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RECORD OF DISCUSSIONS AT THE MEETING AT DAKAR BETWEEN AN ANC  
DELEGATION AND A GROUP ORGANISED BY IDASA - 09/07/87 TO 12/07/87

NOTE - The record was made from notes taken by various people  
during the meeting - it is only as complete and accurate  
as those notes. Within those notes. Within those limits it is  
meant to be a record, rather than an interpretation or assessment.

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Wednesday 8 July

Discussions within the ANC delegation on the structure of the conference and the handling of topics.

On the day before the conference began the ANC delegation met to discuss the structure of the conference and the handling of topics.

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The meeting began with a briefing from Thabo Mbeki explaining the background to the conference and what kind of mission we were on.

It was agreed that the agenda proposed by IDASA was inappropriate. Their proposal was that the order should be:

- Structure of a liberated Economy
- Structure of a liberated government.
- National Unity
- Strategies for Change

Instead it was agreed, the conference should begin with and focus on the question of strategies for change, even if this occupied most of the conference, and that the next most important question was that of National Unity. This should be reflected in an order for the discussion;- Strategy; National Unity; Government; Economy.

The chairing of the conference was discussed and it was agreed that this should be left to IDASA.

Discussions on the handling of topics were carried out by working groups and then in plenary after reports by a member of each group on the outcome of the group discussion. In the case of each topic a person was selected to make the introduction to the conference, after the IDASA Person had made their presentation. Our contributions were not to take the form of direct responses to the IDASA presentations, but to consist primarily of a statement and explanation of ANC positions. All members of the delegation should be ready to participate in discussion, particularly on those topics covered by their working group.

The reports from the working groups were as follows:-

#### STRATEGY

This topic should be led around the current situation by addressing certain issues.

- Is the locus of change inside the White bloc or outside it;
- Can our goals be achieved by reform rather than fundamental change;
- Political power must be transferred from where it now resides to the people;
- We seek a negotiated settlement but the demands being put on the ANC in this regard (stop the armed struggle, break links with the SACP and socialist countries) are being addressed to the wrong party. The task is to force Botha to the negotiating table;
- What can Whites do?

The necessity of addressing the locus of power excludes the feasibility of piecemeal and localised change (and by implication the KwaNatal route). This raises the question of mobilising grass-route power rather than seeking an elite solution.

This leads to the four pillars of the ANC strategy as dealing with what others see as the overwhelming power of the apartheid State. There is room for the individuals to participate in various aspects as long as their actions are complementary to the overall struggle. There needs to be a sharp underlining of the contrasts between complementary and contradictory strategies and between divisive and uniting tactics and issues.

If there is to be a solution by negotiation, what is to be done to change the atmosphere created by the forces in power?

We should raise the strategy of ungovernability and counter the regime's strategy of reform and repression. It is necessary to counter the idea that repression is succeeding and convey the regrouping of forces and the emergence of the new structures. Part of what the White community should be doing is addressing itself to the question of repression.

We will not make any organisational prescriptions, but rather provide criterion of commitment, namely: furthering the achievement of the goal of a unitary non-racial South Africa, and responding to the need to articulate and adopt Black aspirations and the goal of liberation.

We should relate our struggle to other areas: Southern Africa, Nuclear capacity; and so on. Our struggle aims to put our country into the broad stream of humanity.

#### NATIONAL UNITY

We need to focus on the pre-conceived phenomenon of ethnicity as a central concern. Our struggle has shown that it can be overcome. We need to show how apartheid has exploited and how inverted certain facts of social existence and turned them into sources of conflict.

There are two conceptions of the nation in South Africa - as something made up of the distinct groups, or as something made up of all who live there. Ours is the latter conception.

The nation is emerging in a process of struggle in which everyone has a role to play - what role do our visitors see themselves as having to play?

Diversity is not necessarily conflictual - apartheid has created and institutionalised conflict. Political allegiance is not indissolubly linked to cultural, linguistic identity, colour etc. etc. The dissolution of apartheid is a necessary condition for the emergence from the conflict situation of the present.

Every political order has emerged from struggle and a turbulent transition, every constitution is a repudiation of a past order.

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Reconciliation can only follow liberation. Civil rights are not in competition with or an alternative to liberation, but will be consequences of liberation. Much present discussion of minority or 'group' rights uses a tradition affirming the rights of dominated minorities to affirm the rights of a dominant minority. To contribute to the emergence of the nation those presently in the white minority must identify with majority black rights and aspirations.

There need to be limits on the propagation of racist and divisive views to guarantee what our struggle will promote but cannot guarantee.

On this topic, as in the others, our presentation should be in terms of a combination of vision and action - the vision expressed in the programme and thinking of the movement, in the Freedom Charter, and the action in the history of our struggle in which our commitments to the vision are demonstrated in practice.

#### STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

The starting point is that constitutions are not made by lawyers or elites, but are the product of struggle. The centrality of struggle and masses must be underlined.

The constitutional order must reflect the fact that our struggle is one for national liberation and self-determination. The first question is the transfer of power and the abolition of apartheid in law and in fact.

There is a need to consider social positive rights and concrete needs and demands. The law must secure popular participation, governmental legitimacy, economic, social and cultural rights, and collective rights such as the rights to development and peace. The constitution must provide sovereignty of the people, in a unitary democratic state, promote a single national identity and outlaw forces of dissent.

The path to a democratic order is the building of an emergent democratic power as a challenge to the regime and the foundation of a new order.

The transition to a new order requires a break with the old, a discontinuity with the present order. We cannot carry forward the instruments of colonial rule which has seen individual rights trampled on. The judiciary and administration of justice must be reconstructed. Hence the need to organise lawyers and judges now.

#### ECONOMY

The Freedom Charter must be the starting point for a discussion of the economy in a liberated South Africa. The distribution of wealth must be redressed, to benefit all. A democratic South Africa will have to address questions of housing and so on, and the government will have to be empowered to achieve these things.

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The increase of wealth is a fundamental aim. Redistribution will release creative forces, and resources presently used for militarisation and repression will be released.

Nationalisation as outlined in the Freedom Charter is necessary, but not necessarily overnight. There will be a redistribution of land, both to meet the aspirations of the majority and to increase production.

There will be a constructive and mutually beneficial relation with the Southern African region, and foreign investment will be allowed only if of mutual benefit.

Thursday 9 July

#### OPENING OF CONFERENCE

Thabo Mbeki made an introduction to the conference, with Van Zyl Slabbert in the chair.

He said we appreciated the difficulties faced by the IDASA group. The threat from the ANB and Pretoria's view on the visit had complicated matters. He underlined the crucial need for them to get involved in the struggle - our people had their own expectations and questions, and would want to see something come out of the meeting.

#### STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE

Lodre D. Toit introduced his paper 'TOWARDS A POLITICAL STRATEGY; SOME BASIC ISSUES.'

He had difficulty in starting properly, for two reasons:-

a) He was addressing an unknown audience. He rejected apartheid and the false image of the ANC, but still had no knowledge of the ANC. For that reason his intervention would take the form of a series of questions;

b) He had no mandate and represented no-one. He believed that a politics of negotiation was an urgent necessity - but as a group they were not in a position to negotiate. They could only try to define and explore the issues to contribute to a climate that would facilitate negotiation in the future.

The premises of discussion had to be that we are all South Africans, sharing one country, one history and one national wealth which should be shared according to a single standard of justice.

