

# DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

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

FEBRUARY 1989

## Historic meeting on SA law

THE idea of a lawyer's conference on South African issues first arose at the Dakar conference in July 1987. Dr Van Zyl Slabbert of IDASA lent his support and after many meetings both here and abroad, and a lot of preparatory work, some 30 South African lawyers, mostly Afrikaans speaking academics, met with members of the ANC (mostly lawyers by training) and with some Zimbabwean legal academics and lawyers in Harare from 31 January to 4 February. The occasion was formally hosted by the law faculty of the University of Zimbabwe.

On the agenda appeared issues such as the basis of private law, the land question, the administration of justice, legal education, labour law, customary law, the role of precedents and several constitutional law matters. A number of papers dealing with the socio-economic and political context of the law in South Africa were also delivered.

Why such a conference? It is no exaggeration to state that South Africa experiences a crisis and that the legal system and the courts are deeply involved in this. The law and the courts, together with the executive, are increasingly used as the instruments that have to prop up the present system. The result is that their credibility and legitimacy have already begun to suffer. At the



Jannie Gagliano

(Left to right): Prof G. Lubbe of the Faculty of Law at Stellenbosch University; Prof Marinus Wiechers of the Law Faculty at UNISA; Mr P. Maduna of the ANC and Prof Dawid van Wyk of the Dept of Constitutional Law at UNISA.

### ANC constitutional guidelines highlight of debate

same time, however, it is argued by many that the courts and the law will have to play a central role in a post-apartheid South Africa. Many critics of the present state of affairs, for example, argue in favour of a bill of rights and for judicial review as part of the solution. But can such concepts simply be grafted onto the existing system?

A thorough understanding of "apartheid jurisprudence", as one ANC participant called it, is first re-

quired before the scope of the problem and of the remedial action will be realised. It is also of particular importance that those involved in the teaching of the law take notice of these developments and that they direct their research and teaching to the problems existing in our society and especially as they are experienced by the majority of the population. The danger exists that teachers of the law as well as the profession cater primarily for the sophisticated needs of the selected few.

The experience of a country such as Zimbabwe is of particular interest to South Africans. It has gained its independence only recently and after a protracted armed struggle. What has since then happened to the legal system, especially the Roman Dutch heritage, and to the courts and the profession? How do whites and blacks live together now? Has there been reconciliation between the people of Zimbabwe?

The value of a conference of this kind is *inter alia* that it exposes all the participants to the views of the other side. One learns about experiences, fears, standpoints and desires to which (through the effect of apartheid) one is normally not exposed. If the future task is to build a new society, as it inevitably will

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# Time to examine alliance politics

IN the December issue of *Democracy in Action*, I wrote an editorial entitled "A Coalition of Democrats?" I have been greatly encouraged by the response that I have received to this concept. It seems clear that there is a new growing understanding within opposition groups in South Africa that the hard-line "go it alone" approach serves neither the individual group concerned nor the struggle against apartheid.

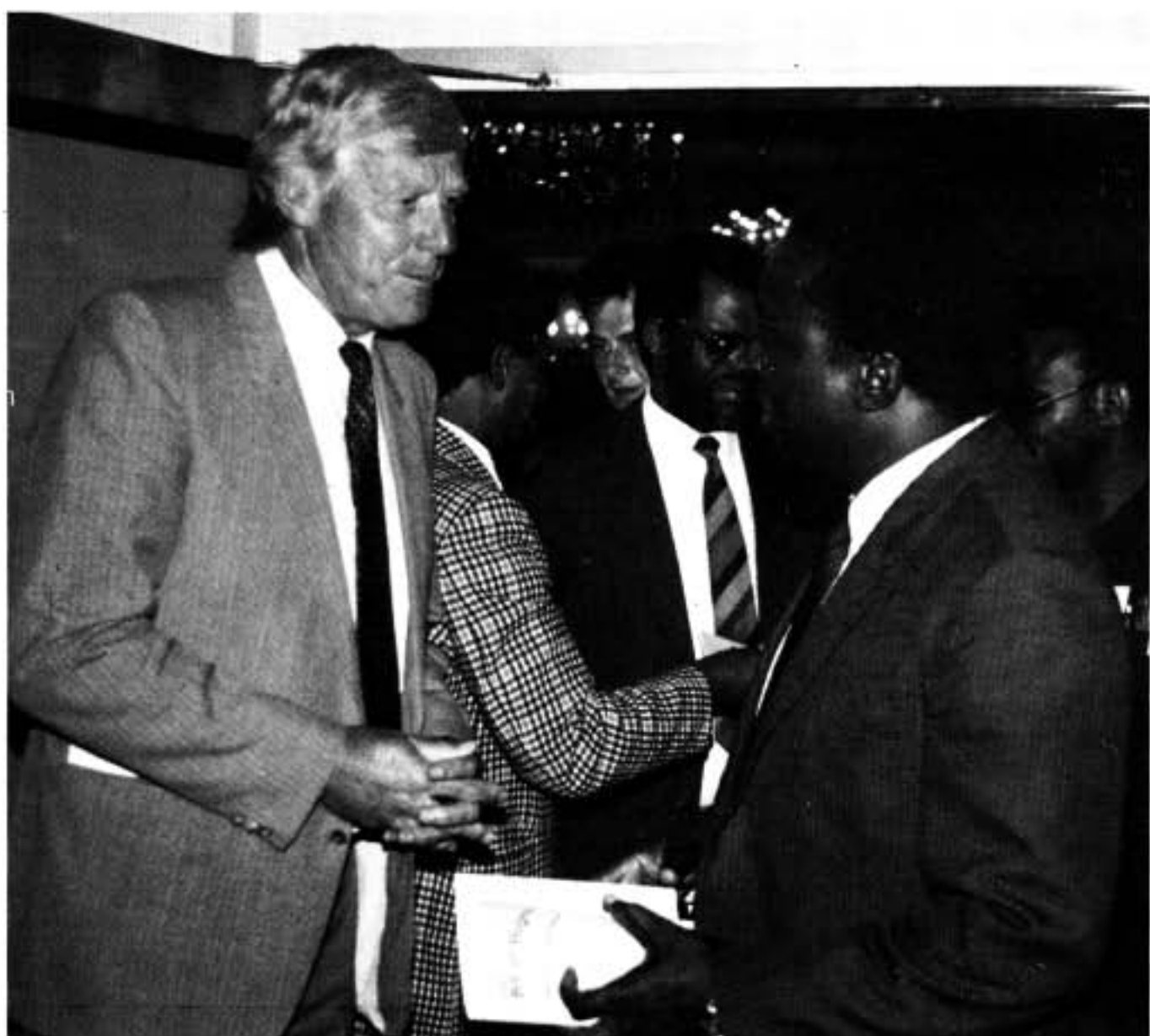
It would be simplistic to imagine that strongly divergent views can be ignored or resolved overnight. What is important is the quest to discover whether opposition groups actually converge and share basic principles and philosophies and a willingness to accept in practice as well as in theory the need for a multiple strategy approach.

This means that there needs to be an honest attempt to examine again the concept of alliance politics. We dare not allow the apartheid system to continue to divide and bedevil those who find the policy repugnant and dangerous. It ought rather to give urgency to a new appreciation of how much we need one another and the obvious advantages of sharing ideas, strategies and resources, both human and material.

## Joint action crucial

For its part, IDASA will continue to try and emphasise in all of its activities the need for black and white democrats to join forces in dismantling apartheid. It is our view that it is only when we work together at various levels and in differing projects that the suspicions, nurtured by years of apartheid myths and propaganda, can be set aside. The ideal therefore is not merely to discuss unity, although talks should and must be held; active participation in a range of projects will throw into relief those things which unite us and will help to dispel those things which divide us.

The practical problem is that there is so much to be done and so many of us are extremely busy



Dr Alex Boraine (executive director of IDASA) in conversation with the Minister of Justice in Zimbabwe, Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa.

