

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

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

DECEMBER 1987

IDASA is one year old! It was on 1 November 1986 that our first office in Port Elizabeth opened. Since then, we have established IDASA's head office in Cape Town and opened branches in the Western Cape, Border, Southern Transvaal and Northern Transvaal. More important, numerous initiatives have been taken with our various offices acting as planning bases to reach out into a very fragmented and divided community. We have had our successes, but we have inevitably made our fair share of mistakes. We hope to learn from both!

From 14 to 16 November, the regional directors and co-ordinators met with Van Zyl Slabbert and myself for a residential workshop to review the work and development of the past few months. It was encouraging not only to receive reports of a wide variety of activities but also to consider the regional plans for 1988. If all these projects, both regional and national, come off, then 1988 promises to be more creative, hectic and worthwhile than even 1987!

As we move into our second year, IDASA remains firmly committed to the goal of a non-racial democratic South Africa. We base our approach and our projects on four major premises. *Firstly* we attempt to be realistic in our understanding of where South Africa is and what the fundamental issues are. As a result, we are constantly trying to analyse the socio-political situation in order to strive for hard-headed realism rather than wishful thinking. This is not to deny a place for dreaming of new possibilities and trying to make them come true!

Secondly we place a high premium on strategies which are firmly based on our analysis. In this way, we hope to establish clear priorities and to stick to them. However, strategies should never be elevated to principles and we try to be firm in evaluating the

From the Executive Director

strategies we adopt. If they don't work, new ways must be found.

Thirdly IDASA seeks a dynamic approach in the sense that we emphasise growth and development, not only as far as our projects are concerned but also in relation to our staff. Despite the intransigence of the state, South Africa is in a pattern of accelerated change

and in order to manage and anticipate change, we must be open to new thinking and new ideas.

Finally our aim is to be democratic not only in our goals but also in the process towards realising those goals. This means a readiness to consult widely with progressive movements and communities and to seek consensus in our own organisation as well. Elsewhere in this issue of *Democracy in Action*, you will read of recent activities and projects. I hope they measure up to the four major emphases I have outlined.

1988 is around the corner and despite uncertainties and difficulties, I believe that IDASA is in better shape to overcome these than we were a year ago.

Alex Boraine
Cape Town
7 December 1987



Picture by Guy Tillim. Courtesy - Afrapix.

This picture serves as a stark reminder of events leading up to the "Black Christmas" of a year ago, and thereafter. The oppressive situation pertaining then has not changed. Nevertheless, IDASA wishes all its friends and the readers of Democracy in Action a blessed Christmas - and re-affirms the hope that the New Year will bring the birth of an enduring peace (born of justice) for all South Africans.



DURING November IDASA celebrated its first year of existence following the opening of our first office in Port Elizabeth during November 1986.

Expansion and the implementation of our infrastructure during 1987 saw IDASA establish a presence in East London, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria. Many of the projects conducted during 1987 were run without any previous experience due to the fact that IDASA was in the process of breaking new ground through the use of unique methods and strategies which had been untested in the search for a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

A year of learning through the process of trial and error has led to IDASA firmly establishing its priorities in relation to the goals as originally set out by the institute. The 13-16th November saw IDASA hold the first of its annual Forward Planning workshops at which all regional offices put forward their proposals and projects for 1988. The workshop exposed a mood of

1988 - A Year of Consolidation

NATIONAL CO-ORDINATOR REFLECTS ON IDASA'S FIRST YEAR OF LIFE

intense motivation by all of those present to continue with the challenges that lay ahead despite the criticisms which may be levelled at IDASA and its employ-

ees for the stand which they have taken against apartheid and all forms of exploitation.

The workshop showed that a pattern has emerged with regards to the regional programmes and the administration thereof. The pattern and structure which was planned and which has now emerged will permit a greater deal of co-ordination within IDASA. The year 1988 has been earmarked as the year to consolidate and co-ordinate our existing offices with expansion likely to take place through the opening of offices in Natal as soon as the groundwork and consultation has been firmly established in that region.

Besides the numerous regional projects which have been planned for 1988 the national office will be facilitating several major conferences and seminars. The conferences and seminars will be advertised through *Democracy in Action* and the press.