The implications of this starting point are that there should be common citizenship in one state and full and equal political rights. We must be warned against starting from the old liberal myth that we can start all over again from scratch, and this means that we cannot just look at post-apartheid models but must find ways of righting the historical injustices. And there are no shortcuts. We could agree on a list of immediate demands, focussing on the lifting of repressive measures. But this would still need the mechanism for change to be determined and a need for talks about talks. This is what we are now beginning.

The first major issue is that of violence and armed struggle. There is a need to bring about a political settlement rather than an armed and violent conflict. This is based on a moral commitment, but having made it the armed struggle and state violence have to be accepted as historical realities. Has the turn to armed struggle ruled out the possibility of a political settlement? We are faced with an escalating civil war - and a war without a well-defined structure but a spreading web of intercoine conflict.

The striving for change must have a multiple strategy, with a place for parliamentary as well as extra-parliamentary politics, and room for different currents. Parliamentary politics have demonstrably failed, and the focus of democratic forces lies in the extra-parliamentary arena. We no longer have to go into all those debates about reform from above. But when we look at the extra-parliamentary arena, we have to be realistic. Revolution is not around the corner - the heady assessments of recent years are gone. There is a paradoxical reality - the coercive power of the state is not effectively threatened by any internal power, and we have to accept the limits of the challenge to state power. But equally the massive state power deployed will not regain the state the legitimacy it requires. We need to start from here - we should not look to a coercive showdown taking on the state where it is strongest, but where it is weakest, in politics. We have therefore to rethink the relation between internal/external struggle, between intra/extra parliamentary politics. It should be remembered that extra-parliamentary politics was not a choice but a forced option.

This leads to the question of rights. We should not oppose the gaining of power to the guarantee of rights. We cannot postpone the struggle for civil rights. What occurs after liberation depends on the character of the current struggle, and in every sphere these issues should be taken up. In particular a Bill of Rights should be given particular thought.

The question of national unity is a crucial one. The restoring of national unity must take precedence. We must reject any notion of statutorily defined group/ethnic identity. Individual equality is a necessity. No group must force anything on another. Future national unity can only be achieved through the cooperation of organisations and leaders who have played a major part in the history. No organisation, even the ANC, should claim a monopoly of legitimacy or assert hegemony.

A viable multiple strategy must accept the pluralistic nature of the popular resistance in its current forms. In building national unity we must look towards creating the social and political space to accommodate all forces.

Coming back to the proliferation of uncontrolled violence, Du Toit said these are bleak times with little to give hope. Options are narrowing, and this is leading to a proliferation of uncontrolled political violence.

The turn to violence may be psychologically necessary or understandable; but as a political strategy it must be

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politically assessed. His assessment is that when the members of a pluralist resistance movement with a multiple strategy confront a state with invincible power, the most effective arena of struggle is the political - the use of violence must be confined to definite and strictly defined limits. Uncontrolled violence alienates whites and allows the unleashing of state violence.

Mao Maharaj followed with a presentation of ANC strategy on the lines previously agreed. He ended by providing criteria by which to assess action. It should be oriented towards the furtherance of a united non-racial democratic South Africa, and it should be complementary to, and not in conflict with, the strategy of the liberation movement.

Discussion following these presentations took the form of questions and comments, almost entirely from members of the IDASA groups.

Christo Nel - Raised idea of a programme to educate whites and dispel false myths. Posed several questions/problems:

- one of the problems of a group like IDASA is legitimacy crisis: how do they get their commitments accepted without going along with radical steps which are impossible for them (eg businesses refusing to pay taxes to the partheid state, a demand sometimes encountered as a minimum) - 'We can't talk to groups of youths - how do we prove our sincerity?
- what is the role of tacit and underlying support from different groups and forces?
- what is the methodology for aligning different strategies, are there processes and mechanisms for consultation?
- how do we assess, monitor and implement the strategy we have been invited to articulate?

Andrew Savage - Strategies for change must be based on an analysis of pressures for change. What pressures can we see today forcing the regime to the negotiating table? Take Port Elizabeth - there are 600,000 people in its townships, but today one sees the effectiveness of co-optation, deployment of vigilante forces,

unemployment caused by sanctions. The police rule the townships.

Du Pisanie - Have third parties or outside powers any role to play in talk about talks.

Franklin Sonn - What are we going to do to coordinate struggles? How are we going to organise ourselves as a group so that none are isolated and victimised? How are Afrikaner intellectuals going to organise?

Phillip Verster - It is important to understand the nature of Afrikaners - they are not informed.

Braam Viljoen - Negotiation is in the vocabulary of the people(?) The ANC's armed struggle is central to change, but we have a problem at home in persuading people to move forward. Could we have another NPG, or a truce to induce negotiation?

Max Du Preez - Accepting 99.9 per cent of what Mac said, there is a major problem on the question of violence, in particular with respect to the specific types of violence that do not appear politically motivated or controlled. On the question of 'legitimacy' raised by Christo Nel, he referred to difficulties he had experienced as an Afrikaner in being accepted by the ECC.

Alex Boraine - With reference to the ANC's commitment to a negotiated settlement, what are its minimum demands?

Johan vd Westhuizen - How much control does the ANC have in the townships, particularly with respect to the actions of the comrades? Concerning the legal order and individual rights - what about a constitutionally entrenched Bill of Rights in a post-apartheid society and as a part of a strategy for liberation? Is the Freedom Charter a possible future Bill of Rights?

Breyten Breytenbach - Mac neglects the dynamics of change in rejecting the possibility of localised change as a contribution to liberation. There is a simplification in saying that the majority will inevitably win.

On Communism - in supporting the struggle are we supporting a move towards a system which we have seen in neighbouring states not to be successful. Are we expected to organise ourselves or do we join the ANC?

Jannie Gagliano - People have a problem about the role of violence in the transition to an alternative society. One worry concerns the scale of destruction and the authoritarian character which would be needed by a government faced with the task of reconstruction. Another is the fear that the goals of the liberation movement would confer legitimacy would not be achieved, and that power would be legitimized by force alone.

In relation to the fears about violence, the ANC needs to moderate its language and the rhetoric with which it talks about struggle (cited a passage from a broadcast by Radio Freedom describing whites with guns as trigger happy murderers).

Errol Moorcroft - Perceptions of the armed struggle have shifted dramatically since 1981 - in 1987 it is seen as having taken on an apparently indiscriminate form by comparison with a highly controlled and selective and politically comprehensible choice of targets.

Tony Williamson - What is the relation between the ANC and the township leaders?

Leon Louw - How can we explain the fact that if the Freedom Charter is such a moderate document, it is accepted by the South African Communist Party?

With reference to the four pillars of the ANC's strategy, why is there no reference to the Trade Unions? How do we explain the reference in the Freedom Charter to group rights and minority rights, and is the Kwa Natal Indaba consistent with or inconsistent with the Freedom Charter on this matter?

We need to comfort people about what follows apartheid. Zimbabwe is still in a State of Emergency. We have to show whites that things will be better for them.

Ben Magubane - With reference to the comment about the ANC's language, it is necessary to bear in mind the emotive nature of language needed to rouse people (?)

Essop Pahad - It is good that all these difficulties are being raised, but you should draw on your own experience - think of the experience of the concentration camps and the language used in dealing with this experience and mobilising people to struggle. (?) There is a revolutionary tradition within Afrikaner history as well.

Those who had introduced the topic of Strategy responded to the comments and questions.

Mac Maharaj - Difficult questions had been raised, each of which would require at least 20 minutes, on the topic of negotiations, violence and pluralism. He proposed and it was accepted, that the response should be given the next day, to allow as much time as was needed to deal with the issues raised.