"chasing our own tails" as it were, so that little time can be found for joint consultation and joint action. If we are serious however, we simply have to set aside the time and discover ways and means for new and creative thinking so that we don't simply continue making the same noises, using the same strategies without critical examination.

As far as the 1989 programme for IDASA is concerned, there was an auspicious beginning with a very successful conference held in Harare, Zimbabwe, in the first week of February. Elsewhere you will read more details of the conference which involved significant law professors from all the major universities in South Africa with delegates from the ANC, Swapo and the faculty of law at the Zimbabwe University.

## Future options

Apart from a very heavy schedule of events, we have decided to introduce a series of meetings entitled,

"Options for the Future" which will be held in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban, culminating in a major national conference on this topic in Johannesburg later this year.

As far as *Democracy in Action* is concerned, major changes are on the way. We welcome to our staff Ms Ronel Scheffer as Director of Publications who will assume responsibility for all publications including *Democracy in Action*. Part of her brief will be to consider the present format of the magazine and to bring forward recommendations for improvements to the general layout. The mailing list now numbers thousands of people not only in South Africa but in many parts of the world. We welcome the opportunity to keep so many of those who have encouraged us and helped us in touch with what we are doing and would obviously be glad to hear from those who read of our work and would appreciate constructive comment and criticism.

**Alex Boraine, Executive Director**



# Young South Africans visit Germany

*"To experience any form of migration is to get a lesson in the importance of tolerating others' points of view. One might almost say that migration ought to be essential training for all would-be democrats."*

— Salman Rushdie

FROM 14 to 28 November 1988, fourteen young South Africans went on a tour of the Federal Republic of Germany (including a brief visit to East-Berlin) hosted by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF) and co-ordinated by IDASA in South Africa.

The tour group consisted of André Zaaiman, Nic Borain and Pro Jack from IDASA, township activists, young professionals, as well as academics and student leaders from five Afrikaans universities. Political loyalties ranged from pro-partition to pro-nonracial democracy, which led to interesting and, at times, heated debates within the group on issues such as sanctions, violence and the future economic/political system of South Africa.

The tour was well organised and although the programme had an in-built liberal bias, ample room was left for changes on request; it also provided for a good balance between formal meetings and time for relaxation. Our hosts generously provided tour guides to look after our every need.

We started off in Stuttgart with a visit to the State Parliament and a debate on federalism, from where we moved to the historic university town of Heidelberg for discussions with students, university authorities and local government officials on a variety of South African and German issues.

The trip to West and East Berlin that followed was a definite highlight. East Berlin represents a political culture with an emphasis on economic equality (where, much to our amusement, recent Russian newspapers singing the praises of perestroika were banned) while the political culture of West Berlin rests on civil liberties and individual freedom. Moving moments were a

visit to the Berlin Wall; a visit, in heavy snow, to the War Memorial for 20 million Russians who gave their lives in the fight against Hitler's tyranny; and a stopover at the Plötzensee Memorial which is dedicated to the Resistance Movement and where a scroll buried beneath the foundation stone, bears these words:

*"During the years of the Hitler dictatorship, from 1933 to 1945, hundreds of human beings were put to death by judicial murder on this spot. They died because they chose to fight against the dictatorship for human rights and political freedom . . . Through this Memorial, Berlin honours these millions of victims of the Third Reich who, because of their political convictions, their religious beliefs or racial origins; were vilified, abused, deprived of their freedom or murdered."*

Moving to Bonn, we were given, among other things, the opportunity to learn more about the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF) and its history. This foundation, founded in 1958 by the then President of the German Republic, Theodor Heuss, is named after the German writer-politician Friedrich Naumann (1860-1919), of whom Ralp Dahrendorf (chairman of the FNF board), remarked:

*"His work conveys many in-*

sights as to the influence civic education may have and to the point of political participation. I need hardly stress the importance of a basic right to participation and education within a democratic society for all."

The foundation's philosophy was summarised as openness and tolerance, foresight and reflection, and the promotion of active involvement.

Other interesting experiences were visits to the Bundestag and Bundestrat, meetings with the German Liberal Party and a visit to Amnesty International. The movie, *A World Apart*, proved to be a thought-

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Mr André Zaaiman and Mr Pro Jack of IDASA debating foreign policy issues with members of the German Liberal Party.



Ms Barbara Gassner, Mr Nic Borain and an American student in discussion at the Bundestag.

Nic Borain

Pro Jack



# Fresh look at English churches' role

**TRAPPED IN APARTHEID:  
A SOCIO-THEOLOGICAL HISTORY  
OF THE ENGLISH SPEAKING  
CHURCHES —  
CHARLES VILLA-VICENCIO 1988**

New York, Cape town: Orbis books and David Philip publishers. Pp 250, appendices, notes and index. R31,95 Soft Cover Issue).

The roles of Christianity in general and churches in particular with reference to their South African political context have always been a controversial and much written about subject. Charles Villa-Vicencio's *Trapped in Apartheid* represents a fresh — and one dare say, radical — look at the historical role of the institutionalised English-speaking churches. This book indeed offers naught for your comfort.

As an interdisciplinary study the work excels. Firstly, it realistically views the church as "a microcosm of the larger political macrocosm" (p 91). As a socio-historical study it succeeds as a well-researched critical analysis of the English churches' role in the establishment of colonial, and later, apartheid rule. Secondly, it does not protect the churches from criticism of investment in self-interest regarding economic and political power.

In the first part of the book Villa-Vicencio shows clearly that the mainline English churches did not fundamentally challenge colonial and/or minority rule. On the contrary, they contributed to the establishment of an unjust socio-economic order and perpetuated colonia-

lism and apartheid rule.

It is also illustrated that the church rarely opposed capitalist exploitation and paid very little more than lip service to the struggle against apartheid and minority rule. Villa-Vicencio argues that there is "no evidence to suggest that the socio-economic commitment of the English speaking churches was essentially different from that of the Afrikaans churches" (p 86).

If this is not enough to shock the smug Christian, the argument that the English churches were at the least silent observers, if not co-builders to an authoritarian "Theologised Nationalism" (p 140), will certainly do so!

Apart from this and a social analysis derived from Marx and Weber, another essentially positive aspect of the book (part 2) is the new and radical way in which prayer, piety and spiritual involvement is interpreted. Rather than opting for religion equating pathological domination, Villa-Vicencio suggests a liberating ecclesiology. Here religion becomes a deep and continual liberation and force of social renewal. In a sense the book is pastoral guidance for those who experience (or practise) religion as a pathological one-dimensional projection. It establishes a new liberating imperative.

As prognosis Villa-Vicencio believes in a spiritual praxis ("creative sharing, redeeming grace"), grounded in the liberating ecclesiology not only aimed at the poor, but for the poor. The spiritual and horizontal level (to use outdated terms) is thus linked to contextual action. It comes

as no surprise to the enlightened reader that the marginalised church becomes the bearer of this liberation. Perhaps the Kairos of the church is the pressing note that "What makes the church of the poor different is that it not only articulates, but makes concrete and begins to institutionalise new cultural visions in actual history making groups" (p 214). This idea is derived from Barth's "belief in the ultimate significance of the historical process" (p 214).

The more critical reader might remark that too little content is given to change, for example, the Africanisation of theology. The same criticism could be levelled at the practical implications of such a liberating ecclesiology. Very little is said about the influence of such changes on preaching and evangelisation. The book, although easily accessible to the academic reader is perhaps too grounded in the academic's lingua-franca and could be presented in a more populist way — People's Theology?

However, having said this, the book is a well-timed contribution to the socio-political and theological reflection and practice in South Africa. For students in theology, lay persons and "the animo politico" the book is a valuable piece of work and as reading matter a must.

As a prescribed work it can also be put to good use in disciplines such as political science, religious studies, contextual theology and contemporary history.

**REVIEW BY: IAN LIEBENBERG  
Research Consultant, IDASA**

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## Germany visit

provoker for the whole group, while on a lighter note, an evening with the Cuban jazz band, Irakere, seemed very popular.

