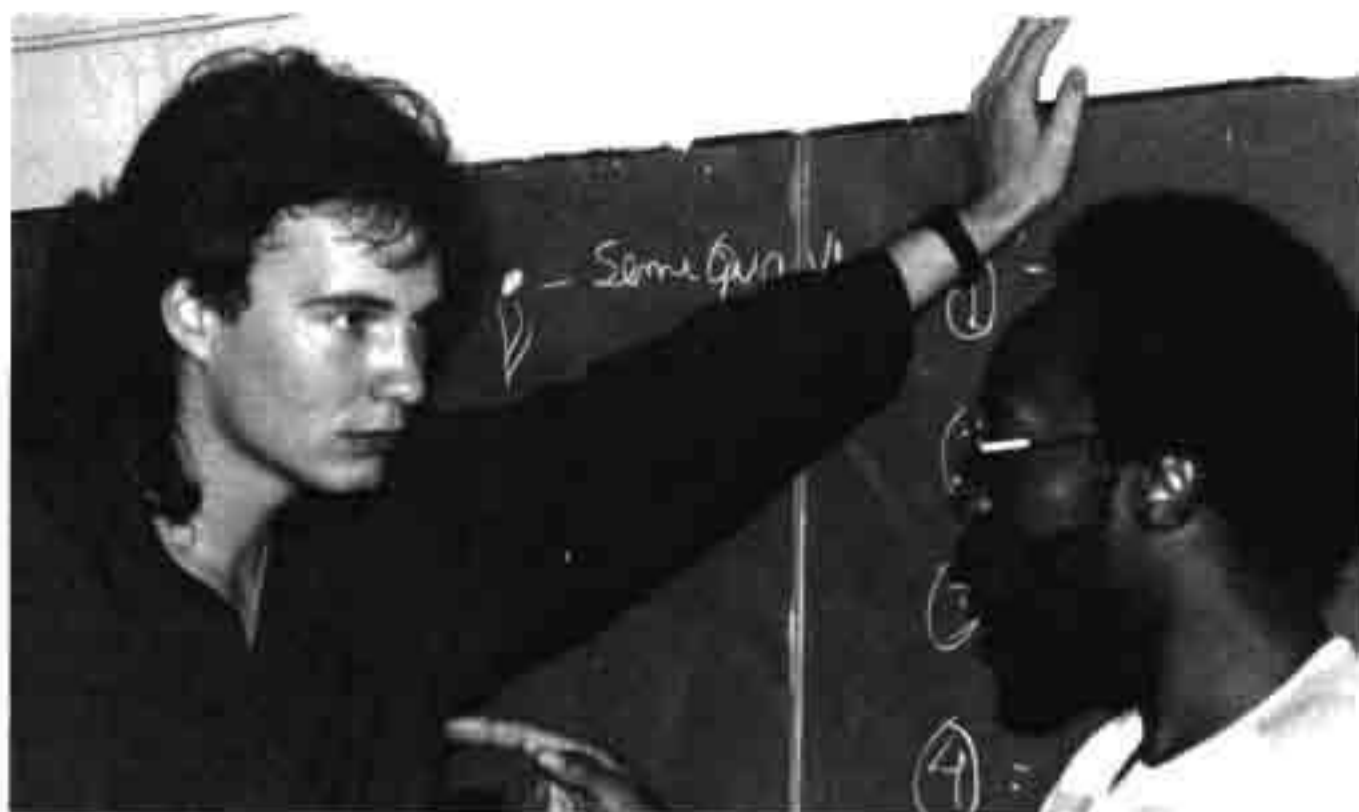
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hierdie besoek was opsigself 'n besondere ervaring, hoewel ekself die situasie heel goed ken en Mosambiek reeds 'n hele aantal kere sedert 1977 besoek het.

Hulle is deur verskeie fases en dit was treffend om op te merk hul aanvanklike emosionele en intellektuele verwarring. Alles was dan so totaal anders as wat hulle dit voorgestel het, selfs al was hulle daarvan bewus dat die regering en selfs dele van die media hul skuldig maak aan wanvoorstelling.

Eers was daar ongeloof en verbasing. En twyfel of dit wat aan hulle meegedeel is deur Frelimo woordvoerders werklik alles waar kan wees. Maar soos wat hulle dag na dag gekonfronteer is met die een onomstootlike realiteit na die ander het elkeen van daardie studente hul eie rubicons oorgesteek soos hulle tot gevolgtrekkings gekom het, wat nog die vorige week in Suid-Afrika vir hulle ondenkbaar was.

Na verskeie dae en intense gesprekke met Frelimo, waar die studente hulle indringend onder kruisverhoor geneem het, had hulle geen twyfel meer oor Suid-Afrika se ware rol in die destabilisasie van Mosambiek. Diep onder die indruk van die merkwaardige openhartigheid en selfkritiek van Frelimo oor hul eie foute en beperkinge was die konsensus onder die studente: "Ons



Laurie Ackermann van Universiteit Stellenbosch in gesprek met een van die gashere.

het geen keuse as om hulle te glo nie. Maar wie gaan ons terug in Suid-Afrika glo wanneer ons verklarings maak direk in stryd met regerings-propaganda?"

