

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

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

SEPTEMBER 1989

Peace prospects: SA in better shape than N Ireland, Israel

The lessons of conflict



Countrymen . . . Sammy Smooha (left) and Meron Benvenisti from Israel.



South Africans . . . André du Toit and Khehla Shubane.

Photographs by JAN GAGIANO

What can be learnt about the prospects for ending apartheid and achieving a political settlement of our increasingly polarised and violent conflicts by comparing South Africa with such other deeply divided societies as Israel and Northern Ireland? Are we locked into essentially the same patterns of communal conflict and cycles of political violence which produced the disasters of Lebanon, or can comparative studies point the way to alternative and more viable strategies of nation-building in the quest for peace?

These were the questions which brought together an international group of academics with specialist knowledge and intimate experience of South Africa, Israel and Northern Ireland in Bad Godesberg, West Germany, for four days of intensive discussions early in September. From the outset it was clear that the "Ending Apartheid" conference, jointly hosted by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation and Idasa, would at least be one conference on South Africa without any parochial concerns. It was also clear that it would be a somewhat different kind of enterprise to the ongoing series of international conference involving South African and ANC-delegations. After the drama of Dakar and the exotic setting of Victoria Falls the sedate surroundings of suburban Bonn

A group of international academics with an intimate knowledge of South Africa, Northern Ireland and Israel gathered at Bad Godesberg in West Germany in September to discuss the inevitable conflict in divided societies. PROF ANDRÉ DU TOIT, one of the delegates to the conference jointly hosted by Idasa and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, reports.

provided an appropriate context for a more reflective meeting of minds seeking a wider comparative understanding of these three societies, so diverse in their similarities.

But if the discussions, quite understandably, had an academic bent, this was also an academic conference with a difference. The conference organiser, Hermann Giliomee, of the political studies department at the University of Cape Town, had succeeded in bringing together a truly international group of scholars, a good mix of area specialists together with some outstanding generalists. From Israel there were the historians Moshe Ma'oz and Motti Tamarin as well as the social scientist Sammy Smooha; from Northern Ireland there was a

strong contingent including Pdraig O'Malley, Paul Arthur, Norman Gibson, John Brewer, Kevin Boyle and John Whyte, as well as Michael MacDonald, author of "The Children of Wrath"; and established writers on South Africa such as Lawrence Schlemmer, Heribert Adam and W R Johnson were joined by younger scholars such as Wilmot James, Jan Gagiano and Annette Seegers. More general perspectives were contributed by comparative analysts of nationalism Walker Connor and Benjamin Neuburger as well as the Soviet Africanist Apollon Davidson by the doyen of development studies David Apter from Yale, and by some of the leading practitioners of conflict resolution methodologies such as the social psychologist Herbert Kelman from Harvard and James Laue.

However this wealth of academic expertise was also complemented and challenged by participants who could draw on experience and understanding of a different kind, equally relevant to these three deeply troubled societies. When some academics wanted to speculate about abstract theoretical models, there was Idasa's Fana Zungu, fresh from the scene of the ongoing political killings around Pietermaritzburg, to remind them that there are people actually dying out there even as they

To Page 4

inside

Where is FW heading?

— PAGE 7 —

Count-down to negotiation?

— PAGE 11 —

'Condemned' to relive history

— PAGE 9 —

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

EDITORIAL

SA waits to judge FW - by his actions

IDASA's goals are:

- To encourage South Africans of all races to reject apartheid and discover an alternative that is non-racial and democratic in the true sense of the word.

- To assist people to accept and work for a post-apartheid society as a way of allaying their fears.

- To mobilise the skills, knowledge and experience of all those who can assist the communities in the crisis areas of South Africa.

- To provide forums and opportunities on a nationwide basis to find democratic solutions to South Africa's problems.

- To assist in creating a climate for genuine negotiation towards a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

IDASA Offices

HEAD OFFICE:

Hill House, 1 Penzance Road, Mowbray, Cape Town, 7700 (Tel 021-473127; Telefax 477458)

WESTERN CAPE: 6 Faircape House, Orange Street, Gardens, Cape Town, 8001 (Tel 021-222150; Telefax 237905)

JOHANNESBURG: Fifth Floor, Norvic House, 93 De Korte Street, Braamfontein, 2107 (Tel 011-4033580/1/2/3; Telefax 3395301)

PRETORIA: 203 Hatfield Forum, 1077 Arcadia Street, Hatfield, 0083 (Tel 012-3422335/6; Telefax 3421926)

DURBAN: 1206 Sangro House, 417 Smith Street, Durban, 4001 (Tel 031-3048893; Telefax 3048891)

PORT ELIZABETH: Fourth Floor, Standard House, 344 Main Street, Port Elizabeth, 6001 (Tel 041-553301/2/3; Telefax 522587)

EAST LONDON: 5a Stephenson Street, East London, 5201 (Tel 0431-430047; Telefax 438682)

In trying to assess the extent of change we can expect from Mr F W de Klerk's leadership as newly elected State President, we have to distinguish between rhetoric and action. If we are to judge purely on the former, then there is considerable room for encouragement. Mr De Klerk's style and language are critically different from those of his predecessor, Mr P W Botha. It is understandable, however, that his fine promises have been received with considerable scepticism for South Africans have been on the receiving end of so many promises over so many years.

Mr De Klerk himself acknowledges this in stating that his government "shall set everything in motion to bridge the deep gulf of mistrust, suspicion and fear between South Africans". The system of apartheid has left us with a quite terrifying legacy of distrust and suspicion so that even statements made with apparent sincerity are almost rejected out of hand by those who have been on the receiving end of harsh repressive measures. Whilst the changing of laws is of paramount importance, there is going to have to be a supreme effort to change attitudes as well if South Africa is not going to be torn asunder in the next few years.

Time limited

Mr De Klerk is under considerable pressure both from the international community and more especially from the growing demands of the majority of South Africans for actions which go beyond promises and rhetoric. It is interesting that there has been a convergence of demands both from inside and outside of South Africa which call on the new State President to firstly lift the state of emergency, secondly release political prisoners, thirdly unban banned organisations, fourthly establish a climate for political participation and fifthly negotiate the end of apartheid and the beginning of a non-racial, democratic South Africa. Mr De Klerk will be judged therefore not in terms of his words, eloquent and encouraging as these are, but in terms of how many of the conditions stated above he is prepared to accept and to act upon. **The only commodity that Mr De Klerk doesn't have is time.**

Mrs Thatcher who has resolutely refused to

impose sanctions on South Africa will be under considerable pressure at the Commonwealth conference during October and will need some sign from the State President that he really means business. The fact that she does not accept the sanctions strategy in no way changes her demands for the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations, etc. The major pressure however, is coming from and will continue to come from the majority of South Africans who are very near to the end of their patience as far as their political rights are concerned.

Clear message

The defiance campaign led by the Mass Democratic Movement shows no sign of running out of steam; on the contrary, they have been encouraged by the response from a wide section of the community in support of their struggle and their expectations have been raised by Mr De Klerk's "reasonableness" towards peaceful marches, which have now been staged all over South Africa. The message is clear: the time for rhetoric is over and the time for action is now.

Against this background what can we reasonably expect from Mr De Klerk? Firstly, he will do everything he can in an attempt to buy time. He can do so by appointing parliamentary committees or commissions to look into the particularly hurtful apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act. He can then justifiably claim that he is doing something about this but that it is to be done in an orderly and constructive manner! He can also claim that Dr Gerrit Viljoen will be giving urgent attention to all the constitutional options which are at the disposal of South Africa and that this too will take time and cannot be done overnight. But if he is wise, he will know that beyond the appointment of commissions and persons for specific responsibilities, there must be actions which confirm the promises he has made.

He will have to act on the question of political prisoners and in particular on the release of Mr Nelson Mandela. On the other hand, it would be almost counter-productive to release Mr Mandela into a state of emergency where

Ja-Nee

A banner is a banner

At the recent beach protest in Durban a racist bully assaulted a middle-aged white woman carrying a banner. It said nothing nasty about the AWB, CP or racism. Its simple message was "Jesus is Alive".

— Even more astounding: policemen, ever vigilant in their defence of Christian values, helped the man remove the banner.

Kyk hoe konsekwent!

"As die regering die Ossewabrandwag verbied dan sê ek dis tyd om halt te roep, dan is die Afrikaner geen gehoorsaamheid aan die regering verskuldig nie. As die hou van vergaderings verbied word, sal ek my volle morele ondersteuning aan burgerlike ongehoorsaamheid gee. Ek is bereid om sulke vergaderings by te woon en daaraan deel te neem wat die gevolge ookal mag wees."

— Laat 'n mens wonder of iemand FW de Klerk dalk onlangs aan dié woorde van Dr DF Malan (by 'n NP-kongres in 1940) herinner het?

Lastige kinders

Luister 'n bietjie na die kommentaar van een van die "agbare lede" van die parlement by Kaapstad se vredesoptog (waar hy natuurlik net 'n toeskouer was). Volgens hom het die deelnemers gelyk na 'n "klomp skoolkinders wat nie weet wat hulle doen nie".

— Van hierdie "kinders" gaan nog baie meer gesien — en gehoor — word.

Take a risk . . . or two

So who was trying to flog souvenir medallions of Dr Danie Craven at Ellis Park during the



he is not able to exercise political leadership together with the considerable support which he enjoys inside and outside of South Africa.

This is a key test for Mr De Klerk and his government and the possibility of peace and the potential of increased violence hang very much on what he does in this regard. Whilst it would not solve all of South Africa's many and complex problems, what a difference it could make if Mr De Klerk went to visit Mr Mandela himself and negotiated his release so that Mr Mandela can begin to exercise his well known abilities towards the resolution of conflict. A morning or an afternoon spent at Pollsmoor could transform the climate of conflict!

Hostile right

The urgency for action by Mr De Klerk is highlighted by the fact of the growing realisation on the right wing that it cannot win electorally. As this sinks in, it is more than likely that elements on the right will resort to increased hostility and violence. Already they will have been angered and distressed by Mr De Klerk's allowing marches to take place and it is only a question of time before their counter marches

and statements boil over into vigilante action and other forms of violence. This is one of the toughest tests awaiting the new leadership in the National Party government. Will the security forces take action against white right wing violence with the same kind of diligence and fervour as they have taken in the past against the opponents of apartheid? Will we see not only policemen offering flowers to left wing protestors but also white policemen taking action against right wing white South Africans? This is the core of the more refined debate about whether or not Mr De Klerk is going to come down on the side of the securocrats or of a shift towards a more civilian type of government.

No one who understands anything about the intensity of the conflict will underestimate Mr De Klerk's tasks as he assumes leadership of the South African government. The majority of South Africans are deeply concerned for peace and justice. Most would be prepared to forgive the past and work towards a non-racial and democratic South Africa if they could believe that this was Mr De Klerk's intention. The only test is not more promises and fine lofty words; Mr De Klerk will be judged by his actions.

Letters

Address your letters to
The Editor, Democracy in Action,
1 Penzance Road, Mowbray 7700

Caving up the economic pie

It is interesting to observe the note of post-socialist realism that is beginning to enter into the debate over the structuring of a post-apartheid South Africa/Azania.

I refer here specifically to the emerging realisation that the well-worn theme of "redistribution of income" so much favoured by the "old left" has failed to deliver the "goodies" predicted of it.

The real practical experience of socialism over the last 70 years appears to indicate that "redistribution" invariably meant a switch in the wealth from the hands of the displaced elite into the hands of a new bureaucratic elite.

In South Africa the arguments for redistribution ignore the fact that the current crisis in the country's economy results in part from the actual process of redistributing wealth from productive to non-productive sectors of the polity.