Andre Du Toit - On violence: He accepted that people should not talk loosely about violence. He had been careful to say that armed struggle was not rejected, but rather that its political efficacy was dubious. The main concern was the proliferation of uncontrolled violence.

On two camps of struggle: Botha and the ANC have a common interest in defining the struggle as having two poles, but there must be room for a situation that is not so sharply polarized. There are real differences over the shape of the negotiating table, and over the understanding of the leadership of the ANC.

Friday 10 July 1987.

Thabo Mbeki opened by saying that after yesterday's session the ANC delegation had had a consultation which concluded that we owed the meeting a lot of explanations and should devote substantial time to the matters raised.

There were three major questions:

- negotiations
- armed struggle
- pluralism/hegemony

He dealt with each topic, explaining the ANC's positions, policies and strategies.

Negotiations - Consider the EPG. We felt uneasy at its creation, because we were convinced that Botha is not prepared to negotiate, and felt that raising the question of negotiations at that time would have negative political consequences. The EPG proposed certain actions by the government as a condition for the success of its mission, to create a climate for negotiations. The Contact Group on Namibia had created a bad precedent for negotiations - we stressed the necessity of adhering to a finite timetable.

As far as preconditions are concerned, the ANC has said that all political prisoners must be released, since the question of whether to negotiate or not would have to be put to the leadership; and they in turn would have to consult with all democratic forces, implying the unbanning of the ANC and the lifting of all restrictions. The political process would be unlocked by the mere fact of the release of Mandela. The cessation of conflict is not and has never been a necessary condition for negotiations to take place. There could be a moratorium only on the basis of a demonstration of good intentions on the regime's part to negotiate, and the beginning of talks about talks.

On the involvement of external powers; - we have been interested in minimising the impact on South Africa of the East-West relationship. We suggested to Schultz that the USA find common ground with the USSR on South Africa, and he said they would take it up.

The basic condition for negotiation is a minimum agreement on a move towards a united non-racial democratic society, a common understanding of what we want to achieve. There are only two camps: democratic forces and racist forces.

The Botha regime is not ready to negotiate because it is not feeling enough pressures - how do we increase those pressures? Intensify armed struggle, intensify campaigns for the release of political prisoners.

Armed struggle - The concern about indiscriminate violence is one which preoccupies the ANC. We want the white population to join the democratic forces - clearly, treating white civilians as targets would be strategically incorrect, let alone morally acceptable to us. There is a development in the strength of our armed forces. For many years units used to go into the country and operate for a year and then withdraw if not captured. To expand the army it is necessary to draw on and train forces within the country. This has certain consequences in terms of the adequacy of training. This is a positive development, but it has its problems. There will be mistakes and civilian casualties, but civilians are not targets - there is no war against civilians.

Everyone understands the use of vigilantes and the carrying out of actions by the regime, but purporting to be ours, to make political points. But the ANC has no interest whatsoever in being given responsibility for actions of this kind. The armed struggle has a political character, a political base, and is under political control.

Hegemony - The ANC because of its long history, has very deep roots amongst the people. Its pre-eminence and leadership is not something the ANC is demanding, it is a historical fact.

Responses to this presentation came from a number of participants.

Herman Gilliomee - Afrikaners came to power by forswearing the armed struggle. The emphasis should be on the forming of alliances - but as long as the armed struggle continues it will be difficult for Afrikaners to play the role of mobilising the white community.

Jacques Kriel - While we are all agreed on the desire for a united democratic society, we are agreed on the meaning of 'democracy'? The Congress movements conception of democracy seems limited and is likely to become authoritarian. It carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction.

Piter Schoeman - Share the experience of the white arena. Many believe that Botha is willing to negotiate. Would the ANC accept some form of consociationalism?

Tony Williamson - Does the ANC wish to be recognised as a government in exile?

Tommy Bedford - How long will the armed struggle continue? Is the ANC concerned about the involvement of children in struggle, and about normalising them afterwards?

Theuns Eloff - There is a tendency to disregard the moral aspect of the situation. Afrikaners have constituencies where moral issues are important and can work within that framework.

Braam Viljoen - Is there any move which can minimise violence. We will all participate in the struggle. But there are still questions about the effectiveness of armed struggle. Is there any alternative that is less destructive?

During this session contributions were made by several members of the ANC delegation including;

Selwyn Gross - The ANC's armed struggle could be justified in theological and moral terms, in relation to its origins, goals and methods. He presented the justification in these terms.

Tony Trew - An aspect of many of the contributions from the IDASA group was a demand for assurances and guarantees. But there are no simple or short answers to these demands. It is necessary to shift from a preoccupation with white fears and minority interests to the interests and aspirations of the majority. The guarantees for the future lies in the vision and the policies of the liberation movement, demonstrated in its history and guaranteed by the participation of all in the struggle.

Harold Wolpe;

Kader Asmal;

Ben Magubane;

Mac Maharaj summed up the topic from the ANC.

Van Zyl Slabbert summed up as follows:

- The ANC position had been made clear.

- The question was, what could they do to persuade whites into the broad democratic process;
- But there was a problem about violence , and the strategy of armed struggle had direct consequences for other democratic strategies.

#### NATIONAL UNITY

Lawrence Schlemmer introduced the topic. Although IDASA had submitted a paper by him for the session on the PROBLEM OF UNITY IN A FUTURE SOUTH AFRICA, he noted that the discussion which had already taken place had overtaken much of what was written in the paper. Instead he began with some other points which had emerged concerning the conditions for joining the democratic struggle. In doing so he wished to emphasise the point in his paper, that the process of building national unity could be jeopardized by assigning a secondary status to significant participants in the political process. It was essential not to simplify the problem of national unity. It is generally accepted that the struggle will not be short and that during the process the strategy of cooptation will continue to be the dominant state strategy. It was likely that the strategy would be implemented with great efficiency than had so far been the case and that cooptation may take root, creating networks of patronage and interests which would deepen the problem of national unity. For this reason there had to be a strategy for dealing with this and with diversity.

The demands being put on the ANC appeared on reconsideration to have an element of unfairness in the kind of concessions and space for other political forces being sought. For one thing the ANC was a historically established movement with clear and defined objectives and goals, and answerable on the basis of these to its membership and supporters. Furthermore, no political movement can be asked to forego trying to maximise its support. It is right for the ANC to seek to be the primary force in a democratic alliance. The only minimum requirement that can rightfully be asked of the ANC is an assurance that in any future dispensation they will allow organizational and electoral competition.

There needs to be a place for a range of relationships in the democratic alliance. Some may wish to identify closely with the ANC. Others may wish for tactical reasons, including the desire to

to preserve any leverage which they have, to cooperate from a greater distance. In the interests of national unity it would help if there could be a double level of action, an 'inner circle' of forces and an outer circle who could still be seen as fighting for democracy and not as impending or opposing the ANC. The ANC can afford to consider such a position, given the extent of its support. Every survey indicates its leading position in terms of popular support. It could therefore afford a situation in which there is organizational competition. And given a guarantee that organizational and electoral competition is possible, there need be no constraints on the ANC's efforts to maximise its support and its weight in the alliance.

It was important that in the process which lies ahead, there should not be a line of cleavage so sharp that it is made impossible for some who wish to cross to the democratic side to do so. Liberals in particular, whose emergence in recent years has been a highly significant phenomenon, should not be so polarized that they are faced with a choice of either being radical democrats or liberal conservatives within the camp of the regime. Related to this polarization is a problem of over charged rhetoric, which is natural in the heat of struggle. But it is possible for the ANC abroad to take a more understanding line on this which would allow space on the democratic side of the negotiating table for those who would be driven by greater polarization onto the other side. There are forces in South Africa who see advantage in isolating liberalism - this is dangerous and would close the strategy of liberals - in particular Afrikaners - fighting for democracy without declaring an alliance with the ANC.