Wayne Mitchell
National Co-ordinator

THIS course will focus on democracy in a post-apartheid South Africa. The aim will be to look beyond "democracy" as a facile slogan and to identify the realistic challenges facing a democratic alternative for South Africa. Starting with a critical analysis of the contemporary South African society and political system, it will go on to raise such questions as: What does democracy mean in a contemporary industrial society? And what can it offer to those looking for popular government and social justice? The series will conclude with a statement of a democratic alternative and how this might be achieved.

Lecture titles:

1. Towards a democratic South Africa: Ideological mystification or realistic challenge?
Professor A du Toit
2. South Africa: Contrasts and contradictions.
Dr A Boraine
3. Industrialisation, markets and the democratic alternative.
Dr W James
4. Socialism and the democratic alternative for South Africa.
Prof D Davis
5. Towards a democracy in South Africa: A vision for the future.
Dr van Zyl Slabbert

Democracy in South Africa

UCT Summer
School 1988

CO-ORDINATED BY
DR ALEX BORAINÉ

25 - 29 JANUARY 8.15 p.m.

Dr Alex Boraine is currently Executive Director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa as well as a consultant to a number of signatory companies of the Sullivan Code operating in South Africa.

Associate Professor Dennis Davis teaches in the Faculty of Law at UCT. He is the author of numerous articles on sociology of law and jurisprudence. He has also taught at the University of Cambridge and

has delivered several notable extra-mural courses at UCT.

Professor Andre du Toit teaches in the Department of Political Studies at UCT. He studied at Stellenbosch University and at the University of Leyden, where he was subsequently a visiting lecturer. He has also been a visiting professor at Yale University and in addition to his academic publications, he has written political commentaries for both the English and Afrikaans press.

Dr Wilmot James teaches in the Department of Sociology at UCT. His current research is on the political economy of gold mining and he recently published a book entitled *State of Apartheid*.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert is currently Director of Research and Planning for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa as well as a political consultant to a number of companies operating in South Africa.

Course fee: R16,00; Individual lectures: R4,00.

To register for this course, please obtain a registration form from: Dept. of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, University of Cape Town, Private Bag, Rondebosch 7700. Enquiries: Telephone (021) 650-2888.

MET ingang van 19 Oktober 1987 het die Regering 'n stel voorwaardes neergelê vir die staatsubsidies wat die universiteite ontvang. Die verklaarde doelstelling daarvan is om te verseker dat studente en staf hul aktiwiteite ordelik en ononderbroke sal kan voortsit. Suid-Afrikaanse universiteite bevind hulle inderdaad toenemend in die politieke strydperk en protesvergaderings, klasboikotte, demonstrasies en konfrontasies met die polisie is op heelwat kampusse lank geen onbekende verskynsel meer nie.

Na alle waarskynlikheid sal die uitwerking van die staat se voorwaardes egter presies die teenoorgestelde wees: dit is daarop bereken om studente, universiteitsowerhede, die veiligheidsmagte en regeringsdepartemente in nog moeiliker konfliktsituasies te dompel. Die tradisionele "oop" universiteite sowel as die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland het die voorwaardes dan ook as 'n flagrante inbreuk op hul outonomie verwerp. Die Universiteit van Natal is reeds besig om die regsgeldigheid van die voorwaardes in 'n hofgeding te bestry. Selfs die Raad van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch het aangedui dat dit ongelukkig is met die voorwaardes en dit by die Regering wil opneem.

Die basiese beswaar is dat die Regering die Universiteitsrade en administrasies deur middel van die voorwaardes wil dwing om as sy agent op te tree teenoor andersdenkende studente en personeel. Universiteitsrade sal selfs aan die Minister moet verslag doen oor hul voorkomende en dissiplinêre optredes in hierdie verband, en as dit volgens die oordeel van die Minister onvoldoende is, kan hy hul staatsubsidies verminder. Dit is nie net in beginsel 'n volstreekte skending van die universiteit se outonomie nie, maar plaas die universiteitsowerhede ook polities in 'n onhoudbare posisie. Die universiteit se interne gesagstruktuur word só onherroepelik betrek by staatstrukture en regeringsbeleid. Dit beteken 'n veel moeiliker konfrontasie met radikale en die toenemende aantal swart studente. Dit beteken ook 'n fatale ondermyning van die universiteite se akademiese geloofwaardigheid in die konteks van 'n internasionale anti-apartheidsveldtog. Geen self-respekterende universiteit kan hieraan meedoën nie.

