

## New ideas needed in SA - US academic

Too few ideas are being considered in South Africa at present to ensure a democratic future for the country, according to Prof Donald Horowitz of Duke University in the United States.

Addressing a public lecture on "ethnic groups and democracy", which was hosted by Idasa in Cape Town, Prof Horowitz also emphasised that there appeared to be a reluctance to "get on with planning the future" in South Africa.

This is Prof Horowitz's second visit to South Africa. He believes "timing" has become more critical to a negotiated settlement since 1985 when he last visited the country. During that period, the UDF had experienced many successes and the government seemed wounded. "The time for drastic change is not when one party is winning and the other losing," he explained. The mutual vulnerability which the government and the Mass Democratic Movement is feeling now is a better climate for a settlement.

Although there is agreement that the future government should be one in which no parties dominate, certain parties do not recognise that the starting point to any democracy is universal suffrage. In South Africa, the whites are reluctant to accept universal suffrage because they see it as black rule and white exclusion. The result of a historical pattern of exclusion from the electoral process was that blacks were equally reluctant to discuss a future electoral system. The constitutional guidelines of the ANC states that every person will have a vote, and that the electoral system will be negotiated.

The timing of instituting democratic procedures in a society is of great importance. Prof Horowitz is of the impression that "earlier is better". To dispel any argument against this point of view, he used the example of Malaysia and Sri Lanka. Although the former is a country riddled with ethnic divisions, because steps were taken early the country today experiences good ethnic relations. The procrastination of implementing similar reforms in Sri Lanka has resulted in two civil wars.

By putting the process of democratisation off, inevitable crisis will result and there will be no time to plan properly, says Prof Horowitz. He believes that the most successful way to establish an inclusive democracy is to phase it in. With the prevailing atmosphere of negotiations in southern Africa, Prof Horowitz warned against what he referred to as the "contract fallacy". This, he said, resulted in the negotia-

tors' arrangements being accepted as correct. The South African situation would benefit more by a "social contract" which reflects the broad wishes of the people.

There are means of creating incentives in an electoral system to ensure the accommodation of different ethnic groups. Prof Horowitz gave the example of the Nigerian system negotiated in 1978. In this system, the president is elected if he has a plurality of votes nationally — he also needs a geographical distribution of 25 per cent of the votes in two-thirds of the states. This ensures that the president has to have wide appeal and forces politicians to have an accommodative attitude.

**Marian Shaer**  
Western Cape Regional Co-ordinator

## Scholars to set up more encounters

The Port Elizabeth scholars who had been part of two Idasa-organised weekends at the Tsitsikama Lodge earlier this year have met again and relived some of the experiences of two weekends. Around the campfire and braai, at this reunion, many stories were told which revived fond memories of the "Tsitsikama" experience.

But the get-together also had a more serious objective. Time was spent ascertaining the impact which the non-racial weekend had had on the lives of the scholars involved. Participants spoke of what they had done since, to bridge, in whatever small way, any gaps they experienced as a result of the apartheid divide.

They also spoke of the future and their plans — and it was of no small encouragement to the organisers that it was "our" future that was spoken about. No cognisance of racial differences any longer: it was our shared future. Many leaders in our country could take a leaf out of the book of these scholars as they purposed jointly, to move towards a non-racial and peaceful future. And we who are older can rest assured that a future built on such a wholesome foundation holds security for us too.

The scholars have asked for more regular meetings of a committee or council, which could have as its objective the ongoing planning and setting up of non-racial encounters. And they have asked Idasa to co-ordinate their efforts. By channelling this sort of enthusiasm, Idasa believes that the future can be harnessed by the might of youth. We hope these scholars' projects move from strength to strength.

**Keith Wattus**  
Co-director, Eastern Cape

## Security

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In the "law and order" seminar, Prof Tony Matthews gave a sobering account of the present security legislation and State of Emergency regulations. He identified a growing tendency to remove legal controls over the security forces and to reduce their accountability to both the courts and the public. He pointed out that, instead of promoting law and order, the use of security legislation and security forces as part of a programme of political control was making violence and conflict inevitable. He cited the increasing

number of guerilla attacks and the 3 500 "unrest" deaths between 1985 and 1987 as evidence of this trend.

Opinion was divided with regard to whether the present legal system was so "diseased" that it should be completely revised or whether it was preferable to simply abolish the worst aspects and to create a new hybrid system which was more responsive to the needs of the society. Most participants agreed that a bill of rights supported by an independent judiciary would be an important feature of a post-apartheid legal system.

□ Ronel Scheffer is Idasa's Director of Publications

# Leuens sto van wit be

Deur Pierre de Vos

Blankes se onkunde oor wat in hul eie land gebeur — en die halwe waarhede en leuens waarmee hulle grootgeword het — is deur byna al die sprekers wat by 'n Idasa-konferensie oor die geskiedenis van weerstand in Suid-Afrika opgetree het, aangestip as die grootste struikelblok wat in die weg staan van blankes se eie bevryding.