In conclusion, we can safely say that the tour provided the Germans with a fascinating cross-section of South African political thought and exposed them, and perhaps ourselves, to the complexities of the South African socio-political dilemma. But for us? Was this a mere

geographical dislocation from South Africa, a brief physical journey, or did we change some attitudes, perhaps even some values? Did we, or at least some of us, cross a few mental rubicons? As the tour came to an end, one of the members of our group remarked:

"On the whole, I feel the trip to have been a great success. Everybody learnt a great deal about the Federal Republic, from its culture to its political, as well as being exposed to different views from within our own ranks."

Nobody can deny that this was an educative and stimulating experience. But it remains difficult to assess the real impact of our tour on the individual participants and on the broader South African political situation; only time will provide a realistic answer. It was, nevertheless, a sad commentary on our country that we had to migrate so far to learn; not so much about other people and their views, but about democracy and ourselves.

— André Zaaiman  
(National Student Co-ordinator)



# Violence: keeping morality alive

## History has placed all SA in the box - Degenaar

VIOLENCE is usually seen primarily in physical terms. The advantage is that one capitalises on the image of destruction but the disadvantage is that one ignores the more subtle manifestations, for example, psychological and structural violence. In both cases we can speak of a metaphorical use of the term violence.

In the case of psychological violence there need not be any physical violence at all but the experience of injury done to the person is crucial. It is an assault on the integrity of a person. Examples of psychological violence are brainwashing, indoctrination and authoritarian attitudes in family relationships and educational contexts.

The term "structural violence" is another example of the metaphorical use of the word violence. Violence is structural when the extreme force is not exerted wilfully by a person but by a structure, a set of relationships, created and perpetuated by custom or law. A structure is created which curbs the freedom of subjects unfairly or which discriminates unjustly against certain sections of the community preventing them from gaining full citizenship. Structural violence is the worst kind of political injustice when rulers enforce oppressive and discriminatory laws without the consent of the ruled.

Professor D A Kotze, who discusses discrimination as a form of structural violence, states:

"In terms of the definition of structural violence, South African society is regarded internationally as a structurally violent society. This is mainly the result of the fact that this is probably the only society on earth which legally enforces discrimination with all the connotations of inequality and injustice called forward by this term."

The concept of structural violence raises the problem of the justification of political violence. Poli-

Professor Johan Degenaar of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch testified in mitigation of sentence at the Bethal treason trial which ended in the Supreme Court in Pretoria in January.

During cross-examination by counsel for the state, Prof Degenaar said that, in criticising both the state and revolutionaries, he did not



*Prof Johan Degenaar of the Dept of Philosophy (University of Stellenbosch).*

tical violence refers to both state violence and revolutionary violence. Usually State violence is seen as legitimate force used against the will of others and therefore as not a case of violating rights, while revolutionary violence is seen as illegitimate force and therefore as violation of rights.

This view rests on the identification of law and right, of legality and justice, and on the assumption that the State has an unquestionable right to command while citizens have a binding obligation to obey. Both the identification and the as-

sumption are controversial and both are challenged by revolutionary thinking.

want to undermine the authority of the judge or create the impression that he failed to appreciate the extent of the humiliation suffered by blacks or deny the seriousness of the offence of the accused. His main purpose was to keep morality alive in all contexts and to emphasise the importance of historical consciousness.

The implication of his analysis is a realisation that it is not only the accused who are in the box. History has placed all of us — including the judge — in the box.

To a question by Mr Justice Daniels, Prof Degenaar said he was not implying that the accused should not be punished but, he added, the judge in passing sentence should be aware of his historical position for his decision could help guide South Africa in a negative or a positive direction.

A negative direction entails that the sentence passed merely contributes to the perpetuation of the spiral of violence, while a positive direction entails the creation of hope in the hearts of all concerned — a hope for reconciliation and a negotiated settlement.

This is an extract from Professor Degenaar's statement to the court.

sumption are controversial and both are challenged by revolutionary thinking.

According to this way of thinking the problem of the justification of political violence should not be formulated in terms of legality but in terms of morality. This means that the use of extreme force by the State can be legitimate, but if the laws themselves are violent, that is, unjust and therefore destructive of the freedom of the citizens, the structural and physical violence used by

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the State is unjustified. This is the claim made by revolutionary movements. It is said that the State cannot justify its use of violence because the laws of the State violate moral rights.

The revolutionary movement claims that it can justify its own violence because this violence is primarily counter-violence: It opposes the structural violence of an unjust system; it works towards a just system. In this sense the end justifies the means. Its own use of violence is seen by the revolutionary as constructive rather than destructive, progressive rather than entrenched in unjust laws. It is only constructive violence which can liberate man from structural violence which perpetuates itself.

With the term "structural violence" I have drawn attention to the fact that revolutionary violence is not the only kind of violence and that violence always needs justification. This does not entail that the justification used is necessarily convincing. For example, the traditional way of justifying violence in terms of the principle that the end justifies the means is unacceptable. The end is absorbed by the means ascribing an unintended priority to the violent means.

This applies equally to those who use violence, structurally and physically, in order to maintain law and order, and to revolutionaries who allow for violent means in order to reach the liberated and purified future. Far from the end justifying the means, the means justifies the end. This calls for a moral dimension which has to qualify all actions as means to a projected goal. According to Hanna Arendt: "The means used to achieve political goals are more often than not of greater relevance to the future world than the intended goals."

On the basis of my argument I criticise the State because of the structural violence present in our society. I do this for moral reasons and because it produces counter-violence. I also criticise the revolutionaries for their use of violence. I do this for moral reasons and because it is counter-productive and cannot lay the foundation of a just society based on a negotiated settlement.

We should view the phenomenon of revolutionary violence in context. It can be described as counter-

violence because of the existence of structural violence in our society which is responsible for excluding blacks from sharing political power. Therefore, although I do not justify the use of violence I can understand their decision in favour of the armed struggle. Any group of people, including the Afrikaners, would come to a similar decision if they were the victims of structural violence and if their non-violence political strategy pursued for decades was ignored.

Both sides in this conflict should admit their mistakes, for without this realisation there can be no negotiation and reconciliation. And this is what we need if we have to create a just future.

***'Both sides in this conflict should admit their mistakes, for without this realisation there can be no negotiation and reconciliation. And this is what we need if we have to create a just future.'***

I am of the opinion that we should not think about the future in fatalistic and pessimistic terms. One way of liberating ourselves from despair is to think about our political situation as a process. This entails that we should also evaluate political violence, whether State violence or revolutionary violence, in terms of a process. I have analysed the concept of violence in terms of its physical, psychological and structural manifestations. Unfortunately the word "structure" tends to ascribe a static quality to a set of relationships.

However, this need not be the case. By introducing time into the picture and by viewing relationships in terms of a process that is taking place, the possibility of change is introduced. The violence need not be seen as inevitable or as a final state of affairs. Violence can lead to a new set of relationships.

In order to achieve this we have to interpret violent events, not merely judge them. Interpretation of events entails a narrative, that is, telling a story about them. In order to do this we have to take history seriously. And we have to face up

to the challenges present in the following disturbing questions: Why do we have these manifestations of political violence, namely, State violence and revolutionary violence, at this stage of our history? What misuse of power is involved in the asymmetrical power relationships that obtain in our present situation?

If we contextualise our analysis of violence and integrate our judgment on violent events into the historical context, then we will be better equipped to detect our co-responsibility for the present state of affairs, and discover the possibility that the future need not merely be the continuation of the past.

In order to direct the process of our history in a positive direction we have to tell a meaningful story about this history and about the violent events in this history. We need a historical consciousness which does not speak about violence in general, but about these manifestations of violence at this time and this place, of these participants, whether oppressors or oppressed, who are part of this tragedy that is called by the name of South Africa.

Only when we construct a liberating narrative on violence, will we be prepared for the next stage of our history. As crucial metaphor for this liberating narrative I propose the image of nation-building. If we genuinely start narrating the story of nation-building and realise that we are all participants in this story, we will discover the need for stopping this spiral of political violence which is destroying the texture of our society which is brutalising all of us.