It is of course accepted that much of this redistribution has been geared to the fulfilment of fundamentally irrational political objectives. However, these objectives are not more irrational than the proposal of President Ceausescu of Romania to demolish 3 000 traditional villages and "remove" the occupants to a series of collective establishments without any amenities.

It was therefore refreshing to read Gavin Maasdorp's observation in the July issue of *Democracy in Action* that a post-apartheid government needed to concern itself more with "economic empowerment" than with the policies of redistribution.

The priority throughout the world for the rest of the century should be the creation of wealth and not the sharing of the ever-diminishing pie. The future South African government should therefore not concern itself with carving up the economic pie. It should work on strategies to make this country so wealthy in order to create the opportunities for all to solve their own problems.

N P Williamson
Johannesburg

(Letter shortened)

Wanted: visions for future SA

I would like to suggest that organisations such as Cosatu, Black Sash, SACC, SACBC and others are given some space in your monthly newsletter *Democracy in Action*. They could use the opportunity to spell out their vision of achieving a democratic South Africa.

Some of the most useful few lines that I have

To Page 4

Contributors to *Democracy in Action* may express opinions that are not necessarily supported by Idasa

recent second Test match? No one other than Trevor Tutu.

— The young Tutu has obviously not lost his faith in supply and demand. His characteristic *chutzpah* seems intact too. Free enterprise at an "abnormal" sports event. Really.

Net 'n banier?

Selvs voormalige AWB-lede was erg ontevrede met die aanstootlike woorde "Hang Mandela" op een van die AWB-banier by die onlangse Kerkplein saamtrek in Pretoria.

— 'n Mens wonder hoe lank so 'n banier op die

plein sou bly wapper het as dit 'n soortgelyke lot vir, byvoorbeeld, die NP-leier aanbeveel het?

The amazing Bothas

At the Johannesburg peace march a police reservist, Const Phillip Botha, stunned the crowds by holding aloft a placard that read "Police against police abuse". Botha told reporters that joining the protest was one of the most frightening experiences of his life, but he could no longer delay making his brave stand.

— A rare chance to say "Well done, Botha!"

Lessons of conflict

From Page 1

talked. Of the South African participants three, in the persons of Fikile Bam, Neville Alexander and Khehla Shubane, could speak from personal experience as political prisoners on Robben Island. (Not surprisingly it was Alexander who contested what he saw as the gradualist and reformist assumptions underlying the conference agenda, and who insisted on the need for radical social transformation). Breyten Breytenbach, too, was on hand to give witness to his unique vision as activist, prisoner, exile and poet. And the most striking contribution to the Israeli debates was made by Meron Benvenisti, former mayor of Jerusalem and more than ready to challenge the consensus otherwise prevailing among Israeli scholars on the basis of his grassroots understanding of the consequences of 20 years of occupation of the West Bank. Even if the conference did not include any actual representatives of the IRA, PLO or ANC — which no doubt would have made it into a different sort of meeting altogether — there was thus little chance for the academics to retreat for long into their ivory towers of dispassionate analysis and abstract theorising.

For those in search of readymade "solutions" the comparative discussions of these three intractable conflicts brought little comfort. Before the start of the conference Otto Graf Lambsdorf, leader and senior statesman of the German Free Democratic Party, made an important statement setting out the aims and constraints of the international commitment to help end apartheid and achieve a peaceful resolution of the South African conflict. And in the opening session Marion Gräfin Dönhoff, respected former editor of *Die Zeit*, floated the idea of calling on President Bush to get incoming president F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela together to start the process of "talks about talks" needed to create the conditions for serious political negotiation involving both the National Party and ANC leaderships. In the discussions that followed, however, it was again

and again stressed that South Africa was nowhere near meeting the conditions needed for successful negotiations, and that increased international intervention could well increase the problems. Neville Alexander argued, that while we should always be prepared to explore what may be gained by talking to all parties, it is dangerous to spread a popular illusion that a negotiated settlement is around the corner; rather, it should be accepted that the ending of apartheid and the transformation of South African society will and can only be a long term historical process. Meanwhile, so Van Zyl Slabbert anticipated, if the objective conditions for negotiations were still lacking, this did not prevent an emergent consensus around the idea of "negotiations". Indeed, this was already creating its own momentum even in the short term, drawing various parties into a complex process of position-bargaining in which the name of the game was to make your opponent look unreasonable and so take the blame for the unresolved conflict. The consequences would be new realignments in both white as well as extra-parliamentary politics and also an increasing salience to the issue of controlling the spread of political violence.

Here comparisons with Israel and Northern Ireland proved illuminating. Apart from the more obvious similarities between the various inter-communal conflicts, there were also substantial differences with significant implications for the prospects of a peaceful settlement in each case. As analysed by W R Johnson, Northern Ireland was still largely in a colonial relation to Britain as the metropolitan power, which was once again directly holding the ring, and had successfully prevented the problem from becoming internationalised. By comparison Israel was an intermediate case with much greater involvement of other international forces and the United States in the position of a quasi-metropole, while the South African case had developed furthest from its colonial origins: there no longer was any single metropolitan power and the conflict had become completely internationalised. This meant that in the cases of Israel and Northern Ireland, but not in South Africa, there were metropolitan powers in a position to intervene and change the situation, thus ostensibly providing more leverage for a possible settlement. In effect, though, this also served to make the

Irish problem most intractable: as various analysts of Northern Ireland observed, the fact that internal forces did not themselves bear the final political responsibility simply fuelled polarisation and further encouraged the extremist use of political violence. The paradox, commented respected British political commentator Simon Jenkins, was that British rule in Northern Ireland, on the face of it as good an example of purely disinterested intervention as one might hope to find, had in fact become an intractable part of the problem itself.

On closer analysis there also appeared to be further subtle but significant differences to the patterns of violent communal conflict between the South African and the other two cases. Alarming as the proliferation of political violence in South Africa undoubtedly was, the kind of disciplined violence against representatives of communal enemies, so crucial to Northern Ireland, was (as yet) quite rare. With the possible exception of the continuing communal violence in the Natal Midlands, South Africa did not yet know the self-sustaining cycles of communal violence so deeply entrenched in Northern Ireland. Even in the Natal case, W R Johnson pointed out, the violence was not just political but had evident social roots: in conditions of rapid urbanisation and social differentiation gangs tended to become the key social units while there were considerable opportunities which violence entrepreneurs such as warlords and shacklords could exploit. Khehla Shubane countered that the killings around Maritzburg were not just senseless and random violence, but had definite political motives and dimensions with both Inkatha and the state deeply implicated. Still, one outcome of the discussion appeared to be that while the problem in South Africa was largely one of **uncontrolled** communal violence, it was the disciplined and politically entrenched violence in Northern Ireland which posed the more intractable problems.

Compared to Israel, again, the discussions repeatedly brought out the profound consequences of the basic fact that, unlike blacks in South Africa, Palestinians on the West Bank (and even Israeli Arabs) were not irrevocably incorporated into a common economy and a shared territory. This means that in the Israeli case partition remains available as an option.

IDASA Occasional Papers NEW PAPERS

14. South Africa as seen by Russian and Soviet People, and Their Perception of the "South African" Problem

Irina Filatova (Doctor of Science in History, Moscow State University).

Official South African Perceptions of the Soviet Union: From Confrontation to Accommodation

Deon Geldenhuys, Dept. of Political Science, Rand Afrikaans University.

15. Socialist Construction in the USSR: Restructuring, Openness and Democracy

Dr Vladimir B. Iordansky

The Southern African Policy of the USSR in the Context of Its Global Foreign Policy

Vyatcheslav N. Tetekin of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

16. Integration and Disintegration in South Africa

Prof Peter Vale, Director, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University.

17. A map of Political Violence in Contemporary South Africa

Dr Jacklyn Cock, Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand.

18. A Community is as liberated as its women

Antjie Krog, Afrikaans poet.

19. The Provision of Education in South Africa

Paul Graham, Natal Regional Director of Idasa.

ALL AVAILABLE AT R2,50 EACH (POSTAGE INCLUDED) FROM:

IDASA

1 PENZANCE ROAD MOWBRAY 7700

OTHER PAPERS (NOS 1-15) STILL AVAILABLE. CONTACT YOUR NEAREST IDASA OFFICE FOR MORE DETAILS.

CLYSON

Letters From Page 3

read in the last 12 months for example came from an article by Joyce Harris in the March issue of the official Black Sash newsletter. In the article on the "soft option" she suggests a strategy whereby all the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forces in opposition to apartheid would co-operate to oust the present government. She suggests that everybody should work together until this broad front achieves their goal of forcing the government to negotiate about the handing over of power to ALL the people. After this every organisation should then again be free to bring their own set of principles to the negotiating table.

Since I am only a very recent subscriber to

your newsletter I am not sure of the space you've allocated to such discussion in the past. But surely the subject has not been shelved or solved? It should be debated in *Democracy in Action* or any other open platform accessible to all in the country.

I also fully agree with the letter of Joan van Staden (*DIA* July 1989). Why not invite those other, but still largely "unknown", organisations to offer their views on the "soft option". Or invite people like Denis Beckett of *Frontline* magazine to talk about his clearly defined ideas on how to achieve democracy. After all the aim is surely to make people think, not to present clear-cut solutions.