Regering se Intimidasië-Politiek Vererger die Universiteite se Dilemma

Dit was seker nie die Regering se bedoeling om letterlik in die dissiplinêre prosesse van die universiteite te wil ingryp deur subsidies te verminder nie. Waarskynlik is dit eerder as 'n soort dreigement bedoel om die universiteite sover te kry om "hul eie huis in orde te kry" — iets wat in heelwat kringe

van veral die blanke gemeenskap sterk steun sal kry. Maar hierdie soort intimidasiëpolitiek berus op 'n totale miskenning van die aard en wese van die universiteitsgemeenskap. Natuurlik sal elke universiteit wil verseker dat studente en staf hul aktiwiteite ordelik en ononderbroke kan voortsit. Dog dit kan nie met mag en geweld afdwing word nie: 'n universiteit kan slegs funksioneer op die basis van redelike diskussie en 'n vertrouensrelasie tussen studente en dosente. Dit is geen maklike taak wanneer die universiteit 'n politieke arena word waarop die verdeeldhede en konflikte van die groter samelewing toegespits word nie. Die Regering se hardhandige intimidasiëpolitiek bied hiervoor geen oplossing nie maar kan sake net verder beduiwel.

*Prof. André du Toit
Universiteit Kaapstad*



At the top table of the "Introducing IDASA" luncheon in Cape Town (l. to r.): Mrs. Paddy Clark, Dr. André du Toit (author of the article on Universities on this page), Mr. Mziwonke "Pro" Jack, Dr. F. van Zyl Slabbert, Dr. Alex Borraine and Ms. Beverley February.

Introducing IDASA to the Business Sector

NOVEMBER marks the beginning of introductory luncheons, entitled "Introducing IDASA", attended primarily by businessmen who are supportive of IDASA's aims and objectives. The debut luncheon was held on the 10th November 1987 at the Mount Nelson Hotel, Cape Town and was attended by approximately 60 representatives of the business community and various embassies. The occasion was chaired by Sir Richard Luyt, former Vice-Chancellor of UCT and addressed by Alex Borraine and Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert.

The response of those present was indeed positive and many of them have pledged financial support to IDASA, whilst others have indicated that they would discuss the possibility of financial support with their respective companies. The success of this function bears witness to the fact that many persons in the business community are interested in the democratic future of this country and are prepared to actively participate in working towards a new, liberated South Africa.

Ms. Beverley February

DASA recently facilitated the visit of a group of eight South African journalists to Zimbabwe. This was organised in association with the Cold Comfort Farm Trust. **Patrick Cull, political correspondent of the E.P. Herald, reports:**

White former-Rhodesians now living in South Africa would perhaps have reacted with a measure of incredulity at seeing nearly a dozen former Rhodesian Front MPs, supported by the "enemy", Zanu-PF, among the 20 MPs elected to fill the places vacated by the 20 nominated white MPs. But that is a measure of the continuing programme of reconciliation under way in Zimbabwe.

Even the dour, acerbic Bill Irvine, a former Smith stalwart and sometime arch-opponent of sanctions against South Africa, featured among the nominations.

But then life for many of the whites who opted to remain in Zimbabwe has not changed that dramatically — one commentator remarked that ironically the country was more colonial now than it had ever been. The gripes about commodity shortages and curbs on taking money out of the country remain, as for that matter does the State of Emergency, while the Press, despite the sweet explanations of Information Minister Nathan Shamuyarira, is still effectively muzzled.

The whites who have made the transition from the halcyon days of "Good old Smithy" to a country whose leader is an avowed Marxist bent on introducing a one-party state did so, as the University of Zimbabwe's Prof Marshall Murphree points out, "because they saw it was in their interests to do so". Those who thought otherwise moved South or elsewhere — and still do like one couple (who by now will be "down South") who cited deteriorating standards of education as the reason. Earning \$1 500 a month, a mixed society was very much more a reality for them than it was for many others. The wealthy — perhaps this is a cynical view — can afford to buy their apartheid.

If the policy of reconciliation with whites has blossomed, the seeds of hostility between the ruling Shona and the Ndebele continue to bear fruit.

"Dissidents" — the collective

South African Journalists visit Zimbabwe

name for anyone using violence against the Government — have been active in Matabeleland, the targets often being white farmers and headmen (collaborators in South African terms).

