

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

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

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It is impossible to do justice in a short article to the feelings of excitement, curiosity and wonder which gripped Van Zyl Slabbert and I when we were invited to visit Mainland China towards the end of last year. A host of images, events and a feeling of mystery crowded in as we made a very long journey to Beijing.

Our journey to China actually started in Dakar. It was there that the Chinese ambassador wrote a report of the conference and mentioned the work of IDASA. This was followed up when I was in Zimbabwe and called on the Chinese ambassador to that country. We were the guests of the Chinese Association for International Understanding. From the moment they met us at the airport until they saw us off again 10 days later, they displayed a warmth and a generosity which exceeded our every expectation. To visit for the first time a country which has 22% of the world's population and has a civilisation dating back thousands of years; to visit a land of vast proportions, incredible contrasts and an intriguing diversity of cultures, simply blows the mind!

We were extremely fortunate to have the services of Mr I. Ping as our translator; over the hectic, crowded visit, he became a warm friend.

Our visit was confined to Beijing, the capital of China, apart from a two-day visit to Tian Jin, because of the shortness of our stay in that country. Despite the heavy sched-

Drs. Slabbert and Boraine make historic visit to Beijing, China

ule of meetings, interviews and discussions, time was also made to see some of the wonder of the Forbidden City, the Imperial Palace, the Summer Palace and a visit to the



Alex Boraine and Van Zyl Slabbert with Mr Zhu Junfa, Council Member of CAIU, in front of the Great Wall of China.

fascinating Great Wall of China.

Although the discussions on politics and economics within China as well as within southern Africa formed the highlight of the visit, I cannot help but mention the astonishingly wonderful Chinese cuisine which we enjoyed at lunches and dinners given in our honour.

During our discussions with politicians, academics and professionals, we were surprised at the knowledge which they had of developments within South Africa. This was particularly true of the Faculty and students of the Beijing University which we visited during our stay.

That visit took place two days after 1 000 students marched through the streets of Beijing voicing their demands for better study facilities and conditions! No shots or tearsmoke were fired, no heads were beaten in and arrangements were made to hold further discussions with the officials concerned.

Professor Xia Jisheng, Director of the Institute of Afro-Asian Studies, was our host; he was particularly well informed and his paper on the South African constitution could scarcely be faulted.

Bearing in mind that China has been a closed society for so long,

we were struck by the openness of those with whom we had discussions and their criticism of their past history and in particular of the Cultural Revolution. Clearly since 1979 China has embarked upon a

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From the Executive Director

Alex Boraine

1987 ended on a very exciting note when we received an invitation from Harvard University to send two members of our staff to be part of a three-week course on "Conflict Resolution" during January 1988. We had hoped that Pro Jack would be one of those attending, but unfortunately his passport application was turned down. Thaabit Albertus of our Western Cape office and Keith Wattrus of our Port Elizabeth office left early in the new year and will share their experiences with us over the next few weeks.

This visit follows a briefer one made by Max Mamase to a similar course at Harvard in June last year. It is hoped that other staff members will have further opportunities during 1988. As we develop these skills, we will consider very seriously the possibility of conducting workshops in different parts of South Africa dealing with conflict resolution and negotiation skills.

In contrast to the good news, the disappointing news was the postponement of a visit by South African student leaders to Zimbabwe. Twenty such leaders, the majority of whom come from Afrikaans universities, were due to be in Zimbabwe during January. With the reshuffle of the cabinet in that country, it was not possible for the trip to proceed and it has had to be postponed until April 1988.

During February, we will be exploring the possibility of opening an IDASA office in Natal. We have had many requests to do this but we need to engage in much more consultation before proceeding.

We have also decided to strengthen the IDASA offices in the Transvaal, both in Johannesburg and in Pretoria. Although up till now the offices and personnel there have tried to respond to the many requests and demands made of them, it has been impossible for them to take advantage of the opportunities which have come their way. During February, we will have a high-level workshop in the Transvaal which will be attended not only by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Wayne Mitchell and myself, but also our three directors who are resident in the Transvaal, together with George Peffer and Braam Viljoen.