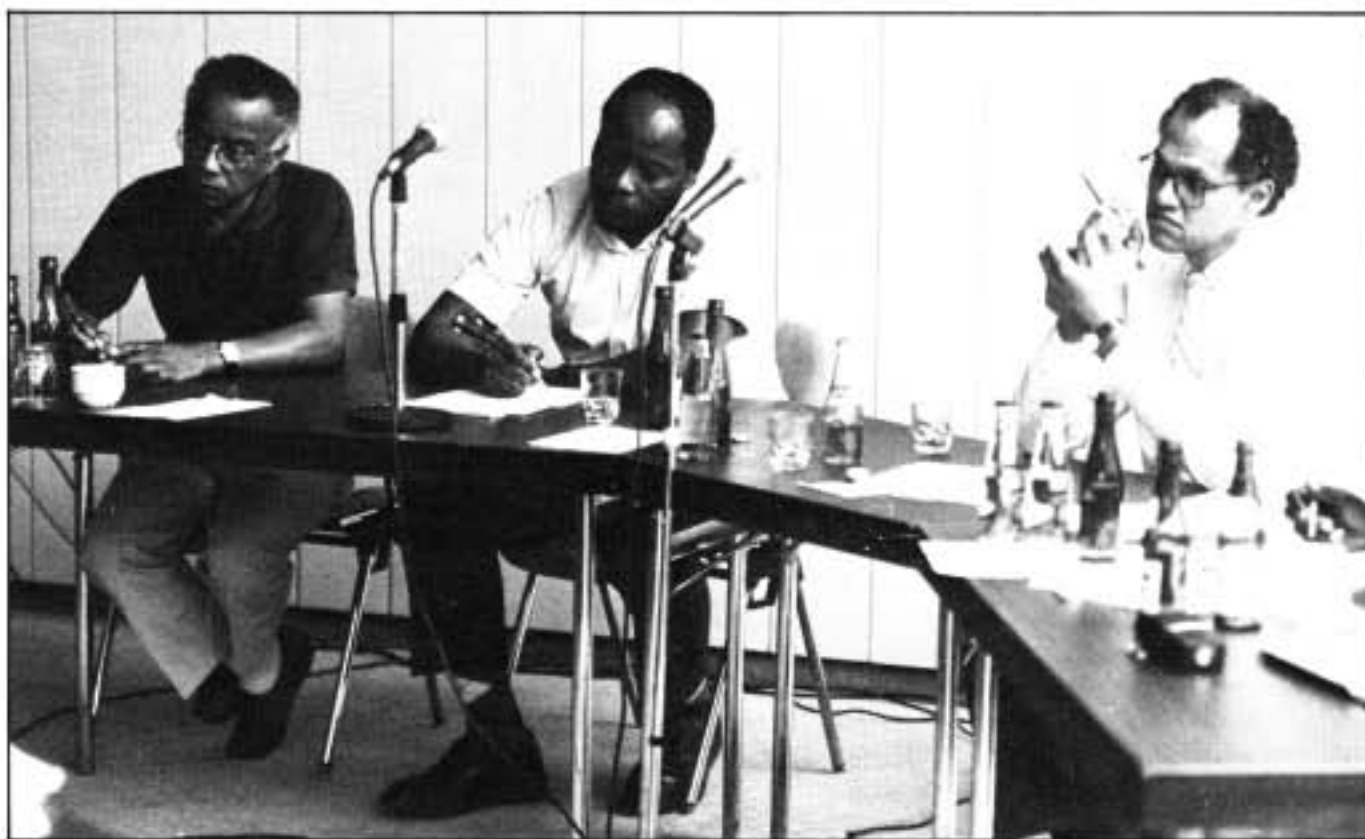
**Ignas Heitkönig
Louis Trichardt**

CONFLICT CONFERENCE

It also means, as Heribert Adam put it, that there are not the same intrinsic limits to the ruthlessness possible to government repression. This was not due to more humane norms but simply a function of the fact that the Israeli economy does not depend on Palestinians in the way that the South African economy depends on black labour and skills. In a sense, commented Motti Tamarkin, South African society has in effect long been an integrated society, and the struggle now essentially concerns the **terms** of incorporation. While in the South African case the problem of nation-building had thus become central to the political agenda, with different conceptions of the nation-to-be vying for hegemony, in Israel political debate remains premised on the assumption that territorial separation of one sort or another can and will provide a way out.

It was just this virtual consensus on the nature of the Israeli problem which Meron Benvenisti set out to challenge with his unsettling arguments that, after more than 20 years, the Israeli occupation of the West Bank had, to all intents and purposes, become an irreversible political reality. For what that claim implies is that Israel no longer was the Jewish nation-state (albeit with a small Arab minority) which it had been prior to the 1967 war. Benvenisti contended that the occupation of the West Bank was an effective act of colonisation which had turned Israel into a divided society. It followed that the Intifada is not an externally generated conflict that could be settled by negotiated partition; rather, it should be recognised for what it is, an incipient civil war. On this view, then, Israelis who still clung to the convenient fiction that, unlike South Africa, their own conflict could readily be resolved by partition had things just the wrong way round. Indeed, their refusal to admit the **de facto** reality of their divided society in effect contributed to the dangers of the "South Africanisation" of the Israeli conflict.

But how should the South African conflict itself be best understood, and what was its historical logic? At the outset of the conference this issue was debated in terms of the contrast between "bicomunalist" and "common society" approaches to South African history and politics. Building on the controversial position he has developed in a number of important recent publications, Hermann



A South African panel . . . Neville Alexander, Fikile Bam and Wilmot James.

Giliomee argued that the essence of our history is to be found in communal conflict over less easily negotiable concerns with national identity, political sovereignty and status rather than any class struggles about material interests, privileges or exploitation which can be negotiated much more readily. Ultimately this amounts to a conflict between two nationalisms, though of different kinds: an Afrikaner ethno-nationalism represented by the National Party (with its white and black allies), and a much more inclusive African territorial nationalism led by the ANC (with its allies). As against this, Heribert Adam rejected any notion of the "equal justice" of both causes (suggested by the philosopher Bernard Crick). Instead he posed the ideal of a "patriotism" that would accept the political implications of an effective common economy and an emergent sharing of cultural norms and social values within the same state. But this debate was not really taken up in the ensuing sessions. In any case Giliomee also stressed that a political settlement must involve a total break with apartheid and could only be based on freedom of association, not race-classification, while in the long run nation-building must transcend the bicomunal accommodations proposed for the interim transitional phase. In effect this suggested substantial

common ground with the positions of others using quite different terminology, eg Neville Alexander's advocacy of the need for a flowering of civil society as a strategy of the long march towards social transformation. (Only in the concluding session did Breyten Breytenbach take up the cudgels against "bicomunalism" in the context of a purported letter about the conference to a member of the ANC. Giliomee strongly objected to what he called the unwarranted "demonising" of his pluralistic analysis, but also indicated that he himself was "finished" with advancing bicomunalism if it continued to be understood as suggesting a stark white-black conflict.) Rather than engaging in polemical debates about "bicomunalism" or any other theoretical model, discussions thus tended to pursue a range of crucial questions in the varied contexts of the three different cases, using the relevant similarities to bring out the particular historically rooted complexities of each in turn.

In the end, wisely suggested David Apter, we may make most progress when we abandon the quest for "solutions" and learn to ask the right questions. Instead of pitting materialist against idealist explanations we should rather ask **when** are (non-negotiable) principles converted into (negotiable) interests, and when does the converse happen? And what is the role of political violence itself in these processes: violence could force ruptures creating new situations with different discourses and assumptions of legitimacy, but violence may also generate self-sustaining cycles of entrenched conflict. It may even be necessary to return to the original question underlying modernisation theory itself: whether, and how, democracy was "universalisable" beyond those societies where it had first been established. And that, most certainly, was an appropriate question for a conference sponsored by Idasa. For after four days of intense and exhausting discussions the conference somehow managed to strengthen the feeling that, of the three, the South African case was the one where the stakes were highest, but also offered the bravest hopes in that democracy and nation-building actually were on the political agenda.

□ Prof Du Toit lectures in the Department of Political Studies at UCT.



At the conference . . . FDP leader Otto Graf Lambsdorf (centre), Gräfin Lambsdorf (centre) and an FDP official with Idasa directors Alex Boraine and Van Zyl Slabbert, and Hermann Giliomee.

Women relive Pretoria march

"Then we went up into the place there in front of the buildings, what they call the amphitheatre. It took a long time, maybe nearly two hours or more for all the women to walk up the steps to that place. Some of us had been chosen . . . we took all the petitions that had been signed, piles and piles of them, and we marched up to Strijdom's office to give them to him. The secretary told us that Strijdom was not there and that we were not allowed in anyway because we were black and white together. They said he was not there, just like that. But we knew that he was just too scared to see us! We walked past the secretary and into his office and we put those pamphlets on his desk, and on the floor and the room was full of them. All the women were quiet - 20 000 women standing there, some with their babies on their backs, and so quiet, no noise at all, just waiting. What a sight, so quiet, and so much colour, many women in green, gold and black, and the Indian women in their bright saris!"

— Frances Baard, founder member of the Federation of South African Women, describing the march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria on 9 August 1956.

On 13 September women from Pretoria relived the great women's march of 1956 when Helen Joseph came to speak at a meeting organised by Idasa's Pretoria office. Frances Baard, who herself had become a legend in South African politics through her involvement in women's organisations and trade unions, welcomed Mrs Joseph on behalf of the women of Pretoria. Mrs Joseph told the audience about the weeks of planning and organising, of the eventual thrill of seeing 20 000 women of all races climbing the steps of the Union Buildings and of the feeling afterwards: that of dignity and pride.

The protest march in 1956 was against a whole spectrum of unjust laws. The women protested against ghetto housing and forced removals. They protested against passes, against Bantu education, black poverty and about racial segregation in general. The petition read as follows:

"We speak from our hearts as mothers, and women. Life cannot be stopped. We must love and marry and find a home. We must bear children in hope and pain. We must love them as part of ourselves. We must help them to grow, we must endure all the sufferings and longings of motherhood. Because of this we are made strong to come here, to speak for our children, to strive for their future. We, the voters and the voteless, call upon you, the ministers responsible for these acts, and upon the government and the electorate of South Africa to hearken unto us."

Helen Joseph was the first person in South Africa to be placed under house arrest. Now as an 85-year old she can't be quoted. But what Frances Baard said about herself and about the ANC, can also be applied to Helen Joseph: "You know, even though they ban me, and they ban the ANC, my spirit is still there talking, talking, that I want to be free. I still say that I want to be free. So, by banning the ANC, to me is a waste of time because the spirit of the people is still there."



Old friends meet again . . . Frances Baard and Helen Joseph.



Participants share a joke after Joseph's moving speech.

Ons sal nooit ophou stry - Ellen Kuzwayo

"Ellen Kuzwayo is geskiedenis vasgevang in een vrou." So beskryf Nadine Gordimer die merkwaardige en indrukwekkende gemeenskapsleier van Soweto. Ellen Kuzwayo, wat die lewe van swart vroue in haar outobiografie "Call me Woman" verwoord het, se storie is meer as net die storie van die stryd teen apartheid. Dit is die storie van 'n vrou se stryd teen apartheid.

Op 16 Augustus het Ellen Kuzwayo haar storie in Pretoria kom vertel as deel van Idasa Pretoria se fokus op vroue. Sy is gebore in 1914, die enigste dogter van Phillip Serangsewene en Emma Mutsi Merafe. Haar kinderjare, wat sy beskryf as die basis van alles wat sy nou is, onthou sy as gelukkig en sorgvry. Sy het grootgeword op haar grootouers se plaas by Thaba Patchoa in die Thaba Nchu distrik in die Vrystaat. "Totdat ek so sewe of tien jaar oud was, het ons as die kleinkinders van Jeremiah geëet, gedrink, rondgeloop, gespeel en saam skool toe gegaan. Ons het so vry op die plaas rondbeweeg soos voëls in die lug."

Haar grootste hartseer is dat kinders, veral swart kinders, vandag nie meer met onskuld en sekuriteit grootword nie.

Die sekuriteit van die uitgebreide gesin, 'n gelukkige gemeenskap en die plaas, sê sy, het dit vir haar moontlik gemaak om ten spyte van moeilike en swaar tye met vertroue en oortuiging betrokke te wees en betrokke te bly. Haar grootste hartseer is dat kinders, veral swart kinders, vandag nie meer met die onskuld en sekuriteit grootword nie.

Haar hartseer, sê sy, het haar nie bitter gemaak nie. Sy sal ook nooit toelaat dat dit haar bitter maak nie, dit maak haar eerder sterker en meer vasbeslote. "Swart vroue in Suid-Afrika het besondere deursettingsvermoë aan die dag gelê ten spyte van hul verdrukking. Ons sal nooit die stryd gewonne gee nie. Vandag bly ons vasbeslote, net soos die vroue van vorige geslagte uit ons gemeenskap, wat vir ons 'n lewende voorbeeld van krag en integriteit nagelaat het."

"Selfs nou, op 70-jarige leeftyd, bewee ek oor wat die toekoms inhou vir my kleinkinders as dinge op dieselfde trant voortgaan as wat tans gebeur. Ek is net meer vasberade om by die stryd aan te sluit, en om met al die middele tot my beskikking te veg vir verandering in my land sodat die nuwe generasies 'n beter toekoms kan geniet in die land van hul voorvaders," sê sy.

"Die toewyding (commitment) van die vroue in my gemeenskap is my toewyding . . ."

Lou-Marie Kruger
Streekskoördineerder
Pretoria

FW: limited moves add fuel to fires

By Khehla Shubane

The recent elections have been regarded as different from past elections by many people. In the wake of the uninterrupted victory of the Nationalist Party in more than four decades, expectations of far reaching changes being introduced have been raised in many quarters both inside South Africa and abroad. Some have gone so far as to suggest that the present racially defined Parliament may be the last South Africa is seeing.

