

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

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All clear for negotiations?

Political journalist **HENNIE SERFONTEIN** reviews the state of play.

THE ROAD to an all-party conference in the near future and the subsequent drafting of a constitution for a new South Africa is now wide open, the basic obstacles to "real negotiations" having been effectively removed.

Already the two key parties in the process are said to have reached an unofficial "understanding" on how to overcome the two major obstacles facing the all-party conference — the ANC's demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Furthermore, the government has apparently moved considerably in its understanding of the ANC's internal problems, specifically as regards the importance of addressing the negative perceptions of ANC supporters about negotiations.

The accord reached between the government and the ANC in Cape Town on

February 6 has effectively ended the deadlock that existed between them since the Pretoria Minute was signed early in August last year.

The controversial Article 3 of the Pretoria Minute, dealing with the "suspension of armed action and related activities" by the ANC, led to conflicting interpretations and caused a six-month stalemate in the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

Both sides made important concessions. The

ANC agreed to stop "war talk" and refrain from new underground military activity. The government on its part accepted the right of the ANC to peaceful mass protest actions.

Agreement was reached that the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, following indemnification, could proceed. This means that the "ultimatum" of the ANC's consultative conference in December has been met. It called for agreement on the "prisoners and

exiles" process to be completed and implementation to start before April 30 — also the date agreed upon in the Pretoria Minute.

In practice, of course, the return of exiles will be a long-drawn-out process taking many months.

Looking back on the negotiation process which began on February 2 last

year, but more particularly at the events of the past three months, it can only be described as the political miracle of modern times.

As the most crucial aspect of the whole process took place quickly and mostly behind the scenes, it was conducive to intimate personal relationships. Understanding and mutual respect has developed on both sides, despite



President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela: a tandem operation securing negotiations.

Confusion en route to perfect ending

By Sue Valentine

THE transition in South Africa epitomises the perfection of ends and the confusion of means.

It was with this paraphrase of Albert Einstein that Idasa policy and planning director Van Zyl Slabbert opened a 10-lecture programme on "Issues in Transition" hosted jointly by the institute and the University of Cape Town's Summer School.

Sketching his analysis of the chances for a transition to democracy in South Africa, Slabbert said *the* issue was that of white minority domination. In terms of this, there was a tendency to adopt the decolonisation agenda when speaking about solving this problem.

"But, this perspective is not valid for South Africa because in other situations whites left the country or some sort of external formula was imposed. These two modes are not available to us," said Slabbert.

In South Africa there was no clear political script to follow; problems would have to be solved "along the way".

He said that, by and large, everyone in South Africa believed negotiations were a good thing, but there were numerous interpretations of what negotiation meant.

Slabbert distinguished between the process of normalisation with which the government was busy at present and the process of democratisation.

Normalisation included the creation of space for political expression, restoring basic rights to all citizens and creating a climate conducive to negotiation.

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Idasa's goals are:

- To promote the development of a democratic culture in South Africa
- To address fear, prejudice, anger and other obstacles in the transition to a non-racial democracy in South Africa
- To engage influential groups and individuals who may be outsiders to the transition process
- To provide, wherever possible, information on critical issues and to explore ways of addressing these
- To facilitate discussion of constitutional and developmental issues relevant to Southern Africa
- To assist and encourage others to contribute to the attainment of these goals

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All-party conference, end to sanctions urgent

PRESIDENT De Klerk's announcement on 1 February that the worst of South Africa's race laws were to be scrapped during the current parliamentary session shifts the focus away from obstacles in the way of negotiation to negotiation proper.

It is true that there is still the contentious matter of the release of hundreds of political prisoners and the return of the exiles. It is also true that one of the disappointing features of the State President's speech was his lack of reference to security laws and the problems surrounding security forces. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that the security laws will receive attention during the parliamentary session and that the matter of political prisoners and exiles is no longer one of principle but rather of the need to sharpen up the administration and to give urgency to these concerns about which emotions understandably run high.

Problems

It is clear therefore that the focus will be very much on the all-party conference which was referred to by the government last year and very strongly supported by the ANC on 8 January of this year. It is important that this conference gets off the ground as soon as possible. However, there are some problems which will demand attention. In the first place the Conservative Party, the Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo have all announced that they will not attend the conference. Every effort must be made to persuade these organisations to change their minds.

As far as the CP is concerned, this is going to be extremely difficult in the wake of Mr De Klerk's speech and their steadfast refusal to have anything to do with so-called "terrorist" organisations and communists! The CP has stressed that it is committed to self-determination and therefore will not take part in any process which robs them of that goal. The key actors, namely the National Party on the one hand and the ANC on the other, should make it clear to the leadership of the CP that the question of self-determination could well be on the agenda of the all-party conference. At the same time the attempts to change the minds of the CP ought not to be conducted so much in public but should be a matter of private discussions.

The PAC has made it clear that they are seeking the unity of the oppressed with specific reference to the ANC before they will attend an all-party conference. Already strides have been made in this direction and while alliance politics are inevitable in the current climate, it would be a pity if the unity, particularly among largely black organisations, should be seen as a ganging up on the rest. There is considerable debate within the PAC on this matter which

suggests that it would be well worthwhile to try and persuade them to be at the table when the conference is held.

Legitimacy

It is particularly important that this conference should take place soon because it could become a clearing house for some of the major problems surrounding the ANC's demand for a constituent assembly and President De Klerk's rejection of an elected constituent assembly. The real question is popular legitimacy. It should not be beyond the wit and wisdom of the assembled parties to reach consensus on ways and means of ensuring not only the best constitution for a new South Africa but also that it has the support of the vast majority of South Africans.

Hand in hand with the progress on the negotiation front must go constant and urgent attention to the economic plight of the majority of South Africans. It would be nothing short of tragic if the emphasis should shift from the need for economic growth in order that redistribution should take place, to a focus on the sterile debate on whether or not sanctions imposed on South Africa ought to be lifted. Unfortunately Mr De Klerk's enlightened and courageous decision to scrap the fundamental race laws which have bedevilled our society for so long has put him in the category of St George slaying the dragon! (This is particularly ironic bearing in mind that the NP spent so much time and energy rearing the creature!)

Losers

As a result, Mr De Klerk is "rewarded" by the international community (according to most of the press in South Africa) by shifting their stance on sanctions. And Mr Mandela is seen as the loser at a time when South Africa simply cannot afford winners and losers. It would of course have been preferable if there could have been a joint statement by the State President and the leader of the ANC calling for an end to sanctions and a plea for investment. But the ANC's December conference made this impossible. The ANC's position on sanctions is untenable. On the one hand, they rightly demand that reparation must be made to those who have been so severely discriminated against for so long. On the other hand, in his most recent statement, Mr Mandela insists that sanctions cannot be lifted until there is a new constitution. But there is no way in which serious attention can be given to the plight of the dispossessed unless there is significant economic growth, and a new constitution is several years down the road. South Africa simply does not have the time to wait until then. The new South Africa must start now!

— Alex Boraine
Executive Director



LETTERS

TML not indifferent

CONGRATULATIONS on an interesting issue of *Democracy in Action* in December 1990. However, I must point out that you err in your front page assertion that Times Media Ltd "chose not to attend" Idasa's conference on the media.

One of our most senior executive journalists, Brian Pottinger, who is chief assistant editor of *The Sunday Times*, South Africa's largest newspaper, not only attended but was a panelist in your ethics session during the conference.

Frankly, it is silly to imply, without investigation, that TML is indifferent to the changes facing the media in a democratising South Africa. Our publications have played a consistent and considerable role in the struggle to bring about the changes we are now experiencing, and they will continue to sound the call for individual liberties in an open society.

Further, TML is actively engaged in the debate on the future of the media with leaders from a wide range of backgrounds at the highest level. We have never ignored our responsibilities, to our staff, our shareholders and the wider society, and we will not do so in the future.

I wish your publication well.

*Neil Jacobsohn
General Manager: Operations
Times Media Ltd*

According to the Campaign for Open Media's chairperson, Raymond Louw, who co-organised the conference, the managing director of TML, Stephen Mulholland, as well

as Tertius Myburgh and Ken Owen were invited to the conference to represent the TML group. None attended and no representatives of the group were sent in their place, leaving TML noticeably absent from the debate on ownership of the media. As Mr Jacobsohn rightly points out, Brian Pottinger did indeed attend, but we believe it is fair to say that in his contribution to the panel on media ethics he spoke in his capacity as a journalist and not as an official representative of the TML group. This led Democracy in Action to make the point it did - re-iterating a remark made by Mr Louw in his concluding address.

- Editor

Visie nodig om vrese te oorkom

EK LEES gereeld met belangstelling *Democracy in Action* en is veral getref deur Idasa se tweede doelstelling: "To address fear, prejudice, anger and other obstacles in the transition to a non-racial democracy in South Africa." Dit kan myns insiens net geskied wanneer die selfkonsep van mense en groepe verander.

Die vorming van selfkonsep bring in sigself struktuur mee en die verandering daarvan is ingewikkelder as wat die meeste mense dink.

Vrese, vooroordele en angs is gewortel in die bedreigde selfkonsep, en eers wanneer die oorsaak van hierdie afbrekende prosesse eerlik deur die persoon of groep in oënskou geneem word, kan begin word met selfkonsepverandering ter wille van groei en ontwikkeling.

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JA-NEE

Fighting talk

"Your guns are misdirected," Chris Hani told at gathering in Cape Town where councillors and civics have been engaged in a violent conflict.

- We thought we had to throw our weapons into the sea.

Grootpraat

'n Advertensie vir 'n Nasionale Party tussensverkiezing vergadering in Maitland: "Kom luister na die Waarheid - Minister Hernus Kriel, Donderdag 14 Februarie 1991."

- Net sowat 60 mense het opgedaag. Dis die werklikheid.

A smashing idea

It is reliably learnt that among the project proposals prepared for funders by the ANC was one destined for the Eastern Transvaal which had several mountain bikes and a micro-lite on the list of essentials.

No less reassuring is the news that the Witwatersrand Council of Churches will close down this year because it cannot account for the spending of its R1 million budget in 1990.

- The people shall govern...

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

"One of our greatest problems today is that those who have governed for so long, know so little about the governed." - Alex Boraine of Idasa at the UCT Summer School.

All clear for negotiations?

From Page 1

serious differences and often sharp public criticism of one another.

"The personal chemistry that has evolved between us is far more important than all the formal agreements and differences," a key cabinet minister recently remarked. Thus in a recent edition of *Vrye Weekblad* several senior cabinet ministers are quoted as speaking with the greatest respect of Nelson Mandela as "a gentleman, a man of integrity and honesty".

Thus the general public will be astonished to know that privately the ANC accepts the honesty and good intentions of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, although he is criticised for certain mistakes.

A turning point in getting the negotiation process firmly back on track again — after months of escalating confrontations — was the De Klerk-Mandela meeting at the end of November in Pretoria. It was then agreed that future meetings between the two and their advisers would take place in the utmost confidence, without any advance announcements which result in media hype and create a make or break crisis atmosphere.

But another development has been even more important: on the government's side a new understanding has developed of the ANC's internal problems, the perceptions of its supporters and the vital need to strengthen the position of Nelson Mandela and his negotiating team to counter grassroots criticism by providing them with viable and tangible results in the negotiations.

Speedy and drastic actions are planned in the spheres of education, housing and local government, which the ANC hopes will create black grassroots confidence in negotiations.

AS REGARDS the ANC's demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly, the January 8 ANC document and subsequent remarks by Mandela and De Klerk make it clear that there has already been, for many months, an unspoken official "understanding" about how to overcome it.

The ANC call for an all-party conference provides for the conference to be converted into an interim government and a constituent assembly, if confirmed by a general referendum.

De Klerk recognised the need for "the leaders of the negotiating parties" to have "a voice in the formulation of important policy decisions". Thus, as far as an interim government is concerned, the differences involve terminology, and not the substance.

The first informal meeting of leaders of the all-party conference could take place as early as April. Regardless of the rhetoric, the Conservative Party will attend. The PAC, the other hardline non-negotiator, will, if not participating, probably be present as an observer.

It seems that the Mandela leadership is fully in control of the negotiation process, notwithstanding the outspoken criticism by grassroots members at the December conference.

Mandela seems determined to keep his militant hardliners in check, and is not prepared to allow the strategy of mass mobilisation to get out of hand and to threaten the negotiations. □

HOPE & DESPAIR

Hopes and fears for the future

Prominent South Africans say what gives them hope for the year ahead — and what makes them despair.

WHAT WITH the war in the Gulf, seemingly no end to the violence in South Africa and our bleak economic prospects, one might be forgiven for feeling that the new year already looks a little threadbare. *Democracy in Action* asked several prominent South Africans what gave them hope and what made them despair.