Pallo Jordaan presented the ANC positions on national unity and related topics. He said that Schlomer's contribution had raised important points, some of which one would concur with. But there seemed to be a misunderstanding in spite of ANC explanations, an uneasiness about the ANC's position. There seems to be a lack of confidence in the sincerity of the ANC's position.

One must distinguish between hegemony and leadership. The ANC has always sought to yoke the maximum forces within its struggle, even when others have tried to narrow the scope of these forces.

... incident in its history is pertinent - i.e. there was an attempt to exclude communists from the ANC, the move was opposed by conservative elements on the ground that the exclusion would fundamentally change the character of the ANC. This history demonstrates an important point, demonstrating the genuine commitment of the ANC to a broad movement, to a broad front.

Further the ANC has always recognised the existence of other democratic forces. But it has simultaneously rejected forces with goals incompatible with democratic goals. It has thereby always sought unity in action, seeing action as the test. There is also place for forces which do not wish for allied action, but which still act in a democratic direction. As long as there are common objectives there is a basis for inclusion in a democratic front.

Further remarks on national unity arose out of Schlemmer's paper, rather than his contribution to the discussion. One needs to begin with a distinction between rights and privileges. We are unapologetically intolerant of privilege. Much discussion purporting to be concerned with white 'rights' is concerned with white privilege.

In the history of our country two perspectives have been elaborated. One associated with white parties: has seen South Africa as made up of distinct groups of various kinds - within this group sovereignty has been placed in the white group. While different parties in different times have used different rhetoric, this perspective has persisted.

A different perspective has developed out of the national liberation movement which is a movement for the creation of a new nation. Unfortunately all of us to some extent or other carry the effects of racism with us - one expression of this is the persistence of the idea that the groups which exist in South Africa are primordial and unchangeable. The divisions are created, sustained and nurtured by state policy. The cleavages can be unmade precisely because they are manufactured.

Nevertheless we will inherit a society with which there will be  
growing from a history  
of domination. For these reasons the new emergent nation must be based  
on a rejection of the divisions on which apartheid is based. This  
rejection and the building of the new nation is being created in  
struggle. This process has been in progress for decades and has cost  
much at times. As the split which gave rise to the PAC illustrated.  
The same issue underlay the break with the 'African Nationalists'.  
Our commitment to this vision can be seen in our history which has  
never taken shortcuts in this matter.

The responsibility for the creation of the new nation lies not only  
with the African majority but also with our white compatriots.  
Legitimacy will not be denied to those who eat it in joint struggle.

There is one other issue to be addressed, one about which much has  
been heard from South African social scientists - We find that a  
tradition associated with the defense of oppressed minorities is  
mobilised in defense of a dominant minority. What needs to be  
addressed are not minority privileges but majority rights.

The ANC has no problem with an entrenched Bill of Rights, although  
the question of the content of such a bill needs consideration.  
Equally, on the question of tolerance and political pluralism - but  
with the proviso that tolerance will not be extended to advocates of  
racism. We must grapple with the notion of liberatory intolerance.

Comments were then made by other participants.

Frederic Schlemmer - He had omitted one point from his introduction.  
If we look at the next few years we can predict that there will be a  
number of local initiatives aimed at negotiated settlements on a  
local or regional level: These are already being explored in the Eastern  
Cape and the Witwatersrand (where there are three separate initiatives).  
There will be little local enthusiasm for local settlements not based  
on person-one-vote. The strategy has appeared of interest because of  
the power of the central state - it is a strategy for weakening the  
state by creating liberated zones.

Kader Asmal - This topic needs to be considered in the section on the structure of government in the next session.

Leon Louw - The topic of government should be discussed after the economy.

Andre du Toit - There was a need to specify more precisely some of the things that had been said. The questions arise in different stages and different contexts, and need to be asked and answered with respect to the present as well as the future.

There is also a series of other questions. The question of unity arises in at least three different contexts: (1) within the practice of the ANC itself - this has already been answered; (2) within the movement of democratic forces

- Pallo has said that it cannot admit to the unity of democratic forces those with hidden agendas or who are not serious, and that these credentials must be demonstrated in practice. How is this to be shown? If it is by accepting ANC leadership and hegemony then there are difficulties! For one thing, on the terrain of South African politics alliance with the ANC is illegal; (3) In the context of national unity - this is wider than that of the unity of democratic forces. What about non-democratic forces? If there is no place for them there are problems and they are being defined out of the nation.

Thabo Mbeki - The question of the unity of democratic forces is seen as a task of organising democratic forces - but clearly we are not going to spend time organising inactive and dormant forces.

Christo Nel - There seems to be confusion of the ANC's role as co-ordinator and mobiliser of opinion on the one hand and the question of the acceptance or not of the multi-party state.

Thabo Mbeki - That is correct.

Saturday 11 July

National Unity - Continuation of comments and discussion - national unity - continuation of m comments and discussion.

Johan vd Westhuizen - The question of the role of liberalism has been raised by Lawrence Schlemmer, and that of rights. Pallo Jordan's distinction between rights and privileges needs discussion, as does his position on the rights of undemocratic forces. On the question of rights in the common sense - is this not more difficult than allowed for. Would you be able to afford rights of opinion. Is there not a conflict between individual rights and power of such a kind that in a period of transition and reconstruction rights would be sacrificed?

Ampie Coetsee - He had been dissuaded from making a statement on the Afrikaner as an impediment to unity. While it is clear that the ANC rejects ethnicity, this conference is premised on the basis of Afrikaner ethnicity. It hasn't been questioned - it must be questioned. Secondly, there is our position as intellectuals - our position has been that of organic intellectuals. But the Afrikaner intellectual has been excluded from the community. This should be kept in mind in formulating what can be done to further the goals articulated in the conference.

Heribert Adam - The most remarkable feature of the ANC's track record is its insistence on non-ethnicity. It would have been much more successful if it had taken a different line. It is foolish of the government not to accept the ANC.

- It runs the risk of awakening counter-racism. Increasing polarisation could lead to conditions making democracy impossible.

Victory is certain' has been an assumption of the ANC's position. But in reality it is a no-win situation. Survival is preferable to freedom based on death. All revolutions have been in agricultural societies; and even more important in South Africa is the impossibility of the defection of the armed forces.

The ANC is a tolerant movement - but the danger does not come from the ANC. It comes from the right wing. What are we to do with the relics of racism, with the one million civil servants, mostly armed? Can one avoid the final scenario of an armed conflict between the ANC and AWF? Can one not devise a strategy for neutralising this force, possibly through some form of federalism with autonomy based on culture? The Botha regime has successfully portrayed the ANC as a threat to the

cultural heritage and language of Afrikaners.

Lourens du Plessis - On a Bill of Rights - is the Freedom Charter sufficient, or is something more needed? How will cultural rights be conceived? (as group rights?) and how will they be protected? If there is some progress towards a Bill of Rights under apartheid, should we participate in the process? - how do we handle the growing opposition to a Bill of Rights which is being seen as a means of protecting whites as liberation draws nearer?

Francis Moli - We should talk about disunity. Apartheid is our immediate target - but we should go further and deal with national oppression. This makes our struggle one against colonialism.

On guarantees - this notion is associated with the most vulnerable section of society, and should be considered in relation to the majority in South Africa.