Expectations of change have been increased by events which occurred in the run up and after the elections. Campaigns of defiance led by the Mass Democratic Movement and the general re-emergence of popular struggles have strengthened the belief that a new beginning might be in the making. The government, this view argues, has refrained from relying on the state of emergency to detain activists and leaders as it was done two years or so ago. This has been interpreted to mean that the government is attempting to create an atmosphere of trust in which it would be possible to explore negotiations.

Mr F W de Klerk's accession to power has also revived rumours about the release of Nelson Mandela and other long term political prisoners. Hints of Mandela playing a role in the resolution of the South African question have been dropped frequently. This in turn has contributed to the expectations of imminent change in the country.

No less important has been the interpretation the ANC has attributed to the elections. In a recent statement the organisation was of the view that the white electorate voted overwhelmingly for negotiations. Both the NP and the DP went to elections seeking a mandate to negotiate with black leaders. The outcome of the elections, which resulted in about 69 per cent of the seats in the House of Assembly going to the DP and NP, signals a desire by white voters to negotiate.

The MDM inside the country viewed the elections as irrelevant. To the extent that almost 70 per cent of the country's population had no part to play in the elections, that process was irrelevant to that section of the population. Informed by this view, the MDM embarked on a series of campaigns aimed at, among other things, focusing attention away from the elections to popular struggles. The central question the MDM was attempting to pose through its actions was, what is the shortest and quickest route to the creation of a unitary, non-racial and democratic future.

Negotiations emerged as the key question in this election. For the first time in more than 40 years the NP fought an election on the basis of seeking to negotiate with blacks, drawing up a new constitution which will give every community representation at central government level and determining the future of the country in conjunction with all South Africans.

The kind of negotiations which the NP is proposing now, however, is no different from the notion they developed a few years ago. That notion finds expression in the proposed National Forum. The framework for negotiations set up by that forum is, it seems, the most the government is prepared to do.

Organisations which employ violence to effect political change will not, in the government's view, be part of the process of negotiations. In effect the NP approach will exclude large sections of people represented by popular mass organisations. The exclusion of the ANC by insisting they renounce violence, for example, will ipso facto exclude the MDM as well from the proposed negotiations.

This limited negotiation framework is unlikely to address key questions facing the country. The leadership role of councillors in township black local authorities structures will not suddenly be broadly accepted because they are negotiating for a new constitution with the government. Instead their alienation from township communities may increase, leading to ugly consequences.

Agreements reached with people broadly perceived as unrepresentative will not be embraced by the largest possible number of people. A constitution emerging from negotiations which exclude popular leaders may also be subjected to the same legitimacy crisis that the present constitution has experienced.

If the government has come to accept that the future of the country lies in negotiations, such a process must at least encompass real leaders of the disenfranchised majority. Those leaders exist and are well known to the entire world. This renders unnecessary one of the tasks the NP seems to be setting itself, namely to identify black leaders.

The re-emergence of popular struggles appears to have proceeded independently of the elections. An event which could stand out as extremely crucial in the emergence of the MDM is the hunger strikes which broke out earlier this year leading to the release of all detainees held in terms of emergency regulations.

That event blunted the most crucial of state's strategies in suppressing popular struggles. Mass detention of activists seems to have been ruled out by that action, at least for now. The government seemed to have buckled under pressure of negative publicity and possibly ugly consequences which might have ensued if one of the hunger strikers had died in detention.

Taking advantage of those releases, activists immediately started building organisations and campaigning openly. In the process the state of emergency was redefined to tolerate popular struggles.

To the extent that the elections played a role in this process, that role lay in providing an issue against which the MDM campaigned. The two-day "stay-away" was a massive success which continued in re-establishing organisation and a sense of cohesion with the MDM nationally.

The dialectic between reform and repression, however, is unlikely to disappear. The NP has committed itself to accelerated reform. This will obviously lead to popular organisations escalating their activities in order to demonstrate that it is not reform but the complete destruction of apartheid which is required. The old cycle of the state increasing repression to make it possible to move on with reform, as it has happened, will most likely repeat itself.

© Khehla Shubane is a Research Officer with the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University.

No losers in Durban's battle of the

By PAUL GRAHAM

So, who won the battle of the Durban beaches?

Planned as part of the national defiance campaign, the protest against beach apartheid on September 3 centred on the Durban city beach known as South Beach. It is at the pedestrian mall end of West Street — Durban's main street — and is right in front of a number of hotels and holiday flats. Co-incidentally it is only a hundred yards from the scene of the successful protest against hospital apartheid held at Addington Hospital a few weeks before.

Organisers of the peaceful action had a very straightforward objective — to get to the beach and to swim in contravention of the by-laws segregating this beach, one of the few in Durban still reserved for whites only.

Press estimates put the crowd of participants in the action — both black and white — at 5 000. They spanned the beach, some swimming at the designated swimming areas, some

picnicking under umbrellas, some playing soccer and flying kites and others paddling — to the consternation of lifesavers — in non-swimming areas.

Shortly before lunch, organisers began the huge task of helping move people back to their buses and off the beaches, their objective achieved.

The estimated 800 police who had arrived at the beach area and begun patrols at breakfast time also had simple objectives — to ensure that there was no violence and to prevent any breach of emergency regulations.

To a large extent their objectives were also achieved.

The small group of people publicly insistent that the beaches should remain white provided most of the anxious moments for the huge crowd of participants, police and spectators. Insults, rough housing and at least one assault came on the heels of a number of "pamphlet bombs" the previous night. But tolerance by

organisers and participants — at one stage a group playing the childish game of "We walk straight and you'd better get out of the way" with slogans reading "Keep the beach white" were good-humouredly cheered and applauded by the crowd they were trying to annoy. And general, if occasionally, surly, discipline by the police prevailed.

In the end, it was clear that people won. They overcame their fears and distrust of one another sufficiently to be able to ensure that peaceful protest was possible and, with police discipline and impartial professionalism, non-violent. The Mass Democratic Movement showed that apartheid laws are crumbling and are indefensible. The police showed that they can behave in an independent and policing role. This was particularly typified by the action of a number of young constables in restraining right wing aggression.

Although not planned for this purpose, the beach protest showed also that the fears which

Defiance: obstinate nation 'condemned' to relive the past

In the weeks preceding the September 6 election, a civil disobedience campaign reminiscent of the 1952 Defiance Campaign started sweeping the country: thousands were arrested, hundreds detained and many died as police tried to halt the protest action. PATRICK LAURENCE looks at the similarities and differences between the two campaigns.

The words have a contemporary ring, suggesting that history moves in cycles and that those who will not — or cannot — learn from the past are condemned to relive it.

"There is something degrading to humanity about these stories of Negroes being arrested — 30, 50, 100 at a time — fined, jailed and now flogged. Their crime is doing things like sitting where only whites should sit (and) getting in white men's queues.

"Outsiders are watching the whole proceedings with a growing sense of dread, as well as disgust."

The words, taken from the *New York Times*, are reminiscent of the civil rights campaigns of Martin Luther King in the United States in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

They relate, in fact, to the 1952 Defiance Campaign in South Africa: give or take a few differences in phraseology, however, they are apposite to the 1989 defiance campaign.

It is instructive to look at the present civil disobedience campaign through the prism of South African history and to note the similarities and the differences between the events of 1952 and those which are still unfolding today.

The overriding similarity is that both fall within the tradition of passive resistance or

satyagraha pioneered in South Africa between 1906 and 1914 by Mohandas Gandhi. The objective was — and is — to change the law by non-violent but direct action or, to use Gandhian terminology, by deploying "soul force".

The 1952 campaign, launched by the Congress Movement, embracing the then legal African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, focused on six "unjust" laws; its aim was to secure the repeal of the six laws and, more generally, to win the right to the "fullest equality" and to "full democratic rights".

The six "unjust" laws were: the pass laws, the Group Areas Act, the law providing for the removal of coloured people from the common voters' roll, the Suppression of Communism Act — an omnibus act, like the present Internal Security Act, providing for repression of opponents of all ideological hues — the Bantu Authorities Act and the centrally-imposed policy of stock culling and land rehabilitation in the native reserves.

The overall strategy was for volunteers or resisters to court arrest by deliberately breaking unjust laws and, in that way, to clog the judicial and prison systems and force the government to change its apartheid policies.



Protesting in peace at last . . . victory

Three phases in the campaign were envisaged: a first stage, in which apartheid laws would be broken in the main cities by "selected and trained" volunteers; a second stage, in which the number of volunteers and the field of action would be expanded; and a third phase of "mass action".

The 1952 campaign failed to move into the third phase: it petered out within six months. But not before 8 326 volunteers were arrested to boost the prestige of the Congress Alliance.

Two factors persuaded Congress to call a halt to the campaign: the outbreak of violence, in which 32 people died (26 blacks and six whites); and the passing of the Draconian Criminal Procedure Act, empowering the courts

the beaches

have led to the virtual elimination of all forms of public political expression other than narrowly confined party election programmes are groundless. The practice of political activity, controlled only by acceptable standards of behaviour, leads to greater security and higher levels of trust and accommodation. There is no doubt that the two largest groups taking part in the beach action — the police and the Mass Democratic Movement — have learned lessons that can only improve the potential for peaceful protest in the future.

However, there were moments during the beach picnic when the festive atmosphere came close to descending into the pitched battle experienced in other parts of the country. Unnecessary arrests, including those of children, unnecessarily rough treatment during arrests, the presence with the uniformed police of unidentifiable and aggressive people in ordinary street dress, the police "game" of constantly identifying different officers as



New African

being in charge to the frustration of the organisers of the event, a number of apparently self-planned mini-actions and arrests on ridiculous grounds by junior police were amongst those observed.

On the other side, while organisers and marshalls had briefed people, the natural ways in which people have expressed themselves, both politically and by temperament, threatened to encourage police action. A banner waved, people dancing in procession, a living chain across the beach — all these threatened to allow police the opportunity to act in terms of

Picnic protest . . . a section of the 5 000-strong crowd that gathered at Durban's South Beach.

emergency regulations and therefore to disrupt the organisers' objective of challenging beach apartheid.

Perhaps the "battle for the beach" will have ensured that there is potential for a new political era in South Africa.

□ Paul Graham is the Regional Director of Idasa in Natal.



ERIC MILLER, AFRAPIX

Capetonians march to the City Hall.

to order the flogging and/or jailing of resisters for up to five years.

The present defiance campaign shares the ultimate central aim of its 1952 precursor: abolition of apartheid and establishment of a racially open and fully democratic society. Its range of civil disobedience, however, is wider, stretching from direct action against segregated facilities (hospitals, buses and schools) through protest marches to worker stay-aways and industrial sit-ins.

Like their predecessors, the 1989 protesters face an apartheid state armed to the teeth, literally and metaphorically. Within six weeks of the start of their campaign more than 2 000 have been arrested — the bulk for short periods

'The murder of the unfortunate white bystanders was the tragic consequence of fear, frustration and anger . . .'

only — and more than 250 detained, including 17 of the 30 people identified as "ringleaders" by the state.

The final word must lie with future historians but the 1989 campaign seems to have been less well planned. There are good reasons why it may be less well co-ordinated and more ad hoc than the 1952 campaign.

The Mass Democratic Movement leaders of the 1989 campaign certainly have less legal space within which to organise than their 1952 predecessors had. They operate under a state of emergency: the emergency was declared, incidentally, under the Public Safety Act, which was put on the statute book after 1952 campaign to enable the government to deal with future civil disobedience.

Like the 1952 Defiance Campaign, the present one has led to violence despite the commitment to non-violence by its leaders.