Plans for 1988 are being finalised and present many exciting prospects not only inside South Africa but internationally as well. Inevitably the expansion plans and development ideas I have already referred to, plus the many workshops, seminars and conferences we have planned, will only take place if the government does not take action against IDASA. This Sword of Damocles continues to be held over us and with Parliament reconvening in February, we should have some idea as to whether or not our fund raising will be affected or indeed the work of IDASA itself. In the meantime, we proceed and are enormously encouraged by the growing response to the work in which we are engaged.

State Clampdown on People's Organisations

It is with shock and trepidation that we witness the drastic and draconian measures meted out to the leaders and workers related to 17 organisations, and the organisations themselves, which include the UDF, COSATU, DPSC and AZAPO. The restrictions which were announced by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Vlok on Wednesday 24 February, indeed mark a sad day in South Africa's contemporary history. It is indicative of the government's intense preoccupation with eradicating all organisations opposed to its policies. The order can only exacerbate an already volatile situation, rather than contribute to-

wards stability, peaceful co-existence and good neighbourliness.

In the wake of this high handed State action, the Executive Director of IDASA, Dr A. Boraine, has issued the following statement from London:-

STATEMENT ON BANNING OF ORGANISATIONS, 24 FEBRUARY 1988

The state's action against the UDF and a number of other organisations and their leaders is further evidence of their total obsession and determination that all power and even initiative must be securely held by Afrikaner nationalism. This act is one more example of a government com-

mitted to repression and co-option and a totally ruthless attitude towards dissent of any kind.

The banning of these organisations comes almost as no surprise. The state has made it clear for a long time that it will brook no opposition from organisations and individuals who seek an alternative to minority rule through repression, coercion and co-option.

IDASA joins many others in deploring this new round of bannings but commits itself to continue to work for a non-racial democratic future for all in our country.

Dr A.L. Boraine
Executive Director
IDASA
London, 24 February

DIT is 'n nuwe jaar vir IDASA en ses maande ná die suksesvolle kruistog na Senegal. 'n Kruistog wat 'n nuwe era in die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek ingelui het.

Baie mense, veral in regeringskringe, het gehoop dat Dakar 'n eenmalige gebeurtenis was wat mettertyd in die vergetelheid sou verdwyn. Dié hoop het hulle beskaam.

Presies waar is op hierdie stadium nog nie duidelik nie, maar September vanjaar sal daar in 'n Afrika land in samewerking met die Afrika Juriste Vereniging 'n konferensie gehou word met die titel: Demokrasie in Afrika.

Wayne Mitchell, Nasionale Koördineerder van IDASA, sê dat verdere besonderhede oor hierdie konferensie nie nou al bekend gemaak kan word nie. Soos onderhandelinge vorder sal die publiek op hoogte gehou word.

Die konferensie waaraan talle Afrika-lande sal deelneem is egter net die spits van die ysberg wanneer dit kom by IDASA se beplande bedrywighede vir die jaar.

Wat buitelandse aksies deur IDASA betref, sal etlike groepe Suid-Afrikaners Zimbabwe deur die loop van die jaar besoek. Die eerste groep, twintig studente, sou trouens al verlede maand na Zimbabwe gegaan het, maar die besoek is uitgestel weens die kabinetsherskoming in daardie land. Hulle sal nou op 'n later datum vertrek. Ander belangegroepes wat Zimbabwe ook sal besoek, sluit in sake-manne, boere en akademici.

Die doel van hierdie besoeke is om samesprekings te voer en met top regeringsmense te gesels.

Die besoeke sal die groepe in staat stel om 'n land te besigtig wat in 'n burgeroorlog was en dit oorleef het. Volgens mnr. Mitchell sal die groepe dan self kan oordeel wat die beste is: gewelddadige of vreedsame oorgang van een regeringsvorm na 'n ander.

Wat nasionale binnelandse projekte betref, wag daar 'n baie besige jaar vir IDASA.

Om Suid-Afrikaners insae te gee in hoe 'n toekomstige nie-apartheid Suid-Afrika daar gaan uitsien, word 'n belangrike konferensie in Julie in Kaapstad gehou. Top sprekers sal die konferensie lei en daar word gehoop om 'n wye spektrum Suid-Afrikaners soontoe te lok.