Perhaps the most positive response came from Wits University's Prof Njabulo Ndebele who declined to comment on what made him despair: "I wouldn't want to use the word despair — I don't think it is a helpful way of responding, perhaps we should talk about major challenges."

Helen Suzman
Retired Democratic Party MP and civil rights campaigner offered three observations which gave her hope for South Africa's future.

"There is still a remarkable amount of goodwill between racial groups — it seems to be perennial. The negotiations stay on track despite all the obstacles and, most important, the majority of people in South Africa of all races want to live a life free from intimidation, with the prospects of a better standard of living. Of course, this can only be obtained if we have stability."

Two issues were cause for greatest concern — the continuing violence and the ANC's "obstinacy" on the ending of sanctions.

"Neither Mandela nor Inkatha seem able to control the ongoing violence, largely because elements (such as criminals or people wanting revenge) have entered into it.

"The ANC remain obstinate on the issue of sanctions when they know perfectly well they won't solve anything unless we get the economy sparked up and end the violence."

Gcina Mhlope
Playwright, director, storyteller, actor

"I am encouraged that there are enough people in South Africa who want things to be different and to be better. These people are not just in full time politics but are working at other levels — in schools, as social workers, and so on.

"But what depresses me is the economy. The way it's going is terrifying. There is no such thing as independence when you don't have money. And then there's the homelessness of black people. Where is it going? These are huge problems.

"When I look at the education in this country I also worry like crazy. The amount of work that is needed there is incredible. I hope that the little I'm doing in children's stories and theatre is giving some inspiration to those children I'm involved with, but the only recipe to get anywhere is hard work."

Ken Owen
Editor, *Sunday Times*

"Things are going about as well as any realistic person might have expected them to. I think it is more than we dared hope for in 1986/87.

"Both sides are committed to negotiations; the NP have moved their policy position light years and are providing good, even admirable leadership. The ANC has modified its position, perhaps less so, but in the face of greater difficulties. The meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi was a milestone in the process.

"Still, I am terribly distressed by the social disintegration of the black community. Perhaps it was

to have been expected, but I didn't imagine it would be so awful.

"The only answer is political negotiations and revived economic performance. If I came to the conclusion that our economic prospects were broken, then I would despair indeed."

Sheena Duncan
Vice-president of the South African Council of Churches and a member of the committee coordinating the return of exiles.

"What makes me despair is the slowness of the whole process of the return of exiles. Bureaucratic structures and difficult guidelines are complicating the process. One of the requirements for indemnity, for example, is that the individual concerned must admit to his or her crime and that this must be published in the *Government Gazette!*

"On the positive side, amendments to the



Helen Suzman



Gcina Mhlope



Njabulo Ndebele



Jeanne Goosen



Ronnie Bethlehem

Citizenship Act are to be made soon that will make it possible for certain exiles to resume their South African citizenship, which they might have forfeited earlier.

"On the negative side again, I find developments around Mrs Mandela's trial absolutely terrifying. The police have been slow in establishing the disappearance of co-accused but much worse is the disappearance of a key witness and refusal of others to testify.

"THE HIGH level of anarchy in the country is a source of great despair and disappointment, especially the fact that there doesn't seem to be any structures or organisations to address the problem - no effort being made to maintain a disciplined approach to the militancy of the youth.

"I have no suggestions, everybody feels quite helpless about that."

'Because people's problems are so immense, it is not good enough to ask them to be patient - we can put them in a better frame of mind by improving their physical situation.'

Jeanne Goosen

Controversial Afrikaans poet and playwright who works as a journalist for *Die Transvaler* pins her hopes on "more open attitudes" that she perceives to be developing, even in conservative Transvaal communities. She attributes it to a relaxation of censorship in the media.

"I have noticed, for example, that relationships between white women and their domestic servants are improving, becoming less paternalistic.

"In fact, I believe that ultimately a lot will depend on the women in South Africa. We have to take to the streets and shout against violence the way women in Ireland have done."

Although discouraged by the high crime rate and unemployment, and the attitudes of the "blertie boere en hulle drukkroep", Jeanne says she gets a regular lift from incidents in which people demonstrate a sincere desire to integrate and show tolerance.

Prof Njabulo Ndebele

Writer and head of the Department of African Literature at the University of the Witwatersrand, finds encouraging the increasing signs of willingness of most South Africans to talk about the issues confronting the country.

"Although we have various levels of understanding of what the problems are and how to tackle them, there is an increasing willingness and openness to reach out which is welcome.

"At some point though we should not depend on the willingness of people, but an entire culture should support the new position in this country. It means that we will have to work hard to get there.

"Our major challenges lie in finding ways of making the changes concrete for those who have been denied chances for so long.

"We have to find practical ways of opening schools to people, creating access to universities, looking at the desperate housing situation.

"We have to work out how to get more people involved in a highly complex economic system which has not benefitted them for years - they have to learn the rules of the system.

"Because people's problems are so immense, it is not good enough to ask them to be patient - we can put them in a better frame of mind by improving their physical situation.

"We are going through a very delicate time - which requires clear heads and a sense of vision that will accommodate the possibility of different ways of tackling problems.

"Once people experience that the world is working for them, their perceptions really change."

Prof Sampie Terreblanche

Economics Department, Stellenbosch University

"What worries me is that De Klerk and his men seem to be incapable of making a thorough structural analysis of the South African problem. They do not understand the legacy of apartheid, that is, the structural inequalities which have created undeserved wealth and undeserved poverty and squalor.

"The government should realise that if sanctions are lifted without trying to do something about the socio-economic conditions there will be no stability and no chance of investments to get our economy restarted."

BALANCE SHEET SA UNLIMITED

In true economist style, Dr Ronnie Bethlehem, Group Economics Consultant for JCI, gave us a balance sheet of how South Africa's prospects appear to him.

LIABILITIES

- **Political Violence:**

Black youth radicalism; White right wing reaction

- **Aids:**

Black ignorance and illiteracy; White regional entrapment because of world bans on Aids regions; Black social breakdown

- **Threat to quality of health services:**

Emigration of medical personnel; Huge backlog of health services for majority of population; Rising costs of private health care

- **Poverty and Inequality:**

Mass black unemployment; White privilege and indifference; Mass black homelessness

- **Economic Failure:**

Gold and mineral price collapse; R55 billion deficit from state pensions, farming debt and forex deficit; Chronic double digit inflation

- **Crime and Corruption:**

General ethical decline; Police understaffing and incompetence; Rising lawlessness

- **Threat of decline in good government & administration**

ASSETS

- **Mineralogical wonder:**

World's leading metal and diamond supplier; World's leading strategic metals supplier; High energy self-sufficiency

- **Manpower:**

Internally-sourced professional and technical skills of high quality; Internally-sourced semi-skilled of relatively good quality; Unlimited supply of unskilled labour

- **Industrial Base:**

Large existing capital stock of good quality; Energetic and competitive entrepreneurial class; Well established market economy; Efficient and uncorrupt and supportive legal and other institutions

- **Well developed infrastructure:**

Excellent road, rail air network; Excellent supply of electrical power; High standard of telecommunications

- **Growth Potential**

Post sanctions period, expansion possibilities for growth from low base as mass consumption market is extended to the majority; External opportunities and strategic advantage vis a vis Africa; Huge tourism possibilities

- **Superb climatic conditions**

Democratisation implied the involvement of new parties in power structures, broadening accountability and seeking legitimacy for political actors and their policies.

A sign of progress in the transition process would be the involvement of a diversity of interests in bargaining and decision-making. However, the imponderables which could scupper the process included the unresolved security situation; the unemployed/uneducated urban black youth; the business community and the durability of compromises that would have to be reached.

Looking ahead Slabbert speculated that in five years' time:

- the government was likely to be broad-based and stable;
- the security situation was likely to be politically stable, but with a high crime rate;
- the economy would be marked by a low growth rate;
- socially, privilege was likely to be non-racial and social spending would be high;
- internationally South Africa would be respectable;
- white domination was likely to be a thing of the past, but unless a democracy had been created, there would still be domination, this time by a non-racial group.

Speaking specifically about constitutional change and likely areas of disagreement, UCT law professor Dennis Davis said he was far less optimistic than Slabbert.

He said unless accountability was enforced or insisted upon now, there was little hope that any future constitution agreed upon through negotiation would endure.

Time and again, throughout the two-week series, the tenuity of the transition to the much vaunted "new democratic South Africa" was brought home.

"The jury is still out as to whether this government is committed to democracy," he added.

DAVIS said the all-pervasive issue and question was how to bring the present orgy of violence under control to begin the task of planting the seeds to build a nation with a tradition of sharing.

Two major issues would dominate the process of negotiation and transition — the security structures (army, police and civil service) and the economy.

He said a constitution was based on a shared need for survival. There could be no hope for a finely-worded constitution if there was no tradition of curbing the powers of leaders and society was based on the practice of resolving disputes by killing each other.

"You don't win political debates by crushing people physically, but by crushing their ideas," he said.

The issue of the security establishment needed to be brought under public scrutiny.

• See also page 10 for what Slabbert predicted five years ago

Towards a new land policy

Government's plans for land reform were criticised as inadequate to deracialise and stabilise land ownership in South Africa at the UCT Summer School.

By Sue Valentine

THE RIGHT to the land, unlike other rights, cannot be extended to the whole population through the mere stroke of a pen because land is finite. The reason the issue evokes such strong responses is because to give to some, one has to take from others.

This was one of the issues raised by Aninka Claassens, senior researcher in the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University, when she shared a platform with the Minister of Agriculture, Jacob de Villiers, during the focus on transitional issues hosted jointly by Idasa and UCT's Summer School in January.

While the minister was reluctant to give much away before the opening of parliament, Claassens argued strongly that government's plans for land reform were inadequate to meet the need for deracialising and stabilising a situation created by historical injustices and inequitable access to land.

In a country where less than 10 percent of the population owns more than 80 percent of the land, landlessness — and redistribution — are burning issues.

However, the right to own land, (a God-given, finite resource which predates the notion

of "property") should not degenerate into the absolute right of the individual to hold vast tracts purely on the basis of personal wealth.

Proposals that land would change hands on a "willing buyer willing seller" basis within a free market economy and President De Klerk's assurances to white farmers that their title deeds are secure meant that very few black South Africans would have money enough to purchase land at current market prices, she said.

"The right to buy land does not address the claims of communities who were forcibly remove...These people believe their land was stolen from them and must simply be returned, with reparation rather than a debit order."

CLAASSENS said that President De Klerk's guarantees to white farmers, guaranteed that South Africa remained in white hands.

However, the existing distribution of land — which government-proposed reforms would serve only to consolidate — was the result of wars of conquest, land grants to white settlers and a market which "was never free because the majority of the population was prohibited from buying or leasing land".

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CLAASENS: black people believe their land was stolen from them.

Following a meticulous account of the variety of conditions under which black people have access to that 13 percent of the nation's land accorded them (mostly through grants in the "homelands", or as labour tenants on white farms, or as urban tenants in the townships), Claassens proposed certain measures which would "level the playing fields".

A *land claims court* would adjudicate conflicting claims to land. For the criteria to be fair they could not refer only to title deeds (which would favour whites) or original ownership (which would favour blacks). Instead, underlying similar values such as birthright, length of occupancy, productive usage, security of tenure, protection of investments would support the claims of both African labour tenants and many Afrikaner families, argued Claassens.

Claassens suggested a system of *regulated land ownership* whereby the parameters within which land is owned are clearly defined. The values underpinning these parameters could include:

- ownership of land limited to areas which are occupied and productively used
- the amount of land owned by one person limited relative to the regional productive capacity of the land
- speculative holding of land be prohibited
- ownership be subject to proper care of the soil and decent treatment of people living on the land
- ownership of housing be limited to one residence

At pains to point out that such ideas were neither revolutionary nor unprecedented, Claassens said examples of land claims courts could be found in New Zealand, Australia and Canada.

Worldwide land ownership was regulated.

In South Africa zoning regulations limited the purpose for which land could be used and there were provisions for the expropriation of land for public purposes.

She argued that the difference between her proposals and those of the government did not lie in economic principles, but rather in political options. The choice was "whether to acknowledge the past and develop terms which address it, or to pretend the past can be wished away," said Claassens.

'Many black and white farmers have shown themselves willing to seek pragmatic solutions to the problems caused by SA's racial history'

She said in Zimbabwe, the Lancaster House Agreement had taken the second option, believing that land ownership could be deracialised by removing the prohibitions on black ownership and then leave the rest to the operation of the market on the "willing buyer, willing seller" basis.

By ignoring the past, 10 years later, the Zimbabwe government had now resorted to measures through which it may purchase half the white-owned land at government determined prices. If South Africa does not deal with its past there was the chance that it would follow in the same direction with a government which has appropriated too much power, making it open to abuse and corruption.