Taking a broad view of events in the Western Cape — the epicentre so far of the present campaign in contrast to its virtual quiescence in 1952 — two circles of anti-apartheid opposition can be distinguished: an inner circle in Cape Town, where disciplined civil rights marchers, usually shepherded by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, have protested peacefully; and an outer circle, in the surrounding black and coloured townships, where protest has often manifested itself violently in stone-throwing and petrol-bombing.

The question of who is responsible for the violence is, of course, central to any discussion. The adversaries, the police and the protesters, have blamed one another, each claiming that the violence from their side is reactive. What is

certain is that there has been violence from both parties with tragic results.

In trying to appraise the defiance campaign the problem is to determine where organised non-violent resistance ends and where spontaneous outbursts of the combustible anger of the township residents start.

Who is to blame when that omnipresent rage erupts, as it did on, say, August 31, when angry blacks stoned a car driven by Mr Wouter Theron in the Western Cape, injuring him fatally? The organisers of the civil disobedience campaign for not tutoring their constituents in Gandhi's satyagraha properly, the police for handling demonstrators roughly, even brutally, or the apartheid system for denying black people political rights and corralling them into ghettos where hatred festers?

Writing of the murder of two whites — one a Dominican nun, Sister Aidan — by a black crowd in East London during the 1952 Defiance Campaign, historian Tom Lodge recalls that the killings took place after a police bayonet charge had broken up an ANC meeting.

He concludes: "The murder of the unfortunate white bystanders was the tragic consequence of fear, frustration and anger . . ." His assessment seems pertinent in a more general sense.

In his study of the 1952 campaign, "Passive Resistance in South Africa", social scientist Leo Kuper writes: "In an attempt to place responsibility for the riots on the resistance movement, the government charged a number of African leaders with incitement to public violence. Their charges failed. The government was not able to produce evidence linking the Congresses with the riots."

So far the government has not attempted to press similar charges, although there have been oblique allegations that the organisers have fanned violence.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, faced with the threat of legal proceedings, has, however, retracted allegations that the Congress of South African Trade Unions — a driving force in the MDM — distributed a document calling for petrol bomb attacks. That speaks volumes.

Business calls at Alexandra

On August 24 Idasa took a group of business people on a social history tour of the Alexandra township in Johannesburg.

The tour started at the Alexandra Art Centre where Ms Matilda Gasela, the co-ordinator of the centre, briefed the participants about the history of the art committee and Mr Patrick Banda, regional co-ordinator of Idasa, gave an input on historical facts and figures of the township.

The tour covered areas such as the squatter camps, the rural part of the township, the upgraded part, East Bank and the elite East Bank Extension.

In "Stshwetla", one of the biggest squatter camps in Alexandra situated between the graveyard and the Jukskei River, participants saw rural houses, tin shacks, the bucket toilet system, overcrowded homes, impassable roads and neglected refuse.

The above were also evident in the rural part of the township where one can still see livestock roaming about the streets of the township. Participants were also taken to places where history was made: 31 Seventh Avenue where "people's courts" were conducted, which alas was the focus of the Mayekiso treason trial; The Freedom Square where the African National Congress used to hold mass meetings; the Alexandra soccer stadium where local organisations used to hold mass meetings prior to the 1986 State of Emergency; the premises which housed the offices of the ANC and many other landmarks.

One of the places visited was the Self-Help Association of the Disabled which is one of four projects sponsored by Johnson's Wax.

At the end of the tour participants observed the contrast between the working-class rural part of the township and the black middle-class East Bank Extension. They also observed the contrast between the black township as a whole and the white suburbs of surrounding Johannesburg.

Patrick Banda
Transvaal Regional
Co-ordinator

Parliament's role in struggle

The DP's Tony Leon and Cassim Saloojee, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, were invited to address Idasa's women's lunch-



Alexandra squatter area . . . Patrick Banda (right) and regional director Liesel Naudé with the tour group.

eon forum in Johannesburg on 18 August. The topic was "The Significance of the Parliamentary Forum Today".

After the invitations were issued, Cassim Saloojee withdrew as a speaker. His reasons were read out at the meeting: "The DP has shown insensitivity to the political position of the Mass Democratic Movement and finally with the fielding of nine candidates in the House of Delegates they have created a situation where for the moment they have made it impossible for the TIC to have a working relationship with them."

Mike Olivier, chairperson of the Five Freedoms Forum, replaced Saloojee as the second speaker and despite the absence of an MDM speaker, the democratic movement and its relationship with white parliamentary and extra-parliamentary organisations was the focus of both inputs.

The MDM and the DP both seek the end of apartheid, said Leon. "However we have different routes of reaching that destination and different visions of the post-apartheid South Africa." Nevertheless, Leon said that there were areas of common interest and co-operation and he urged the MDM to be more tactical and creative in their response to the significance of Parliament. While the CP also regard the tri-cameral parliament as illegitimate, they are not too fastidious to dirty their cuffs and involve themselves in the very Parliament to which they are implacably opposed, he said.

Olivier identified negative and positive aspects of Parliament. Parliament legitimises an unrepresentative government, it is racially based and it has been ineffective in resisting the state of emergency and the promulgation of security laws that have systematically destroyed the conditions for evolutionary and stable change. In fact, Parliament's role

is declining and the country is being governed by an extra-parliamentary structure in the form of the security management system, said Olivier.

On the more positive side, he said that enlightened opposition in Parliament has provided some checks and balances and can be a channel for influencing and shaping white attitudes.

"Members of Parliament have used the privilege of their position to intervene, gain information, provide protection and monitor oppression," said Olivier. It is also the only place where there is reasonable freedom of speech.

Olivier emphasised that the fight to end apartheid needed to take place inside and outside of Parliament. Most major changes have taken place outside Parliament, he said.

Nevertheless to mount an attack on the National Party, the DP and the MDM needed each other, said Olivier. "A liberal opposition can help the MDM." He called for tolerance, sensitivity and genuine attempts at engagement from both sides. After the elections, the MDM must take initiative in this regard, he urged.

Lisa Seftel
Regional Co-ordinator

Writers explain their strategy

Leading personalities in the Afrikaans community of East London attended a weekend workshop in Port Alfred in August to listen to the impressions of Afrikaans writers who met with fellow



Dr Ferreira with Marolene Wessels of East London.

writers working in the ANC recently.

Speakers at the weekend workshop hosted by Idasa included writers and academics Ampie Coetzee, Jeanette Ferreira, André P Brink and Etienne van Heerden.

The main focus of the discussion was the writers' acceptance of the cultural boycott at the Victoria Falls conference in July which brought together mainly Afrikaans writers with writers and cultural workers in the ANC.

Dr Ferreira stressed that Vic Falls delegates viewed the boycott not as censorship, but as a means of isolating apartheid and developing a truly South African culture. This culture, said Prof Brink, would emphasise what South Africans have in common and not their differences and diversity.

Etienne van Heerden said he would prefer to talk about a cultural strategy instead of a boycott. "The cultural boycott is not a negative cutting off of information, it is a positive start of something new," he said.

At the end of the day, delegates agreed that the "boycott" should rather be seen as a strategy and as a positive approach to ending apartheid.

Cindy Deutschmann
Regional Co-ordinator



Making friends over lunch.

Day in 'bush' puts girls in touch

Sixty girls from four Durban schools spent a day at a game park together in a fun day planned by themselves with the help of Idasa.

Planning for the day began over breakfast for a small team of girls from each school and ended with a successful trip to the theme park outside Pietermaritzburg.

Watching the animals, braaiing their own lunch and playing mixing games, the senior girls of all races paved the way for meetings between themselves on more serious issues.

They have now planned to get together at one of the schools for discussion based on the friendship which their day in the "bush" created.

Count-down to negotiation?

Not while most still believe outright victory is possible

Expectations abound about a negotiated settlement in South Africa. But what really are the prospects for negotiation? And how long will we wait for the process to start? Idasa recently hosted a seminar on the subject in Durban where the present positions of the major parties to any future negotiation were examined. PAUL GRAHAM reports.



Mr Van Staden and Prof Frost take questions on the negotiating positions of the PAC and others.

Negotiations in South Africa would only start when all parties realise that the cost of their present strategies are higher than the benefits, Prof Mervyn Frost told delegates at a one-day Idasa seminar in Durban. The seminar on "Prospects for a negotiated settlement in South Africa" was held at the end of August.

Prof Frost, who heads the department of political studies at the University of Natal in Durban, warned that it would be wrong to use a "warfare analogy to explain negotiations within South Africa". Summing up at the end of the conference Prof Frost suggested that piecemeal negotiations would be possible long before the classic stalemate position of warring parties was reached.

Earlier, Mr Steven Friedman of the South African Institute of Race Relations made the same point when he described the options open to the extra-parliamentary opposition and drew some parallels with the earlier bargaining strategies of the trade union movement.

He said there was potential for extra-parliamentary groups to encourage the government to remain open to attempts at negotiations over local issues. Friedman mentioned the negotiations with Escom in Soweto as a good example and said that these local negotiations added to a climate for national negotiations.

He described constitutional negotiations not as an alternative to exercising political power but a consequence of the exercise of political power. "However, I believe that the balance of power between the parties is still too unequal for a negotiated settlement," he said.

The seminar was opened by Prof Leon Gordenker, visiting professor at Rhodes University and an international relations expert. He painted a picture of a systematic and organised web of concern regarding South Africa and speculated about the help that could be expected from this international network "reaching from heights of power to grassroots".

"The support would come in possible services of encouragement and motivation, technical assistance and keeping the flow of information open. There would also be the possibility of transitional services as existed in Namibia presently."

The international community could also offer long term support through loans, international health and welfare networks and experience, and diplomatic relations.

The seminar was structured to provide an analysis of the present positions of the major parties to any future negotiation. Major presentations were made on the positions of the

ANC and the government by observers close to these two parties.

Dr Fanie Cloete, former director of constitutional planning in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, explained the government's refusal to negotiate with people "who are not committed to peaceful methods to achieve a transformation of South African society."

He explained the way in which this precondition was the subject of debate itself, with interpretations varying from a commitment to peace through to a renunciation of violence. His paper spelled out the government perceptions of the extra-parliamentary opposition and their wish for "proof of the UDF's commitment in theory and practice to traditional democratic values and procedures before they can be persuaded about the peaceful motives of the organisation".

The government wants proof of the UDF's commitment to traditional democratic values before they can be persuaded about its peaceful motives.



Dr Cloete... tactical manoeuvring has started.

"Negotiations do not only take place live across a table," Cloete said. "Verbal skirmishes, the use of intermediaries, leakages to the press and coercive tactics are all instruments used to communicate or enhance bargaining power. Seen in this way we are contending now with tactical manoeuvring in preparation for the formal phase of negotiations."

However the most important pre-condition remains "mutual and unambiguous commitments on all sides to democratic change."

Describing the ANC position, University of Natal researcher Sbu Ndebele reminded the audience that the ANC had been founded on a commitment to talk. As early as 1962 at the Lobatsi summit a position on negotiations was prepared and this position has been regularly refined until the present position was accepted

recently by the Organisation for African Unity in Harare.

"The ANC wants a constituent assembly. The movement wants people to choose democratically their leaders. All parties must be given enough opportunity to expound their positions," he said.

He referred to the armed struggle as a strategy and not a principle quoting the ANC leadership as saying: "The need for us to take up arms will never transform us into prisoners of the ideal of violence, slaves to the goddess of war".

He quoted the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, who said that "it is proper to draw a distinction between intensive dialogue, consultation and real negotiation. In the final analysis negotiations means that those who try to reach agreement must have the authority to enter into agreement". Mr Ndebele continued: "Here at least is something we agree on."