Nog 'n belangrike nasionale konferensie wat gehou gaan word, sal die SA Domestic Workers' Union

IDASA beplan vir die toekoms

deur Ben Gertenbach

**Freelance
journalist
and associate
member of
IDASA.**

betrek. IDASA voel dat vroue 'n baie belangrike rol in die land se nasionale lewe speel en dat dit tot dusver verwaarloos is. Huisvroue en huiswerkers sal die sosiale omstandighede in die land bespreek. IDASA sal van sy kant af bywoning deur huisvroue organiseer.

Op hierdie gebied word reeds baie gedoen deur die reël van klein werksinkels reg deur die land. Daar word gehoop dat 'n nasionale werkgewersvereniging uit hierdie konferensie sal ontstaan. Dit word in Augustus in Johannesburg gehou.

Grahamstad sal in Mei die gasheer wees vir 'n groot konferensie met die titel Demokrasie in Onderwys. Die doel daarmee sal wees om swartes die geleentheid te gee om te sê hoe hulle demokrasie in onderwys sien.

In Kaapstad sal ook 'n seminarium aangebied word waar gewelddadigheid teenoor nie-gewelddadigheid bespreek sal word. Geweld in Suid-Afrika moet stopgesit word en die publiek moet die geleentheid kry om te sien waar dit begin het.

IDASA se suksesvolle debat met studente aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch verlede jaar gaan vanjaar in September opgevolg word met 'n soortgelyke debat in Johannesburg.

Volgens Wayne Mitchell was dit verstommend hoe regse studente se menings verander het nadat hulle vir die naweek op Stellenbosch met

swart en bruin studente gemeng het. Sulke debatte kan 'n gereelde instelling word.

Daar word inderwaarheid op streek- en plaaslike vlak gereeld kontak met die jeug (skoolkinders en studente) gehou. Naweke word gereël waar swart en blanke kinders meng en goeie vriendskappe oor die kleurgrens heen is al so opgebou. Onderwerpe wat by dié kampe aangeroei word is dinge soos nasionale eenheid en die geskiedenis van swart teenstand.

'n Ander baie belangrike konferensie wat in Augustus gehou word, sal poog om verskillende belangegroepes byeen te bring.

"Daar is verskeie groepe wat die regering teenstaan maar ongelukkig is dit so dat hulle mekaar nie vertrou nie. Ons wil hulle byeenbring om 'n gesamentlike strategie uit te werk sodat daar nie oorvleueling plaasvind nie. Die regering is besig met destabilisasie en daar moet 'n strategie uitgewerk word om dit teen te staan," sê Wayne Mitchell.

'n Nasionale konferensie, spesifiek gemik op die blanke gemeenskap om die Freedom Charter te bespreek, word ook beoog. "Baie blankes beskou die Charter as 'n verbode kommunistiese dokument en dit is nie een nie," sê Wayne Mitchell.

Ook op kerklike gebied is daar groot planne. Daar is reeds groot suksesse behaal deur swart en blanke predikante onderling uit te ruil vir dienste. Dit sal uitgebrei word. Ook gaan gepoog word om predikante van verskillende kerke byeen te kry om die euwel van apartheid te bespreek.

Volgens mnr. Mitchell is talle blankes bang oor wat op ekonomiese gebied vir hulle wag in die na-apartheid era. 'n Seminarium word dus ook beplan om dit te bespreek en om die mense se vrese by te lê.

Seminare word ook beplan vir "demokrasie in die werkplek". Werkgewers gesels tans net met die arbeidsmag as daar deur unies oor dispute onderhandel word. Om die werklike probleme van die arbeidsmag vas te stel, moet werkgewers met hulle saamsit om dit te bespreek. So kan baie vermag word.

Hoewel dit nie alles insluit wat IDASA vir die komende jaar beplan nie, behoort bogenoemde 'n duidelike prentjie te gee van die organisasie se bedrywighede. As slegs die genoemde vermag kan word, is daar reeds 'n reuse tree vooruit gegee.

Pre-conditions to Negotiation: Is the Gap Closing?