Since the Government is responsible for structural violence and the ANC for revolutionary violence there is no other choice in the context of a liberating narrative about our history but for these participants to work towards a negotiated settlement. The judgement is clear: Both kinds of violence are morally unacceptable.

But we need more than a correct judgement. We need a liberating narrative which acknowledges the equality of all the participants, allowing all to become fully-fledged characters in the next chapter of the story of building a South African nation.

**Acknowledgement: Cape Times (20. 1. 89)**



## News from the regions

# Natal women tackle common problems

## Focus on violence, homelessness

THE Natal Region of IDASA hosted a conference on "Women and Democracy" in a Scottburgh hotel over a weekend early in December. Although December is a difficult time of the year with so many people being unavailable, 56 women came. They were of all persuasions — pensioners and professors, housewives, professionals, trade unionists — all wanting to share each other's views and experiences.

At the end of the conference, one of the delegates stood up and exclaimed: "After this weekend I can't just sit and keep blinkers on. I have learnt a lot and don't want to go back to my set ways." This summed up the tone of the conference.

Three themes were chosen and examined in depth. These were "Homes and Homelessness", "Women and Violence" and "Women

and Work". The delegates were divided into two groups which, in turn, were sub-divided into three smaller groups each. These remained together for most of the time. To maximise opportunity for discussion, input from speakers was limited so that delegates could learn as much as possible from each other. Delegates were also encouraged to act as scribes and give feedback into the larger group at the end of the conference.

Many of the delegates chose to make use of the bus provided by IDASA. The journey to Scottburgh was a quiet one. An atmosphere of expectancy, tinged with shyness, prevailed as many of the delegates didn't know each other. However, after the official welcoming address given by Regional Director Paul Graham (who, not being of the

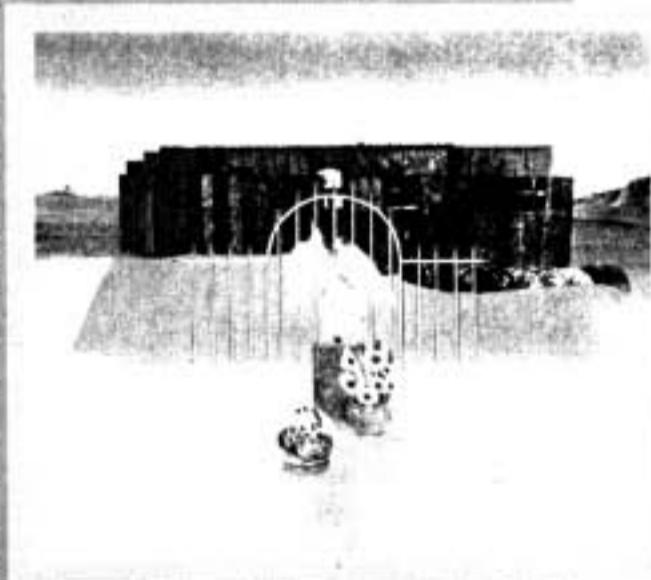
female gender, left soon afterwards) and dinner, delegates were exposed to an ice-breaking session in the form of a resource analysis which examined women's roles and areas where women have an influence with at least one other person.

Delegates were asked to name four or five contexts in which they play a role which impacts on anything from one life to thousands of lives and the answers were all depicted in a large diagram. This presented a fascinating insight into the power of women. After this, delegates started to communicate more freely with one another.

On Saturday the hard work began with each group considering the three themes at different times and in different rooms. This meant that speakers had to give their input

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### *The Freedom Charter and the Future*



Proceedings of the national conference on *The Freedom Charter and the Future* — a critical appraisal, organised and presented by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA in Cape Town on 15–16 July 1988.

Edited by James A. Polley

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## **The Freedom Charter and the Future**

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

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twice, but they were more than willing to do this.

In the session "Women and Work" issues dealt with included the industrial courts and how women did not make enough use of them (many don't even know of their existence) as well as the plight of the domestic worker. As a former domestic worker, South African Domestic Workers' Union representative Mary Makwanazi was able to pepper her talk with personal anecdotes. She also spelt out SADWU's objectives to the delegates.

This issue had so much impact on the delegates that one of them, Durbanite Michelle Bowes, announced that she was planning to form an association of employers of domestic workers to help generate awareness.

Another area looked at was problems women experience in their work environment. Here delegates discovered that they share many of the same problems, for example sexual harassment and other forms of discrimination.

The section on "Women and Violence" sparked off a great deal of discussion as it touched every delegate's life in one or another form. Topics discussed included a disturbing picture of how children's lives were being wrecked by the violence and by harassment which forced many children to remain on the run.

In addressing the question of militarisation, delegates again discovered that they shared a common problem in that, for example, black and white women both lose sons in the war. This led to a great deal of soul-searching. One white mother cried out "We have five sons and don't want to leave South Africa. I'd like to think we are part of the solution. My sons have so much to offer South Africa. I don't want to leave." A suggestion was also made in one group that more legitimate forms of alternative service should be called for. Clearly this is an issue that can never have enough exposure.

On the question of the violence in general, one of the black delegates stated: "We are here because we want to take action to stop this violence. Women have not done much on this as a group. How can we travel that journey together?"

Perhaps one of the most moving testimonies of the whole confer-

## "WOMEN AND WORK"

### What women can do as individuals

- know their rights, especially legal ones
- form pressure groups
- take a firm stand every time they encounter sexual harassment
- strive to attain positions that influence the training and socialisation of children.
- encourage women in positions of power to use it to change oppressive structures
- challenge the concept of traditionally female sex roles at work

### What they can do in groups

- mobilise for support, especially for workers not protected by legislation (farm and domestic workers)
- form support groups to deal with sexual harassment
- use social situations to discuss problems of workers, especially domestic workers
- use churches and special calendar days to discuss problems of workers

### What they can do through organisations

- educate women on their rights
- organise workshops on assertiveness
- organise joint workshops for employers and employees
- monitor discrimination practices and expose them through the media
- network to achieve solidarity in action
- be vigilant on consumer issues
- get big business to lobby for an end to apartheid

ence was that of Zizile Khotosa who has lost a son and a daughter as a result of violence. Her 21-year-old daughter was one of a group of pupils killed in an incident involving the security forces at Piet Retief. Her son, an SRC member at his school, was killed while being chased by members of the Defence Force. She also expressed concern that some white teachers in black schools were carrying guns in the classrooms. She asked: "If the government is like this when all pupils want is better education, how would you feel if it was your child?"

As Zizile told her painful story, there was not one person present who wasn't deeply moved. It was generally felt that more personal stories like these were needed to help generate more awareness within the white community.

In the "Homes and Homelessness" section, delegates learnt about the chronic housing shortage in Natal as well as how the Mariannhill community had successfully mobilised to prevent being moved.

By Saturday night delegates were feeling drained and in need of light relief. This was provided by an evening of entertainment where the Natal Organisation of Women's cultural group as well as singer Patti Henderson drew enthusiastic applause. Then Mary Makwanazi illustrated her (earlier) talk on the plight of the domestic worker with a play

which she had written. This was hilarious, but poignant. Delegate Nise Malange leapt up and treated the group to some of her poetry. Delegates who stayed up for the entertainment didn't regret it.

On Sunday delegates had the opportunity to look to the future, set goals and consider strategies to reach these goals. Joyce Harris from Johannesburg spoke of her vision for the future and Nozizwe Madlala outlined the point of view of the democratic movement. Then each group considered possible strategies suggesting what delegates could do and what IDASA could do.

Clearly such a conference is only the beginning, but if the comments on most of the delegates' evaluation forms are anything to go by, it was a positive beginning and a step in the right direction. New friendships had been formed and new insights gained. Delegates were keen on follow-ups to the conference and anxious that the initial burst of enthusiasm would wane. It will be up to the delegates to see that this does not happen.