The history of South Africa has been aggression and conquest on one side and a struggle for liberation. White Afrikaners should draw inspiration, not from the history of Afrikaner struggles, but from the struggle of the majority for liberation. African nationalism is contradictory in nature. The ANC draws on the struggle against oppression and is against any exclusivist nature. Whites need to approach the struggle and contribute in a highly sensitive and accommodating way and earn their acceptance by their demonstrated commitment to the aspirations of the black majority. By taking up the problems of black people as their own whites can contribute to national unity.

Ben Magubane - When we talk of national unity we are talking of establishing reciprocity between different groups, black and white, male and female, on the basis of absolute equality. This is an absolute requirement for establishing national unity after a history of oppression and subordination.

We have to distinguish between accidents of birth and matters of choice. As Afrikaners you have a history, an accident, but you have made a choice in coming here. The birth of something new involves pain-points for guarantees ignore this necessity. This goes for nations as much as for anything else. Small groups give way to larger ones. The process is seen internationally. And it is the history of South Africa as reflected in the history of the ANC. National Unity also has implications for Southern Africa - a free South Africa will have relations

reciprocity to other states in the region.

Andrew Savage - The ANC appears to underestimate the extent of the co-optation programme of the scale of the resources going into it. The co-optation strategy is not an old one - it is new in the ways in which the police are involved. More attention should be paid to the kinds of pressures which people like us can bring.

Herman Gilliomme - The conflicts in SA is not between democracy and racism but between Afrikaner and African nationalism. There is a need to fuse the two. The way forward is bi-communalism. Non-racial democracy cannot be established by the elimination of Afrikaner nationalism. There are fears that the Afrikaner minority will be in the position of the Jews under Nazism.

There were various interventions rejecting this analogy between Afrikaners and Jews under Nazism and rejecting the idea that there is a symmetry between the exclusivist ideology of Afrikaner nationalism and the integrative movement for national liberation.

Van Zyl Slabbert - There has been a meeting of minds, there has been a broad sense of agreement, and the ANC's position on national unity and political rights and on the armed struggle has been clarified. It is clear that the only actor with the choice of bringing the armed struggle to an end is the government. The real question now is; what are we going to do when we go back. We have not been asked to join the ANC or support the armed struggle. We have been asked to find a way of joining the struggle of the majority. It is not for us to ask the ANC to guarantee white Afrikaner rights but to go back home and persuade people to do the same as we are trying to do.

Franklin Sonn - He supported the view that the important thing now was to talk about what to do.

Theuns Eloff - National unity would not be a problem provided we can accept what the ANC has said - Ethnicity should not be politically relevant - but the question is, will it be? On the question of 'liberatory intolerance' - does this include culture, and what are the limits of religious freedom?

Jannie Gagliano - Take as starting point Schlemmer's point about the unfairness of asking the ANC to accept certain constraints. If the ANC takes its history as its credentials,

it is not worth the paper it is written on because objective conditions change. The ANC needs to give concrete indications that it will inaugurate a new democratic order - I am ready to accept the ANC as an authoritarian initiator of a new order, and to grant the notion of 'liberatory intolerance' - but the language of polyarchy must then be dropped.

Rnadell vd Heever - We must accept the challenge presented by Mac Maharaj's opening contribution, and decide whether or not to become part of the democratic movement. There are clearly different strategies present - but they must be complementary. Those who work in parliament must work for the destruction of that parliament. The attacks by Buthelezi on the ANC do not further the struggle and those with influence in that quarter should use it to stop such attacks. Let our strategies be complementary rather than contradictory.

Pierre Cronje - Talk about national unity should be directed not only at Afrikaners or whites - Pallo Jordan spoke of National Unity but without explaining the ANC's intentions. He spoke of not permitting parties advocating racism. A more important question now is in Natal where people are killing each other. On the question of ethnicity, Inkatha and the NIC are both ethnic: yet this doesn't stop them from being part of the struggle. The question of strategy must include that of participation in structures, which underlies the struggle in Natal.

Andre Odendaal - We need to return to the call for complementary action, and the call to orient ourselves to majority aspirations. Much of the discussion so far has been contrary to this. We need to consider specific forms of action and maybe as one of these the possibility of a joint communique from non-racial South Africans, including a reply to the right-wing threats.

Tommy Bedford - There has been much talk of getting together. Practically this is difficult. How do we maintain contact with the ANC? In view of what has been said, in view of all the realities, why does the ANC not participate in and take over the

the structures, including the SRC's and NSC. The struggle in Natal is not a united one. If the ANC were in the structures those who live there could identify even if the armed struggle continued.

Andre Brink - He shared Ampie Coetzee's deploring of the ethnic dimension of Afrikaner thinking. But it is a historical reality and theirs has been a lack of historical consciousness in the discussion from the whites. Apart from the obvious brutality of Afrikaner thinking, there is another ugly side to Afrikaner ethnicity. It includes the preoccupation with minority rights, the demands for guarantees from the ANC, the concern for our own safety. We must work on this ugly side in all of us. But there is also a good side of Afrikaner nature which must be rediscovered from the ravages of apartheid, common roots and a similarity of struggle. We need to work on what we have in common and what we share - without this there can be no national unity.

Summaries of the discussion on National Unity, and replies to comments were given by Lawrence Schlemmer and Pallo Jordan.

Lawrence Schlemmer - We have been told convincingly that unity depends on spirit, and what we have heard has been very encouraging. But it also depends on participation. Here too there has been much that is reassuring and encouraging, enough to make it clear that if the legal situation were different, Afrikaners could participate in the ANC. That being impossible however, there is a need for a structure of relations allowing for cooperation.

Gilliomee's offer of bi-communalism should be taken seriously.

Gagiano's remark is correct, when he points to the lack of objective conditions to guarantee democracy. We need to consider this, perhaps when it comes to Leon Louw's ideas. Cronje's points about strategy are serious: the regional initiatives will multiply and to avoid the terrible and confusing conflicts seen in Natal, we need somehow or other to deal with this. We must find a way of sitting down with the ANC and working through the dangers. All those who have taken part in such initiatives have done so on the condition that they are based on one-man-one-vote and election of leaders.

Pallo Jordan - There had been much to encourage in the discussion but there were also some disturbing aspects.

- The comparison drawn by Gilliomee between Afrikaner and African nationalism is totally untenable;
- The future of Afrikaans is assured - if no other reason than that it is the language of many black people;
- Heribert Adams' position is based on the premise that we are in a no-win situation, and this is incorrect. Further, the ANC is not opposed to the diffusion of power - but 'Federalism' in South African conditions has been associated with the protection of white power;
- Power and Rights: it is crucial to see that the best guarantee of the future of whites is their participation in the struggle, and that is why the pessimism expressed is disturbing.

#### STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMY IN A LIBERATED SOUTH AFRICA.

presentations on both the structure of government in a liberated South Africa and on the economy were given before discussion and comment by the meeting as a whole.

#### - STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

Leon Louw introduced the topic, speaking to his paper STRATEGY FOR A NEGOTIATED POST-APARTHEID DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE FOR SOUTH AFRICA. His presentation followed the written paper closely.

Kader Asmal presented the ANC position on the structure of government and constitution on the lines outlined in the pre-conference discussion.

#### - THE ECONOMY OF A LIBERATED SOUTH AFRICA.

Christo Nel introduced the topic. He spoke to a written paper submitted for the conference: AN INTRODUCTORY FRAMEWORK FOR A LIBERATED ECONOMY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The main points of his spoken presentation were:

#### Introduction:

1. Pressure (on the regime) without escape routes does not allow for change by virtue of the closure of these routes. Apartheid is a system of violence, but the violent response to it has become a self-fulfilling process allowing of no escape, thus generating the militarization of South African society.