A final paper by Gary van Staden of the South African Institute for International Affairs dealt with the present positions on negotiations of other parties in South Africa. These included both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups to the left and right of the political spectrum. Amongst these he gave attention to the PAC, to Inkatha and to the far-right groups including the AWB.

Summing up his survey he said: "Most of the parties still believe that outright victory is possible in the conflict and that there is consequently no need to negotiate." In addition, "too many substantive bargaining issues have been set as preconditions by the various parties and organisations involved and this will only serve to delay the process".

With the seminar taking place shortly before the tri-cameral elections, it was Steven Friedman who summed up the feeling of speakers and participants when he concluded his paper. "At the end of the day power realities will determine how things work out. I believe that we are entering a potentially exciting but a potentially dangerous period in our political history, one which could be decisive. Within this period the extent to which people are able to form an informed and realistic view of what negotiation can and cannot deliver and can disseminate, this may play a small but important role in deciding whether the climate for negotiations is created."

□ Paul Graham is the Regional Director of Idasa in Natal.

Scholars discover that exploring the past helps to build future

By MELODY EMMETT

*"I, you and they
we,
All gathered round,
Talking, Asking, Looking
... Recording the conversation,
Time past
which lights up today
And tomorrow,
Making it clear . . ."*

(From a poem by Antonio Mussapi)

The polarity between urban and rural communities is one of the most significant and yet least explored tensions of our national life. With this as its starting point, Idasa's Johannesburg office embarked on a process of consultation and planning with the aim of creating a student project which would not only be educationally exciting and thorough but would also attempt to address polarised interpretations of history and visions for the future of South Africa.

In the process it became clear that feelings run so high and the political problems are so sensitive that all along the principles of the planners (mostly urban people) had to be modified to accommodate the experience of those in the field (teachers and project leaders, students and residents in the rural areas).

The intensive rural history workshop which emerged was a compound created in the heat of these valuable confrontations. Held early in September in Lobethal, Lebowa, it encouraged democratic process in that working teams were made up of both urban and rural Standard 9 pupils and each participant needed to be heard for the programme to achieve its full effect.

The 40 participants included 20 scholars from English-language government schools in Johannesburg, 10 from St Mark's College in Jane Furse, Lebowa, and 10 scholars who are studying out of school hours with the Thushanang Study Project in Jane Furse.

For the Johannesburg group, the workshop began with the trip to the Lobethal Conference Centre. They were accompanied by student facilitators, most of whom are from Jane Furse

but are now studying under Leslie Witz at Khanya College, a pre-university college with campuses in Johannesburg and Cape Town. A detailed commentary had been prepared by the Khanya College students, the central theme being the issue of land. The effects of Johannesburg's mining revolution on rural areas, the homeland policy and the resistance to land dispossession in Sekhukhuneland were some of the issues that were discussed during the trip.

As the rural participants waited in anticipation for the combis to arrive, the generator at Lobethal broke down and the city scholars who finally joined the group were greeted with the news that there would be no electricity and probably no running water until the following day. For the Johannesburg students this was an

abrupt exposure to some of the constant concerns of rural people.

By the light of two hissing gas lamps Peter Anderson, principal of St Mark's College, opened the workshop by remarking on the significance of a meeting of such a diverse group of students. This in itself was an historical event, he said. During the session which

followed, consultant Tony McGregor facilitated a series of exercises which encouraged discussion between the apprehensive participants and established the working groups for the remainder of the programme.

On Saturday morning they viewed a slide and tape show, "Fight Where You Stand" which told of one rural woman's struggle to find work and accommodation in the city. Afterwards, Leslie Witz, assisted by facilitators from Johannesburg and Jane Furse, took participants through a process which would prepare them for the interviews which would take place in the afternoon. They were to interview women, youth and mineworkers from Jane Furse and surrounding areas. Each interviewing team devised appropriate questions which were reported back to the broader group in English and Northern Sotho. Questions and comments gave an indication of the interests and concerns of individual participants and of South African society at large: political and economic

The pupils prepare for their interviews with rural people.



Getting to know you . . . during a group meeting.



aspirations, hopes and fears, visions and values of the past and for the future.

The scholars returning from an afternoon of interviews and discussion were full of ideas. Each group had learnt something new — student politics, "trek passes", working conditions on the mines, the role of rural women. The feelings of anger, resentment, fear and despair which emerged in long discussions with facilitators late into the night reflected the complexity of our society and the issues which confront all South Africans in the process towards a non-racial, democratic and equitable society.

It was a subdued and introspective group which set off up Phahla mountain the following morning. En route, Thushanang co-ordinator Tony Harding pointed out the foundations of the houses of historical communities, Bushman paintings, the remains of clay pots and tools and other signs indicating the existence of ancient, self-sufficient, hunting and gathering peoples who occupied the area prior to the rise and destruction of the Pedi kingdom.

On top of the mountain the scholars shared ideas about prescribed history textbooks. One of the Jane Furse students explained that prescribed books give the impression that blacks





On top of Phahla mountain . . . the group gets acquainted with its history.
(Pictures by GILL DE VLIEG, Afrapix)

do not understand sophisticated agricultural techniques but they don't mention that blacks possess only 13 per cent of the land. Some suggested that teachers and writers of the prescribed books should be challenged; others thought that students should learn what they are taught and find out the truth after matric. Some students advocated making changes from within existing structures when they are in positions of leadership; others were adamant that change comes from below.

Back at Lobethal, interviewing teams reported on something new they had discovered in their interviews; an interesting story they had heard and something they had learnt about themselves. At the end of the final session the students agreed that history is not only found in books. They had learnt a different way of finding out about the past and had begun to realise that exploring the past helps to build the future.

□ Melody Emmett is the Regional Co-ordinator of Idasa in Johannesburg.



'Teaching' white youths politics: it's tough going!

Working with white pupils is frustrating and rewarding in equal measure.

Over the last eight years or so I have watched creative and dynamic initiatives run into the brick wall of hostile school authorities or collapse due to the lack of experience of the pupils.

There are hundreds of initiatives all over the country designed to start exposing pupils to the political realities of life in South Africa. While many of the initiatives are quite different from each other, they are all premised on an important assumption. Children are generally not set into the patterns of racism and violence that characterise our society. Many of them are being channelled in this direction but most are not far enough down that road to be beyond rescue.

Of course pupils are subject to the same divisions and antagonisms as the rest of our society. The black/white, English/Afrikaans, urban/rural and class differences are divisions that ensure that "school student" is not an homogenous category. However, they have in common their youth, their flexibility and their involvement in education.

The particular difficulties in conducting programmes with white pupils are hostility from parents and school authorities, the demobilising effect of spoon-fed education and the generally apolitical environment in which they live.

In the Western Cape we have found we have had to have a different approach in any one constituency or school.

In one school we have a close working relationship with the staff and parent bodies. Here we are able to organise integrated programmes where parents, teachers and pupils meet the same categories of people from a township school. We call this a "twinning" programme because we pair particular schools, classes or parent/teacher bodies with each other. We expect this project to reap rich rewards in understanding and social commitment.

In another group of schools (largely Afrikaans speaking) we have found pupils, staff and parents to be very wary of us. Here we are exploring access to these pupils through their involvement in church youth structures. Our approach in these schools is to organise sporting and cultural exchanges with black schools.

We have found that if Afrikaans speaking white children and African children play a game of cricket or rugby together, this breaks down barriers and inevitably, in the period of relaxation or the picnic afterwards, the discussion will turn to social issues.

On another tack entirely, we are also trying to promote and encourage the growth of independent pupils organisations.

We have had a long and productive relationship with Pupils United for Peace and Awareness (Pupa), a white school organisation in Cape Town.

This group has battled long and hard to establish branches in about 14 schools with a committed and trained pupil leadership. Our role

There are some exciting and revealing developments in Idasa's work with white school pupils in the Western Cape. NIC BORAIN, Idasa regional director, explores some of the challenges.

has been to help facilitate their attempts to reach out to black pupil organisation, provide some infrastructural back-up and to help with skills training.

We have had to learn the hard way that it is not good enough to do things for pupils. Pupils have to do things for themselves and in that way they come to treat the experiences they have as their own and not just another classroom handout.

Anyway, pupils understand their constituency a whole lot better than we possibly could. They know the movies, the dances, the music, the crazes, the language and the whole culture of their school environment. They know what will work and what won't — in particular, they know what the attention span will be and they always cut our suggested time allocations by half!

White pupils are, however, at a serious disadvantage as far as taking control of their own programmes is concerned. They have missed out entirely on the rebellious rejection of school authorities and the political mobilisation experienced by their black counterparts.

In comparison to black pupils, white pupils generally tend to accept things without question and wait for an adult to take the initiative.

This difference comes out every time pupils from the different communities are brought together. The black pupils tend to be more assertive, better (politically) informed and much more confident to debate and disagree in group discussion. This alone would make a fascinating and useful sociological study and I think it bodes ill for whites' ability to operate comfortably in a non-racial environment.

One of the things we have found particularly useful and effective as a "change agent" is culture. Pupils learning a traditional dance or song together, jointly workshopping a play about the differences in their education or just teaching each other to play a musical instrument helps to break down barriers and achieve an understanding of each other.

In the last weekend of October we will be working with Pupa to host a big conference/festival that will explore the crucial question of how we come to acquire the beliefs, values, ideas and prejudices that we do.

Idasa's schools programme in the Western Cape is still very experimental and we are learning new lessons from new mistakes every day. We suffer from the fragmentation of the work that is being done in the schools. We realise a lot is happening, but we are seldom able to link up with other individuals and groups that are thinking about and acting in this area.

We would deeply appreciate any feedback, comments, advice and ideas from anyone in the country who has some experience they could share with us. Anyone who is able to contribute in this way, please write to me at 6 Faircape House, Gardens 8001 (Tel (021) 222150; Fax 237905).

Fees van SA poësie — net betyds

SA IN POËSIE/SA IN POETRY deur Johan van Wyk, Pieter Conradie en Nik Constandaris (Owen Burgess, 1988).

Wanneer laas was so 'n dikke boek so plesierig om te lees?

Wanneer laas het so 'n dikke boek so min gekos? (R49 vir 5-cm dik).

Aan die akademië se jillery oor die swak/ondeurdagte voorwoord hoef die leser om nie noodwendig te steur nie, nog minder aan die gekibbel oor maatstawwe. Probeer ook vergeet van die gedigte wat na jou mening beter sou gepas het; die swak nummerlose indeks agterin; die subjektiewe weglaat van sekere werke. Begin die boek van voor af deurblaai en lees soos jy lus kry.

Van die heel eerste bladsy is dit duidelik dit gaan hier nie om taal of groep nie — in onvertaanbare en vreemd gepunktueerde taal staan die eerste gedigte van die Khoi- en San-groepe; later vir jou mooi vertaal:

*a splinter of stone which is white
a splinter of stone which is white
a splinter of stone which is white*

Dit is die blou kraanvoël se lied wat hy sing as hy van mense af wegvlug. Kom hy tot bedaring, sê hy: a white stone splinter; a white stone splinter.

Hierop volg die koloniale tydperk in sware Engelse, Duitse, Portugese en Nederlandse gedigte wat sterootiep na die kontinent kyk. Uit die verskillende tydperke en tale, lewenswyses en ideologieë kom mettertyd 'n fassinerende weefwerk tot stand waarin individuele kleure wel met tye opvallende skyn, maar waarvan die rykdom in perspektief en aanbidding die langste bybly. En deur al die bydraes skyn die digte gaas van hierdie suidpunt. Hordes digters het hom besing, beskryf, verwerp, ver-

ANTJIE KROG skryf oor 'n nuwe versameling gedigte wat 'n skaars blik werp op ideologie in die Suid-Afrikaanse digkuns

vloek, verwring; talle het gekom en gegaan, talle is vereer, talle het in verloreheid en stamellend hulle optekening gedoen, maar daar het werklik 'n Suid-Afrika in die poësie tot stand gekom. Hoe amper te laat is hierdie versameling nie!