Die konferensie, wat in Augustus op Stellenbosch plaasgevind het, is gesamentlik deur Idasa en die Stellenbosse tak van Regslui vir Menseregte aangebied.

Die konferensie het byna skipbreuk gely nadat die lokaal in die Universiteit van Stellenbosch se regs fakulteit, waar die konferensie sou plaasvind, op die laaste nippertjie eers vanaf 3.30 die middag beskikbaar was. Die konferensie sou oorspronklik om 9 vm begin het, maar na 'n advertensie vir die geleentheid in *Die Burger* verskyn het, het die dekaan van die regs fakulteit, Prof CG van der Merwe, beslis dat die konferensie nie gedurende klastyd mag plaasvind nie omdat dit "dalk studente uit hul klasse kan weghou".

Sowat 80 studente het die geleentheid bygewoon. Mnr Franklin Sonn, hoof van die Skiereiland se Technikon en voorsitter van die Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwys Unie, het daarop gewys dat die Afrikaanse gemeenskapsleiers reeds in die 1930s en '40s 'n stryd gevoer het om beheer oor die onderwys van hul kinders te verkry. "Die regering is juis daarom so bang vir 'people's education', want hulle weet baie goed watter magtige wapen dit kan wees," het hy gesê.

"Die Afrikaners het al sedert die dertigerjare die onderwys as 'n terrein van struggle gebruik. Toe generaal Jan Smuts 'n sisteem van dubbel-mediumskole wou invoer, het die Broederbond en die kerk boikotte en versetaksies gepropageer om die plan te beveg."

Sonn het klem gelê op die ooreenkomste tussen die Afrikaner se stryd wat toe teen die Britte gevoer is en die stryd wat die swart gemeenskap vandag teen die regering voer. Hy het ook vertel hoe die Afrikaners na 1948 hulle eie vorm van "people's education" — Christelike Hoër Onderwys — gebruik het om hul magposisie te bevestig.

"Dit is een van die grootste ironieë van die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis dat die Afrikaners hulle struggle van verset nou vergeet het," het mnr Sonn gesê. "Dieselfde M C Botha wat in 1976 Minister van Onderwys was toe die Soweto opstand uitbreek het, het 30 jaar tevore boikotte bepleit om die reg van wit kinders om in aparte skole in Afrikaans onderrig te ontvang, af te dwing."

In 1948 het die Afrikaners die geskiedenis herskryf en mites rondom Afrikanerhelde opgebou. "Swart kinders moes byvoorbeeld leer dat Paul Kruger 'n held is terwyl hy 'n gruwelike

# an in weg vryding



Leslee Durr, Nusas-voorsitter op Stellenbosch, en Franklin Sonn, voorsitter van die Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysunie, diep in gesprek tydens die onthaal na die konferensie.

despoot was," het Sonn gesê. "Christelike Hoër Onderwys het egter niks oor swartmense gesê om hulle te laat goed voel oor hulself nie. In dié amptelike weergawe van die geskiedenis is daar geen swart leiers nie — net swart verloorders en sukkelaars."

Volgens mnr Sonn is "people's education" 'n daadwerklike poging van swartmense om ook, soos die Afrikaner enkele dekades tevore, beheer oor die inhoud van hul onderwys te verkry. "Vandag is die weerstand teen die regerings-onderwys gesetel in die gemeenskap en word dit goed beplan," het Sonn gesê.

Prof Colin Bundy, mede-hoof van die geskiedenis-departement by die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland, het ook by die tema van wit Suid-Afrikaners se oningeligtheid aangesluit en gesê wit studente is totaal onkundig oor die lang geskiedenis van weerstand in Suid-Afrika omdat skoolhandboeke nie 'n woord daarvoor rep nie. Hy het 'n breë oorsig gegee van die moderne Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis wat hoegenaamd nie deel van die amptelike sillabus uitmaak nie en veral klem gelê op die strukturele geweld wat deel van ons samelewing is. Prof Bundy het gewaarsku dat die skyn van rustigheid, wat deur die effektiewe onderdrukking van enige weerstand teen die regering geskep is, nie vir altyd kan voortduur nie. "Die opstand is nou opgedam, maar die regering het nog nie eers begin om die vloed van griewe wat in die dam in spoel, aan te spreek nie," het hy gesê.