Claassens said that although Zimbabwe provided a closer precedent for South Africa than any other society, there were important differences.



DE VILLIERS: reluctant to say too much.

In Zimbabwe blacks and whites each had 50 percent of the land; in South Africa the split was 80 percent against 20 percent. In addition, in South Africa there is the legacy of the forced removal of 3,5 million people within living memory.

Offering an optimistic note, she added that there were "enormously positive factors" with which to build a new land policy in South Africa.

THERE was a tenacity in the way white and black farmers had clung to their land and many of these people had shown themselves willing to seek pragmatic solutions to the problems caused by South Africa's racial history.

Concluding her address, Claassens said the government's reform proposals would not work by anybody's standards.

The South African Agricultural Union will say it is unacceptable that the land is still full of squatters; white businessmen will say that blacks do not understand basic economic principles and will call for further educational programmes on "responsibility, reciprocity and rational economic choice".

At the same time, however, black people would continue to defy the law - whether out of conviction or necessity - in ever-increasing numbers. The present government had relied on the Illegal Squatting Act and physical eviction to contain the situation.

The only way to break out of the "racial straightjacket of our history" was to deracialise the terms of land ownership. According to Claassens it is possible to establish common baselines and a legal framework which would open the way for black people to realise their claims and their needs.

Business dogma endangers economy

UCT ECONOMIC historian, Dave Lewis, struck a sobering note in the Summer School discussion on key economic imperatives facing South Africa when he pointed out that transitions

from authoritarianism to democracy had occurred in countries where there was economic growth. There had been no such transition in countries where, like South Africa, the economy was not growing.

"We are attempting a transition where high expectation is perfectly reasonable, but the ability of the economy to meet those expectations is declining rapidly," said Lewis.

Arguing from the belief that the transition period was one in which old dogmas and set positions were examined, Lewis set out to expose some of the dogmas in the economic debate which might stand in the way of reaching a "solution".

It was not those on the left, he argued, who were repeating old dogmas in this instance - if anything, "the left" had tended to change too quickly (possibly a sign of political weakness, alternatively a sign of greater creativity). "The really dangerous dogmatism is on the government side of the table and within the ranks of the unsophisticated South African business community," he said.

The three central tenets of the dogma revolved around the need for a weak state, an unfettered private sector and a subordinated labour movement.

The only agency capable of major reconstruction of the economy was the state. Pointing to developments in the USA, China, the USSR, Korea and Sweden, Lewis said it was foolish to ignore the fact that every act of economic growth during this century had been through state intervention.

MASSIVE housing and electrification schemes were a means of improving the economy which would lead to growth. However, such plans would not materialise if, for instance, Eskom were privately owned; it could happen only if Eskom were controlled by the state.

To those whose efforts were aimed at weakening the state's ability to intervene in the economy Lewis said it was better to spend the energy finding a better role for the state rather than denying it any role at all.

Tackling the business community, Lewis said their belief in and insistence on total freedom was as "devoid of credibility as the belief in the Soviet commandist economy". Asking the question who was responsible for the decline of South Africa's manufacturing sector, or South Africa's dependence on foreign capital, or the country's lack of international competitiveness, Lewis said it was most certainly not the fault of sanctions nor the trade unions.

"The responsibility for the poor performance of the manufacturing sector can be laid at the feet of the managers of this sector," he said.

"Only one fifth of one percent of Barlow Rand, the country's largest manufacturer, is spent on research and development."

A strong trade union movement, far from being

an obstacle to economic activity, could offer a constructive, solid body that was stable in the midst of so much change, argued Lewis.

He said the unions' emphasis on independence and autonomy was one of the safest checks for those who feared a powerful state. "The trick is not to isolate the unions, nor to buy them off, but rather to set up structures to allow the unions to participate."

Underlining the importance of the economy in the process of transition, Lewis said any process that did not take account of the economic context of South Africa would ultimately require the same degree of authoritarianism to implement measures as was required before the change. "Those who stick rigidly to dogmas will be responsible for that authoritarianism," he added.

IN HIS presentation, Charles Simkins, who holds the Helen Suzman chair of political economy at the University of the Witwatersrand, offered a range of facts and figures illustrating South Africa's economic position and what would be needed to tackle the all-important issue - the eradication of poverty.

South Africa's gross national product per capita in 1988 was \$2 290. The per capita GNP in Singapore was \$9 070, in Australia \$12 340, in the USA \$19 840 and in Switzerland \$27 500.

Forty-five to 50 percent of all households in South Africa were below the minimum level.

The country's population growth rate was very rapid (1982 - 30,7 million; 1989 - 36,6 million) but the economic growth rate very slow (1982 - R109,5 billion; 1989 - R121,1 billion). There had been a real drop in gross domestic product of 7,4 percent in the past seven years - as bad a decline as was experienced in South Africa during the Great Depression.

In order to meet present needs a four percent economic growth rate was needed to keep up with an annual population growth rate of two percent. "People need to be transformed from claimants to accumulators," said Simkins.

Essential to the transition was the removal of racial discrimination and the creation of unitary civil service systems as well as a redesign of services.

'There had been no such transition in countries where, like South Africa, the economy was not growing'



Ihron Rensburg

New approach needed to

DISTINCT differences on the legitimacy of the education system and participation in policy formulation emerged between the government and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee in a Summer School debate.

The Minister of National Education, Mr Louis Pienaar, said all interested parties would get an opportunity to comment on his department's "educational renewal strategy" before it was implemented. "If I can get endorsement at all levels it will have legitimisation," he said.

He explained that the task of drawing up the strategy, which is in the process of being formulated and touches on most of the fundamental aspects of the current education system, had been assigned to a number of educational

experts and the ministers of the various education departments. Consultation would follow once it had been completed.

Pienaar was responding to a question by his co-panellist, Ihron Rensburg, general secretary of the NECC, who wanted to know how the minister hoped to convince parents, students and teachers that his department's initiatives were in the best interests of all South Africans.

He was pushed for further clarification by another questioner, who emphasised that, in the education field, the government was dealing with "angry people who feel aggrieved and have immediate expectations", among them students who would not grasp long-term logical explanations.

Reconciliation: a task for all

DR BEYERS NAUDÉ received a standing ovation at the Summer School in Cape Town when he made a moving appeal to South Africans of all races to make the difficult and problematic task of reconciliation a priority in their lives.

"There is a time for confrontation," said Naudé, "but there is also a time for reconciliation." The time had arrived for a process of deep and meaningful reconciliation to start in the country, he said.

He likened reconciliation to a "process of inner healing" which needs to take place in the lives of millions of people, to give birth to new attitudes and a new willingness to bury the past.

Addressing the topic of reconciliation in the final session of the "Issues in Transition", Naudé, respected church leader and Idasa board member, said apartheid had "driven so many wedges between us that reconciliation will take a long time, but we've got to do it".

"Let us tackle this task, let us have faith in the potential of our country."

Disappointment and frustration would undoubtedly be part of the reconciliation process "but I have no doubt that it can be done", said Naudé.

He warned that reconciliation at grassroots level was also essential for the success of the negotiation process. "If the process of negotiations fail, do we realise what the implications are for our country?"

South Africa had never in its history experienced such a rapid and meaningful process of transition and many were understandably confused and overwhelmed as a result of these profound changes.

However, South Africans should grasp the challenge of reconciliation as a new responsibility, creating in the process a new culture of faith in the future.

Naudé said reconciliation was needed not only between black and white in the country,



Reconciled: Beyers Naudé and Alex Boraine at the Summer School.

'There are many small ways in which to express concern, willingness to reconcile...'

but also between blacks ("apartheid has spawned anger, distrust and hatred in the black community") as well as in the white community where estrangement and feelings of bitterness and resentment are causing divisions.

Everyone in the country – individuals, the government, political parties, business, social institutions – had a contribution to make to reconciliation, and symbolic gestures like whites visiting townships and expressing concern were very important. "There are many small ways in which to express concern, willingness to reconcile... it doesn't need much publicity but it grows."

Reconciliation, said Naudé, implied taking

seriously all forms of anger, frustration, dissatisfaction and fear that people may be experiencing. "We must understand something of the depth of the the pain and suffering that the policy of apartheid has inflicted on millions of our people."

Whites need not take personal responsibility for all the suffering in the black community but unless the policy of apartheid was openly condemned as the cause of this suffering, meaningful reconciliation would be impossible.

The fears of the white community, even if these were not always legitimate, need to be openly discussed. This implied a greater challenge to blacks "but it can happen", said Naudé.

Whites, on the other hand, often wrongly believed that they had to make all the sacrifices in a new South Africa. Blacks had been making a meaningful contribution to the country for years and whites had to inform themselves of this.

win over angry students

The minister then replied that the problem could not be addressed with available resources, which would only cover "slight improvements". However, he believed that the government could discuss its difficulties regarding resources with those who are aggrieved and negotiate a process by which to address their expectations.

Dealing with the issue later in his own address, Rensburg said it was totally unacceptable to consult the education community after policy has been formulated. He added that although there was massive resentment over skewed resources in education, the department was falling into the classical trap of believing that by equalising resources it would have

solved the problem.

The education renewal strategy, he said, was conceived within the Department of National Education and composed entirely of government officials. "Under these conditions, the strategy is a recipe for trouble, and my advice to Minister Pienaar is to acknowledge that 75 of the 76 submissions received pointed out that it was an illegitimate exercise," said Rensburg.

Preparing for the "really new" South Africa was not merely a matter of pragmatic adjustment but required a fundamental change of approach, he said.

"And this needs to be signalled to the people of South Africa."



Louis Pienaar

Divisions can be crossed – Meyer

DIVISIONS in South Africa are not so fundamental that they cannot be overcome, according to the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Roelf Meyer.

Sharing a platform with the ANC's Raymond Suttner at the "Issues in Transition" series of debates in Cape Town, Meyer said substantial common ground existed between parties, despite important differences over which constitutional and economic models to adopt.

He said the government's vision for the future was a new, united, just and better South Africa.

The practical means to get there included a free market economy, the decentralisation of power to local levels (a federalist constitution model) and proportional representation.

A multi-party negotiating conference would be the start of the process.

Meyer said the government's emphasis was on nation-building and the creation of a stable society based on law and order. There should be freedom of association without any statutory prescriptions.

Simple majoritarianism would not lead to democracy – a "winner take all" framework would lead to instability. Meyer reiterated the government's rejection of a constituent assembly and interim government, but added that the new constitution would have to be approved by the whole population to ensure legitimacy.

Reacting to Meyer's rejection of a constituent assembly, Suttner said it was essential to establish a transitional authority to oversee the movement to a democratic government.

He reminded the audience that the legality and sovereignty of the South African state were not beyond question. The government could not play the role of both player and referee in the negotiating process. If one party could determine the outcome of negotiations it could have serious consequences.

The ANC believed decisions should be taken by consensus; there could be no responsibility for the transition without authority in the decision-making process.

Stressing the urgency for movement towards a new constitution, Suttner said the work needed to be completed as quickly as possible to avoid sabotage.

Another February speech – 5 years ago

It was five years ago – on February 7, 1986 – that Van Zyl Slabbert, former Leader of the Opposition and now Idasa's director of policy and planning, resigned from parliament. What he said then comes remarkably close to more recent developments in South Africa. This is an extract of his final speech in parliament.

AS THIS is my last speech in this House, I hope honourable members will forgive me when I end with a few general comments about the state of politics in the country.

Let me start by stating the obvious, for the benefit of the honourable Minister of Defence. I am not a radical, a revolutionary, or even a violent protester. I believe passionately in the politics of negotiation. In 1976, 10 years ago, I wrote an article in the PFP magazine *Deurbraak*, entitled "Laerpolitiek Versus Bedingingspolitiek"... In that article I said that there were two forms of siege politics...

I went on to say that the risks of siege politics included the following facts: increasing race polarisation and international isolation, and the fact that this would undoubtedly expand the ideological generalisation of race politics in the Southern African context.

Control over the utilisation of "white violence" would also be the most important problem of the government of the day. What does one do with one's white vigilantes? That is the problem of siege politics.

In this article I proposed the politics of negotiation as an alternative. I said that there was only one way out – we had to negotiate for participation. Two forms of negotiation are possible. Smith's negotiation was a negotiation for capitulation – I do not want that for South Africa. I believe that we must negotiate for participation, but then we must find out who the people are with whom we must negotiate.

I am afraid that this government – I do not say this in any acrimonious sense – does not understand the principles of negotiation, or if they do, they do not abide by them. The dismantling of apartheid has nothing to do with negotiation. It is simply the first step towards negotiation. Apartheid is not up for negotiation. It has to go completely. What is up for negotiation is its alternative. That is where negotiation lies. One is not going to negotiate a position for blacks, coloureds and Asians



Van Zyl Slabbert

within group areas. The government must forget about it! They are not going to do it.