This leads to a no-win situation; if we can get the right situation, SA has a wonderful economic future.

2. A precondition of the right situation is that we should abandon isms because these entrench views which become emotionally supported. We need a pragmatic approach. A pragmatic approach may involve errors, but the possibility of these can be minimised if we have a vision. That vision should be: increased prosperity for all the people by making South Africa a winning nation.

The South African Economy at present

1. At present the SA economy is characterised by;
  - a) Centralization and control, dualism, shortages of capital etc.
  - b) Bad performance and terrible distribution needs of the society and achievements are not in balance.
2. Some blame capitalism and some blame socialism (which he defines as state controlled over blacks) and both are hamstrung by the past. But what is needed is a break from the past.

This means that the controls of the past which are everywhere being challenged must be loosened and the creative development of the people given the opportunity to flourish.

3. What is to be done?

a. Against this background there are 3 principles which must be implemented:

1. Re-distributive justice must be re-introduced and guaranteed. What is needed is a massive development of education and decentralization of the economy.
- ii. Fear of poverty must be eliminated, the work place democratised, and the workers empowered (they must be skilled and educated).
- iii. Open job mobility and thereby liberate the initiatives and creativity of the people.

b. Business is the core of the economy and will remain so. Managers are central to the economic process. He notes that, in the townships there is opposition to 'free enterprise'.

c. Concretely, what needs to be done is as follows:

- i. Offer tax breaks to encourage investment.
- ii. Transfer ownership of productive means to the ownership of people and this will enhance creativity.

Note: LO's point refers to the creation of small scale private property owners.

- iii. Transfer new means of production to the people (nationalization)
- iv. Re-define the role of big business as managers of transfers, marketing etc.
- v. Free up access to property
- vi. Establish equality of opportunity in the economy.
- vii. Build homes on a massive scale- the home performs a stabilising and unifying role.
- viii. Develop the system of industrial relations to encourage cooperation between workers and business.
- ix. Encourage people to return to agricultural production.

How do we get there?

Two main conditions must be achieved.

1. The fears of the whites must be allayed through the efforts of business, the churches etc.
2. Business must legitimise itself through deeds.

At the end of the session, Nel submitted a document which purported to be a sort of programme of action to implement his views.

Andre Koopman made a further presentation. He did not present a paper but he gave a personal account of the management of his business. His description was very vague but very enthusiastic because he explained that the changes introduced had led to the release of the workers creativity and a corresponding leap in profits while other companies were in a bad way because of the recession.

Basically, the main points of his speech may be summed up as follows:

1. Consultations and mechanisms for consultations with the workers was established by management. The point was to obtain the

workers views of the conduct of the business and to give them an opportunity to take part in such consultations.

2. The unions were allowed to exist but had been ousted from importance by the consultative process.

3. The effect of worker involvement in management had been to stimulate workers energies and involvement leading to considerable increases in productivity and large savings due to worker/management changes in work processes and administration etc. From this, both management profited through increased profit levels and the workers too through higher wages etc.

Manala Manzini presented the ANC position

The history of our country and the reality imposed on us by the system of white minority domination demand that our democratic revolution should achieve certain definite political and economic objectives.

These political objectives have been outlined earlier on. To remind you of just a few:

- that all the people of South Africa, both black and white must share equally the right to self-determination;

- that each one of our people regardless of colour or voice should have the inalienable right to vote for the government to rule our country. In other words there must be a system of one person one vote; that SA must become one unitary state with one central government, elected by universal suffrage.

Victory of the political struggle would be meaningless if it is not going to address the distribution of wealth in our country.

What I mean here Mr Chairman is that a democratic South Africa will have to address the question of redistribution of the wealth of our country- to redress the gross imbalance and inequalities - centuries of impoverishment of the black masses brought about by apartheid rule.

I think we are all aware of the conditions of poverty and suffering of the black population of our country.

Naturally by the time a democratic state is born these conditions would have worsened.

It has been said for instance that the level of unemployed in our country ranges between five and six million.

**What about the conditions of black education? How do we redress the situation when for decades the apartheid regime has systematically denied the millions of the oppressed of education and education facilities?**

What about the problems of housing, health and many other issues we can quote?

In the annual message of the National Executive Committee presented by the President of the ANC on January 8th this year the ANC said (I quote):

Of central importance also is the critical requirement that the new South Africa must guarantee the masses of our people freedom from hunger, disease, ignorance, homelessness and poverty.

It will therefore be called upon to ensure that the wealth of the country increases significantly and continuously and that it is shared equitably by all the people to ensure their material and spiritual upliftment and well-being.

To achieve these objectives, the new democratic order will necessarily have to address the question of ownership, control and direction of the economy as a whole to ensure that neither the public nor the private sectors serve as a means of enriching the few at the expense of the majority. The transfer of power to the people must therefore be accompanied by the democratisation of the control and direction of the economy so that indeed the people share in the wealth of our country.

Our people saw this very clearly in our struggle. That is why in 1955 when they were working out blueprint of South Africa they want to live in - as defined in the Freedom Charter - they also addressed the question of the economy of the country.

I think all of us present here are aware and have read the Freedom Charter. I am going to refer to the economic clauses of the Freedom Charter which say that the people shall share in the country's wealth. (see charter).

All that the Freedom Charter identifies here very clearly and unambiguously is the need to redistribute the wealth of our country - in the interest of all the people of South Africa.

To redress the imbalance that we referred to earlier, to meet the demands for housing, education, health; to build our equally developed infrastructure throughout that country - the state would need enormous resources.

So that from the nationalisation of the commanding heights of the economy - the mines, the monopoly industries and the banks - the state will through its control of these sectors be able to generate resources to meet these demands.

But what do we understand of this nationalisation? Does this mean that when we take over at 12 then at one all monopolies banks and the mines are going to be nationalised - what do we learn from the experiences of other countries?

Our understanding of this process is that it cannot be decided upon by the ANC in Lusaka alone, there will have to be consultation with the broad democratic forces among whom there are businessmen, So that the implementation of the nationalisation programme will have to be agreed upon by all the forces of change .

I must add also that whatever step would be taken it is important that it is our interest and the interest of all our people that we do not do things which will unnecessarily lead to a drop in the economic development of our country. No sensible government would be interested in that.

The present day economy of our country is stifled, cannot grow and develop as it should because of the limitations imposed by apartheid. The creative energies of millions of the oppressed remain untapped. A democratic system must aim at unlocking all these potentialities for the benefit of our nation.

So the ANC in fact envisages a situation where we will have a mixed economy in South Africa. A public sector - controlled by the government on behalf of all the people and a private sector.

There is the question of land distribution.

Surely a democratic government will have to redress the situation where 87% of the land area of South Africa is owned by the white minority and only 13% remaining for all the black population and this cannot be achieved by simply removing the Land Act. The Freedom Charter is very clear on this. That the land shall have to be redistributed among those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger.

But again the details of how this is going to be done have not yet been elaborated - and we believe that all the democratic forces of our country must grapple with this question - and make a contribution on how best these ideals of our people - indeed ideals of all our people, black and white - can be accomplished.

In conclusion:

SA economic relations with neighbouring countries and international economic relations:

The apartheid regime has always sought to establish economic relations with the countries of Southern Africa in such a way that it will maintain its domination of their economics - and use this for overall political domination of these countries.

A genuinely democratic government of South Africa will have to redress this situation and establish equal and mutually beneficial economic relations with the countries of our region and the rest of the international community. We have a lot to benefit from such relations.