Om daardie rede is daar ook besluit om gesprekke met non-Frelimo bronne te reël om sodoende deur onafhanklike waarnemers die inligting van Frelimo te kontroleer. Daar was verbasing dat sommige verteenwoordigers van Westerse lande, sommige met konserwatiewe regerings, nog meer uitgesproke was oor die destabilisasie strategie van Suid-Afrika.

Die Maputo besoek had drie fasette:

Eerstens was daar breedvoerige gesprekke met Frelimo akademici, mediese dokters, ingenieurs, verpleegsters, slagoffers van Renamo terrorisme, opvoedkundiges, studente en werkers. Daar was ook lesings deur sleutel Frelimo figure

soos Sergio Vieira, direkteur van die Sentrum van Afrika Studies en 'n vorige minister van Staatsveiligheid, en Luis Cabacco, ook 'n vorige kabinetsminister.

Tweedens is 'n onafhanklike program self gereël, los van die offisiële Frelimo reëlins.

Daar was diepte gesprekke met die Amerikaanse en Sweedse ambassadeurs, met hulpverlenings werkers en westerse joernaliste, en met diplomate en joernaliste van die Sowjet Unie. Laasgenoemde het gehandel oor die Russiese persepsie van Suider-Afrika en die nuwe beleid van glasnost.

En derdens was daar twee afsonderlike ontmoetings met 'n vyf-man delegasie van die ANC onder leiding van hul Maputo verteenwoordiger Kingsley Molohe. Ook dit was op eie inisiatief ge-organiseer. Die gesprekke het gegaan oor 'n verskeidenheid van sake, maar veral oor die nuwe ANC grondwetlike voorstelle en die kwessie van geweld as 'n strategie.

'n Skokkende en pynlike ervaring van hierdie jong Afrikaners op hul odyssey en eerste besoek aan 'n Afrika staat was die besoek aan die Maputo hospitaal en aan die onskuldige slagoffers van goedbeplande Renamo terreurdade. Burgerlikes is geskiet en kinders is gemartel deurdat hul vingers afgekap is omdat hulle nie hul eie ouers wou vermoor nie. En daar was sale vol jong babas en klein kinders, slagoffers van ondervoeding.

Mark Behr van Stellenbosch, die uiterlike sterk en taai leier van die groep, het trane in sy oë gehad — so kragtig was die impak van die besoek!



L na R: Barry Terreblanche (voor), Daniel Malan, Laurie Ackermann en Pierre de Vos — almal lede van die studente groep.

Studente besoek aan Maputo

IN 1837 het die eerste Voortrekkers onder aanvoering van Louis Trichardt in die destydse Lourenco Marques aangekom in hul soeke na 'n eie aparte Afrikaner vaderland. En met die doel om op 'n apartheidsbasis 'n sogenaamde "blanke westerse beskawing" in "heidense" swart Afrika te vestig.

Maar 151 jaar later in September 1988, vind daar weer 'n besoek plaas van wat nou bekend is as Maputo deur nasate van die Voortrekkers.

Hierdie is egter 'n heel anderse trek deur 'n nuwe geslag jong Afrikaners op soeke na hul plek in 'n post-apartheid Suid-Afrika, op soeke na hul rol in hul verbondenheid met Suid-Afrika op weg na swart meerderheidsregering, en op soeke na die waarheid oor die realiteite van die sub-kontinent waarin hul leef.

Die besoek van dertien Afrikaanssprekende studente van die Universiteite van Stellenbosch, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein en Pretoria aan Mosambiek was 'n baanbreker gebeurtenis. Veral gedagtig aan die feit dat die meeste van stoere Afrikaner Nasionalistiese families kom,

HENNIE SERFONTEIN

met 'n tradisionele Christelike nasionale skool opleiding.

Hulle was gaste van die Sentrum van Afrika Studies aan die Eduardo Mondlane Universiteit van Maputo



Mnr. Hennie Serfontein, toer-leier, langs 'n gedenksteen aan Ruth First.

en van die Frelimo Jeugbeweging. Hoewel almal krities is oor die regering en apartheid, was dit nie 'n homogene groep nie. Hul politieke opvattinge het gewissel van 'n paar linkse liberales tot gematigde konserwatiewes.

Tog was die groep almal diep geskok oor hul ervaringe en kennis wat hul opgedoen het. En hulle was eenparig in hul twee vernaamste bevindinge.

Eerstens, dat blanke Suid-Afrika die slagoffers is van intense regeringspropaganda en 'n doelbewuste en sistematiese veldtog van breinspoeling en disinformasie. Dit behels totale valse wanvoorstelling van 'n buurstaat soos Mosambiek en van die verbanne African National Congress (ANC).

Tweedens die regering se doelbewuste strategie van destabilisasie en sy volgehoue direkte en indirekte ondersteuning van die Renamo terroristiese organisasie, is die hooforsaak van die tragiese lydinge van miljoene onskuldige burgerlikes in Mosambiek.

Om die studente te vergesel op **Vervolg op bladsy 23**



Links na Regs: Ronel Nel en Tanja Hichert, studente van Universiteit Stellenbosch voor 'n enorme "mural".