The second point is that reform or constitutional change will never be successful as long as this government insists that it takes place on the basis of compulsory group membership. It cannot happen.

Thirdly – this is an honest conviction of mine and I have said it to the on Minister of Transport Affairs

many times – the tri-cameral parliament is a hopelessly flawed and failed constitutional experiment. It does not begin to solve the problem of political domination; in fact it compounds it. It has nothing to do with effective power-sharing.

THOSE who have come into it, however good their intentions may be – I believe their intentions are good – have slightly eased the harshness of their own domination by administering it themselves. If the government extends the principle of co-optive domination to blacks as it has done to coloureds and Indians, violence and conflict are inevitable.

The search for consensus does not lie in finding co-optive clients. It lies in genuine negotiation with those who can deliver the goods.

Fourthly, I remain an incurable democrat. This motivates my involvement in politics and inspires my vision for the future. I do believe

we can become a non-racial, united South Africa where all its people can participate voluntarily in the governmental institutions of this land.

For 12 years I have tried to pursue this goal inside parliament.

I will continue to do so outside.

We are an artificial political phenomenon in this House. There are members of the NP who differ very little with what I am saying here and with what I feel. There are also honourable members there who belong with the members of the CP. We know that this is so.

However, here we stand, trapped in a ridiculous political debate, while out there our country is bleeding. I do not see how this can continue.

'Here we stand, trapped in a ridiculous debate, while out there our country is bleeding. I do not see how this can continue...'

Roelf Meyer

By Drew Forrest

All social democrats, from Schwarz to Slovo?



MIXING IT: Joe Slovo and Harry Schwarz.

THREE contrasting approaches to South Africa's post-apartheid economic problems – a free market, the social market economy and mixed economy – clashed in a widely publicised *Idasa*-co-ordinated debate in Johannesburg on January 21.

Squaring up to each other, in a debate on "the role of the state in a post-apartheid economy", were South African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo, Democratic Party MP for Yeoville Harry Schwarz and the Deputy Minister of Finance, Org Marais.

Following the collapse of centrally planned economies in Eastern Europe and the failure of traditional socialist remedies in many African countries, Slovo had a hard task defending large-scale state intervention in the economy to an apparently hostile audience.

But he persuasively argued that the market left to its own devices would not correct the gross racial inequalities in South Africa's income distribution. Unless this was achieved, he emphasised, democracy would not flourish on the political terrain.

AS an exposition of the vast problems confronting any incoming state, and of the three basic policy options open to it, the debate was useful. Its main shortcoming, however, was its very high level of generality – Schwarz at one point chided the SACP for its failure to detail its proposals for selective nationalisation.

The broad economic principles of South Africa's political actors are by now quite widely known. It might be more useful in future to focus such public debates on specific aspects of the post-apartheid economy – such as land policy, housing, manpower training and the role of trade unions.

As the speaker in the hot seat, Slovo was given 20 minutes to make his case, as against the 10 minutes given his opponents – prompting Schwarz's quip that he hoped this was no portent of wealth distribution in the future!

Slovo began by stressing that the SACP "did not see the struggle to end apartheid and race domination as co-terminous... If every racist statute was scrapped tomorrow, white domination in its essence would remain intact. For the majority, liberation has little meaning without the redistribution of resources."

What was needed was the transformation, not mere renovation, of the economy, and this could only be achieved with "the state acting as the leading force". Slovo pointed to countries which were "shining examples of capitalist prosperity" – notably France, Italy, West Germany, Japan, Taiwan and South Korea –

where the state had been a key catalyst in massive restructuring, either in the wake of war or to overcome extreme backwardness.

France's post-war economic miracle had been achieved through bank nationalisation and state control of large conglomerates, he said. In South Africa, affirmative action in the form of nationalised industries, the creation of para-statal and land distribution had "enabled the white Afrikaner to climb the economic ladder".

The SACP did not, however, believe in "nationalising everything that moves or grows". Large-scale nationalisation was costly and would lead to a flight of capital and skilled manpower.

But while the private sector had a vital role, it was not on its own capable of generating the required levels of investment. The aim, Slovo concluded, was the "right mix of the market and the plan", not as an abstract formula, but in the context of South Africa's special realities.

SCHWARZ'S response threw into illuminating relief the closing of the ideological divide between the SACP and the economic left of the DP. Essentially the difference is now between right and left-wing strains of social democracy, both recognising a state role in the correction of South Africa's historic economic injustice, but differing on the nature of that role.

Underscoring the point, Schwarz jibed: "This is not a Marxist Joe, believing with Marx and Lenin in state ownership of the means of production – this is a mixed economy Joe."

The state, he said, had a vital task in maintaining law and order, ensuring justice, equal education for all South Africans and the provision of welfare services. It could spend, redistribute money and levy taxes.

One role it could not, however, perform as efficiently as the private sector and this was the creation of wealth. France had, indeed, embarked on an interventionist course, but had now reversed this policy. "(French President Francois) Mitterrand is no longer a doctrinaire socialist. He's more of an advocate of Thatcherism than I am."

Nationalisation did not create wealth and, in the South African context, posed more questions than it answered. "Where will you nationalise? How will you nationalise? Will there be compensation? If you are going to take power, you have to give specifics," Schwarz told Slovo.

Schwarz said the DP looked forward to the creation of "a social market economy", modelled on that of West Germany, which stood for individual participation in the economy through such means as popular share ownership. Its answer to the poser of redistribution was fiscal policy. "There's no better mechanism for the distribution of wealth than taxation," he said.

TAKING up Schwarz's attack on state interventionism, but from a more conventional free market standpoint, deputy finance minister Marais quoted a contrite Mitterrand as saying in 1984: "It is enterprise that creates wealth, creates jobs, determines our standard of living and place in the world."

Conceding that there were market failures in South Africa, which the government was trying to correct through improved education and training, Marais argued that it was wrong to use these as a reason for removing economic functions from the private sector. "You want to hand these function to politicians and civil servants," he said. "But these also have interests. One only has to look at the corruption in Eastern Europe."

Marais also argued that the development of the state sector in South Africa had not been designed solely to serve the interests of Afrikaners. Fifty-five percent of black matriculants were absorbed by the civil service, he said, while homeland governments employed 60 000 blacks.

"We already have a mixed economy; there is already increased social spending. But this country cannot develop by giving welfare assistance – it must also have industry."

Against this, Marais stressed that land would have to be parcelled out to blacks on the basis of private ownership. The government was planning legislation to give black people access to finances for the purchase of land, he said. □

Drew Forrest is labour reporter for the *Weekly Mail*.

SACP faces critical chal

CAN the SACP escape its Stalinist past? How much of a communist party does it remain? Is the ANC/SACP alliance not a problem for the party? These three questions facing the Communist Party were posed at a UCT Summer School course.

By Simon Hoare

THE course leader, Prof Colin Bundy of the history department at UWC, pointed out that while the SACP has been able to keep pace with events and revise its strategies with some flexibility, it has not been very open or independent.

How is a party with a reputation of slavish pro-Moscow sensibility and high Stalinism to address this? In his paper "Has Socialism Failed?" Joe Slovo admits the SACP's Stalinist history, its defense of the Stalinist trials of the 1930's and its support for the Soviet invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. In conceding these "errors" of the past, Slovo seeks to re-define the party and its modus operandi, to construct an identity for a new age free of the baggage of the past. He states that "in general those who still defend the Stalinist model - even in a qualified way - are a dying breed. At the ideological level they will undoubtedly be left behind and they need not detain us here".

Whether this goes far enough in addressing the problem is a moot point. Criticism of the SACP on this score even comes from within ANC ranks. ANC executive committee member Pallo Jordan has been involved in a polemic with the SACP in which he asserts that Slovo's new perspective is insufficient and accuses the SACP leadership of creating "an air of intolerance, petty intellectual thuggery and dissembling among its membership".

The SACP is clearly undergoing major change as a result of perestroika, glasnost and the collapse of the socialist regimes of Eastern Europe. It remains true nevertheless that it is far easier for a party to purge itself of dissident members than of an undemocratic ethos.

A commitment to a mixed economy and a multi-party democracy has recently been adopted by the SACP. As the new world and national realities continue to push it from the traditional canons of communism,

in what way does it continue to be "communist" and how does it retain the support of a militant support base. In what way is the SACP's new vision of "democratic socialism" different from social democracy.

The party retains many of its defining characteristics. Marxism remains its basic tool of analysis. It continues to describe the South African situation as being that of "colonialism of a special type" (CST). CST theory has a premise that blacks have suffered dual oppression as a working class under capitalism and as blacks under apartheid. From this flows the theory of a two-stage revolution - first national liberation and the creation of a bourgeois democracy, second the building of socialism.

In the course of the Summer School the SACP was accused of selling out the working class, compromising socialism and abandoning Marxism by critics from the Marxist Workers Tendency. Tony Yengeni, party member and MK commander, responded by saying that the SACP is "a fighting party" not a talking party". This reflects another enduring element of Party philosophy - its commitment to testing its analysis by acting it out.

AT the same time, it is clear that many old certainties are crumbling and that the party is undergoing a process of change and redefinition. Eloquent testimony to this was provided by Tony Yengeni who was unable to answer



Tony Yengeni (right) with

questions about the party's economic policy because it was being revised and would only be available in a few months' time.

THE ANC/SACP Alliance is often viewed as involving the manipulation of a large national movement by a small communist elite. Bundy stated that this view was not widely held in the ANC - that the relationship between the ANC and the SACP was consistently defined by its members as one of "closeness".

Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo have gone out of their way to stress the importance of the alliance and to defend the SACP from allegations that it manipulates the ANC. Tambo, for example, asserts that both members of the alliance have influenced each other.

The SACP for its part states that it "unreservedly supports and participates in the struggle for national liberation headed by the ANC".

During the 30 years in which the ANC was banned, the SACP played a very important role. Bundy isolated the following distinct contributions that it made to the alliance during these years:

- When ANC went underground after its banning in 1961, the SACP could contribute a decade's experience of working and organising underground which was particularly important in the formation of MK;
- The SACP provided a ready-made network of linkages with the USSR, Eastern Europe and sympathetic organisations in the West;
- The USSR and Eastern bloc countries were the major international supporters of the ANC, especially in the areas of supply of military equipment and training;



SACP stalwarts Ray Alexander and Jack Simon at the Summer School.



specialist David Everatt.

- It provided a significant input of intellectual support, guidance and sophistication to the ANC. This was revealed especially at the Morogoro Conference where the ANC adopted many of the major theoretical constructions of the SACP, and
- It played a major part in theorising the armed struggle and developing political military strategy.

THESE contributions disappear in the context of the new international situation and the normalisation of national politics. As the transition to democracy proceeds, the alliance must come under increasing pressure. A primary reason for this is simply that the drawing up of a new constitution and the election of a democratic government implies the end of the struggle for national liberation, the first stage of the revolution. The theoretical foundation for the alliance thus dissolves.

There can be little doubt that the ANC and SACP will enter negotiations together and will remain in alliance until after a new constitution is drawn up and implemented.

It is, however, clear that the SACP is preparing itself for an independent existence at some stage. It is attempting to create an identity and support base of its own as its large scale launchings around the country have indicated. It is assiduously cultivating a working class base. It continues to project itself as the major champion of socialism.

The nature and timing of the dissolution of the alliance is a matter of speculation. That it will introduce an important new dynamic to our politics is irrefutable. □

Simon Hoare is a law student at Rhodes University

Activists vs Academics at gender conference

By Sue Valentine

THE thorny question of the role of academics and their relation to activists and "the struggle" (the role of activists did not come under scrutiny) dominated the first ever conference on women and gender held in Southern Africa.

Conference organisers and the (mainly white) academic delegates came under fire from both activists and self-confessed black "middle class" professionals as the tensions inherent in a society as skewed as ours bubbled to the surface at the University of Natal venue in Durban.

It was on day two of the four-day conference, rich with local and international top flight women academics/researchers, that the sparks started flying during a panel discussion on "conceptualising gender".

In the chair was University of Cape Town political studies lecturer Mary Simons and on the panel were Belinda Bozzoli (Wits University sociology department), Rosalind Boyd (McGill University, Canada), Ann Levett (UCT psychology department) and Ginny Volbrecht (UCT sociology department).

At the outset, panellists made perceptive comments about the task of conceptualising gender and the need to do so in the South Africa context – a context of destabilisation, unemployment and violence. Power relations needed to be understood so that feminist scholarship, which opposed institutionalised knowledge, could move into the mainstream where power was vested, but at the same time transform those structures and practices.

Addressing the issue of who and how gender could be conceptualised, Bozzoli said it was too glib an assumption to assert that the two separate universes of academic research and on-the-ground activity could, or should, be brought together.