Law and Order Minister Emmer-son Munangagwa points the finger firmly in the direction of South Africa, which he claims is destabilising the region. He did not, however, produce any evidence of South African involvement although he stated that there had been court cases in Matabeleland involving people trained in South Africa.

Far more feasible an explanation, however, is that the "dissidents" are people who, dis-

gruntled and dissatisfied with the dismal shade of utopia as far as they are concerned, have returned to the bush. What adds strength to this argument is that it is generally accepted that Matabeleland has not enjoyed the same attention as the rest of the country as far as development is concerned.

The Zimbabwe equivalent of the gravy train seems to have cast most of its bounty in the direction of the ruling tribe — some cabinet ministers have become the most vociferous opponents of nationalisation and even of sanctions against South Africa. In addition, the Legal Committee for Human Rights based in New York points to horrific abuse of the Ndebele in the campaign by the Mugabe Government to whittle out and destroy dissidents.

In a nutshell, the freedom at the end of the bush war has been more than a little disappointing. For the whites who remained, the evolution to a black state has been a largely successful experience. For some of the blacks who returned with such high hopes at the end of the "struggle", the revolution has been a failure.

*Patrick Cull
Political Correspondent,
E.P. Herald*



L to R: Mr. Mark Collier, Director of the Cold Comfort Farm Trust, who hosted the visit, with Mrs. Anne Knuth, Liaison Officer of the Dept. of Information of the Zimbabwean Government, and her husband.

BORDER

MILITARISATION AND DEMOCRACY

“As South Africa slides inexorably into economic stagnation, endemic political instability and moral bankruptcy, South Africans must face the most fundamental question: is this government leading us to democracy through reform, or is it mobilising our human and material resources to fight a fruitless war to protect white power?”

It was with this question that Mark Swilling began his address on 'Militarisation and Democracy' at what was possibly the most informative of the Border Region's projects during October.*

On a Saturday afternoon, when most people are either involved in leisure activities or spending time with their families, a group of con-

cerned citizens met to learn of the nature and extent of the militarisation of the South African state. Their sacrifice of time was amply rewarded by a carefully reasoned, well researched paper followed by an informative discussion.

Mr Swilling pointed out that there is consensus across the political spectrum that the South African state has become increasingly militarised over the past few years, and in stating that this process has grave implications said: "It means that its [the state's] awesome power is being used not to attain a permanent peace, but to pursue violent solutions."

It was suggested that the increasingly central role played by the security forces in the running of government is, as far as the state is concerned, a response to the "Total Onslaught" being waged against South Africa. It is based on a belief held by P W Botha and his military advisors that reform with-

out repression could have revolutionary results. During discussion Mr Swilling argued against this contention by indicating that the conditions which have led to revolutions in other parts of the world do not exist in South Africa.

The system devised to pre-empt revolutionary action, called the National Security Management System (NSMS), was discussed at length. Mr Swilling indicated that "although government now acknowledges that this system exists, the precise functions, strategies and personnel who serve on the hundreds of committees remain a secret." He went on, however, to list the repressive measures adopted by government and concluded that the committees of the NSMS "are using their power to rip communities apart, extract the leadership from the hearts of these communities and put together the pieces again in a way more accept-

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Hell no, we won't go!



On the 3rd of August this year, 23 young men publicly refused to serve in the SADF. They have since received widespread support both from within and outside South Africa. The 23 are: (back, l to r) Peter Hope, Michael Briggs, David Green, Mark Behr, Glenn Goosen, Michael Rautenbach, Jean du Plessis, Luke Cornell, Timothy Honey, Pieter van der Riet and David Waddilove. (Front, l to r) Crispian Olver, Jaco Malan, Andrew Merrifield, Bernard Le Roux, Dr Ivan Toms, Jonathan Melunsky, Jonathan Shapiro, Nathan Honey, Andries du Toit and Ben Schoeman. Absent: Robert Schnetlager and David Schmidt.

Courtesy: Out of Step, ECC bulletin, Aug. '87.



Mr. Pearce Tywala who has recently been appointed to the Border region staff as a regional co-ordinator.

able to the state's objectives". The reformist measures taken as concessions to some of the demands of the communities were also listed.