In the words of one of the delegates: "The situation in South Africa is bad and strategies have not brought change yet. We do have power and influence and we can work together."

**Rose Louw (Natal Region)**



# Harare: debate must go on

meeting in Dakar in July 1987 could this time notice the progress and the refinement with respect to issues such as a bill of rights, judicial review, protection of human rights, the independence of the judiciary and a multi-party system. A serious debate about these matters have in the meantime taken place within the ranks of the ANC and their constitutional guidelines have recently been published.

We could, however, also come to understand that constitutional devices do not provide final answers in themselves. They can never be divorced from the relevant political context. If, for example, white South Africans would focus exclusively on minority protection through a bill of rights as their only future guarantee, the unfortunate result can quite easily be that they are again being singled out, instead of becoming part of a new nation. The expectations that black South Africans in general entertain must be squarely faced. New economic, social, educational and other needs

will have direct implications for existing apartheid privileges and for future patterns of state spending. It was the belief of many of us that the early creation of a "rights culture" is very necessary — not only to cope with the oppression of the present system but also to assist in the transitional process and to strengthen democracy afterwards.

Questions such as land, the use of violence and the academic boycott produced intense discussions and sometimes different viewpoints. On certain issues, such as the independence of the judiciary, adaptation of the *stare decisis* principle and the future role of customary law viewpoints could be largely reconciled. On many other issues it became clear that further study is necessary. Examples of the latter are prisoner of war status for ANC members charged in South African courts, the death penalty and the freedom of the press.

The usefulness of a conference

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be, it becomes crucially important to have meetings of this kind. It is already an important sign of hope that people are prepared to engage in this type of activity. In a divided society the opposite can quite easily happen — as it has happened before in many other countries. But it is also important to realise that time is of the essence and that the danger of increasing polarisation and violence is a very real one.

The discussion of a future constitutional dispensation produced one of the highlights of the conference. Those of us who have attended the



Thaabit Albertus

Comrade Zola Skweyiya (ANC), Comrade Thabo Mbeki (ANC), Dr A. Boraine (IDASA), Ms Beverley Haubrich (IDASA), Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert (IDASA) and Comrade Vusi Pikoli (ANC).



such as this one is not limited to the formal discussions. We had opportunity for many private discussions, meetings with diplomats from countries covering the whole spectrum from Cuba, Iraq, the GDR and India to all the Western countries represented there. The interest shown in the conference was striking, especially against the background of the official policy to boycott the South African government. The interest in South Africa, the realistic understanding of its problems and the general desire for a peaceful solution stand in stark contrast to most of the local "news".

The concluding address was delivered by Chief Justice Dumbutshena. His account of the track record of the Zimbabwean courts and his emphasis on the need to protect the individual against the state,

would have reassured many a South African. One could not, however, miss the irony that very little of that is being practised at present.

During one of the preparatory meetings preceding the conference I had to explain its purpose to a senior member of the Zimbabwean administration. He was very supportive of the idea and mentioned that black and white Zimbabweans never worked together in such a manner before their independence. He encouraged us to learn from their experience and to start building our new nation and society now. Hopefully this conference made a contribution in this regard.

**Gerhard Erasmus,**  
Professor Public Law at the  
University of Stellenbosch



Prof Reg Austin, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Zimbabwe with the Minister of Justice, Mr E. Mnangagwa.



Comrade M Ncube (SWAPO), Mr Nic Borais (IDASA), Prof N. Steytler of the Law Faculty at the University of Natal and Ms Tessa Marcus (ANC).



Prof Laurens Ackermann of the University of Stellenbosch and Ms Phyllis Naidoo of the constitutional committee of the ANC discussing capital punishment.

Below: Comrade Brigitte Mabadla (ANC), Prof Albie Sachs of Warwick University in the UK (ANC), Prof Hugh Corder of the Law Faculty at UCT and Ms Christina Murray also of UCT.



## Final communique from law conference

# Consensus on negotiated end to apartheid

THE participants to the lawyers' conference in Harare unanimously agreed to the following communique:

The conference was officially opened by the Zimbabwean Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa who said that it would offer the opportunity for lawyers who are frequently involved in fundamental decision-making to confront, in advance, major problems facing South Africa, such as its transition from apartheid.

The participants agreed that South Africa was in the grip of a multifaceted crisis, which extends to its legal and constitutional system. It was further agreed that the legal community has a responsibility to participate in bringing about an end to the system of apartheid, which is the fundamental cause of the crisis. The conference recognised that lawyers have an added responsibility to counter the use of the legal system, and in particular the security measures, in order to entrench apartheid.

The conference addressed a wide

range of issues pertaining to the role of law before as well as after the beginning of the transition period from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa. The high point of the conference was the consensus reached on the need for a new constitutional order, a justifiable bill of rights and an independent judiciary.

Recognising that the ANC represents a substantial constituency within South Africa, and must therefore essentially be included in the proceedings for change, the participants commended the ANC for putting forward for discussion its draft constitutional guidelines for a democratic South Africa. These guidelines were indispensable in reaching the consensus reached.

Emphasis was put on the need for the creation of a united, democratic and non-racial state predicated upon a universal franchise and a multi-party political system. The question of creation and equitable distribution of wealth as well as the non-racial re-distribution of land was a subject of intense discussion. Consensus was reached that there was a need to create conditions in which all South Africans would enjoy full and equal political, economic, social and cultural rights.

The conference stressed the urgency for a negotiated end to apartheid and recognised as an undeniable fact the stature and vital role of the ANC in this process. The participants emphasised that the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations and persons, the release of all political prisoners, the return of all exiles and the simultaneous cessation of all violence by the state and all other parties involved, are essential in this regard.

The participants expressed their profound gratitude to IDASA, the Cold Comfort Farm Trust, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and the faculty of law of the University of Zimbabwe for facilitating the conference.



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# No need to boost ANC's image

WHILE the Harare law conference was in progress the SABC radio service, in an editorial commentary, once again asserted that such deliberations with the ANC only served to promote the image of the organisation.

Writing in the Sunday newspaper *Rapport* on his return from Harare, Unisa constitutional law expert Dr Marinus Wiechers responds to this often heard view that discussions between prominent South Africans and the ANC enhance the status of the exiled movement and lend it undeserved credibility.

He said: "The unfortunate truth is that no Harare conference dealing with law — in whatever expert or learned manner — can further enhance the prestige of the ANC.

"The ANC is part of the South African political reality; the organisation is much older than any other political party in our country; it has over the years established diplomatic ties with most countries in the world, and throughout Africa it is honoured and respected.

"Ironically, a conference like the one in Harare actually undermines the reputation of the ANC as unrelenting freedom fighters and tough campaigners for a total take-over. Some of their power-hungry allies or supporters may say that the ANC is getting soft.

"The Harare conference did not answer all the questions, it also did not provide instant reassurance. But I firmly believe that when we look back on the arduous road of reconciliation and reconstruction one day, the Harare law conference will stand out as a light beacon."

**Ronel Scheffer**



Comrade Mtshana Ncube (SWAPO), Comrade Thabo Mbeki (ANC) and Prof David McQuoid-Mason of the University of Natal.

## Nasionale Pers koerant moedig kontak met ANC aan

**VIR die eerste keer sedert die Afrikaanse koerantbase onder hulle verligte redakteurs begin skoonmaak het in 1985, het daar onlangs weer belangwekkende kommentaar op kontak met die ANC in die Afrikaanse pers verskyn. Die volgende hoofartikel het op 16 Januarie in die Johannesburgse dagblad, *Beeld*, verskyn:**

Was daar al ooit 'n meer geleë tyd om die ANC se aanspraak dat hy eerder 'n vryheidsbeweging as 'n terroriste-bende is, voor die oë van die hele wêreld te toets?

Omstandighede het in die afgelope klompie maande vir dié organisasie dramaties verander. Die vrede in Angola en die skikking in Namibië het sy militêre magsbasis in Suider-Afrika aansienlik laat krimp. Die Russiese *glasnost* het nie alleen hiertoe bygedra nie, maar ook sy politieke bedingingsmag in gedrang gebring.