ON the eve of yet another session of tri-cameral politics, a glance at the political balance sheet is not out of place. A curious phenomenon immediately strikes one: the more repression has deepened, or as some would have it, the more "stability has been restored", the more "democratic talk" as opposed to democratic process, has increased. The volume of democratic rhetoric that has poured forth from government spokesmen is only matched by the extent of coercive action taken by the security establishment against those who have to participate in bringing about a democratic order. As Heunis repeatedly assures us: never before in the history of this country has there been a government more willing to talk and negotiate than the present one. This may or may not be so. What is indisputable is that never before in the history of this country have more people been detained or jailed, by the same government, and without whom no successful talks or negotiation can take place.

Within this general climate of repressive stability an extraordinary illusion of normality is being cultivated. Business goes on as usual, (some say thanks to the State of Emergency); the newspapers are delivered more or less on time (but with less news); the war in Angola has become "our war" in a quietly natural and far-away sense, but not too far away to be a fertile source of honoris cruxes and pro-patria extravaganzas.

In politics a mood of cynical resignation seems to prevail: "Things may not be good, but they are better than they would be if things were different". And, of course, the tri-cameral Parliament begins another session, infusing its annual ritualistic urgency into public affairs: Parliamentary debates, votes, columns and reviews reassure us that the democratic tradition is being honoured in some form, even in the absence of any substance. If only the State could succeed in getting a few "heavyweight", "cred-

DR F. VAN ZYL SLABBERT
February 1988
**DIRECTOR OF POLICY AND
PLANNING — IDASA**



ible", "good" blacks to come and sit on the National Statutory Council, the picture would be complete and "real negotiation" could begin.

Nothing is further from the truth. As far as the politics of negotiation is concerned, we live in highly abnormal circumstances and we are not even in the proper pre-negotiation phase of politics. What does the pre-negotiation phase entail? It involves both a mood and the practical conditions necessary for negotiation and both are closely related to one another. The *mood* must reflect a disposition or attitude from all parties which reflects a willingness to negotiate and to accept the legitimacy of the others as partners in the process. The *practical conditions* must allow for parties to organise freely, seek mandates and elect leaders to represent those mandates.

The strategy of the State seems to be to keep the lid on the pot as far as political opposition is concerned; concentrate on socio-economic reform in a number of carefully selected black communities; hope for a demonstration effect to popularise the benefits of reform above the disadvantages of revolt and then induce "moderate", "responsible" black leadership into unilaterally created co-optive constitutional structures and use a multiracial government of national unity as a vehicle towards a more legitimate and democratic form of government. For the State, negotiation is not about a new political system, but how to accommodate blacks into the present one without losing control.

Against this strategy there is a growing strategy of revolt and alienation. Increasingly the line between participation and collaboration is being blurred, and security action is being politicised. The ideology of non-racialism is associated with a certain dogmatic exclusivism and strategic inflexibility. More and more we find ourselves in a stand-off polarised situation in which it is as stupid to confuse the State's lack of moral legitimacy with its inability to control, as it is to confuse the State's ability to control with the consent of those who are coerced.

It is a situation ripe for racial out-bidding. The surprising thing is that there have not been more black Eugene TerreBlanche's coming to the fore. The longer the deadlock continues the more likely their time will come. Meanwhile all this "democratic rhetoric" in an increasingly undemocratic environment is giving the politics of negotiation a bad name. Those of us who take it seriously must redouble our efforts to encourage a mood conducive to negotiations and to bring about pressure to establish the practical conditions which can make negotiations possible. One way of doing so is to expose the fallacy at every opportunity that this government is ready and willing to negotiate under the present circumstances.

Church & Media Symposium in Zimbabwe

THE symposium was convened by EDICESA between 7 and 11 December 1987. This meeting was addressed by a number of speakers both from South Africa and from other African states. The opening address was made by the then President Canaan Banana.

He said South Africa's political dilemma has got to be resolved in order to secure peace and justice in southern Africa. He said destabilisation is an effort to force the African states to succumb to Pretoria. Therefore it is the duty of this region to co-ordinate its means and fight this monster. He said the Church should be persuaded to see the harsh realities of the political situation in South Africa.

This can be done by EDICESA through documentation of information. This relevant information should be disseminated to all to enable them to take a position. The Church should be taking a leading democratic position in this fight for peace and justice. The media should reflect the current situation and people's position as it is obtaining in South Africa.