Mark Swilling's conclusion, shared by most participants after the discussion, was that "the strategy of repressive reform is an option developed by the militarised South African state that will not resolve our fundamental problems. To this extent, the solutions it is offering are a recipe for further violence, rather than long-term peace."

No one left the workshop with an easy solution to the problem presented by the militarisation of the state but most had a more informed understanding of both the need for and the challenges facing a genuine democracy.

Steve Fourie
Regional Director

(*Mr Swilling is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Studies at Wits University.)



Ms Ronel Scheffer who will join the Border region staff in January 1988.

EASTERN CAPE

EDUCATION FORUM

THIS forum was addressed by Dr. Neil McGurk of Sacred Heart College, Observatory, Johannesburg. He spoke about the Education for a New Nation: a basis for Teacher Unity. It was mentioned that the basic intention behind the provision of education of every government in South Africa since 1890 has been the continuing political, social and cultural hegemony of whites over their fellow countrymen.

The flag of the "White" nation, with its European colours and patchwork arrangements, represents the symbol par excellence of continuing "European" domination of the major white groups through a dialectical interdependence of political and economic control. By the most radical of its critics this regimen has been characterised as "racist capitalism".

The present call for peoples education is part of world-wide socialization whose beginnings, among other spontaneous expressions, can be traced to the achievement of independence of African states and the problems related to developmentalism in Latin America. The call was for a more integral development and self-empowerment of people with a preferential option for the growing number of the poor. The initial option also expressed a preferential option for youth, which in our present education crisis finds a direct resonance. There is a lack of a clear perception of the fundamental issue in most of the rhetoric of those arguing for the "big business" option, for instance. They remain so attached to the notion of possessing some sort of normative excellence in their skill to forge and to rule over complex commercial industrial empires, that they are quite perplexed by the ungrateful "development" peoples rejection of their attempts to put the brightest and the best of them onto the high road to prosperity.

As teachers our fundamental resolution must be with the more moral imperatives in a priority of values of building a nation free of racial and economic oppression.

Teachers unity cannot be constituted on any facile basis. A framework of principle for consensual action within the broad context of liberation will only come after a long struggle of mutual accommodation and reconciliation. We have to find very powerful regulative ideals and values if we are going to guide this process of negotiation to consensual action. It becomes a matter of national importance that teachers associations achieve such a principled unity.

It is our conviction that nothing less than grappling for the soul of the nation is at stake in our education crisis. The philosophy of Christian National Education remains the principle informing the public provision of education in South Africa. It is overtly adhered to on the part of the State on the grounds of its apartheid ideology, which is a conception of mutually exclusive nations; but also covertly on the grounds of protecting the narrow national identity of the Afrikaner, as well as the political and economic control of whites. The provision of public education within this ideology is an imposition of political and economic injustice, and a continuing socio-cultural and socio-economic hegemony over the vast majority of South Africans. Its rejection in the call for a People's Education is a protest against this domination.

In its narrowest sense, the idea of people's education is a simple ideological instrument to mobilise this protest into political organisation. In its most authentic sense, the idea of people's education is a nation-building exercise, in which socio-cultural and socio-economic domination is overcome, and the ideal of a non-racial democratic society regulates the educational processes. The idea embodies (in this latter sense) a powerful moral objective!

SADWU — HOUSEWIVES FORUM (2 NOVEMBER 1987)

ARISING out of previous such meetings in Port Elizabeth an Algoa Domestic Employers Association has been formed. It complements the SA Domestic Workers Union and will deal with all matters pertaining to domestic employment.

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NEWS FROM THE REGIONS

FREEDOM CHARTER SEMINAR (3 NOVEMBER 1987)

THE papers presented in this seminar covered the whole document. It was mentioned that as apartheid goes through its terminal phase, a vigorous debate has emerged concerning the type of structures that should be established in a post-apartheid S.A. To date this debate has to a large extent been dominated by liberal capitalist positions pre-occupied with the problem of how to deracialise South Africa's political economy without dismantling the capitalist system. These positions, however, stand opposed to the demands and interests of the black majority whose popular organisations have in theory and practice articulated a rather more socialist than capitalist solution to South Africa's fundamental problems.