FOR academic work to be valuable it needed to be thorough and to stand up on its own terms. The two worlds could not be collapsed into one, but obviously it was possible for people to wear different hats and engage in academic or activist work at different times.

Responding to this from the floor, an American-based visitor to the conference argued that there should be no distinction between the two. "I am as much an activist sitting behind my desk doing research as when I might spend a night in jail for actions in a public protest," she said.

As the discussion moved from the distinction – or lack thereof – between academics

and activists, and began to tackle the predominantly white complexion of the conference, conference organisers had to explain the nature of the event.

They said that after much thought it had been decided to hold an academic conference, but that women activists would be drawn in as much as possible. Despite extensive consultation, however, there had been very little response from women in those organisations.

In response to a suggestion that the activists at the conference should meet separately to "reclaim" their space, a delegate from Mozambique observed that separate meetings were divisive and futile. "We must do things openly and together," she said.

While some of the audience felt that the differences between people should be "screamed" about in order to promote tolerance, others said that the dominance of white women academics at the event was because most women academics in South Africa were white. It was not a desirable situation, but it did reflect a reality.

A BLACK delegate lashed out at white participants saying she resented white women academics championing the cause of black women. She said black women needed to speak for themselves. Women should do their research/campaigning together, not on their own, nor on anyone's behalf.

Chemical Workers Industrial Union organiser Pat Horn told the conference that while blacks and whites seemed to have learnt to tackle capitalism together and had fought apartheid together, they had not yet learnt how to tackle the patriarchy.

"One place it still thrives is the university, therefore it is valid to have an academic based conference."

In a bid to refocus attention on the topic, "conceptualising gender", Wits sociologist Jackie Cock said attacks by women on each other fell into the state's trap. By focusing only on women the opportunity to work in new and important directions was being missed. It was necessary to move beyond and to look at gender.

"We must move away from the notion of triple oppression for women and talk about who benefits from triple privilege. We must focus properly on the concept of gender and away from narrow conceptions."

● *The conference drew together a vast and divergent range of papers on issues concerning women and gender in Southern Africa. For reasons of space we cannot do them justice here. In forthcoming issues, however, Democracy in Action will feature various aspects of the conference.* □



APPEAL TO ALL READERS

WE NEED YOUR HELP

From a random survey we conducted last year, we were pleased to learn that many of you are prepared to contribute to the cost of producing *Democracy in Action*. While we do not have the infrastructure to set up a subscription service, we would like to ask all of you who can afford it, for an annual donation of R20.

Of course, more will always be appreciated!

Please send your contributions to:
The Media Department, Idasa, 1 Penzance Road, Mowbray 7700.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION IN 1991

We were also encouraged by the generally positive feedback to our journal/newsletter in the survey responses. Where there were criticisms, we are working on our shortcomings and will try to please – or at least provoke – most of the people most of the time.

In the coming issues we hope to bring you less of a "smorgasbord" of subject matter and to offer, instead, increased emphasis on a wider range of opinions. We also hope to give more attention to the key issues around the transition to democracy which are being debated publicly – and also to stir the pot regarding some of those issues being debated not so publicly!

Eight issues of Democracy in Action will be published in 1991. This is not because we've become lazy or because we have nothing to say. Rather, the decision has been taken in order to ensure greater selectivity of material and to allow you more time to respond to the issues we raise in each edition.

Thus the proposed publishing dates for Democracy in Action for the rest of the year will be as follows: Friday April 12; Thursday May 30; Friday July 12; Friday August 16; Friday September 20; Friday November 1; Friday December 13

UPDATE OF MAILING LIST AND INTERESTS

We also need to update our mailing list. If you have changed your address, or there are errors in your title or name, or if you no longer wish to receive *Democracy in Action*, please let us know. You could send the response form below to the abovementioned address, or phone our head office in Cape Town at (021) 47-3127.

To build a greater understanding of your interests, we would be grateful if you would indicate the kind of material you would like to find in *Democracy in Action*.

Please number your choices in order of priority from 1 to 8 (ie. 1 = highest priority).

TITLE INITIALS SURNAME FIRST NAME

PREVIOUS ADDRESS NEW ADDRESS

.....

.....

OCCUPATION:

INTERESTS: Affirmative action Constitutional Models Culture Economy Ecology/environment

Gender issues Health Housing Human rights Literacy Local government

Media Religion Land issues Schools Security Squatters Unemployment

Violence Women's issues Other COMMENTS:

.....

The case for – and against – a constituent assembly

By Victor Munnik

ALL THE participants at Idasa's "constituent assembly" conference, held in Johannesburg in January, were agreed about the goal: writing a constitution that would enjoy popular legitimacy.

The question was whether a constituent assembly (CA) would achieve this.

The CA also turned out to be intimately linked to other key questions: how will an all-party conference (proposed as a preliminary to the CA) be organised? What will be the nature of a transitional government? Will the National Party continue playing the dual role of player and referee in the political process, and will there be a neutral security force to guarantee the freedom of political activity during the transition?

The new constitution must be a clear break with the past, said Prof Kader Asmal, visiting constitutional lawyer at the University of the Western Cape, who teaches at Dublin University.

He pointed out that the first general election would really be a referendum about political choices, to determine which ideological representatives must wield power.

Prof André du Toit, political scientist and vice-chairman of Idasa's board of trustees, expressed concern at the possibility that the CA might not be the result of a free and fair election.

He said in the late stages of transition, a deal might be worked out at leadership level and that a founding pact, rather than a founding election, could usher in the new era. This might happen because the political players might not want to take the risk of a founding election. In both cases a CA could have a central place, but it may not be the result of a popular election, and thus not be properly democratic.

Raymond Suttner, head of the ANC's department of political education, immediately reassured the conference that the ANC does not want people to just applaud the brilliance of their leaders after they had formulated a constitution. The new constitution will have to be the result of popular involvement.

The ANC therefore rejects constitution-making by a body where parties are represented that do not have support that has been popularly tested.



Piet Coetzer: one-sided handing over of power.

Mark Shinnars, a member of the PAC's national executive council, said a CA offers virtually unlimited potential as a bridging mechanism. It will mean the end of colonial settler values and the entrenchment of white domination through social, political and economic power.

The CA, where the majority will rule, will tackle the very important tasks of redistribution of land and other resources, meaningfully enshrine individual rights, change the civil service totally and "truly reflect the sovereign legitimacy of our country for the first time in 339 years".

Shinnars suggested that the liberation movement "engage legitimate representatives of the majority disadvantaged, on a united format to negotiate with the representatives of the minority system the modalities of transferring political power through establishing a CA".

The assembly will then appoint a constitutional commission, to produce a constitution which will then be adopted by the CA.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa's director of pol-

icy and planning, later remarked that the PAC's willingness to "negotiate the modalities of the establishment of a constituent assembly" must mean that they intend to participate in an all-party conference.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Gavin Woods warned against the election of a CA. He said it would lead to bloodshed and a spirit of contest.

"THE STAKES are simply so high that elections free from violence and intimidation are virtually impossible. Together with current levels of euphoria, hatred and distrust, the result must be an explosive contest for power that threatens both negotiations and stability. What South Africa needs now is a democratic constitution rather than a contest of power," he said. "Elections must come later".

Dr Denis Worrall of the Democratic Party said he shared some of Inkatha's reservations, were an election for a CA to take place immediately. On the other hand, there has to be a test of public opinion. He said the ANC and the government focused too narrowly on the constitutional aspects.

Piet Coetzer, NP member of parliament and director of information, for the Transvaal, said the NP's aim was to organise a forum as widely inclusive as possible of all parties with a proven support base. This will improve the country's chances of achieving a workable and peaceful new constitution.

Coetzer cautioned politicians not to argue too early about final structures – "let's conceive the baby first and then give it a name".

He said the problems with a CA were technical and legal – involving the sovereignty of the state – and very practical as well. One should be careful not to create potential for conflict afterwards, he said.

One example: if a CA has a majority based on a straightforward election, we run the danger of a perception of a "one-sided handing over of



Mark Shinnars: unlimited potential as a bridging mechanism.

New hands on deck at Idasa



Ivor Jenkins, regional director in Pretoria



Simon Ntombela, regional co-ordinator in Natal



David Schmidt, regional director in the Western Cape

IDASA has seen many comings and goings of late. It's got to the point where we don't know whether to say "hi" at the arrivals terminal or "au revoir" in the departures hall.

The following hi-flyers have arrived safely at their Idasa destinations:

● The Durban office is again back to full strength with the recent appointment of **SIMON NTOMBELA**, who replaces Gary Cullen as regional co-ordinator.

Simon was previously national publicity secretary for the SA Youth Congress, whom he represented at the United Nations on occasion. His lengthy and active political involvement with youth organisations led to his arrest and

detention for six months. He was released as part of a group who had been on a hunger strike.

● The Pretoria office recently acquired the services of **IVOR JENKINS** to replace André Zaaïman as regional director. André is currently in Senegal doing the groundwork for the establishment of the Institute for Democracy and Development in Africa there.

Ivor was previously the national director of the Christian contact group, Koinonia. A Baptist minister, his involvement in the causes of justice and reconciliation has earned him wide respect and admiration.

● Western Cape regional co-ordinator **DAVID SCHMIDT** has succeeded Nic Borain in the position of regional director, Nic having decided shortly before Christmas to make a career of garlic farming in the southern Cape!

David, a former national organiser for the End Conscriptio Campaign, has taught English at high school and was also involved in research for the Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty.

Towards the end of 1990, and in January this year, a number of staff members, some of whom have been with Idasa since its inception, also moved to other pastures.

They are:

- Thaabit Albertus, national administrator at head office.
- Marianne Holscher, regional co-ordinator in Johannesburg.
- Ian Liebenberg, research and resource director at head office.
- Sylvia Mitchell, regional administrator in Port Elizabeth.
- Monde Mtanga, regional co-ordinator in Port Elizabeth.
- Liesel Naudé, regional director at our office in Johannesburg.
- Shauna Westcott, a part-time assistant in the media department at head office.

We wish them all well - their contributions to Idasa's work will be missed.

From Page 15

power". One only has to look to Mozambique and Angola to realise the destructive forces that such a situation can unleash in a country.

As far as the idea of an interim government is concerned, the government agrees that there cannot be "one-sided" administration during the transition period. This is also an issue that should be taken to the all-party conference.

FINALLY a note of caution was sounded by Dugard, Wits law professor, when he said that a legitimate constitution must meet two requirements. It must enjoy overwhelming majority support, and it must be deserving of respect by reason of its content. Majoritarianism is not equivalent to democracy.

Prof Dugard suggested that an all-party conference should establish the basic democratic principles in the first place. The parties should in fact decide about the rules of the game before the extent of their own support is clear.

Issues such as that of a unitary or federal state, a bill of rights, independent judiciary, universal franchise, proportional or simple constituency member representation and the principle of no discrimination should be settled there.

If this is not done, we run the risk that the constitution might enjoy majority support but not be democratic in the full sense of the word. □

Victor Munnik is a freelance journalist based in Johannesburg

LETTERS

From Page 3

Begrip vir mekaar se selfkonsep, hetsy as persoon of groep, is myns insiens een van die voorvereistes vir vrede en harmonie.

Selfkonsep sluit ook die visie vir die toekoms in, persoonlik en as groep. Ongelukkig kan 'n selfkonsep wat met vrese, vooroordele en angs gelaai is nie 'n volledige en betekenisvolle visie ontwikkel nie; daarom dat u doelstelling en hierdie aspek aan te spreek so belangrik is. Sukses daarmee, en as ek kan help, laat gerus weet. Dit is my bedde dan ons in Suid-Afrika in 1991 sukses en vooruitgang na vrede, geluk en voorspoed vir almal sal bereik.

Dr Daniel Laubscher
Hennopsmeer

What it means to be human

I WAS very interested in the article "Controversy over Bill of Rights" that appeared in the December issue of your magazine. The unusual ideas contained therein, gave much food for thought!

I have studied the International Declaration of Human Rights and, although I consider it an important and useful document, it really represents an ideal to strive for and many countries that ratified it 42 years ago have done little to implement it!

I noticed that, except for the preamble and the first section of Article 29, there is little demand made on the individual to realise that s/he has duties and obligations, as well as rights! Indeed, if a balance of human interaction is to be reached, between the governed and those in power, then measures must be taken to impress on the mind of people that something is required of them, in return for their right to be considered human!

If a new South Africa is to be built, the people should accept some responsibility for the quality of life in the country and not leave everything to their leaders or make unrealistic demands of the future.

There is talk of a bill of rights for South Africa. I feel, very strongly, that there should also be a "Declaration of Human Responsibility" - something that would stress the need for interaction between the government and the governed.