The remainder of the conference consisted of interventions arising out of the presentations on Economy and Government, as well as more general interventions arising out of the conference as a whole.

Beyers Naude - He had deliberately refrained from participating in the discussion up to this point, and now wanted to make a few comments on where to go. He was impressed with the frankness of the interchange. Had enough trust been established to make further discussion possible and desirable? If so, how do we take it from here? He was struck also by the lack of understanding that came through from the IDASA delegation concerning the views of the ANC.

It brought home the effectiveness of the South African government's actions in preventing exposure to the ANC's ideas. There was also a lack of compassion for the sacrifices and suffering of the black community and the ANC. This lack or loss of sensitivity must force us to ask what message we take to our community. One message that came through is an obligation to challenge whites on what is the source of violence.

What is now our responsibility? both individually and as a group? What is our responsibility as Afrikaners to other Afrikaners - to the AWB? We could write them off - but behind them is a theology. What kind of theological challenge can be mounted by those of us in the theological field? Those who wish to intervene with those who are keen on the idea of a Boerestaat should tell them 'move if that is what you really want'. How do we handle the media? What kind of media or publicity are we going to make? Is there a place for a weekly paper? or a pamphlet? What responsibility do we have to Afrikaners who are isolated and fearful in their rejection of the system? What of our responsibility to the black community in struggle? Any white who demonstrates a sincere commitment to black interests will be accepted. What responsibility do we have to the international world? What image do we convey in these discussions?

We underestimate the influence we can bring to bear through our involvement in the churches.

Then there is our responsibility to the ANC. We must not

underestimate the risk the ANC is taking. We seem to be asking the ANC for things which could cause them a loss of legitimacy. What of a continuing responsibility? Can we not consistently counter the distorted presentation of the ANC in SA, and call for its unbanning. If we are not prepared to take some risk, then it is not worth continuing the discussion.

Blackie Swart - Apartheid is not reformable, and we must work for a totally democratic future. But our methods will differ. What is the ANC view on certain management attempts towards greater worker participation, with or without the involvement of the progressive unions?

It is for the AN<sup>v</sup> to decide strategies - a negotiated settlement presupposes both conflicts and common interests. We do really understand the negotiation process? We are also aware of the misuse which the South African government is making of the concept of negotiation. It knows very well what is doing - we must know what we are doing and attack.

Peter Gastrow - Taking up Kader Asmal's reference to the many constitutional models presently being proffered, and has discounting of the value of interim models, are local initiatives not worthwhile, even at the same time as the liberation struggle continues. Those of us who participate in structures should ask if we can promote majority rule. We should consider how we will keep in touch and support each other.

Lawrence Schlemmer - He took up the remark 'Apartheid cannot be reformed, it must be removed'. Agreed it must be removed - but the implied strategy in the statement is worrying. Is there not an intermediate stage in its removal when it can be weakened? The all or nothing techniques allows the regime to strengthen. If an intermediate strategy produces something that is easier to remove than the present, it should be considered.

Heran Gilliomee - He did not share the fears of Afrikaners, but they exists and are a fact.

Breyten Breytenbach - We should trust in the dynamics of commitment and struggle.

Manala Manzini - The intermediate medium regional strategies are complimentary to the regime's policy and strategy.

Michael Savage - The dialogue has been essentially between Afrikaners and the ANC. It has been impressive. But there have been some significant misunderstandings based on language - on both sides. The apartheid regime is befouling our language and our communication.

Wayne Mitchell - The local option holds up the whole process of getting a united state. A national problem needs a national solution.

Willem van Vuren - The fear is fear of the white government.

Barbara Masekela - The question of women has been relegated by both sides to a secondary status. The issue is integral to discussion of all aspects of our struggle - formal guarantees of equality are not enough. We need at this stage to include women as a part of society. Many black women have children who have been killed - many of them by the actions of the children of white women. It would be good to have a meeting between women.

Some of the remarks of the youth present were impressive - equally their need for support was evident.

We should issue a call to writers and other cultural workers to develop an alternative culture to take its place in a new South Africa.

We should issue a call to Afrikaners women to examine their own position and their relation to black women.

Alistair Sparks - The misunderstanding about language is largely a lack of communication.

Tommy Beford - There are difficulties for those working with children within the state structures - it is true there are alternative structures. But they are inadequate to the needs.

Harold Wolpe - A false dichotomy was posed by Tommy Beford. The alternative structures are points of reference for working out the politics of participation and for working out a way of conducting ourselves in the struggle while contributing towards a revolutionary transformation that will abolish apartheid.

Steve Tshwete - The abolition of apartheid is the immediate aim. Regional initiatives perpetuate it. But there are other institutions which contribute to the end of apartheid.

Max Du Preez - It should be recognised that there are difficulties for Afrikaners in joining alternative organisations. Leftwing democratic society as presently constituted has some strong prejudices against Afrikaners.

Andrew Du Pisanie - Kader Asmal's exposition was extremely illuminating - but there is a problem relating to his remarks about white fears of majoritarianism, and the problem still remains that of ensuring that those who exercise power do not abuse it.

Andre Hammersma - The transfer of wealth need not wait until after liberation - it can start now. But we must be careful not to destroy wealth and the engine of growth. Businessmen are favourable to change. But sanctions have slowed down the forces of change.

Pallo Jordan - He was bothered at having not talked over some of our compatriots, and disturbed at the continuing pessimism.

Theuns Eloff - Differences over strategy were beginning to appear. But this must not become a matter of conflict. He had not come to get the ANC's permission to get involved in the struggle. He would choose the strategy - what is crucial is the aim. On the regional option, the ANC should exercise tolerance.

Braam Viljoen - We should all work for the unbanning of the ANC.

Franklin Sonn - the AN<sup>U</sup> has produced clear tests. And they make clear that working through the system by working in parliament is counter-productive, an incompatible with carrying out the minimum requirements for participating in the democratic struggle.

Hennie Serfontein - On the question of regional authorities, he considered Inkatha to be a dangerous movement. The whole thing must be seen in the context of Government's strategy for survival. Whatever peoples intentions it is counter-productive of the struggle for freedom.

Kader Asmal, summing up in response to the discussion made several points:

- On strategy, others should after what they had heard at the very least respect the analysis of the ANC as having some possible truth(?).
- On regional experiments, experience has shown that they are reinforcers of repression;
- On the demand for a limited state, this carried the seeds of disaster.

Monday 13 July.

Discussion by a small group of the analysis of the situation by the social scientists in the IDASA delegation.

Those present were : Lawrence Schlemmer, Herman Giliomee, Pieter Cronje and one other from the IDASA delegation; and Kader Asmal, Selwyn Gross, Pallo Jordan (for part of the time), Harold Wolpe, and Tony Trew (acting as chair).

Tony Trew introduced the discussion. It was an opportunity to look more closely than the general conference allowed at the analysis of the South African situation being offered by the social scientists in the IDASA delegation.

There were various points at which one could begin, and they were all interrelated in a general framework of analysis. The aspects which have been more visible in the discussions of the conference were theses concerning ethnicity and state power. These included assertions that South African society was essentially 'pluralist' and that 'ethnicity' was an irreducible fact answering to 'primordial needs'. Cautions against 'underestimating the problem of national unity' turned out to rest on unsupported theses about the permanence and primordial character of ethnic identity. The power of the state was seen as 'overwhelming' and a strategy of armed struggle was destined to produce a no-win situation.