The Freedom Charter can, with little difficulty, provide the basis for a social democratic order vested in a welfare capitalist economic system. The basic human rights and constitutional clauses of the charter are entirely consistent with the democratic values that underpin Western social democracies. As far as the more contentious economic clauses are concerned, most welfare capitalist systems would be able to accommodate these with relative ease as long as nationalised industries are *bought from the original owners rather than appropriated*. The major organisations that represent the interests of the oppressed are in some way committed to a socialist future which would involve:

- a) the restructuring of work and employment.
- b) the right to work;
- c) a living wage and 40 hour week;
- d) maternity leave and control over prices;
- e) the reorganisation of the provision of the means of collective consumption, eg. transport, housing, social services and food;
- f) the thorough democratisation of the political economy.

The most striking feature of the Freedom Charter is that its demands all involve the rejection of structures that have been forged by South Africa's unique combina-

tion of capitalist exploitation and racial oppression. From the business perspective it was mentioned that only four of the eleven sections of the Freedom Charter deal with the economy. This lack of specificity and socialist emphasis causes the business community grave misgivings. However this is not a matter of principle but of organisation.

The question of how to organise your national economy and create wealth for the citizen is not essentially different from the problem of how to organise a company to create wealth for shareholders. You are concerned with allocation of resources, productivity, innovation, control, quality, ethics and motivation of everybody from owners to office workers. It is the business perspective of this aspect of the charter which should be taken seriously because this is the area of its special expertise.

*Max Mamase
Regional Director*

SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL

STATE Interference at Universities: On 4 November IDASA was instrumental in bringing about a meeting of students and academics from both RAU and Wits at the RAU campus to discuss the above topic. The meeting was historical, since it was the first time that Afrikaner and English speaking students and academics from the above campuses met to discuss a common problem.

There were twelve academics and thirteen students from Wits, and eleven academics and fifteen students from RAU. The meeting served to make contact between the two universities. It also identified the need to meet on a more regular basis and it is hoped to have a meeting of a similar nature in the new year.

CONSCIENTIZING people to the traumas and hazards that Black persons experience when going to work, returning home, going shopping, etc.: These visits are proving to be a learning experience for women, many of whom are strangers to the townships.

On Tuesday, 10 November, a combi load of six white women witnessed the queuing of Black persons at the Southern Life

Centre, taxi rank for Blacks, as well as the Johannesburg station. We then followed the taxi and buses to Diepkloof and Baragwanath in Soweto, making several stops along the way. The discussions in the taxi varied, sometimes becoming very emotional. This is an ongoing project which we hope to continue at least once a week.

*George Peffer
Regional Director*

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

IN the Northern Transvaal the demand for guided tours through nearby homelands resulted in twice-weekly day trips involving journalists, overseas visitors, church groups, parliamentarians, academics and researchers. This process of public conscientization through the dissemination of information and through discussion proves very effective.

As a follow-up on the national conference of the Five Freedoms Forum IDASA facilitated discussions between groups and individuals sharing the concern for meaningful change.

Our main emphasis in the past weeks, however, has been on the media. The centenary conference of *The Star* on conflict and the press, together with numerous other deliberations and consultations, resulted in a specialist workshop in Cape Town which may still have very tangible results.

*Braam Viljoen
Regional Director*



Mr. Noel de Vries, National Administrative Secretary of IDASA, who is based at the National Office.

WESTERN CAPE

ONE of the greatest consequences flowing from the policy of Apartheid is isolation. A huge gulf exists between White and Black South Africans. IDASA was born in order to encourage, promote and establish contact and communication between Black and White South Africans who have been kept apart for so long that they have lost touch with each other's humanity.

Fundamental to the work of IDASA is the realisation that most Whites cannot hear the assurances of their fellow Whites, but need to be in direct contact with Black South Africans so as to dispel their ignorance of what is happening in their country and to be reassured that Blacks are seeking only the justice and freedom which has been denied them for so long.

Against this background the strategy of a guided township tour for Whites has proved most valuable. Mr. Mziwonke "Pro" Jack, regional co-ordinator and organiser of these tours reports on the most recent such venture.

TOWNSHIP TOUR REPORT

We have, as a follow up of our last township tour and the demand for more such tours, organised another one which was attended by 70 participants of which 90% were Whites. The 21st November tour was run along the same lines as the last one but under different conditions. For example, unlike

before, the community leadership did not participate but knew about our presence. Secondly, one of the areas involved was KTC. It is presently experiencing internal conflict which has claimed lives. The absence of the leadership was meant to expose participants to the grassroots people where there will be no distortion of realities. Sometimes, when things are said by the leaders, they are perceived as mere propaganda, but now this could not be the case!