Mnr Jan van Eck, die omstrede DP-LP van Claremont, het 'n tweeledige siening van die rol wat die parlement in die stryd teen apartheid kan speel, voorgelê. Alhoewel hy die nie-wit huise in die parlement as irrelevant afgemaak het, het hy tog 'n mate van relevansie aan die wit huis toegeken — "omdat dit 'n groot rol kan speel om wit kiesers in Suid-Afrika in te lig oor wat werklik in die land aan die gang is. Op dié stadium kan die Volksraad gebruik word deur partye met die doel om blanke demokrate te mobiliseer om hul dan by die breë stryd in te skakel," het hy gesê.

"Want diegene wat die blanke kiesers so slegsê moet onthou: dit is wit Suid-Afrika wat bevry moet word. Die blankes is onderdruk; hulle is vol vrees en vooroordeel. Voordat dit nie verander nie, sal blankes nie bevry wees nie." En dit is deur deelname aan die Volksraad wat dié proses op die stadium nog kan geskied, meen Van Eck.

"As die parlementêre proses kan slaag om die NP so te verswak dat hy nie 'n keuse het om te onderhandel nie, het dit wel 'n positiewe rol gespeel," het hy gesê. Die stryd om ekonomiese vryheid is belig deur mnr Amos Lengesi, 'n aktivis wat reeds 'n termyn van 20 jaar op Robben-eiland deurgebring het. Mnr Lengesi het gesê dat baie blankes verkeerd dink dat die rykdom van die land hulle ontnem sal

word as 'n meerderheidsregering oorneem. "Ons wil net hê dat Suid-Afrikaners die meesters van hulle eie rykdom moet wees. Ons wil hê dat die rykdom al die mense in die land moet bevoordeel," het hy gesê.

As daar 'n verdeling van rykdom is, sal elkeen 'n "regverdige deel" moet kry. "Regverdig nie net vir die swartmense nie, maar regverdig teenoor al die mense van Suid-Afrika."

Mnr Lengesi het ook gewaarsku dat Suid-Afrikaners nie soos baie ander Afrika-lande wat onafhanklikheid verkry het, die ekonomiese slawe van hul "Westerse meesters" moet bly nie. "Politieke en ekonomiese onafhanklikheid is nie te skei nie. As mens net politieke onafhanklik raak, gebeur wat in Zaïer gebeur het. Korrupsie en magsvergrype deur 'n paar mense vind dan plaas."

Vir die studente wat die konferensie bygewoon het en begin wonder het hoe hulle die onkunde kan besweer, het prof Johan Degenaar, dosent in politieke filosofie by die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, stof tot nadenke gebied.

Prof Degenaar het in sy toespraak oor die rol van die universiteit in 'n veranderende Suid-Afrika verwys na die onkunde en gebrek aan kritiese vraagstelling wat by wit studente gevind word en dit aan die rol van die universiteit as instelling gekoppel. "Geen universiteit kan neutraal wees nie," het hy gesê. "Om andersins voor te gee, is om 'n rookskerm oor die ware standpunte en loyaliteite van die universiteit te gooi." Daarom is dit belangrik om altyd met 'n kritiese oog na die universiteit en die kursusse wat daar aangebied word, te kyk.

"Opvoeding moet 'n kritiese houding oor die samelewing hê. 'n Sleutelvraag vir studente moet wees: vir watter tipe samelewing word ek opgevoed."

Prof Degenaar het afgesluit deur Sokrates se bekende woorde effens te verdraai: "Dis nie net 'n geval van 'n ongeëksamineerde lewe wat nie die moeite werd is om te leef nie, maar ook dat 'n ongeëksamineerde universiteit nie die moeite werd is om by te studeer nie."

□ Pierre de Vos werk in Idasa se Publikasie-afdeling.

## World agrees on SA - Slabbert

It was standing room only as Dr Van Zyl Slabbert addressed a rapt audience on South Africa in the 1990s in Durban recently. The Idasa-organised evening event was prepared for 200 people but it soon became clear that interest was high as people continued to arrive.

Describing the move from a policy of separation to the acceptance by all — except the most conservative elements — of a single South Africa, Dr Slabbert explained that the real question was now what that single South Africa would look like rather than whether it would exist.

He reminded people that the formula for a political settlement of South Africa's crisis had been accepted by the international community and the broadest range of anti-apartheid groups. This formula of "unban (the ANC), release (political prisoners), dismantle (laws affecting free political process) and negotiate"

would control the direction of any meaningful settlement and would restrict the Nationalist government in their conception of negotiation.

Dr Slabbert was speaking during a three-day visit to Durban during which he addressed the Central Durban Rotary Club, the Black Management Forum and held a number of private meetings and briefings.

In a meeting arranged with young managers of Hudson and Knight, part of the Unilever group, Dr Slabbert provided a scenario for business and looked at the threats and opportunities of the present context in which business operates. The young managers forum is an innovation of Hudson and Knight and provides them with a chance to plan a career development and team building programme of their own.

**Paul Graham**  
Natal Regional Director