Maar so 'n versameling maak natuurlik allerlei onverwagte, hopelik vroeggestorwe, voorkeure by jou wakker. Die Zoeloepryslidere slaan jy vir eers nie oor nie, die rasende rymelary van die Engelse wel, haastig om by die Afrikaanse te kom. Dit is 'n fees om te lees, byvoorbeeld van oom Jan wat sukkel om 'n gedig te skryf vir die Patriot, maar aanhoudend onderbreek word deur die eise van kinders en werkers en rampe. (*Moeilikheid om liidjies te maak op 'n Boerplaas*). Die tante wat sterf na 'n skerpioensteek op die naeltjie. Die ou man laat weet sy kinders kriptomies: Julle ma is doot — bring spykers saam.

Daar is 'n lewendige aardigheid, 'n ongebreidelde naïwiteit wat die ander poësie vir eers swaarwichtig laat afsteek. Die versamelaars het die rassisme wat ons almal ken, maar verkies om te vergeet, ook ingesluit:

*As ek 'n man is,
dan moet ek ook 'n plaas hê;
Lospetos heet my os
Swarte tong heet my jong
Welbereg heet my meid
Welbemind heet my kind
Hartjelieliefte heet my vrou
Over-die-berge heet my plaas.*

Tussen die ander tale raak die Afrikaanse poësie al hoe boeiender soos dit polities begin formuleer, vir die diggers, die werkers, die lydendes. Die digters raak bekender soos Leipoldt en Marais, Celliers skryf stukke namens swartes wat van hul grond beroof word: *Hau, die wit man / maak nie mooi nie: / ons het hom nooit genooi nie: / maar hy kom; / hy vat vir hom / onse lande.*

Hoewel veel langdradiger, behou die inheemse poësie sy noue kontak met die beroofdes, die vlugtendes, die vernederdes en hier-tussen dryf die Engelse poësie. Die gedigte van die beroemde Engelse name wat jy al moes lees, klink effe irrelevant, die swakker verse van onbekende digters reguit en op die man af. Tot met die vyftiger, sestiger jare.

Geleidelik raak die Afrikaanse poësie privater, middelklasser, natuur en liefde gerig, die Engelse poësie deur middel van die swart digters brutaal en op die stank af. James Dean se foto in blou staan opgeneem by *Dispossessed of Bulldozer; Ode to a perfect match* staan naby *Sharpeville en Robbeneiland my kruis my huis*. Laasgenoemde gedig sal my sekerlik die langste bybly as 'n nuwe leeservaring; die gedigte van Mike Nicol as die onvergeetlikste.

'n Mens kan ook die boek totaal anders lees byvoorbeeld as 'n historiese oopvou van die land deur poësie. Dan raak dit interessant om te kyk wat ook geskryf is in byvoorbeeld dieselfde jaar waarin Elisabeth Eybers *Die stil avontuur* geskryf het: terwyl sy moederskap vir haar geslag en daarna verwoord, het haar mede-geslagsgenote verbete om 'n voortbestaan in die stede geveg; te oordeel aan die Wesselsbiografie, in dieselfde fabriek bedryf deur haar man.

Verstommend om die baie pro-boere gedigte

'Onlus'-verslag stem tot groot onrus

EYEWITNESS TO "UNREST" deur Jan van Eck (Taurus Uitgewers, 1989; R14,00 plus AVB).

Politieke "onrus" is al jare lank in Suid-Afrika 'n algemene verskynsel — vir dié wat bereid is om verder te kyk as die selfgesensureerde Afrikaanse media. Verskeie waarnemers beweer dat Suid-Afrika in 'n burgeroorlog-situasie verkeer of selfs in 'n Libanon kan ontaard.

Die slepende onrus en verzet teen apartheid speel af teen die agtergrond van 'n minderheidsregering wat sonder alternatiewe kreatiefloos en met dwang regeer. Die meerderheid van Suid-Afrika se (swart) inwoners daarenteen stry nou al jare teen die minderheidsregime wat vir hulle totaal onaanvaarbaar is. Hierdie pad van verzet het al begin in die vorige eeu met die stigting van die Transvaal Native Congress, Orange Free State Native Congress en die Imbumba Yama Nyama (1882).

In "Eyewitness to 'Unrest'" skryf parlementslid Jan van Eck oor sommige van die hoogtepunte van die onrus van 1985 tot 1987. Verskeie van die gebeure klassifiseerbaar as "onrus" word deur Van Eck beskryf. As Afrikaanssprekende wat vanweë sy betrokkenheid by die "monitor" van "onrus" gedwing is om te sien wat buite die rustige stilte van slegs-blanke

woonbuurte aangaan, tref dit 'n mens. (Dit sou van veel waarde wees as die boek ook in Afrikaans kan verskyn). Die boek is nie 'n akademiese bydrae tot bestaande politieke literatuur nie. Daar is geen diepgaande analise van die Suid-Afrikaanse situasie en die onderliggende verklarings daaromtrent nie. Veeleer is dit 'n poging tot beskrywing en tot aktualisering van die gebeure van '85 tot '87. En dit weerspieël daarom 'n vars blik op die dooie data van amptelike "onrusverslae". Meer nog: dit toon aan hoe noodmaatreëls en "rule by decree" ruimte laat vir ongeoorloofde en kwaadwillige optrede deur die handhawers van "reg en orde". Dit toon ook aan hoe outoritêre regering en geweld (struktureel en fisies) deel van die regeringswyse in die land van ons geword het. Dit dien ook treffend as illustrasie van die ondermyning van "rule of law" en die mate waartoe die polisie in Suid-Afrika "reg" in eie hande neem — tot nadeel van Jan Publiek. Met verwysing na voorbeelde, toon dit ook aan dat in minstens sommige gevalle die polisie gedurende die tydperk (en tans nog?) 'n reuse bydraende oorsaak van die voorkoms en verskerping van "onrus" was.

Eyewitness (81 bladsye) lees vinnig en maklik. Die kort hoofstukke dra by tot 'n leser-

vriendelike en beknopte publikasie. Die inhoud van die boek daarenteen is nie "vriendelik" nie; intendeel, dit stem tot onrus. Maar die soort onrus wat enige ware Suid-Afrikaner waardig is. En dit laat mens vra: wat kan ek doen om sulke arbitrêre en onregmatige regering te stop?

Die boek weerspieël myns insiens een groot tekortkoming: dit sou veel verhelderder gewees het as daar een inleidende hoofstuk of agtergrondskets in was. So iets sou die inligtingsrol en bewusmakingswaarde van die publikasie verhoog het.

Nogtans kan die boek sterk aanbeveel word. Vanaf die beskrywing van die begrafnis van die vermoorde anti-apartheidsaktiviste Goniwe, Calata, Mhlauli en Mkhonto ('n skokkende gebeurtenis wat sterk ooreenkomste vertoon met die gebeure in die film *Mississippi Burning*) tot by die laaste stelling is dit 'n uiters leesbare publikasie wat sterk aanbeveel kan word. Van Eck plaas vir my in dié stelling die boek in konteks: "It illustrates how far down the road towards anarchy South Africa under P W Botha has gone."

Ian Liebenberg

□ Ian Liebenberg is navorsingskonsultant by Idasa.

'Om poësie te lees met ander maatstawwe as die suiwer estetiese is 'n aanpassing wat sy eiesoortige beloning bring en poësie op nuwe terreine vestig'

teë te kom, geskryf deur Engelse, die pro-swart gedigte geskryf teen apartheid ook deur die Engelse, sodat 'n mens dalk kan aflei dat hoewel die Engelssprekende digter nog nooit die underdog was nie, hy hom tog wel getrou geskaars het by hulle lot.

Baie interessant is die versweë gedigte wat nou hulle verskyning maak. Noukeurig is die gedigte uit die tradisionele Afrikaanse kanon geweier. Het u geweet dat S J Pretorius 'n gedig geskryf het waarin hy volkome identifiseer en simpatiseer met die "Munisipale Kaffer-Arbeider"; dat H A Fagan 'n gedig geskryf het waarin hy luister na Nkosi Sikelele 'i-Afrika en vra dat God ons almal hier sal seën omdat ons saamgeplant is in een vaderland; dat Leipoldt in 1944 'n gedig geskryf het waarin hy die idee van 'n wonder-republiek, 'n kliek wat dink dat hulle beter as ander is, snedig veroordeel en 'n profetiese blik gee na hoe veragterlik ons ons nog sal voel, geskandvlek.

Voeg hierby nog die werk van lensma, Letoit, Anthony — en nog talle ander skrywers wie se werk mens selde of ooit in die hande kry — en die boek is uit die Afrikaanse oogpunt alleen, die moeite werd. Om te sien hoe Afrikaans tussen ander tale wen en prysgee is 'n nuwe plesier; om poësie te lees met ander maatstawwe as die suiwer estetiese is 'n aanpassing wat sy eiesoortige beloning bring en poësie op nuwe terreine vestig.

Uit hierdie werk wat getuig van jare se navorsing, is dit onmoontlik om keuses te maak. Toe-oog en sonder rede kies ek om die gedig van Lionel Abrahams volledig aan te haal:

The Whiteman Blues

*Two cars, three loos, a swimming pool,
Investment paintings, kids at a private school...
we entertain with shows or gourmet food —
and yet we don't feel right, we don't feel good.*

*Why doesn't the having help?
Why doesn't the spending save?
Why doesn't the fun —
Why doesn't the culture —
Why don't the ads add up to something?*

*We can afford to say we know
the blacks are really given hell,
Big Boss is harsh and stupid and must go:
we say it — and it helps like one Aspro.
We still feel jumpy, mixed up, not quite well.*

*Which specialist can cure the thing we've got —
the got-it, gotta-get-it blues,
the deep-freeze, cheaper wholesale, world
excursion blues?*

*We high on the know-all-about-it booze.
We're bursting with kwashiokor of the bank.
We're depressed by the whiteman blues.*

*In the backyards they pray for us.
In Soweto they see our plight.
In the border areas they understand.
In the Bantustans they wait
to pat our shoulder, hold our hand.
They know, they know,
to them it isn't news:
we've got these lost-man, late-man,
money-man, superman,
whiteman blues.*

STAFF

Idasa appoints national director

Mr David Alan Screen has been appointed as national director of Idasa.

Mr Screen, currently deputy principal at Pinelands High School, will assume office in 1990.

He will be based at Idasa's head office in Cape Town.

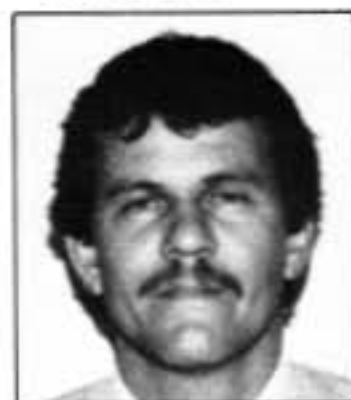
As national director Mr Screen will be responsible for the day to day running of Idasa, and provide support for executive director Dr Alex Boraine in directing operations. Over the past 18 months, the institute has experienced tremendous growth in both its programme activities and staff numbers. The new post of national director was accordingly created to effectively respond to the growing demands of Idasa's work.

Mr Screen has been an active member of the South African Teachers' Association, as well as a member of the founding committee of Education for an Aware South Africa. He started his teaching career at Queens Park High School in Cape Town in 1977 and has held a number of teaching posts at schools in the Peninsula. He was vice-principal at Camps Bay High School prior to moving to Pinelands High at the beginning of 1989.