While it is undoubtedly true that, on a universal scale, much misery has been caused through failure to observe human rights, in the microcosm of everyday life, more misery has been caused by humanity's failure to live up to personal responsibilities and commitments. No government has been responsible for the spread of Aids, over population, soil erosion, pollution of air and water, rape and petty theft, neglect and abuse of children, divorce or ignorance of the law.

L Wilson
Towerby, Johannesburg

Popular debate breaks new ground

By Bea Roberts

SOME 350 people flocked to a public meeting in East London on February 12 to hear a wide range of views on the implications of Mr F W de Klerk's opening of parliament speech.

Addressing the packed venue, the executive director of Idasa, Dr Alex Boraine, said every person present was doing "the crucial thing" - getting involved in the current political process. Presenting, and accepting, different points of view - of which there were many at the meeting - formed part of creating a culture of democracy, he said.

For those who attended, as well as for Idasa, the meeting broke new ground. Never before in East London had such a range of speakers appeared on one platform: the NP, DP, ANC, SACP and the PAC. (The CP had also agreed to attend, but cancelled due to a last-minute problem.)

In his remarks, Dr Boraine singled out the proposed changes in local government, saying that this emphasis pointed to a recognition that the political process should take place at grassroots level.

Dr Boraine also pointed out that the praise and adulation the State President had been receiving for his reforms was not his due alone - there should be no winners or losers, but all South Africans who had been fighting apartheid should share in the congratulations.

Mr Callé Badenhorst, National Party MP for East London North, said that the speech marked the second phase of the process which was started last year, namely the building of a unique South African nation.

WHEN questioned about the NP's true motive for change, he said that he did not want to justify the past, but that the government at that time believed that it was at war, and acted accordingly. However, that was history, and the government had sincerely committed itself to change after a process of soul-searching - he likened it to a "Road to Damascus" experience.

Mr André de Wet, a nominated Democratic Party MP, said that the NP manifesto embraced the principles the DP had always stood for, and that they were encouraged that Mr De Klerk "has the potential of becoming a true democrat".

He expressed caution about certain aspects of the speech: that the concept of "own community life" and "community rights" should not contain hidden agendas, that the support which is asked for the security forces cannot be a given, and that the effect of the "temporary transitional measures" on education, conscription and own affairs should be carefully considered.

The PAC representative, Mr Ezra Mtshontshi, agreed that it was now time for nation building, but made it clear that the PAC response to Mr De Klerk's speech was one of scepticism: about apartheid being truly and irreversibly on its way out, about whether the "abolition" of acts would have any tangible effect, and at the ability of one party, namely the NP, to plan the future of the country.

He rejected the idea of a multi-party conference, saying that it would be like a "jumble of stew that no-one would want to eat in the end."

Dr Chippy Olver, assistant general secretary of the Border ANC regional executive, said that certain sectors of the community regarded the ANC as a bit of a "kill-joy" because it would respond with a "but" every time the government made a concession. Referring to the latest call for sanctions after the parliamentary address, he pointed out that the ANC had to maintain international and internal pressure, as there were no guarantees as yet that the process which had started would continue. He said that the ANC took cognisance of the economic crisis, but also of the political crisis. A stable future was firstly dependent on a stable, well-founded political dispensation, and for this reason, and

Suspicious about white control

By Paul Graham

THE opening of parliament brought together an historic panel in Durban.

With the closing words of the State President's speech ringing in the ears of an audience invited by Idasa and consisting of organisational representatives and political observers, panellists from the PAC, ANC, SA Communist Party, Cosatu and Inkatha Freedom Party provided immediate reaction to the speech on February 1.

Poet, ex-prisoner and SACP member, Ben Dikobe Martin, set the scene when he expressed his disappointment that there was no timetable for the ending of the present parliament.

Cautious acceptance of the decision to scrap apartheid laws was mixed with a catalogue of areas where panellists felt the State President had not gone far enough.

Cosatu secretary Thami Mhlomi pointed out that, despite communication on the role of the police, there had been no recognition of their role in restricting the development of the country towards democracy and peace. Both he and PAC central committee member, Dr Selva Saman, focused on the failure to repeal the Internal Security Act - a condition of the Harare Declaration on negotiations.

Posing the question, "is the government a principal or an equal partner in the negotiating process?" panellists focused on what seemed likely to become the main points of disagreement in the future - an interim government and a constituent assembly.

Dr Ndlovu, a political scientist from the University of Zululand, raised questions about the multi-party conference route to negotiations which both the ANC and now the State President were espousing. He pointed to the difficulty of consensus politics and the necessity of dissent in a culture of democracy. Even within the existing parliament, consensus was not possible, he said, citing the walk-out as an immediate example.

Apart from the omission of the Internal Security Act, three other omissions were seen as central to the future debate: these were the release of prisoners and the return of exiles; the dismantling of the homelands; and changes in the electoral acts.

Mr Musa Zondi of the IFP identified the uneasiness of other panellists by asking what enabling legislation would replace those laws which were to go. It was too early to be too euphoric, he suggested.

Speaking off the cuff, and in some cases hampered by an inability to understand some of the more technical sections of the Afrikaans sections of the speech, panellists were understandably reticent and suspicious. National Party leadership and those in the white community who have been heartened by the speech will, however, need to come to terms with this suspicion and the feeling that, even now, the white parliament is trying to maintain control.

But a new sign of hope was spotted in the State President's speech by Thami Mhlomi. For the first time he said he was hearing a white leader identify himself with Africa. Perhaps this identification will provide the common purpose which is needed to help ensure that a non-racial democracy is established in South Africa. □

Paul Graham is Idasa's regional director in Natal.

Shades of schooling

By Paul Zondo

THE education crisis in South Africa is rife with statistics, but spare a thought for residents of Soshanguve, a township north-west of Pretoria, close to the notoriously impoverished Winterveldt area of Bophuthatswana.

The population in the township, established in 1975, is about 380 000 – 18 000 of whom are squatters. Persecution of Winterveldt residents by the Bophuthatswana regime (in June last year they were threatened with forced removal) have driven many to seek refuge across the "border" in Soshanguve.

Within the 39 Department of Education and Training (DET) schools in Soshanguve overcrowding is widespread.

An example of conditions: at Morula School lessons are conducted under the shade of four morula trees while they wait for their promised temporary structure from the DET. There are 1 600 pupils, but only seven teachers. There are no textbooks or blackboards and the spoken word is the only means of teaching.

The "staff room" is under a fifth morula tree where morning assembly and afternoon devotions are also held. There is no running water and no toilets. To combat heat and dehydration, teachers carry litres of water to the school.

At the start of the 1991 school year, Central State School had an intake of 889 students. Two weeks into term (and, arguably, in response to the NECC's "back to school" campaign), this figure had risen to 3 129.

Most recently, that school has been unilaterally closed down by the DET, because of "unruly" behaviour by students and "chaotic" conditions which made education impossible.

This action flies in the face of recommendations made by some 800 delegates to the Soshanguve Education Co-ordinating Committee's day-long conference on January 20. Also at the meeting were two DET circuit inspectors and two representatives from the NECC (National Education Co-ordinating Committee).

The conference resolved that since the DET's school management

councils had already disbanded, Parent-Teacher-Student Associations should be elected to help administer the schools.

An important task would be to assist in securing the finances for school administration and equipment which, in many cases, was paid for by school principals out of their own pockets.

Regarding the admission of students, it was decided that:

- students who failed the 1990 examinations should be allowed to repeat the year rather than being dismissed;
- only school principals, with the assistance of teachers, should act as admissions officers to schools. There would be no student participation;
- principals should discuss the redistribution of pupils where possible to avoid overcrowding in schools;
- registration of students should be completed by the end of January.

The Soshanguve Teachers' College of Education would be open not only to boarders, but to local, day students as well.

To assist in repairs to the many damaged schools in Soshanguve each family would be asked to contribute R2. The PTSAs would take responsibility for these funds. The DET would also be approached to subsidise repairs as well as to improve lighting to assist in safe-guarding school premises.

Caretakers would also be appointed and parents in the area of each school would be encouraged to help take precautionary measures to prevent further damage.

To accommodate the large numbers of students who had responded positively to the "back to school" campaign, temporary structures were urgently needed. Delays by the DET were noted with serious concern.

Teachers were also desperately needed. The conference was told of a thirst by students to learn, but of the handful of (often demoralised) teachers who still had a desire to teach. □

Paul Zondo is Idasa's regional co-ordinator in Pretoria.



Learning what they can where they can, pupils at a Soshanguve school.

Debate breaks new ground

From Page 17

also to speed up the process of reform, the ANC would continue calling for sanctions and implementing programmes of mass action.

Dr Olver said the NP rejection of a constituent assembly was unacceptable. Negotiations should be a democratic process involving people on the ground rather than politicians behind closed doors.

According to Mr Mzwakhe Ndlela of the South African Communist Party, the expectation exists that Mr De Klerk should be thanked – however, he had not done the people of South Africa a favour. Thousands of people had died, and had been destabilised under apartheid legislation, and although the repeal of the acts in question was certainly welcome, the struggle

for national liberation was not yet over. Political and economic power was at this stage still in the hands of the white minority. Therefore the SACP would join the ANC in intensifying the struggle, and make their presence felt in the factories and the streets.

Certainly one of the most favourable aspects to come out of the meeting, and one which was reiterated by many who attended, was the good spirit that existed between the panellists and their respective support bases in the audience; and that considerable common ground was found.

Dr Boraine commented on this in his closing remarks, and said that the desire for a new, non-racial, democratic South Africa had been a persistent theme. However, one could not overlook the negative aspects: the fear, suspicion, and anger which still exist. He used the exam-

ple of a township youth, who suffered and is still suffering the consequences of our history; a lack of education, housing, health and transport facilities, unemployment, and violence. "How do you persuade that youngster that there is a new South Africa?" Dr Boraine asked. He stressed that, unless and until the desparation of the youth in the townships is addressed, there is no chance that the democracy we all hope for will be attained.

What is needed, Dr Boraine said, is a sense of reconciliation which must come from every possible level – from homes, businesses, schools, sportsfields. That is what the democratic process is all about – making it possible for all of us. □

Bea Roberts is Idasa's regional co-ordinator in East London

Two chiefs, but no Indians?

ON Tuesday January 19, nearly a year after his release from Victor Verster Prison, Dr Nelson Mandela led an ANC delegation in a meeting with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Two weeks after the meeting one could be forgiven for wondering what everyone was waiting for. If the people of Natal were waiting for the meeting to end the war that has plagued the province since 1980 they were disappointed.

Since the meeting at the Royal Hotel over 25 people have died in the province. This is close to the average for the past year.

In two areas, Umgababa and Kwa Magoda (next to Richmond), the fighting started before the meeting. Expecting it to suddenly cease after a call – but little else – from the leadership was clearly naive. Perhaps if there had been a visit to these two areas, even in separate parties, by Mandela and Buthelezi it may have made a difference.

Local level peace will only come if there are local level discussions and the real and specific causes for the violence are addressed. These discussions appear to be on the cards with several local rallies and visits being planned. The extent to which national leadership will be involved is unclear.

The meeting created an attitude towards peace amongst the leadership of the two parties. What is required now is hard work using that new spirit to create a general climate for peace.

There is however, a real political logic (besides the need to stop the killing) for both sides to have engaged in the talks. Publicising this logic is crucial if either side hopes to bring their "combatants" to peace.

IT IS easy to forget exactly who has been doing the fighting. While the leadership can point to the vilification of each other, their constituencies can point to graves, burnt houses and scars. These are less easily put aside.

A good start would be the distribution of the joint statement in Zulu as well as English. This must be done through newspapers and through radio and television. Radio is particularly important – the SABC's Radio Zulu has an estimated 10 million listeners. If the parties could get one hour during prime time to explain the statement and the meeting, peace could be promoted very quickly.

A further aspect of publicising the meeting and its outcome is the need for the ANC and Inkatha to draw in their respective allies who were not directly involved in the meeting, but who are directly involved in the war. Already

Buthelezi and Mandela have met, but now the citizens of Natal must co-operate to make the leadership accord work, writes STEVE COLLINS



Gatsha Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela after their historical meeting.

on the cards is a meeting between the ANC Youth League and the Inkatha Youth Brigade. This event in particular could be very important as the Youth League would make a point of sending youth from the Natal region rather than its national leadership.

The state and its security forces up to now remain outside the framework of the meeting – although Inkatha and the ANC have insisted that the SAP and SADF must be neutral. However, they are not outside the framework of the violence itself. Barely a day goes by without human rights lawyers and monitors being informed of incidents involving the police or army.

These reports vary from active participation (killings, assaults and theft) to inactivity when residents request protection.

'Linked to the accord and the management of it is the ability of both parties to settle their internal conflicts'

If State President De Klerk is serious about democracy, his police force and army must start displaying a seriousness and professionalism about the way they operate – especially as he is ruling out the possibility of an interim government to oversee a transition process.