When we left for the townships some White participants had reservations and fears about how they would be received. They were expecting a very hostile reception. This attitude is embodied in White minds by means of the propaganda machine of the apartheid regime. The role that the TV, Radio and newspapers is playing is very destructive. It is sometimes frustrating to see how foreigners and tourists are well versed about what is happening here and how ignorant, out of touch and misinformed many White South Africans are about what is happening at their door steps. It is with this in mind that we urge people to come out of their isolation, meet and understand one another and strive for a non-racial and democratic South Africa. We believe that people dare not depend on the official media position about the situation, but must use the opportunity of going to the townships and see the realities of the situation for themselves.

What astounded the participants is the warm reception, community spirit, liveliness and openness of the people as opposed to what they are made to believe. Some participants are still confused about how Blacks can be so warm and open towards them seeing they (the Whites) are responsible for their misery and repression. The attitude of the people was indicative of the nature of the struggle — that it is not between Blacks and Whites, but *the people* irrespective of colour, race or creed, and the apartheid regime. One participant repeated what was said by a Dominee from the NGK, namely that he had been to many places but his most enlightening tour was 30km away from his home!

After the tour we had time for

reflection and the following points were identified:

1. Absence of structures like Civic Organisations in the White areas, is causing problems.
2. The importance of keeping regular contact with the communities through their leadership and organisations became quite clear.
3. One of the most disturbing observations of the participants was the high profile presence of the "security forces".

Some of the experiences on the tour included: Some participants had to duck and dive out of KTC because they were chased by Casspirs. The extensiveness of the programme which moved through Crossroads, KTC, Lusaka/Milner Camp, Oscar Mpetha Square and an upgraded area (i.e. where satellite camps used to be) in Nyanga. In Khayelitsha we looked at the housing conditions and visited Greenpoint, another refugee camp. We ended up with a braai in the townships which was another rewarding experience for the participants.

Mr Mziwonke "Pro" Jack
Regional Co-ordinator

TWO FORTHCOMING PROJECTS

1. VARIETIES OF DEMOCRACY

Dates: Monday 14th December 1987: An Introductory Lecture on the Theories of Democracy and the Significance thereof for South Africa.

Tuesday 12th January 1987: Exploring Liberal Democracy with reference to Markets.

Tuesday 19th January 1988: Is Socialism Compatible with Democracy?

Tuesday 26th January 1988: The Freedom Charter and Azanian Peoples Manifesto: Are these Compatible with Democracy?

Time: 19h30 — 21h00

Lecturer: Prof. Dennis Davis of the Law Dept. at UCT.

Venue: IDASA Offices, 1 Penzance Road, Mowbray.

2. HISTORY OF RESISTANCE

Date: 16th December 1987

This will be a one-day seminar on the history of resistance in South Africa which will involve the input of prominent South Africans noted for their involvement in the struggle of the people against Apartheid.

Venue: IDASA Offices, Mowbray.

To enrol please phone 47-3127.

IBASA: OCCASIONAL PAPERS

1. *Democracy and Government: A Post-Leninist Perspective*
Dr Charles Simkins, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Cape Town.
2. *Democracy and Law*
Advocate Arthur Chaskalson, National Director, Legal Resources Centre.
3. *Democracy and Government: Towards a People's Struggle*
Presented by Mr Andrew Boraine on behalf of the United Democratic Front.
4. *Democracy and Business*
Mr Leon Louw, Director, Free Market Foundation.
5. *Democracy and the Church*
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8. *Democracy and Labour*
The late Mr Eric Mntonga, Regional Co-ordinator, IDASA (Border Region).
9. *The Dynamics of Reform & Revolt in Current South Africa*
Dr F. van Zyl Stiebert — A Three Part Talk as Tanner Lecturer, Brasenose College, Oxford, October/November 1987. Lecture 1: From Apartheid to Reform: The Ideological Preparation for the Total Struggle.
10. *The Dynamics of Reform & Revolt in Current South Africa*
Dr F. van Zyl Stiebert: Lecture 2: The Dynamics of Reform: Capitalist Domination — Sharing Power without Losing Any.
11. *The Dynamics of Reform & Revolt in Current South Africa*
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