While one could begin at any point, the idea of the invincibility of state power was a natural starting point. Analysing the ideas involved made clear that the pessimism about the possibility of the liberation movement defeating the apartheid regime was based on an adequate understanding of the nature of the state power.

This was reflected partly in the distinction continually being drawn between political struggle and 'violent' or armed struggle. The ANC's strategy is one of armed political struggle. If military power is seen simply as the possession of weapons and armament then of course the apartheid regime enjoyed overwhelming superiority and would continue to do so. However armed force is not just weapons and involves the mobilisation of social power and in this respect there are sharp limitations on the power of the apartheid regime and its capacity to maintain itself by armed force. The power of the state and the power of an emergent nation in struggle to liberate itself from oppression are different, but commensurate.

Similarly the analysis of the base of the political power of the apartheid regime is too narrow, when it is identified as being Afrikaner ethnic power. Coupled with the assertion that Afrikaner ethnicity is an unchangeable fact this reinforces the theses of the invincibility of the state. But this is wrong on more than one account - the social base of the apartheid regime is much wider than the Afrikaner community, and ethnic identities are not given and do not have inevitable political consequences. To the extent that we can speak of Afrikaner ethnic power, this was only created and mobilised during a relatively recent historical period and is already disintegrating.

The social analysis which underpins the plea for accommodation of Afrikaner ethnicity - and other ethnicities .

- in a special political dispensation is in fact based on premises which are simply reflections of the present racist society and which mask the real nature of state power in South Africa. We are urged to accept ethnicity - with arguments that tell us that we have to accept it, both because it is an inescapable fact of social life in South Africa and because there is a power based on it which we have to reckon with. A correct analysis of South African society shows that this analysis is a product of the society which it is in fact defending in the name of objective analysis.

Herman Gilliomee - It is fair to ask for an account of how the power of the apartheid state will be defeated.

Tony Trew - Let us rather look at the past, at the history of the last few years to see what has happened to the power of the state in the face of the mobilisation of a democratic power. This will indicate the inadequacy of those analysis which conclude that the apartheid state is invincible and demonstrate some of the vulnerabilities which will continue to weaken it further. The refusal of the majority of South Africans to accept the legitimacy of apartheid has challenged the power of the regime to administer the country and created a crisis, part of whose effects is the presence here of social scientists who only a few years ago thought that the government's plans were workable. The events of this period have seen the power of the democratic power grow and those of the regime diminish. True it is presently holding things down by armed force, but it cannot rule permanently on that basis and despite the visibility of its power in the form of equipment, the democratic social power is steadily growing.

Pallo Jordan - Not only is there an evident crisis of legitimacy, but there are the beginnings of a crisis of confidence. This has been manifest in such things as the farce of the Rubicon speeches and the failure of the government to convince its allies of its having clear direction.

Lawrence Schlemmer - Agreed, there is a crisis of legitimacy. The question is, what will the state do with the legitimacy crisis? It will persist with a strategy of authoritarian cooption. The problems that are a consequence of the crisis of legitimacy become themselves a cause for the enforcement of state power. The consequence of pursuing the strategy of attacking state power in the way outlined will be increasing support for an authoritarian system until the society implodes.

Damage containment is what has to be pursued. White primordial fears will be called on to create a sense of identity threat. Hence the need for the bicomunalist approach as a way of deflecting these fears. The resolve of the Afrikaner to maintain itself as a political presence is quite strong. State power will weaken, democratic power will grow. But there will be a prolonged violent stalemate.

The Afrikaner will not suddenly hand over. The state can live with weakness (?) Our interests is in seeing if we can get you interested in something that will limit the damage.

Harold Wolpe - The structure of your argument is that whatever you concede concerning the dynamics of power, one thing that keeps returning is that of a 'primordial/psychic factor of ethnicity(?). It forecloses all analysis. We therefore need a more adequate account of the conditions under which group identity is created and <sup>m</sup>maintained. We are all aware of the fact that the government's policy depends on the possibility of creating divisions among black people. The question to ask is this: as the political economy of South Africa is pressured on all sides - the Namibian struggle, the Southern African situation, mass popular resistance, threats of sanctions - what are the possibilities of developing rifts and divisions?

Kader Asmal - We have to take on trust your insight into Afk Afrikaner thinking - but as social scientists the monolithic view is unconvincing (?).

Herman Gilliomoe - Where an ethnic group sees its country as its homeland, there is a very strong determination to maintain real control. While there are differences amongst Afrikaner parties, on this ANB, KP, HNP and NP are united. This much is evident from Gagliano's work on the strength of the idea of the state as Boereplaas in Afrikaner thinking. Bicomunalism is an attempt to break this mould.

Harold Wolpe - Again, there is no analysis offered of the conditions of rupture of this kind of cohesion.

Tony Trew - This illustrates again the structure of the analysis: State power is based on (white Afrikaner) ethnicity: this is the ethnicity of a group which sees its country as its homeland; it is an ethnicity which produces a determination for real control. This can only demonstrate the invincibility of the state if its power is constituted by the determination of those presently exercising political power. But in fact determination is not enough to overcome the limitations of objective conditions, and

what has been demonstrated so sharply in recent years are the limitations on the mobilising of state power.

Pirre Cronje - the Number of Afrikaners prepared to accept a multi-racial government is 50 per cent. But the government plays on their fears and one must come up with interim solutions like tricameralism even while directing things towards activities that encourage a transition. The time factor is crucial. Why not participate in structures as a part of strategy, seal the benefits of a non-racial democracy in a way which secures the detachment of whites from apartheid.

Lawrence Schlemmer - A footnote to Herman Gilliomee: We all tend to agree on what can be done in the given time-frame. Ethnicity is not seen as immutable, primordial or inevitable. But while the past few years there has been a weakening or fragmentation of ethnic identity, a new dynamic is coming into play through a fear of loss. Introducing into this incoherent fear a rationale - which the government is trying to do - will enhance it and allow it to be deployed.

Kader Asmal - The Last point goes to the heart of the matter - historically a sense of security is important.

???? ???? - Amongst the processes taking place is the one in Namibia - we could learn a lot from what Dirk Mudge has done.

Pablo Jordan - It is important to work for a weakening of cohesion which will deprive the state of resources, not abstract resources but concretely. State power rests on compliance of subjects; command of material things; cohesion.

Herman Gilliomee - Let us not get into a situation where we are arguing over the ash-heap. Even if power is unlimited, the determination is unlimited.

Tony Trew summed up. While the discussion had moved in various directions, the basic structure of the analysis being offered remained. Within the framework of the time-period being laid down, the single factor of Afrikaner group or ethnic identity remained a constant, unanalysable and unalterable

factor. Focus on that single factor also precluded analysis of the complexity of state power and in a very direct way the policy being advocated was built into the framework of the analysis that was supposed to provide independent and objective justification for the policy. The analysis was itself a reflection of apartheid society itself and acted to keep hidden the real nature of power in that society.

The discussion has hopefully added to the main conference in which the history and the programme of the ANC was presented and explained to people who had been prevented from knowing about it - this discussion had been an opportunity to give some idea of the social scientific analysis involved.

Herman Gilliomee expressed the hope that further similar exchanges would be possible; if not through meetings through exchange of writings, including the manuscript of a book which he and Lawrence Schlemmer were writing. They might have access to things that were hidden from us.

Tony Trew said that further exchanges indicated in the Joint Communique. While some reservations were expressed about exchanging views on unpublished manuscripts, Palle Jordan indicated that concrete steps should be taken to facilitate exchange of publications - Tony Trew would make arrangements for the exchange of Die Suid Afrikaan and Sechaba, and any other appropriate papers and publications.