Soos dinge nou aangaan, moet hy al begin wonder hoe lank hy nog op Moskou as peetvader kan reken. En wat 'n mens ook al mag dink van die teenstrydige uitsprake van die Amerikaanse departemente van verdediging en van buitelandse sake, op die ou end is die boodskap duidelik: hoe langer die organisasie voortgaan met sy terrorisme, hoe sterker sal hy in beskaafde kringe verwerp word.

Wat dit betref, is daar duidelik 'n keerpunt aan die kom. Om kortpad te vat: die wêrelddruk op die ANC om geweld te laat vaar, kan so sterk word dat dit dalk nie meer vir die Suid-Afrikaanse regering nodig sal wees om so sterk daarop klem te lê

as 'n voorvereiste vir samesprekinge nie ('n voorwaarde wat tot dusver konsekwent deur die ANC verwerp is — dalk verstaanbaar as 'n mens in ag neem dat sy leiding seker net so sterk aan druk van binne blootgestel is as enige regering).

Nog 'n faktor wat mettertyd tot hom moet begin deurdring, is dat sy moordbomme nie besig is om die stryd vir hom in Suid-Afrika te wen nie.

*Beeld* se standpunt was nog altyd dat op die ou end met die ANC gepraat sal moet word as een van die verteenwoordigers van 'n verskeidenheid van Suid-Afrikaanse volks-groepe.

Die hoë internasionale profiel wat die organisasie tot dusver gehandhaaf het, kan straks nog help om so 'n gesprek moontlik te maak. As jy ontmoontlike voorwaardes vir samesprekinge stel, doen hy dit voor die aangesig van die hele wêreld, ook van instansies soos die Amerikaanse departement van buitelandse sake wat nou so huiwer om hom te veroordeel.

Dus, dalk moet ons daaraan begin dink om die ANC 'n kans te gee om te bewys dat hy ernstig is wanneer hy sê dat hy 'n politieke oplossing verlang. Buitendien is dit hoog tyd dat die onderhandelingsproses in Suid-Afrika in alle erns aangepak word.

- Is 'n gesprek tussen die Regering en 'n ANC-afvaardiging onder leiding van 'n vrye Nelson Mandela werklik so ondenkbaar? Dink net watter dividende (politiek en ekonomies) so 'n samespreking vir ons land en sy hele bevolking kan lewer!



# Research on constitutional options begins

THE publication of a set of constitutional guidelines by the African National Congress provides the IDASA regional offices with an ideal opportunity to develop a debate around options for the future.

IDASA has prepared a booklet on the guidelines and has started inviting public groups and bodies to subject the guidelines to scrutiny through workshops and through the submission of written comment.

Mr Paul Graham, the Regional Director of IDASA in Natal said: 'The publication of the KwaZulu Natal Indaba constitutional proposal provoked widespread reaction. It was subject to question and its response is called for on this seminal document. In this way, parameters for a future constitutional framework are explored and the climate created for ongoing negotiations about the political and

economic future.

Comment does not mean agreement with either the aims, strategies or programme of the African National Congress as Dr Van Zyl Slabbert points out in his preface to the booklet. The research programme is designed rather to use the guidelines as a springboard for straight talking about the future.

People throughout the country will have the opportunity to discuss the guidelines in workshops, which will be held in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth.

Dates have already been finalised for the Natal events: Workshops will be held in Durban and Pietermaritzburg on March 14, 1989 while an introductory seminar will be held in Durban on March 13, 1989.

In addition to the collating of the

results of these events, public groups and bodies have been invited to prepare written responses which will be in the final report of the full national research project.

The ANC proposals will feature at a National Conference in Johannesburg later this year on 'Options facing post-apartheid South Africa'.

Delegates to the conference will look at all current constitutional and political options, including the so-called reform policies of the National Party, and the options proposed by the Kwa-Natal Indaba and the new moderate political party represented in Parliament.

Further information about the guidelines, workshops and seminars may be obtained from IDASA's regional offices.

**Paul Graham**

Regional Director, Natal

## Joint action planned by PE women

AS a follow-up to the Mossel Bay 'Women and Democracy' Conference last year, we planned to have a series of four meetings in January/February 1989 between the township women's organisations and various white women's groups, as well as the women who attended the conference. This programme is going ahead, although not quite in the format originally planned. What has happened so far is a series of consultations with different groups with a view to convening a broad forum of women in late February.

What happened was that we were approached by Brenda Boult, one of the women who attended the Mossel Bay conference. She is a lecturer in sociology at UPE, and is on the committee of the Child and Family Welfare Association. She wanted to meet with township women's groups to discuss with them the needs for establishing a creche/community centre, and providing assistance through the CFWA. She also wishes to get UPE students involved in doing research on the childcare needs of township residents. We arranged a meeting on 17 January between her and mem-

bers of PE Women's Organisation (who had also attended the Conference); we also invited Joy Wanless, who had been at the conference as well, and is now involved in READ, initiating adult literacy programmes in the townships. We hope that through such meetings the white women who came to our conference can get information, support and advice for their projects from the township women, and that the township women will benefit from their projects. Thus IDASA is playing a facilitating role in bringing women from different backgrounds together to assist each other practically.

At the above meeting, PEWO requested that IDASA have a 'video day' for them, which we arranged the following week (24 January). About 20 PEWO members attended.

On 25 January, Liz invited the IDAMWASA (Interdenominational African Ministers Wives Association) to come and see us, which they did; we raised the idea of a women's forum where they could meet white women who could maybe assist them, and they were enthusiastic.

On 31 January we met with four members of the Eastern Cape Council of Churches Women's Division, and they were also enthusiastic about the prospect of a broad forum of women. Our next step is to meet with the local COSATU Women's Section, and raise the idea with them; and to meet with women from the Northern Areas Youth Congress.

We will be arranging a large Women's Forum on Saturday 25 February, to which we will invite the above groupings, and we will approach the National Council of Women, Kontak, Jong Dames Dinamiek, as well as the Black Sash, the Union of Jewish Women, and the Ministers' Wives from the Anglican and Methodist Churches. The women who attended the Mossel Bay conference will also be invited. At this forum, the women from all different backgrounds and organisations will get to know one another for the purpose of future contact; express what problems or issues face them in their different contexts; discuss what they could do to assist each other in the future.

**Eastern Cape Staff**



## Two New Year's Eve gifts for Janet Cherry

A Port Elizabeth research consultant for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, Miss Janet Cherry, received two gifts on New Year's Eve.

Prevented by Government restrictions from spending the festive season with her parents in Cape town, she was visited on New Year's Eve by her mother, Mrs Helen Cherry.

And Mrs Cherry handed her a major human rights award, which she received on her daughter's behalf in New York last month.

Miss Cherry applied to the authorities for permission to be in New York on December 7 to receive the Reebok Human Rights Award for Young Activists, but had this request turned down.

After being detained from September 23 to November 17 last year, Miss Cherry was restricted to the magisterial district of Port Elizabeth. She is also confined to her home at night and may not speak to the Press.

A friend, Mr Kobus Pienaar, who was also her attorney during her detention, accompanied her mother to the US.



*Ms Janet Cherry with her Reebok Human Rights Award which included a sum of money to be donated to a Human Rights organisation in SA of her own choice.*

## History under spotlight in E Cape

THE education community in Port Elizabeth is to be well-served by IDASA projects during the months of March and April.

Following on from its launch in February, the History Teachers' Forum will hold further meetings in March and April. Each meeting will focus on a different period in South Africa's history, looking at both the "official" history of the period as well as the oft-forgotten "alternative" history.

The foci for the March and April meetings respectively are: "The impact of Colonisation" (the Cape in the 17th century) and "Frontiers" (the Great Trek, Mfecane, Frontier Wars, the establishment of the Boer Republics — the 18th century).

Also in March there will be a repetition of a very successful week-

end outing held in 1988 for high school students from all communities. Approximately 60 scholars will gather at an out-of-town venue and pass the weekend inter-acting and communicating, thereby promoting a better understanding and greater trust between races.