What could help bring peace to Natal would be to draw the police into an accord. The best way possible would be to have a tri-partite agreement signed by Mandela, Buthelezi and De Klerk as well as their regional representatives. This would mean that the state would agree to all parts of the accord – not only the parts which relate to impartial policing.

The January 29 meeting set up a sub-committee to hammer out an accord which will set out clear guidelines to membership regarding political conduct. Hopefully part of the agreement will include the management of transgressions of the accord. Here the police will be important because what the accord will do in effect, is re-criminalise political violence. The police will have to deal with the criminals as speedily and professionally as possible.

However, because of the mistrust among community members with regard to the police on the one hand and members of a conflicting political party on the other, the creation of an independent monitoring mechanism is now

crucial. Clearly the monitoring agency would have to be accepted by all parties, but if all three – the state as well as Inkatha and the ANC – are serious about peace, then they should be prepared to be watched and criticised for any transgressions.

THERE appears to be only two options for independent overseers of a monitoring system; either an international body such as the UN or the International Committee of the Red Cross, or the business community in Natal.

Linked to the accord and the management of it is the question of the ability of both parties to settle their internal conflicts.

It is clear that members within both the ANC and Inkatha have used the violence as a means of personal advancement, often at the expense of fellow members. Just how this kind of violence, which leads to gangsterism, is to be dealt with is unclear. All that is clear is that neither party has dealt with it sufficiently.

The meeting on the 29th started a long journey towards ending physical violence as the normal form of political discourse in Natal. However, out of every 10 deaths, five have little to do with the ideological differences between Inkatha and the ANC. Real poverty, a lingering war psychosis, state violence and crime will have to be recognised and dealt with if there is to be real peace.

The question now is who accepts responsibility for these problems? Perhaps this is one area where all parties in Natal can say that it is everyone's responsibility. If the citizens of Natal work together to make the leadership accord a reality, there is some good that can come from this part of the country which has become synonymous with horror and grief. □

Steve Collins is an Idasa co-ordinator in Durban.

Meeting the needs of open schools

THIRTY teachers from open schools in Cape Town attended the introductory workshop of a new Idasa programme called "Open Schools - Managing the Change" in February.

They were taken through a series of discussions, games and role plays on the theme of "integrating new pupils" by facilitators Ruth Versveld, Emilia Potenza and Penny Berens, who all have extensive experience in dealing with the challenges posed by non-racial education.

"The aim of the project is to provide a non-directive forum to help individual schools explore problems of non-racial education and to find solutions for themselves," explained project co-ordinator

Silumko Mayaba.

"This year marks the beginning of a significant period of change in newly opened schools. This will involve rethinking

many aspects of school life, ranging from broad policy to the nitty gritty of classroom practice", he said.

"The "open school" models allowed by the government remain discriminatory and completely unacceptable," he added. "They do not begin to address the crisis in school education."

"But the extent to which open schools are able to meet the challenge of change will have an important effect and can be a significant sign of hope and non-racialism on the road to a new South Africa."

Possible workshop themes include how to make school structures participatory, language issues, reviewing the curriculum, evaluating the culture and ethos of a school and models of bridging programmes.

To arrange workshops or for more information, contact Silumko Mayaba at (021) 22-2150.



Johan du Plessis and Mike McCready of NCP Yeast chat to one of Bambayi's shebeen owners.

Brewing Christmas spirit in Durban's shackland

IT WAS not without warning of muddy and wet conditions that Shelley Gielink, presently running Durban's "Bambanani" township tours, took NCP Yeast managers on one of her specifically designed visits.

On this occasion it was to be to the shebeens of Bambayi, a densely settled shack community in Inanda, north of Durban.

In torrential rain the enthusiastic group crowded into Bambayi's "joints" to experience and learn about the unique brewing pro-

cesses that take place in these informal drinking houses. Looks of surprise soon became bemused smiles as the NCP men took a keen interest in the running of the shebeens and the brewing techniques under these particular circumstances.

Local shebeen owners were given fair warning of the visit when Shelly and Temba Zungu, a local community leader, laden with NCP T-shirts and yeast samples - an essential ingredient for brewing tshwala (beer) and gavine (pure spirits) - established links with the women brewers and gained their approval for the visit.

The NCP visit was a response to a call to the Durban business community to expose themselves to the desperately inadequate living conditions of most of their workers

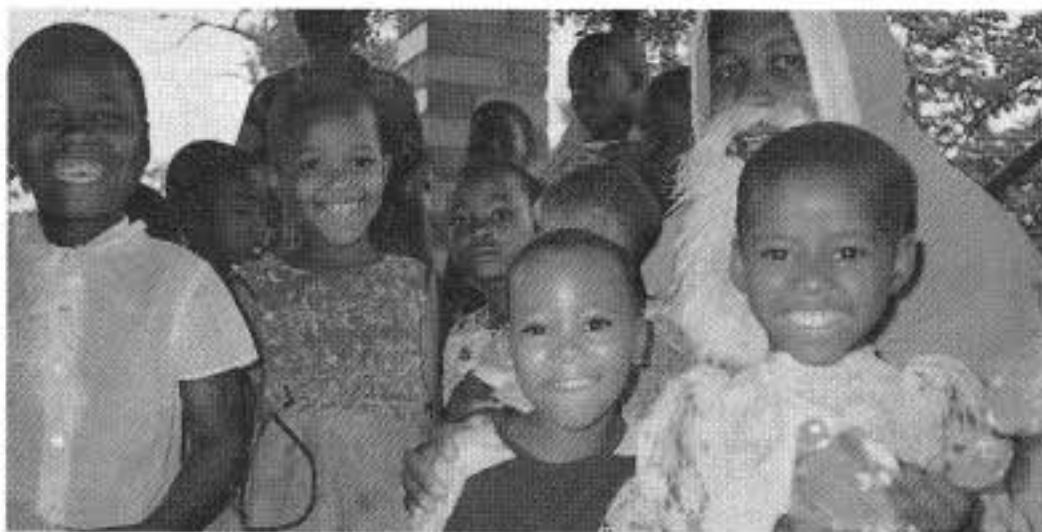
long as peripheral to the economy.

Bambanani Tours helped to facilitate first hand contact between NCP and the community, as well as giving both parties the chance to question each other about preferences, techniques and problems. The afternoon was enjoyed by all and the warmth generated by the communication dried out even the wettest feet.

AN additional special tour was arranged for Father Christmas to visit the shack settlements of Inanda and bring at least some joy and surprise to the children in the area.

Mandla Sibiya, driver for Bambanani Tours, braved a humid Durban morning to play the age-old bringer of gifts for the Bambayi Community Creche. Attired in the classic St Nicholas suit - much to the surprise of most of the children who were not quite sure who, or what he was - he gave out sweets and presents sponsored by a guest who had taken part in one of the tours.

NCP Yeast further responded to the needs of the Bambayi community by assisting the Bambayi Community Creche with toys and magazines and a cash donation of R1 000.



Mandla Sibiya spreads a little happiness at a Bambayi creche.

living in the city's overcrowded shack settlements.

Once on the tour, top management saw the opportunity of not only sensitising their staff to the frustrations of township life, but also of teaching them about the informal sector, neglected for so

Om 'Afrika-mens' te word

Deur Bobby Nel

WIT AFRIKANE? 'n GESPREK MET NICO SMITH deur M Hofmeyer, redakteurs K Kritzinger en W Saayman (redakteurs), Taurus, 1990, 267 bladsye.

HIERDIE bundel van 23 opstelle is byeengebring deur vriende, kollegas en oud-studente van Nico Smith om sy 60ste verjaarsdag te gedenk.

Dit bestaan uit 'n verskeidende van bydraes, sommige is akademies van aard, ander persoonlike vertellings en gedigte. Die meeste bydraes is in Afrikaans en weerspieël iets van die worstelinge wat daar by sommige in die Afrikaanssprekende gemeenskap besig is om plaas te vind. Wat hierdie worstelinge presies, is verskil uiteraard. Dat dit wel gaan oor hoe daar weg beweeg kan word vanaf 'n eksklusiewe denke (Afrikaner, eiesoortigheid) tot 'n inklusiewe denke waar wit Afrikaanssprekendes deel uitmaak van Afrika, blyk al uit die titel.

Die titel opsigself is problematies – is die term wit Afrikaan gepas, plaas dit nie weer kleur op die voorgrond nie? (vgl Chris Loff en Hannes Adonis)

Die eerste deel van die bundel is meer teologies-krities van aard en bring sekere vrae aan die orde. Wat van 'n teologie vir wit bevryding? (Klippias Kritzinger). Hoe moet ons dit wat bekend staan in die teologie as "third way theology" beoordeel? (Tony Balcomb). Hierdie en ander uitstekende artikels (Willem Nicol; Dirkie Smit) is stimulerend en behoort deur geen teoloog gemis te word nie.

Die tweede deel van die boek is beskrywings (berigte) en verhale wat interessant en boeiend is. Dié afdeling maak die "storie-styl" waarvan Dirkie Smit in die eerste gedeelte skryf op 'n beperkte manier prakties en daar word in 'n mate aangesluit by Afrika se vertelstyl. Die boodskap van die verhale is duidelik: nie maklike antwoorde nie, maar worstelinge met die vrae van Suid-Afrika en Afrika lê voor vir enigiemand wat wil identifiseer met hierdie harde maar pragtige land (vgl Murray Hofmeyer).

Die derde gedeelte bestaan uit gedigte (Inus Daneel, Antjie Krog en Wilhelm van Deventer) waarin wit Afrikaanssprekendes hulle bande met Afrika en al die mense van Afrika bevestig. Dit is duidelik dat digkuns nie maar in 'n leë ruimte kan plaasvind nie, maar ten nouste die digters se gevoelens en die situasie waarbinne dit plaasvind na vore bring.

Dit is 'n aangename boek om te lees. Die meeste bydraes is kort en pakkend en lees maklik. Daar is geen sprake van 'n goedkoop heldeverering vir Nico Smith nie – eerder die erkenning dat Nico Smith 'n bevrydende en gerespekteerde simbool (Adriaan Blom) is vir baie mense, 'n simbool van iemand wat homself gegee het vir Afrika en al sy mense en dus prakties uitgeleef het waarin hy glo. Teoloë en nie-teoloë sal hierdie boek met vrug kan lees en saam kan worstel met 'n verskeidenheid van vrae wat skrywers opper oor die pad wat "witmense" sal moet loop om "Afrikamense" te word.

Bobby Nel is 'n teoloog verbonde aan die N G Sendingkerk in Kaapstad



A liberal connecting with Africa

By Bobby Nel

OUTSIDE THE GATE: THE STORY OF NICO SMITH by Rebecca de Saintonge, Hodder and Stoughton Publishers, 1989, 230 pages.

THIS is a biography of Dr Nico Smith, excellently written by a journalist. She touches on difficult personal questions, which is necessary and unavoidable.

Why does a well-respected person with his feet strongly in the Afrikaner establishment, leave the Broederbond? Why does a well-known professor leave a prestige position at the University of Stellenbosch to go and work (and live) in Mamelodi township, an insignificant place for most whites in South Africa? Why did Nico and Ellen Smith leave the establish-



Nico Smith

ment and all the privileges that go with it for an uncertain destiny? Why would anybody commit "social suicide" as the writer calls it?

The book simultaneously provides insight into the person Nico Smith and the historic and political situation in South Africa. The description of his childhood years throws light on the Afrikaner way of upbringing and their thinking, while the information about the Broederbond and the people who played a decisive role in defining apartheid in the late 1930s and early '40s is useful.

In a sense it is a historical chronicle of a part of South Africa's history. We get a glimpse of behind the scenes power plays in politics and in the church. Nico Smith's personal experiences of intimidation at the hands of individuals and institutions (Broederbond, church, university) gives one an idea of the "mafia-character" of power systems.

Saintonge's approach gives a special character to this biography. Nico Smith is not portrayed as a hero or model character, but as a person with strengths and weaknesses. Smith is like a prophet calling in the desert: some people reacted against it, others changed their opinion, but nobody could just ignore it.

Why is the message which Smith proclaimed for so long still of importance for South Africans in 1991? He did not speak only of a "new South Africa" – he started building it, against the wishes of the political, cultural and religious institutions of his people and in the process many so-called liberals have stood up against him. Smith went further than most liberals in South Africa: he not only rejected apartheid but began to identify with Africa and all its people.

A confused search for elusive peace?

By Anthoni van Nieuwkerk

THE ELUSIVE SEARCH FOR PEACE – SOUTH AFRICA, ISRAEL AND NORTHERN IRELAND, edited by Hermann Giliomee and Jannie Gagiano, Oxford University Press in association with Idasa, 1990, 338 pages including index. R29,95.

