

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

IDASA's goals are:

- To encourage South Africans of all races to reject apartheid and discover an alternative that is non-racial and democratic in the true sense of the word.
- To assist people to accept and work for a post-apartheid society as a way of allaying their fears.
- To mobilise the skills, knowledge and experience of all those who can assist the communities in the crisis areas of South Africa.
- To provide forums and opportunities on a nationwide basis to find democratic solutions to South Africa's problems.
- To assist in creating a climate for genuine negotiation towards a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

IDASA Offices

HEAD OFFICE:

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

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

JOHANNESBURG: Fifth Floor, Norvic House, 94 De Korte Street, Braamfontein, 2107 (Tel 011-4033580/1/2/3; Telefax 3398301)

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

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

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

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

Letters and contributions to Democracy in Action may be addressed to Head Office.

EDITORIAL

Pushing govt towards genuine negotiations

MR Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, has stated that the National Party has now decided that in the future there can only be one parliament which incorporates all South Africans. This is a major step away from former National Party policy, but unfortunately Mr Heunis is very much less clear in describing how that parliament will be formulated except to emphasise group representation which, on the surface, would suggest that white control remains paramount for the government.

Mr Heunis has also emphasised very strongly the government's commitment to negotiation and reiterated his call that all South Africans should participate in negotiations towards a new constitution. In other words, negotiation politics has become a buzz word in government circles and therefore it is important for us to understand what negotiation really means.

Firstly, as far as IDASA is concerned, negotiation is not merely discussing "my plan with you and if you like the plan you can participate in it". This has certainly been the government's approach to negotiation until now. Nor is it merely a readiness to consult and to describe this as genuine negotiation. Obviously co-option can never be a pretext for negotiation.

COSTLY

It is our view that negotiation politics is a weighty matter and, for it to be taken seriously, has to be formalised: it must follow clearly defined rules and procedures which must have the assent of all participants. The closest example near at hand of course is what takes place in industrial relations. It follows therefore that negotiation politics cannot be seen as a cheap option. It is always costly and is risky for all concerned because no one person or group can control the process.

When entering into real negotiation, one can never be certain of the exact outcome. Apart from the inevitable give and take, there is also what might be termed a chemical reaction which invariably takes place and the end result may be very different from what was initially envisaged.

Lasting results of negotiation and the implementation of negotiation will depend not only on the adherence to procedures and

rules by all concerned, but in particular by the legitimacy of the negotiation process which is born out of realistic representivity.

In other words, the agenda whilst important is probably not the most important issue at stake. Who is at the table is a critical question. In our own situation, it would be absurd to imagine genuine negotiations taking place in the absence of representatives of the South African government. It is our view that it would be equally absurd to exclude any major actor — any organisation which has demonstrated that it has a considerable constituency.

It is our belief, based on our own experience but more especially on historical reality and objective surveys, that the African National Congress is at the very least one of these major actors whose absence from the negotiation table would guarantee the failure of those negotiations.

BARGAINING

If the government has to take seriously this kind of negotiation, then it is equally true that those who are in opposition to the government should understand that to talk about negotiation politics as if it were simply a "handing over of power" is not to understand the realities of South Africa and in particular of the power relations which exist, but it is also to misunderstand the nature of negotiation politics itself. To revert back to the illustration of industrial relations, it would be absurd for management to believe that it could simply appoint a trade union of its choice; it would be equally absurd for the trade union to imagine that management would not have its own demands and both sides will be committed to a process of bargaining.

IDASA remains convinced that genuine and open negotiation is a preferred method of resolving conflict in South Africa. Nelson Mandela could be pivotal in these negotiations but negotiation from prison is impossible. Furthermore, negotiation with one's hands tied behind one's back is a contradiction. If Mr Mandela were to be released and if he was seen as critical to the negotiation process, then obviously he could not merely speak for himself; he has to have the opportunity to consult so that he and his colleagues can come to the negotiating

Keep up the good work, IDASA!

I would like to congratulate, thank and encourage *Democracy in Action* in its efforts. The same naturally goes for IDASA which is the force behind much of the action.

Democracy in Action (March) is very readable, informative and is very encouraging in that it reports positive action being undertaken to solve the problems of our country. The editorial is sobering and informative,

servicing as a necessary balance to the state propaganda. Many of the articles will undoubtedly serve to allay white paranoia and fears being fuelled by the "total onslaught" strategy.

The Namibian interview shared deep insights and informed opinion with the readers. "Blatante skending van menseregte" summarised succinctly, yet unemotionally, the

LETTERS

iniquities of the system of detention without trial and the government's misuse of its powers. The foreign funding article was very useful to me.