Also planned to involve high school students as well as students from Vista and UPE, is the first of two history workshops planned for 1988. This will take place at the end of March, and is entitled "Understanding the Past to Build the Future". The focus of this workshop will be on developing students' ability to research and write their own history. Out of this workshop, oral history groups will be established as an ongoing project in which students can be actively involved,

hopefully producing the results of their "history-making" in the form of plays and booklets at later public events.

Two major seminars in March and April will address the education community on a broader basis.

The Peoples Education debate has still to make headway on established educational terrains and IDASA will be promoting further debate on this issue among tertiary-level students and academics. Emphasis will be placed on exploring the concept in order to make it acceptable to all South Africans.

Secondly, in April, the topic of "Privatisation of Schools" will be addressed and this seminar will be of particular interest to school

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teachers. Looming very real on the horizon is the prospect of schools being privatised and this seminar will highlight all aspects and the consequences of such a step.

Wrapping up our efforts in the education community are the ongoing "township tours". Based on a social history of Port Elizabeth compiled by our research department, these fact-finding missions will take in places and events of historic interest in the area.

All this and more (e.g. seminars

on local government, business and the unemployed) will take place in the Eastern Cape region during March and April. Any further enquiries can be directed to the Port Elizabeth office at P.O. Box 23088, Diasland, 6009 or telephone 23001/22512.

The Resource Centre which has opened in the PE office (see separate advertisement on this page) is for your use so please feel welcome to make use of it!

**Eastern Cape Staff**

## Luncheon forum for Reef women

THERE are a number of clubs and organisations catering for business and professional women in the Johannesburg/Pretoria area. All of them recognise that women are an immense force in our country today and most of them operate within clearly defined parameters with the aim of motivating and equipping women to achieve financial and professional equality with men in the workplace.

IDASA's Transvaal office will be launching a luncheon forum for women on 28 April. The forum, entitled WOMEN FACING THE FUTURE TOGETHER, differs from existing groups both in its orientation and objectives.

We aim to:

- Provide a platform for democratic-thinking people to give their perspectives on aspects of the South African situation and options for the future;
- Encourage women across the broad spectrum of South African society to exchange views on issues of common concern in the belief that, equipped with an informed knowledge, South African women can face the future together and make a positive contribution to the changes needed to bring about a non-racial, democratic society.

A wide range of women's organisations and prominent South African women have pledged their support to this project. Meetings will be held at a pleasant, easily accessible venue every second month beginning on April 28. IDASA's Director of Policy and Planning, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, will be one of the speakers to address our first meeting.

If you would like to be on our mailing list or require further information please telephone Melody Emmett or Lisa Seftel at (011) 318-1504 or write to The Co-ordinators, WOMEN FACING THE FUTURE TOGETHER, P.O. Box 2300, Halfway House, 1685.

**Melody Emmett**  
**Regional Co-ordinator**  
**(Transvaal)**

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# Business: 3 major projects planned

THE important and relevant role business plays in a society is self evident. Job opportunities, housing and education are but a few fields where business has an influence. Business has further become involved in the social structuring of society and pressure for political change.

**IDASA is organising a full programme directed at business and its role in a future South Africa.**

To illustrate how pressing the economic situation is, the first conference, **FUTURE FACTS: A DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE ECONOMY**, to be held on 7 April 1989 in Cape Town, will pinpoint the economic realities South Africa has to face. Business and labour will be called upon to address the problems and offer practical suggestions on how to allocate our limited resources and alleviate pressure.

Recently we have seen how business has attempted to get involved in communities and also to bring about change. These initiatives have, however, been met with some resistance. Why, when the intentions are good? Then again, are the intentions honourable?

The second conference, **BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT: PROGRESSIVE OR PATERNALISTIC?** will look at the process of consultation and communication which is necessary for successful community involvement. This conference aims to explore common ground between business and the community and will question whether they can play complementary roles. It is scheduled for 12 May in Cape Town and, like the Future Facts conference, it will be a half-day seminar geared towards maximum participation by delegates.

**HUMAN RIGHTS AND BUSINESS** is another subject that will be addressed at a national conference in Stellenbosch in April.

**Marion Shaer**  
Regional Co-ordinator  
(Western Cape)

## IDASA OCCASIONAL PAPERS

1. **Democracy and Government: A Post-Leninist Perspective**  
Dr Charles Simkins, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Cape Town.
2. **Democracy and Law**  
Advocate Arthur Chaskalson, National Director, Legal Resources Centre.
3. **Democracy and Government: Towards a People's Struggle**  
Presented by Mr Andrew Boraine on behalf of the United Democratic Front.
4. **Democracy and Business**  
Mr Leon Louw, Director, Free Market Foundation.
5. **Democracy and the Church**  
Prof. J.W. de Gruchy, Professor of Christian Studies, University of Cape Town.
6. **Democracy and the Media**  
Mr J. Latakoma, Editor, The Sowetan.
- Democracy and Education**  
Mr M Ralawe, Chairman, NEUSA (Eastern Cape Region).
- Democracy and Labour**  
The late Mr Eric Mntonga, Regional Co-ordinator, IDASA (Border Region).
7. **The Dynamics of Reform & Revolt in Current South Africa**  
Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert  
A Three Part Talk as Tanner Lecturer, Brasenose College, Oxford, October/November 1987.  
**LECTURE 1: From Apartheid to Reform: The Ideological Preparation for the Total Onslaught.**
8. **The Dynamics of Reform & Revolt in Current South Africa**  
Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert  
**Lecture 2: The Dynamics of Reform: Co-optive Domination — Sharing Power without Losing Any**
9. **The Dynamics of Reform & Revolt in Current South Africa**  
Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert  
**Lecture 3: The Dynamics of Reform: Patterns of Resistance and Revolt**
10. **Dakar Report Back**  
Dr Alex Boraine, Executive Director, IDASA, Cape Town (4.8.87).
11. **The Dakar Reports: Responses from Sixteen Delegates**
12. **A View of the Economy Beyond Apartheid**  
Five Perspectives from the Seminar held on 22.4.88 in Cape Town.
13. **Beyond the Bend: South Africa, Southern Africa and Namibian Independence**  
Peter Vale, Research Professor & Director, Institute for Social and Economic Research, Grahamstown (October 1988).
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.

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# Work in Border area takes off

IN the absence of project staff, the Border Region of IDASA operated on a limited scale during the last six months of 1988. The recent appointment of a regional co-ordinator should, however, boost activities once again.

At the time of going to press, we were planning our first township visit for businessmen in the region.

We have decided to refer to these township visits as "social history" tours as we intend tracing the history of the township and only visiting one township per tour. We plan to start with the business sector, and the visits will initially only be open by invitation.

A major issue in worker relations in the Border area is housing. Management cannot fully understand the issues unless they have seen the townships firsthand and met the leaders of the communities in which their workers live.

For February we have planned an informal discussion evening to find out what expectations the people of the greater East London area have of IDASA. After last year's six-month lull, this will serve to re-introduce IDASA to the region. Having lived on the Border for a number of years I look forward to the challenge of getting the debate on a non-racial future for South Africa under way.

The details of proposed projects will be published in the local press and people on our mailing list will get a printed programme of events on a monthly basis.

**Cindy Deutschmann**  
Regional Co-ordinator

## The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA)

Strongly protests against the three month ban imposed on two community newspapers, *Grassroots* and *New Era*. We implore Minister Stoffel Botha to reconsider and rescind his decision as a matter of priority.

## UPROOTING POVERTY The South African challenge



## Cape Times — The Carnegie Challenge

THE highly significant Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa has completed its investigations. The recent publication of the book *Uprooting Poverty, The South African Challenge*, by the Inquiry's director, Professor Francis Wilson, and Dr Mamphela Ramphele underlines just what the project has been able to achieve.