WHY WOULD anyone want to do a comparative analysis of South Africa, Northern Ireland and Israel? What can we hope to learn by this? *The Elusive Search for Peace*, the latest publication under the label "Contemporary South African Debates", focuses on a problem that is common to these three societies, and by doing so, tries to identify those factors that contribute to social breakdown.

What, then, is the nature of the problem from which these three societies seemingly cannot escape? Co-editor Giliomee offers this definition: South Africa, Northern Ireland and Israel are European settler societies which try on the one hand to maintain domination in state and society and, on the other, to retain a measure of democratic respectability in Western eyes. With this definition in mind, the book then tries to address the question why the conflicts in these three societies "are so intractable" and why the search for peace "is so elusive".

To answer the question, the book wanders through 15 chapters of varying quality before Giliomee finally draws some conclusions. One can perhaps argue that the nature of the topic necessitates elaborate treatment, but I found some of the contributions to be marginal to the central argument. However, at least three contributions make up for the flaw.

David Apter, for example, looks at the conflict in Northern Ireland from a refreshingly different perspective. In a case-study ("A view from the Bogside") he looks at ways in which an unemployed family living in a working-class Catholic ghetto in Londonderry called the Bogside, tries to cope with their violent environment. Tragically, the Bogside presents a picture of continuing violence and no solutions. Apter's case-study suggests that when violence is linked to conditions of marginality, wider beliefs and principles coincide with concrete interests. Violence may then erode a community less than it prevents its disintegration.

But the Bogside isn't Soweto. After having considered Northern Ireland and Israel, and four chapters on South Africa, what do we learn? According to Giliomee, the conflicts in these three societies have a particular character. Firstly, their dominant groups (that is, the Northern Irish Protestants, South African whites, and Israeli Jews) share an important link with the West. These groups believe their history to be one in which "progress" and "civilisation", defined in European terms, were brought to a land the natives were using unproductively. Politically, a provocative dualism emerged: for the settlers and their descendants there was democracy as Europe understands it, for the natives and their off-spring colonial subjugation.

In the second place, all three dominant groups have appropriated the land not only for material gain but also to underpin their national identities. Thirdly, there is something unique to the struggle of the subordinates (best represented, perhaps, by dominant political military organisations – the ANC, IRA and PLO in the three societies under discussion. Within their own countries they are confronted in microcosm by Europe's exploitation of the Third World, and with the entire European tradition of cultural chauvinism which juxtaposes assumptions about Third World "backwardness". Lastly, the conflicts in all three of these societies are national rather than civil rights struggles. This implies that it is virtually impossible to settle discrete social problems such as poor education or public health problems, if the national issue is left unresolved.

As far as the 17 authors of the book are concerned, over these issues there is considerable consensus and agreement. However, some of Giliomee's central assumptions are hotly contested, and these crucial differences are left unresolved. It is therefore left to the reader to come to some final conclusions – clearly an unsatisfactory arrangement since the introduction promises the reader at least some insight into the reasons for the conflict to be "intractable" and the peace to be "elusive".

Consider, for example, one of three conditions Giliomee considers to be crucial for a conflict to become "ripe for a settlement". He mentions the involvement of external patrons or guarantors; the ability of the adversaries to reformulate their respective identities and interests in ways which make accommodation possible; and the capacity of the political systems of the adversaries to absorb pacts and unpopular compromises made by leaders.

Regarding the first condition, Giliomee argues that, as a rule, power-sharing between groups succeeds where the prospects for external intervention are remote. Giliomee argues that the main parties address the external players rather than their opponents in the conflict. Israel's obsession is to keep the support of the US and the American Jewry; that of the Palestinians is to win over the Americans rather than the Israelis.



GILIOREE: assumptions hotly contested



ADAM: racial nationalists at odds

But what about South Africa? Giliomee argues that, as in the case of Israel, a symmetrical exclusion process has been at work here. Radical opponents of the South African government have long believed that without the West investing in and trading with South Africa the regime cannot survive. On the other side, the administration of P W Botha refused to consider the ANC as anything other than an agent of Russian expansionism and communist subversion. Towards the end of the 1980s a changing international context started to facilitate negotiations. It appears that Giliomee does not have much faith in the argument that a combination of international pressures and domestic and regional crises have forced the regime into a commitment to negotiate with its opponents. Rather, he believes that De Klerk's recent initiatives were strongly influenced by a reconsideration of the external factors. This analysis leads Giliomee to conclude that if an "intercommunal accommodation" is to be reached in South Africa, it will be because South Africa has no external patron which, as in the case of Israel and Northern Ireland, can act on behalf of the internal parties.

THIS view is not shared entirely by all the contributors. In chapter 13, Heribert Adam argues against the "fallacy of bi-communalism". For him, the "communal conflict" approach may be applicable to Northern Ireland and Israel/Palestine, but to him it is untenable for South Africa. Instead of talking of an intercommunal accommodation (Giliomee), it would be more appropriate, Adam believes, to say that any compromise will be between racial nationalists and the majority committed to individual patriotism, regardless of community affiliation. When in a divided society the overwhelming majority of the people favour a non-racial, non-ethnic constitution based on individual rights, the conflict is better conceptualised as the hold-out of a minority against the socio-economic implications of majority rule rather than as a communal conflict with equal rights on both sides.

The Elusive Search for Peace may have too many chapters, with some thoroughly confusing. But the book is worth reading, because it forces South Africans to question the validity of that "elusive peace". □

Hoe lyk Afrikaans in 'n bevryde Suid-Afrika?

Afrikaans het jare lank apartheid vergestalt, maar swart Afrikaanssprekendes het reeds begin om die taal te bevry van sy verlede. LARRY POKPAS voer aan dat 'n beleid van veeltaligheid, asook die opmiddellike opheffing van Afrikaans as "volkstaal", van uiterste belang is vir die toekoms van die taal.

SUID-AFRIKA beleef tans 'n tydperk van ongekende politieke fluiditeit. Die steunpilare van apartheid is bestem om binnekort te verkrummel. Gesprekke oor onderhandeling probeer koers vind om 'n ander bestel te rekonstrueer.

Taal vervul in hierdie prosesse van verandering en verset 'n sleutelrol. In die verlede is taal, en veral Afrikaans, gebruik om apartheid te vergestalt. Dit sal dus 'n deurdagte taalstrategie verg om die skade daarvan te herstel.

Die prominensie van Afrikaans in die politieke sentrum van die hegemonie is algemeen. Tog huldig die opinies nie noodwendig die sentimente van swart Afrikaanssprekendes nie. Alhoewel Gerrit Viljoen reeds in 'n vroeë stadium van transformasie verklaar het dat Afrikaans gehandhaaf en nie onderhandelbaar is nie, suggereer die huidige stilte dalk 'n verskuiwing van standpunt.

Hierdie artikel probeer die posisie van Afrikaans in 'n bevryde Suid-Afrika aanspreek.

Teen die agtergrond van die krisis oor die voortbestaan van Afrikaans is dit noodsaaklik vir die toekoms dat niemand se taalregte ontnem word nie. Tot dusver is slegs twee van die 11 Suid-Afrikaanse tale as ampstale erken. Die res is oor die jare gemarginaliseer en/of geniet slegs erkenning in 'n tuislandkonteks. Om die wanbalans te herstel, moet veeltaligheid in Suid-Afrika tot volle erkenning kom.

Afrikaans is die afgelope 100 jaar nou verbind met Afrikaner-nasionalisme en politieke mag. Dit het verder gelei tot die enge assosiasie met dié magsblok en deur Afrikaans is relasies van oorheersing en verdeling gehandhaaf. Die taal het so die stigma van 'n verdrukkerstaal gekry. 'n Oorsig van hierdie geskiedenis toon dat:

- Afrikaans – die kombuis- of hotnotstaal van toentertyd – sedert die 1870's gebruik is om politieke mag van die Britse imperialiste te verkry;
- Afrikaans gebruik is om blanke Afrikaanssprekendes onder die term "Afrikaners" tot 'n politieke "volk" te mobiliseer;
- Afrikaans opgeëis is as besitting van dié volk;
- Afrikaans 'n eksklusiewe en verdelende Afrikanerskap geskep het;

● Afrikaans, in die woorde van Malan, "draagster van onse kultuur, van onse geskiedenis, onse nasionale belange" gaan word het.

Bykans elke taalboek wat die patriotiese rol van volksvaders vereer, is 'n flagrante miskiening van die swart Afrikaanse geskiedenis. Van die Afrikaans-Hollands van die Khoekhoens, die Afrikaanse instruksietaal onder Moslems (1815) of die Arabiese invloed op die Afrikaanse taalstruktuur (om enkeles te noem) kom weinig aan die lig.

Inhoudelik het die Afrikaanse terminologie draers van Afrikaner-nasionalisme gaan word. Die etniese grondslag van begrippe soos "nasie, volk, kultuur" is semanties onversoenbaar met die ekwivalente in ander tale. "Volksgeskiedenis" en "people's history" is byvoorbeeld twee onversoenbaarhede. Afrikaanssprekendes het vir Afrikaners sosiale mobiliteit ingehou, terwyl swart mense se onvermoë om die taal te besig hul uit sleutelfunksies geweier het.

'Spraakgemeenskaplike beginsels eerder as die dominerende, verdelende karakter van Afrikaans moet toenemend al sy sprekers dien'

Tot dusver was die taalbeleid diskriminerend. Benewens ras en geslagsvooroordele moes swart mense eers die hindernisse van die ampstale oorbrug om toegang tot kompeterende terreine te verkry.

DIE ANC poog in hul onlangse "A Bill of Rights for a New South Africa" onder meer om die regte en vryhede van individue, waaronder taalregte, aan te spreek. Alhoewel hierdie ideale 'n regverdiger bedeling in die vooruitsig stel, is die praktiese implikasies daarvan nog nie uitgespel nie. Die taalregte verdien verdere aandag.

Afrikaans behoort sy regmatige posisie naas al die ander tale van Suid-Afrika in te neem. Die ander tale sluit in Sindebele, Sepedi, Sesotho, Siswati, Setswana, Engels, Tsonga [Shangaan], Venda, Xhosa en Zulu. Op die

wyse sou die taal – sonder die bevoorregting van mag en status – kan toon dat dit heelwat kan bied om 'n Suid-Afrikaanse kultuur te skep. Enige poging om enige taal vanuit 'n outoritêre magsposisie bo die ander tale te verhef, sou steeds 'n voortsetting van diskriminasie wees.

Ten einde die potensiaal van konflik te ont-lont, behoort die tale minstens in die streke waar dit algemeen gebesig word, erkenning te geniet. Dit sal die redelike reg van elke individu tot opvoeding, openbare diens en beroeps-toegang in elkeen se voorkeurtaal erken. Sonder hierdie regstellende aksie (affirmative action) van veeltaligheid sou die jarelange verset en stryd teen verdrukking nutteloos wees.

Spraakgemeenskaplike beginsels eerder as die dominerende, verdelende karakter van Afrikaans moet toenemend al sy sprekers dien. Dit impliseer die onmiddellike opheffing van Afrikaans as "volkstaal" en 'n regstelling van 'n ideologies-verdraaide geskiedenis.

DIE Lippetaal-erkenning aan die Afrikaanse dialekverskeidenheid is nie genoeg nie. Standaardtaal, wat in die dae van Preller reeds ingevoer is om Afrikaans van sy "Kleurlingskap" te suiwer, behoort ernstig hersien te word en ruimte te maak vir die rykheid van Afrikaanse dialekte. Of ideologies-eksklusiewe bewakers en handhawers van verdeeldheid in Afrikaans dan steeds 'n rol te vervul het, sal die toekoms ons leer. Enige verdelende beginsel vir Afrikaans is egter moeilik versoenbaar met die ideale 'n unitêre Suid-Afrika.

Die begrip "ampstaal" soos dit tans bedryf word, roep bepaalde betekenis op. Een of twee tale hoef byvoorbeeld nie al die funksies – juridies, polities, ekonomies en opvoedkundig – te vervul nie. In 'n poging om op demokratiese wyse aan die massas insae en toegang tot die funksies te gee, behoort meer streekstale oorweeg te word. Op dié wyse kan 'n taal, wat oor die grootste deel van die land bekend is, as nasionale "bindingstaal" meehelp om die ideale van 'n hegte Suid-Afrikaanse nasie te verwesenlik.

Dit is veral swart Afrikaanssprekendes wat vry van die Afrikaner-nasionalistiese verantwoordelikheid, die bevryding en rehabilitasie van Afrikaans begin het. Sonder die kunsmatige bemagtiging van kommissies, kongresse en burokrasie het Afrikaans onder swart Afrikaanssprekendes toegeneem as kommunikasie-, bevrydingstaal en Afrika-taal.

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