He said Nazism was destroyed in Germany, colonialism was destroyed in South Africa and apartheid has to go in South Africa and Namibia. He said he doesn't see anything standing in front of this political sea. The national democratic struggle has got to achieve national democracy and political rights and implement a system of their choice. He said non-violent and violent means have been employed in order to secure freedom.

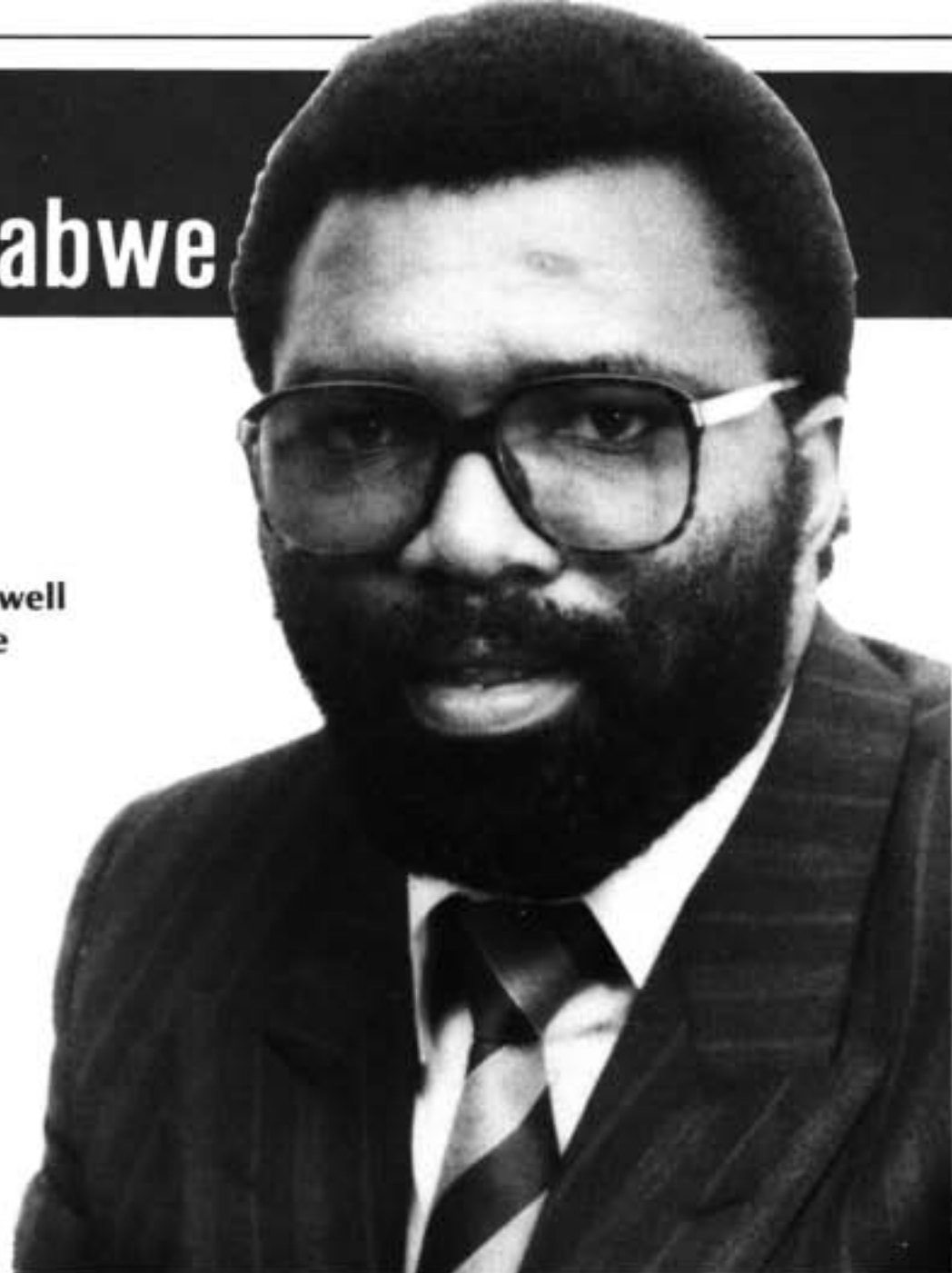
Current Resistance:

The national democratic struggle has managed to inspire the world about the current situation in South Africa. Apartheid has got to be isolated. It was said that sanctions are like antibiotics. When treating a disease with antibiotics you have got to give sufficient doses; if you give insufficient doses the disease will develop resistance and it will be difficult to cure the condition.