Be encouraged. Keep it up.

Ross A. Haynes
KwaNgwanase

FUTURE OPTIONS 4

A report on the concluding conference of countrywide workshops on the ANC's constitutional guidelines

PEACE AT LAST IN NATAL? 6

After two years of violence, the warring parties are tackling the peace process

OPEN CITY CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED 8

A countrywide campaign to open the cities to all is gaining momentum

NEWS FROM THE REGIONS 10

Reports on IDASA events around the country

GUIDELINES DEBATE 10

Reports on constitutional workshops held in Port Elizabeth and East London

BOOK REVIEW 13

A review of a major new political work, *State, Resistance and Change in South Africa*

HOW THE SOVIETS SEE SOUTH AFRICA 14

Soviet academic Irina Filatova looks at Russian-SA relations, past and present

A WOMAN'S VIEW OF THE ANC 16

One of the Afrikaner women who recently met with the ANC gives her impressions of this historic encounter

ARTICLES IN DEMOCRACY IN ACTION REFLECT THE OPINIONS OF THE WRITERS AND DO NOT NECESSARILY CORRESPOND WITH THE VIEWPOINTS HELD BY IDASA.



MAAR ONS PRAT NOU MET DIE RUSSE EN DIE KUBANE, EN DIE ANGOLESE, EN MET ZAIRE EN...

MMM... JA WEL WAT VAN...



The "total revolutionary onslaught", inspired by Russia, has been replaced by an intellectual onslaught inspired by IDASA, according to some cabinet ministers.

New support for business facing change

THE first issue of *Business Vision*, a newsletter dedicated to addressing the role of business in a changing South Africa, has appeared.

"This vision acknowledges the inevitability of a non-racial, democratic South Africa and the desirability of business involvement in constructively driving this process. This vision is committed to a just and peaceful South Africa which benefits from optimum generation and just distribution of wealth," said Mr Ian Bernhardt, a spokesman for the publication.

Members of IDASA, the Consultative Business Movement and The Five Freedoms business and economy forum have combined energies to produce this publication. It is the editorial board's belief that the production of current, easily accessible information pertinent to the process of change will be a significant contribution in empowering business in change. It is in the networking and cross fertilisation of success models, experiences and information about business in change, that this newsletter will in itself be a tool for change.

Increasingly sectors of the business community are accepting that economic stagnation will be endemic unless change take place.

"Behind the fear, apprehension and insecurity that accompanies the telescoping of political-economic conflict in business, lies the hope and vision of a prosperous and stable post-apartheid South Africa, as the economic driving force of the Southern African region," said Mr Bernhardt. The newsletter will critically examine and develop on these scenarios.

The June pilot issue is available at R5 from *Business Vision*, P.O. Box 10466, Johannesburg 2000. Bulk orders for executive staff and line management can be supplied at R4 for 2 to 10 copies, R3,50 for 11 to 100 copies and R3 for 101 to 200 copies.

table with the necessary mandate so that whatever is decided at that table can be implemented.

A critical question which requires considerable thought and discussion is how can the government be persuaded that negotiation can only work if it is open-ended and takes place on the basis that apartheid cannot be reformed but has to be totally abandoned and that legitimate leaders have to be part of that negotiation process. In other words, what strategies should be adopted which will compel the government to move away from mere rhetoric to a commitment in word and deed to genuine negotiation so that a non-racial, democratic South Africa can become a reality? This is the urgent challenge facing all of us.

ALEX BORAINÉ
Executive Director

Forum, minister 'no good news'

IT seemed quite clear that a number of interesting things were going to happen in the political arena during the course of this year, the black newspaper, *Sowetan*, commented in an editorial.

"A group of black leaders have been brought together under the umbrella of the National Forum, which is intended to be the first step towards involvement in the national decision-making process.

"Now there are speculations that in the cabinet reshuffle likely to take place after the September elections, a black minister may be appointed for the education portfolio."

Sowetan continued: "This, unfortunately, is no good news at all. It is insulting enough to us for less than 25% of the population to go to the polls to elect a government to rule all of us.

"If the government has had a change of heart, it could demonstrate that by lifting the ban on the ANC and PAC, releasing political detainees and prisoners and allowing the exiles to come home.

"Once this happens and freedom of speech is guaranteed, it will not only be the voices of government puppets which will be heard.

"The right political atmosphere will then prevail for all of us to plan the future of a new South Africa."