

SECURING THE FUTURE

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businessmen are playing tricks with our lives. In crisis situations they always agree to do something, but when the crisis passes they forget all their promises."

Prof Sampie Terreblanche of the University of Stellenbosch agreed. "In the early 80s an unholy marriage took place between the Pretoria bureaucracy and the Johannesburg business community. A large section of the business community gave legitimacy to the NP government that they did not deserve," Terreblanche said. He added that no normal business could take place in an abnormal society. "This fetish of business with neutrality is a propaganda trick. The political and economic game is taking place in a power framework in which black people have been on the losing end for a very long time. Business cannot ignore this problem that will have to be addressed by a post-apartheid government." He suggested that big business call its own Carlton conference to devise strategies to put pressure on the government.

Dr Nthatho Motlana, civic leader and board member of Southern Life, agreed that black people could not rely on predominantly white big business to address their grievances but he felt that the only way to remedy this was for black people to become part of the business community. "Big business has always been white. I am pleading that big business should become non-racial," he said.

"Blacks should become part of big business in order to acquire economic power," he said.

The editor of *The Sowetan*, Aggrey Klaaste, explained his concept of nation building to the conference and said that he and his newspaper also

believed in "black empowerment". He identified a more basic problem than Mr Motlana, however, and stressed the need for black people to be made aware of their ability to take leadership positions. "The government had been able to take care of the cycle of unrest born out of black anger with their repressive machinery. We blacks must therefore try to out-think the state."

Echoing these sentiments Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of Idasa, regretted the inability of many white liberals to refrain from patronising attitude that real change can only come through white initiative. "Tragically," Boraine said, "many white liberals find it difficult when blacks demand to do things on their own."

The concluding panel discussion centred around the question if South Africa could become a true democracy through the younger generation. It generated a heated debate on the methods that might be used to achieve a post-apartheid democratic South Africa and the form this democracy should take.

Mr Tony Leon, the Democratic Party candidate for Houghton, presented a classical liberal

Economic power: blacks must take part in big business

view. He said that democracy was not just about giving the majority the vote, it was about the protection of individuals. "This is only going to happen if we can establish a democratic culture: Liberty lies in the heart of men and women. When it dies there it cannot be saved by the courts or the constitution," he said.

Peter Mokhaba, president of the South African Youth congress (Sayco), argued that the democracy of a post-apartheid South Africa should serve all the people of the country by looking at the specific situation at hand. "If we talk about democracy in the context of the national liberation movement, we say that

democracy must first and foremost satisfy the aspirations of the African community. South Africa today is divided into two sides — one fighting for a democratic future and the other side fighting to retain apartheid and the undemocratic system," Mokhaba said.

He encouraged whites to take up the struggle for democracy because they too were denied the democratic right to associate with whom they want.

A delegate reiterated Mr Leon's notion that the democratic spirit must be part of the people's culture and questioned the democratic nature of the MDM. André Zaaïman, Idasa's regional director in Pretoria, reminded the conference that a struggle is at

present taking place in South Africa. "The state is sitting there and they are just waiting to sow division in the ranks of the opposition. How democratic the struggle can be is therefore not determined by the opposition but by the state."

Another delegate condemned the MDM for being just as "evil and undemocratic as the NP" and questioned the necessity to put aside one's democratic ideals in the struggle for liberation. Zaaïman responded by saying that it was sometimes necessary to have a democracy in a different form. "The township organisations have their own form of democracy and leaders are always kept accountable to the community."

Idasa's national co-ordinator, Wayne Mitchell, ended the conference on a hopeful note arguing that young white South Africans could play a major role in winning other whites over to a commitment for a non-racial democratic state. "Actions led by young leaders within the white community will be less easy to ignore than black protest, because they will come from within the community and therefore from a common moral and religious perspective," Mitchell said.



At the conference . . . Idasa regional co-ordinators Monde Mtanga (Port Elizabeth, left), and Patrick Banda (Johannesburg, right) with former Transvaal regional director Steve Fourie.

Security n dream' if

By Ronel Scheffer

"You are looking at a black future," Fatima Meer calmly told her largely white audience. She was, of course, not being pessimistic. By the year 2000 South Africa's urban population is expected to number around 40 million — 34 million of those people will be black. "What we now have to ensure is that that black future is a happy one," said Prof Meer.

The challenge contained in that observation was also heard in most of the other papers delivered at Idasa's "Peace and Security" conference which took place in Durban at the end of July. Speaker after speaker emphasised that the road to peace and security runs through the successful accommodation of black aspirations; that whites have no hope of finding security in isolation and that they should start defining themselves as part of a majority — not a minority; that an understanding of "corrective equality" would be a vital ingredient of a peaceful future.

There was a recurring appeal to the black community as well: several speakers and members of the audience asked that whites' attempts to bring about change be taken seriously; that their strategies, although differing from those of the broad democratic movement, be accorded respect too; that blacks should shed some of their mistrust and acknowledge the existence and efforts of whites who truly are "transformists".

The 300 delegates to the conference had the opportunity to examine peace and security from a wide range of perspectives which were offered in the course of an intensive programme of two plenary sessions and six concurrent seminars.

In her summary of the conference, Prof Meer, who heads the Institute of Black Research in Durban, dwelled on one of the key debates of the day: negotiation. Consensus at the conference seemed to be that although formal negotiations were still a long way off, the government had at least acknowledged its inevitability. Prof Meer said the tea party at Tuynhuys in July had brought Afrikanerdom to the point of no return. "The two leaders met. Having gone that far, how are they (Afrikanerdom) going to retract. They have aroused expectations inside and outside the country. It is part and parcel of their survival to negotiate."