Therefore if sanctions are imposed, there should be a total agreement and commitment to this arrangement and then sanctions

by Mr Maxwell Mamase

Mr Maxwell Mamase, Co-director of the IDASA Eastern Cape region.



will work. If tough measures are not being taken by all countries, the impact will not be the expected one. It was mentioned that apartheid was coined by Verwoerd but started by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 when he chased away the Khoisan people in the Western Cape.

The involvement of the Church in the quest for liberation is vital and it should sensitise its members through conscientisation and exposure to the harsh realities of our situation. The Church should openly challenge the state as regards all its atrocious activities. People in the church have to understand that racism is evil.

Alienation of Land:

The myth that whites were the first people in South Africa should be dismissed with the contempt it deserves. The so called "Black" people became nomads in the country of their birth because of the alienation of land. It was reported that when Afrikaners were fighting colonialists between 1899 and 1902, they asked "Blacks" to assist them against the British imperialists. Now the time has come for the "Blacks" to ask Afrikaners to support them in eradicating the apartheid system. They are virtually declining to do so and instead con-

tinue to maintain the system through dogs and dockets, bullets and batons, detentions and death.

Victims as Instruments of Oppression:

The State has not given up using people as protectors of the system. This is done in many subtle and sophisticated ways. The State of Emergency has brought about the Kitskonstabels as a means of maintaining law and order. The clear interpretation of this exercise is nothing more than the maintenance of lawlessness and disorder, but this situation has the blessing of the authorities.

It was asked, "what is happening to vigilantes that are maiming people?" In Port Elizabeth some have been jailed, but the rest are moving about as innocent people. The State is manipulating people for its own ends, but this process can never be a deterrent to the non-racial cause of true democracy.

The conference ended with a declaration which emphasised three major points related to the media:

- The Church should make its political stance known.
- The media should report objectively.
- The outside world should be informed of all events in South Africa.

NEWS FROM THE REGIONS - WESTERN CAPE

THE student camp materialised after months of meetings with school pupils from about ten white schools in the Peninsula. We had planned for approximately 60 participants who had confirmed their participation until two days before the event. However, only 35 in total attended. This was probably due to the pitch of the programme, as well as to parental pressure.

In a way, it was good that only 35 participated, as 60 might have been a bit unmanageable. As a result we were able to get through the programme quite well. Notwithstanding the "over-catering", we have learnt, rather pleasantly, what the ideal number of participants should be at a camp of this nature!

The camp was a great success for many reasons: firstly, those who participated were sincere and really wanted to be there; secondly, the amended programme content was interesting; thirdly, the speakers we had were excellent and sincere as well; and lastly, the camp was well

New ground broken with High School Student Camp

BY THAABIT ALBERTUS
*(Regional Director
WESTERN CAPE)*

DATE: 4-6 December 1987
VENUE: Stellenbosch
NO. OF PARTICIPANTS: 35

organised and the catering, which was done by Nazli and her mother, was excellent.

All the participants — including the speakers — were thrilled with the camp. The worst comment that any of the speakers made was "excellent". It was commonly accepted that this type of camp serves a vital role in "bridging the gap" at school level. It is also a pleasing as well as

rewarding method of educating people.

Negative remarks were few, but fairly important. Some of the negative remarks were: there was insufficient leisure time which was also unco-ordinated, and some of the topics were "too political" (for some of the parents). In the light of the very positive feedback the negative aspects appeared to have little or no effect, but need to be borne in mind.

The speakers who attended were:
Dr Ivan Toms — ECC & SACLA
Moulana Faried Essack — Call of Islam & UDF
Max du Preez — Journalist
Wayne Mitchell — IDASA.