Based on nine pre-conference research papers, more than 300 papers delivered at the Carnegie conference in 1984 from 22 universities and 17 post-conference research projects, the Inquiry has demonstrated just how extensive and pervasive poverty is in South Africa. Its broad findings can leave no South African comfortable.

The inquiry found a division in South Africa between rich and poor greater than in any other country in the world for which statistics are available. It established that there are about 15 million 'poor' people in South Africa, some of them very poor indeed. Some two million children are growing up stunted for lack of sufficient calories — in one

of the few countries of the world that exports food.

Those shocking facts, and they are shocking whichever way one looks at them, should jolt us all into action. From any perspective, such poverty has the inherent potential for instability, particularly when contrasted with the lifestyles of the wealthy. It also has severe economic consequences, limiting growth and development.

Fortunately, Professor Wilson and Dr Ramphele have concentrated not only on exposing the nature of this poverty, but also on strategies for doing something about it now, although they argue that "underlying all strategies against poverty must be clear recognition of the necessity for a fundamental redistribution of power".

For what has been achieved so far, those behind the Second Carnegie Inquiry, particularly the University of Cape Town and its Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (Saldru), should be congratulated. The challenge now is to do something about this disturbing situation.



# IDASA STAFF APPOINTMENTS



Ms Marion Shaer

MARION Shaer joined the IDASA staff as a Western Cape Co-ordinator in January. She is filling Nic Borain's position since his promotion to Director in the region.

Marion has just completed her B.Journal Hons. at the University of Stellenbosch where she also did her BA majoring in politics and sociology.

Whilst at Stellenbosch she served two terms on the SRC.

In 1983 she matriculated from Queenstown Girls' High and then spent a year as an exchange student in the United States. Last year she attended the International Summer School in Oslo studying peace research.

She grew up in Zastron in the Orange Free State.



Ms Ronel Scheffer

RONEL Scheffer was appointed as IDASA's Director of Publications in February.

The publications section of IDASA produces the regular news bulletin, *Democracy in Action*, a series of occasional papers and other publications generated by the international and national projects of IDASA.

A former regional co-ordinator of IDASA in East London, Ronel is an experienced journalist and has spent most of her working career on newspapers in the Eastern Cape, serving for a period too as the political correspondent of the East London based daily, the *Daily Dispatch*. She holds a BA-Communications degree from The University of the Orange Free State.

Inhlanipho High School in Kwa Mashu until 1987. He then worked part-time for the University of Natal's Centre for Adult Education's community organisation project where he helped structure and run a three-month course designed for young black activists.

His community involvement includes running upgrading programmes for pupils at a community school at Bhambayi (a squatter area) near Phoenix. He is a member of the non-racial education organisation NEUSA and has helped run workshops for students and teachers. He worked for Sached (Durban) as a tutor for matric pupils as well as UNISA students.

His qualifications are a B.Ped from the University of Zululand, a diploma in adult education (University of Natal, Durban) and a diploma in community education which he acquired in 1988 from the University of Edinburgh in Scotland.

The Centre for Cultural Understanding in Illinois (USA) has awarded him their prestigious 1989 Humanitarian Award which he still has to receive at a ceremony in Chicago later this year.

He was married to the late Sbon-gile, who passed away in November 1988 and has two daughters, Nomkhosi and Nomthandazo.



Mr Pierre de Vos

PIERRE de Vos joined the publications department of IDASA in February 1989.

Pierre obtained an LLB-degree from the University of Stellenbosch last year and is a former assistant editor of the student newspaper, *Die Matie*.

He will work as a journalist for IDASA who will share his services with the independent journal, *Die Suid-Afrikaan*.

Pierre matriculated from Pietersburg Hoërskool in 1981.



Mr Fana Zungu

FANA Zungu was born in Sophiatown in 1954 and grew up in Soweto. He was appointed to the IDASA staff in Natal as regional co-ordinator in January 1989. He is a teacher by profession, having qualified at Amanzimtoti Zulu Training School in 1979. He started teaching at Daliwonga Secondary School from 1980-1981.

He left Daliwonga and came to Natal where he worked as a tutor at Umbulu College of Education until 1982. He then started teaching at



Mr Gary Cullen

GARY Cullen joined IDASA in October 1988 as a Regional Co-ordinator in the Natal office. He was born in Vereeniging and grew up in Germiston, Port Shepstone and then Durban. He matriculated at Durban High School and attained a B.A. Hons. in Comparative African Government at the University of Natal.

At university he served on the Students Representative Council for four years. During this time he became involved in the National Union of South African Students



through which he learnt his skills as a political organiser. He was a founder member of the End Conscription Campaign in Durban and was elected as one of its national organisers in 1988 and served in this capacity until the closure of the ECC under the Emergency regulations.



Ms Rose Louw

ROSE Louw is regional secretary at the Durban office. She was appointed to the position in October 1988. She has been an active Black Sash member including serving on the executive of the Natal Coastal Region. Rose, who is married, was previously a journalist for nine years on the *Diamonds Fields Advertiser* (in Kimberley), the *Pretoria News* and *Personality* magazine. She studied for her BA (UNISA) part-time while at the *Pretoria News*. She originally hails from Cape town.



Ms Cindy Deutschmann

CINDY Deutschmann joined IDASA in February as the Regional Co-ordinator for the Border Region.

She completed her schooling in East London and has been active in the organisation of the Black Sash in the area for some time, currently holding the vice-chairperson's position in the Border area.

Her appointment will bring relief in the Border region which has operated without projects' staff since July last year.

## Giliomee misrepresented?

Dear Sir,

Response to "Leverkusen exposes the myths", *Democracy in Action*, December 1988.

I would like to take issue with one point made in an otherwise good article by Ms Elsabe Wessels on Leverkusen in your December 1988 issue. She writes that Prof Hermann Giliomee "argued for a continued post-apartheid struggle between Afrikaner nationalism and black nationalism" (p1).

I hope the misrepresentation of Giliomee was not deliberate, but whatever the case it can only be described as appalling. The whole point of Giliomee's paper at Leverkusen was the fact that by acknowledging and allowing the expression of communal nationalist commitments, such commitments could be articulated into an over-arching unity and transcendent national identity.

At the conference his utterly clear argument was misunderstood and he was at pains to explain during discussion that the defusing of sectional commitments could not be achieved by denying their legitimacy or validity. As in the theory relating to the national question in the Soviet Union after 1918, not "continued struggle" but accommodation and the basis for willing commitment to national unifica-

tion is best achieved by respecting communal sentiments and representing them in unifying institutions.

The arguments attributed to Giliomee is blatantly incorrect and I would most seriously suggest that *Democracy in Action* either sets the record straight or attempts to motivate this remarkable attribution.

Yours sincerely,

LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER

Delegate at the Leverkusen Conference and Director of the Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand.

*Elsabé Wessels replies as follows:*

*Contrary to Professor Schlemmer's interpretation of my article on Leverkusen I don't believe that I misrepresented Professor Giliomee.*

*During the debate on the national question Giliomee took pains to explain the problems he perceived to be inherent in a non-racial nation model. He also took pains to explain his dual-nationalism theory, which I referred to.*

*I don't think that my brief reference to Giliomee which served to illustrate the nature of the debate rather than an evaluation of his point of view, can be construed as a deliberate misrepresentation.*

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# A glimpse of life in the townships

ON the doorstep of Cape Town's suburbs, miles of township stretch into the distance. These townships are a world of which most white South Africans are totally unaware.

Children play soccer in the sand, housewives sweep and clean shacks. A different type of politics is conducted. People fear daily that their houses will be demolished. There

are few schools and health services and worklessness is the order of the day.

This is life and home to the majority of people in the area.

For two years IDASA have been running tours of these townships with the aim of exposing South Africans to what is happening less than 10 km away. Up to three tours

are run every month, giving people the opportunity to learn, socialise and share diverse experiences of the same country.

For further information call Sarah at the IDASA office in Cape Town (473127).

**Marion Shaer**  
Regional Co-ordinator



*Scenes from the KTC squatter camp outside Cape Town.*