Opening the conference the previous evening, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa's director of policy and planning, also dealt with the issue of negotiation. He said the international community had given the government a period of grace until after the September 6 election. At that point the National Party will have to face up to the fact that "security is not something which you can provide for yourself on your own".

Slabbert said the government had now reached the stage where it wanted to negotiate one constitution for all in the country. However,

Not an 'impossible whites join majority

unless it makes an unequivocal break with white domination, domestic and regional peace and security could not be achieved.

Leading a seminar on "Liberation movements: prospects for negotiations", Prof Peter Vale of Rhodes University suggested that post-war African history had experienced the "from prison to State House syndrome". In such situations, the imprisoned very quickly began to control the negotiation agenda. While liberation wars were invariably intensely politicised, there was little doubt that positions that resulted from negotiating were sacrosanct.



Prof Coovadia and Dr Treverton.

During an anxious interchange, delegates were wary of the immediate prospects for negotiations in South Africa, arguing that a balance between the forces had not yet been achieved; until this moment negotiations seemed unlikely. Prof Vale conceded that, in his view, there seemed no immediate likelihood of negotiations. Idasa's regional co-ordinator in Natal, Gary Cullen, offered a constructive alternative view of looking at the issue. Negotiations, in his view, were an on-going and continuous process and had been under way at many levels in South Africa for some time.

In the first plenary session of the conference, Dr Greg Treverton, senior fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, placed the security theme in its global context. He noted, like Slabbert earlier, that international security was in the throes of "exciting and confusing" developments.

Treverton said it was clear that, whatever happens in southern and South Africa, governments will have to rely on their own policies, not on large-scale external assistance. While the risks of opting for negotiations in South Africa were great (for both government and opposition groups), the risks of not negotiating were equally great. He concluded that one of the important reasons for opposition groups to consider negotiations concerned the military power of the state, one area in which power had not diffused much. "Despite its military losses in Angola and Namibia, the South African government retains a near monopoly on armed force within its territory. The armed opposition has made much less of a dent than the non-military forms. If the stalemate continues, no doubt armed opposition will increase.

Prof Meer with union leader Moses Mayekiso and Paul Graham, regional director of Idasa in Natal.



But for a very long time it will be members of the opposition that do most of the dying."

Speaking in the same session, Democratic Party co-leader Denis Worrall said while European leaders had great expectations of the settlement of conflicts in southern Africa, the majority of white South Africans had also come to accept that the "apartheid game is over". Yet, they were plagued by a profound sense of insecurity about the future which sprung from the racially polarised politics in the country and "the experience of Africa", said Dr Worrall. They were particularly concerned about a possible loss of "dearly held" values and seemed unaware that those values were also shared by millions of black people.

"Whites in Rhodesia made the mistake of defining their interests as white — and whites in this country will remain part of a white minority as long as they define themselves as such," said Dr Worrall. He argued that security and peace in South Africa could only flow from an inclusive discussion process during which all options — "from the ANC's unitary state to Caryl Chesson's volkstaat concept" — were considered.

Prof Gerry Coovadia, executive member of the UDF in Natal, and Alexandra community leader and trade unionist Moses Mayekiso both stressed that apartheid, and "apartheid violence" in particular, remained the major obstacle and threat to peace in South Africa. They said there was no objective evidence suggesting that the country was on the brink of massive change. Prof Coovadia said the democratic movement could, therefore, not withdraw "one iota" of its pressure on the government.

Regarding security, Coovadia said after years of deliberations on an alternative vision for South Africa, the democratic movement had arrived at what amounted to a set of minimum conditions for a free country — socially,



The German ambassador, Mr I. Stabreit, with *Natal Witness* editor Richard Steyn (left) and Tex Harris, US consul in Durban (centre).

politically and economically. Among its goals were a participatory democracy which could take the ordinary person beyond the formalism of voting every five years, and could ultimately lead to state and local authority "gradually becoming one".

Regarding economic policies, Prof Coovadia said the movement recognised the importance of a strong and growing economy, but growth would not — as in the past — be allowed to take place "at the expense of everything else".

In a seminar on "majority rule and minority protection", Prof Louwrens du Plessis of the law faculty at the University of Stellenbosch pointed out that a clear understanding of the economic implications of "corrective equality" would have to be instilled in whites. He said many whites believed that equality began and ended with "equal opportunities", not realising that a post-apartheid society would demand a "system of equality wherein injustices of the past must be redressed". Whites would need to come to terms with material sacrifices because the imbalances of the past would be "redressed at a certain expense", he said.

Touching on the fears that exist on both sides of the political spectrum, Prof Du Plessis argued that the "purely racial" fears of whites would be easier to overcome than their "privileged class" fears. He suggested, however, that these fears would not be insurmountable if whites could be convinced of the long-term advantages that their "sacrifices" would produce.

Black fear is generally manifested in mistrust — a state of mind akin to fear, according to Prof Du Plessis. This mistrust was born of bitter experience, but too rigid a persistence in this attitude would bedevil progress. "There are whites who want transformation and not merely just the reformation of structures," he said. Mutual trust — and a loss of fear — was essentially established at interpersonal level, but this trust should ultimately also be reflected in structures.

Several black delegates participating in this debate urged whites to shed their fear and ignorance of fellow South Africans by becoming involved in progressive organisations. "By joining these organisations they will know exactly what is going on in their country. We are delaying liberation by not working together," one delegate said. Earlier on Prof Coovadia also noted that most whites still appeared to be almost unaware of the hardships of the oppressed. He urged whites to stop being "visitors to the struggle" and to start becoming "residents" in the process of national liberation.

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