Within Sata he has actively promoted the ideal and practice of non-racialism and democracy. He was a prime mover, for instance, of a resolution which was adopted at the 1987 conference of that teachers' organisation, leading to the document "Educating for a Democratic, Non-racial Society".

Mr Screen was a founder member and chairman of the Observatory Civic Association, formed to counter the existing conservative ratepayers' association in the suburb.

He is married to Annamia van den Heever, a Cape Town city councillor. They have two children.



MR SCREEN

Top Amcham job for Mitchell

Mr Wayne Mitchell, national co-ordinator of Idasa since May 1987, has left the institute to take up a position with the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa.

Mr Mitchell succeeds Mr Adrian Botha as executive director of Amcham. He will be based in Johannesburg.

He has been with Idasa since its inception in 1986 and initially held the position of regional director in the Eastern Cape.

Commenting on his departure, Mr Mitchell said he believed that Idasa still had an



MR MITCHELL

important role to play in resolving conflict in the country "despite the obstacles coming from varying political quarters". He intends maintaining his links with Idasa and those engaged in its work.

Mr Mitchell said he would have ample opportunity at Amcham to continue the struggle for a peaceful, just and prosperous South Africa. "I believe business has to become more pro-active in working for change. Amcham is working for greater co-operation between business and labour and business and the community in general."

New Border director

Ms Hermien Kotzé has been appointed as regional director of Idasa in the Border region starting December 1.

Ms Kotzé, a lecturer in development studies at the University of Fort Hare, succeeds Ms Cindy Deutschmann who has moved to Johannesburg.

She grew up in the Western Cape and holds degrees from the University of Stellenbosch and the London School of Economics (MSc). Prior to joining Fort Hare in 1987, Ms Kotzé lectured at Stellenbosch and the University of Bophuthatswana.



MS KOTZE

Critical assessment vital at school

The importance of the student-teacher relationship was emphasised at an Idasa seminar on people's education which was held at Rhodes University in September and attended by some 120 people.

Speaking on this topic, Mr Dirk Meerkotter, senior lecturer in education at the University of the Western Cape, said teachers generally assumed that it was their responsibility to provide information in the classroom, often forgetting that students need critical assessment of that information. People's education need critical intervention from both students and teachers, he said.

In any social transformation teachers and students would play a pivotal role because change and education were inter-related. Mr Meerkotter emphasised the importance of a

progressive pedagogy which challenged traditional authority relations in education and also reduced the emphasis on prescribed information in the education process.

Some delegates expressed concern that people's education may be "hijacked" by parties who had the technology to access information about international developments in people's education.

Giving an MDM perspective on people's education, Mr Irhon Rensburg, managing director of the Education Aid Programme, strongly advocated the participation of parents, teachers and students in education.

He emphasised that people should acquire skills now so that they will be able to occupy their rightful places in a new democratic, non-racial South Africa.

Regse tier: hoe trek ons sy tande uit?



Die ver-regse dreigement . . . verlies aan invloed by die stembus kan nog meer geweld stimuleer.

ERIC MILLER, Afropix

Die feit dat die regses in Suid-Afrika nie veel kans by die stembus het nie, moet egter nie aanleiding gee tot oormatige gerustheid nie. Na my mening is 'n toename in die spontane opwelling van geweld sowel as georganiseerde regse geweld moontlik in die mate wat regsgesindes (insluitende sommige binne die huidige NP) in hul persepsie politieke mag verloor, politieke magtelooosheid ervaar en ekonomiese gelykstelling beleef. Die ideologiese pre-disposisie en "win-or-lose" paradigma waarin die regse blankes hulle bevind, kan bydra hiertoe: vergelyk bekende regses se uitsprake soos Chris Jooste se "(swart) verdringing kan lei tot buitekonstitusionele optrede", Carel Boshoff se "die Afrikaner kan nog teen wil en dank die Baskiese terroris van Afrika word" en Eugene Terre'Blanche se "met kommuniste praat jy nie, jy skiet hulle van die aarde af". Hierdie sen-

timente kan toeneem na gelang van die mate wat 'n onderhandelde skikking plaasvind tussen die heersende of volgende regering en die tans "verbanne" organisasies. LUIS die feit dat verregses nie 'n noemenswaardige invloed by die stembus kan uitoefen nie, kan polarisasie, en uiteindelik geweld stimuleer. Jarelange apartheid- en witbaaskap-opvoeding het hiervoor die fundamente voorberei.

Is daar 'n weg uit die "rather bleak scenario"? Die volgende stappe kan myns insiens bydra tot die afskaal van polarisasie en geweld na regs:

- Mense wat hulleself as regse (insluitende 'n groot groep Afrikaners) beskou, behoort gehelp te word om kultuur en politiek te ontkoppel. Godsdien ("Christelike beskawing") en kulturele vryheid ("identiteit") is nie noodwendig sinoniem aan mag nie, en dit behoort so uitgespel te word. Die belang van so 'n ontkoppeling is reeds jare gelede deur Johan Degenaar voorgestel. Dit behoort vandag nog steeds veel aandag te verdien. Mense behoort gehelp te word om te beseft dat hulle as afsonderlike kulturele groep kan funksioneer en tegelykertyd as deel van 'n meerderheid erkenning kan geniet. (Dit vereis logieserwys afskeid van die groepsgedagte).

- Organisasies en institute wat in die "change industry" is (Idasa, Merge, Human Awareness Programme, Sentrum vir Intergroepstudies en vele ander) doen veel om die wedersydse negatiewe stereotipes, vyandskapbeelde en misverstande af te takel. Hulle verdien veel meer ondersteuning. Daarby is meer van die inisiatiewe op 'n plaaslike vlak nodig — in kerke, skole en werkgemeenskappe.

- Laastens, behoort Suid-Afrikaners hulleself opnuut toe te wy aan demokrasie en politieke toleransie. 'n Stabiele politieke gemeenskap kan alleen ontstaan waar redelike dialoog, kulturele toleransie en 'n hoë prioriteit op demokrasiese waardes geplaas word. ('n Gebied waarop ons tot op hede nog nie te sterk gestaan het nie!) Veral ten opsigte van die transformasie vanaf outokrasie/totalitarisme na demokrasie, die liberaal-radikale debat, die ekonomiese debat en die beswering van vrese vir verandering het ons die redelike gesprek nou meer as ooit nodig.

Deur IAN LIEBENBERG

Wit Wolwe bestaan uit regse polisiemane in verskeie dele van die land wat nie-amptelik optree. Die moontlikheid van samewerking tussen die groepe word ook genoem. Die aktiwiteite van die groep is problematies omdat dit moeilik is om vas te stel in hoeverre die groepe amptelike kondonering geniet — of soms selfs doelbewus aangehelp word deur groepe binne in, of na-aan die staat.

Hoe sterk is die "regses"? Uit die syfers hierbo genoem, en met inagneming van oorvleuelende lidmaatskap is my skatting dat daar ongeveer 720 000 mense is wat die ver-regse bewegings ondersteun. Daarteenoor het ongeveer 1,2 miljoen die Nasionale Party ondersteun, wat op 'n onderhandelingssetiket gestaan het. Sowat 420 000 mense het die Demokratiese Party ondersteun.

'Mense behoort gehelp te word om te beseft dat hulle as afsonderlike kulturele groep kan funksioneer en tegelykertyd as deel van 'n meerderheid erkenning kan geniet'

Volgens verkiesingstatistikus Donald Simpson, sowel as Hermann Giliomee het die KP sy plafon bereik. Sommige waarnemers meen dat die party nog enkele setels kan wen in die volgende verkiesings, maar dat dit basies onmoontlik is vir die party om verder op groot skaal te groei. Kortom: op elektorale vlak is die "wit" regse beweging se kans nie te goed om te groei of aan die mag te kom nie. Alwen hulle in die volgende verkiesing, volgens Giliomee, sal die ander twee huise van die driekamerparlement wetgewing kan blokkeer. En enige poging om die wetgewing op buite-parlementêre wyse te wysig, sal 'n regse bewind alleen groter buitelandse isolasie en druk, sowel as binnelandse onrus op die hals haal. Daarby kan die beoogde herindeling van kiesafdelings alleen die DP bevoordeel.

"Left", "right" en "centre" word gereeld in die politieke gesprek in Suid-Afrika gebruik sonder dat die sprekers noodwendig weet wat die inhoud daarvan is. Die verwarring oor wat "regs" beteken, maak dit nodig om in meer detail te kyk na die "regse gevaar".

In hierdie bespreking sal net verwys word na die wit politiek — nie omdat blanke regse groepe die enigste regses in die land is nie, maar omdat swart regse bewegings, groepe en individue gewoonlik proporsioneel heelwat minder is, en ook nie onafhanklik optree nie. Kortom: die meerderheid swart groepe wat as regs getipeer kan word, is gekoöpteerd onder die verdeel-en-heers beleid van die huidige regering. Dus val laasgenoemde buite die bestek van die bespreking.

Met die onlangse verkiesings is daar voorspel dat die Konserwatiewe Party tot soveel as 64 setels kan inpalm.

Uiteindelik het die KP toe 39 setels, slegs 6 meer as die Demokratiese Party, gewen. Verkiesingspolitiek is egter nie die enigste been waarop die regse politiek in Suid-Afrika staan nie. Op 1 September berig die *Vrye Weekblad* dat daar 'n vlaag van verregse geweld (terreur?) aan die gang is, maar dat die polisie "geen greintjie getuies" wat heenwys na die gewelddenaars kon opspoor nie.

Dit wil dus lyk of die ver-regse politiek in Suid-Afrika op twee bene staan. (As jy die regering van die dag as ver-regse wil tipeer, sou 'n mens moet sê dat daar drie bene is waarop regse politiek in Suid-Afrika staan. Ek werk slegs met die "twee-been" hipotese). Die eerste been is die elektorale of parlementêre been. Die ander been, die buite-parlementêre been. Die parlementêre been sou groepe insluit soos die Konserwatiewe Party van dr Andries Treurnicht en die (nou byna irrelevante) Herstigte Nasionale Party van mnr Jaap Marais. Die twee partye het gesamentlik ongeveer 620 000 stemme getrek. Die buite-parlementêre of nie-parlementêre been sou groepe insluit soos die Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging van Eugene Terre'Blanche en die Blanke Bevrydingsfront van Johan Schabert. Hiervan is die AWB die getalrykste. Volgens navorser Helen Zille is daar ongeveer 10 000 ingeskrewe AWB-lede, 'n verdere 150 000 ondersteuners en tot soveel as 500 000 simpatiserders. (Dit spreek vanself dat daar oorvleuelende lidmaatskap en simpatie tussen die binne- en buite-parlementêre groepe in die regse "wit" politiek sal wees).

Behalwe bogenoemde groepe is daar nog verskeie groepe wat moeilik in 'n streng binne/buiteparlementêre skeiding sal inpas. Dit sluit in groepe soos die Oranjewerkersbond (wit tuisland werkgroep), die Aksie Eie Toekoms en Toekomsgesprek (meestal weggebreekte Broederbondlede met 'n soortgelyke wyse van organisasie as die Afrikanerbroederbond). Verskeie ander groeperinge soos die Kappiekommando, die South African National Front en die Odal Clan het ontbind, in onaktiwiteit verval of is opgeneem in bogenoemde bestaande groepe. Laastens het die soganaamde Wit Wolwe ook deel van die politieke gesprek geword. Min inligting is oor hulle bekend. Die *Vrye Weekblad* berig: "In versetkringe word geglo dat die