Dr Ivan Toms brought along two visiting medical doctors from France who were extremely pleased with the camp and their experiences there. Moulana Faried accepted our request to write a personal report on the camp as an "outsider" and we have pleasure in sharing his perspective which is printed on page 7.



Student Camp

Another of the speakers, Dr. Ivan Toms (medical doctor - Crossroads).



Student Camp

One of the speakers, Mr Max du Preez (journalist).



Discussion



Student Camp
Group celebrating with the "toi-toi".



Student Camp
session with "Pro" Jack of IDASA on left (seated on chair).

Some thoughts on an IDASA "student camp" weekend by Faried Essack, National Co-ordinator, Call of Islam and Joint President, World Conference of Religion and Peace (WCRP), Africa.

Having been at conferences on three continents in countries as diverse as Iran and Tanzania in twelve days, and after twenty-four hours in the lounge of the Nairobi Airport, I was in no mood for yet another seminar even though it was referred to as a "weekend". I had promised Thaabit Albertus of IDASA that I would be there and most reluctantly endured the eight hours ordeal of being on stand-by at Jan Smuts. Late Saturday found me at Kyk-in-die-Pot, a somewhat derelict farmhouse on the outskirts of Stellenbosch.

There were about twenty-five young people watching a bit of "people's drama" or "relevant theatre". They seemed to be relaxed — which in the context of all the divisions in our land is slightly unusual as they were from various cultural and racial backgrounds.

I wondered about the usefulness of these temporary exercises in interracial contact and went around to a bunch of nonconformists sitting outside, splendidly indifferent to the masterful performances of the "people's artists". They were talking about "the support that Kennedy has been getting from the Russians and how they actually want Reagan to stand for another term"! It was my first involvement with high school pupils after the National Youth Action days and I was amazed at the regression that had taken place amongst pupils in the white community. Either this, or they were displaying a political profoundness that was way beyond me!

I enjoyed it. It was a weekend. I was sick to death of conferences and here I was with ordinary people who had ordinary prejudices. There was an innocence about them that — in South Africa — can be deadly. The blacks present, on the other hand, were clearly masters in the

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New ground broken with High School Student Camp

Continued from page 7

game of communication and politics. They were graduates of '85 and they clearly relished being "resource people". I watched how they confronted each other — always gently — and how they often spoke past each other but somehow managed to remain in touch. They were communicating!

There were talks about the media, economic systems, national democracy, conscription and on breaking walls. People enjoyed it, they also loved the food, but above all, people enjoyed the togetherness. They raved about it and a number of them kept on murmuring about how sad they were that this one or

that one could not make it to be present.

Jeremy particularly touched me. His narrow eyes and his infectious humour made me scream. "Ek is die vriendelike Oom van IDASA" he said as he mockingly stretched his hands by way of introduction. There was something profound in this bit of witticism as he mocked the image of IDASA in some circles. This fifteen-year-old certainly had a lot of insight. I too had been bothered about the Slabberts and the Boraines entering the arena of "the struggle". Yet, this very encounter was a result of that entrance.

The debate around PAAG (Pupils' Awareness and Action Group) and the response of the IDASA coordinators was extremely interesting. They insisted that there is no scope for IDASA catering for a permanent high school's structure, and that pupils intending to carry things further should join PAAG or WECSCO, and that their task was to

facilitate discussion rather than create structures. Some of the white pupils present were keen on starting their own little thing but found no takers among the IDASA organisers.

On a personal level I had, in previous meetings with IDASA officials, worked through the issue of "encroachment" and was pleased to see some of those views re-affirmed here. However, far more interesting than all of this was what happened a few days ago — some six weeks after that weekend. I called Graham and Jeremy to chat about the possibility of going up the mountain. I had met those two white pupils at "the weekend" and found them interesting enough for me to go up the mountain with them. When I phoned Graham, a black man answered. Graham later told me that it was a friend of his from the township. "Was he one of the guys at the weekend?" Yes, he was.

Perhaps this is what facilitating is all about.



Student Camp

Discussion group in progress, with Wayne Mitchell of IDASA in centre background.

IDASA PE

HARVARD University in Boston, USA — known worldwide for its human rights programme — runs a school for negotiation skills which was attended by IDASA directors Thaabit Albertus and Keith Wattrus in January 1988. Keith Wattrus reports on how the principles learned there might be applied to the South African situation.

Roger Fisher, who leads the course, stresses at all times that negotiation should be principled and he approaches this subject in the light of the seven principles he regards as most important.

1. **Alternatives:** Before we begin negotiating we should know what our best alternative is should the negotiations not end in agreement.

If we can improve that "best alternative" then our negotiating position is strengthened. Likewise we should know what the other party's best alternative to a negotiated agreement is and we should attempt (legitimately) to worsen it. A good outcome to negotiations will be reached if the negotiated agreement is better than our best alternative.

2. **Interests:** When we are quite certain we know, concisely, what our interests are then we should attempt to determine what the other party's interests are.

What is their choice as they currently perceive it to be? Having thus determined their interests we must set about placing answers on the table and not problems. A good outcome is reached where our interests are well satisfied and the other party's interests are acceptably enough satisfied to ensure that the agreement is durable.

3. **Options:** Are we sure that we have looked at all possible options or could we invent more possible agreements? Good options will be good for both parties although we can try to change their currently perceived choice. Let the other party see that we are trying to invent options and

are not simply deciding upon them. If an elegant, no-waste solution is to be found, it will be found among the best of many options.

4. **Legitimacy:** The criteria we are using in negotiations need to be objective and should be criteria that will appeal to the other party. And let's not forget all other extraneous parties that are affected by the agreement! Because a good outcome must be legitimate for all — no one must be left feeling "taken" when the agreement is signed.

5. **Commitments:** As a next step we need to explore what realistic and credible commitments can be offered by ourselves and the other party. We have to be sure that we are putting a "yesable" proposition before the other party — nothing is achieved by altogether unrealistic expectations. Are the commitments prone to be complied with or prone to be disregarded? Commitments in a good outcome must therefore be well planned, realistic and operational.

6. **Communication:** For the negotiation process to be efficient

there must be effective communication. And for there to be effective communication the other party must see that we are listening to them and must know whether we are open to persuasion or not.

7. **Relationship:** The negotiation process must help build the kind of relationship we want with the other party. Is there anything we can do to improve the interaction? The relationship can be improved by being more concerned about and softer on the people while at the same time being more vigorous about and harder on, the problem. Always remember to consult before deciding.

Do the above principles appear too lofty to be applied to the South African situation? Or do they merely indicate how terribly deficient negotiating skills are in this country?

Negotiation and conflict resolution need to happen on a number of different levels. IDASA is considering holding workshops on negotiation skills and information regarding these will be made available in due course.

BORDER REGION

Democracy in Business: Is it Viable?

"MANAGEMENT and the unions have committed fraud against the worker." "Free enterprise stinks." "Ineffective unions are nothing for the development of the consciousness of the people." Albert Koopman had the floor all right — and the business community took it in its stride.

In fact, an outstanding feature of the forum on "Democracy in Business?" hosted by the Border branch in January was the participants' willingness to listen despite the diversity of viewpoints expressed in the discussion. At least one businessman in the audience indicated to the gathering that he would give serious consideration to imple-

menting Mr Koopman's participative management principles in his company.

The Border area is traditionally conservative so the good attendance at a meeting, where business was criticised by trade union representatives and speakers from their own ranks, was encouraging. Trade unions also commented that they were pleasantly surprised by the interest shown in the topic by white businessmen, and they welcomed the opportunity for open exchange created by the forum.

The National Co-ordinator of the South African Domestic Workers' Union, Geoff Wabena, told the

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NEWS FROM THE REGIONS

BORDER REGION

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meeting that democracy was non-existent in the workplace: workers were neither informed nor consulted about the general health status of the companies they work for. "But we are told when profits go down and there is a need to re-trench workers. This is the only time we are told," said Mr Wabena. Wayne Munro, the Personnel Director of Johnson and Johnson, one of the big employers in the region, urged business involvement in reforms at the macro, community and corporate levels to prove to government that power-sharing was not such an awesome prospect.

Mr Koopman said blacks would only gain access to political power once they had economic power, and he recommended action through participative management which, he said, had the potential to liberate the work ethic and generate wealth in the country. Trade union representatives pressed Mr Koopman for a political solution, saying that reform at the workplace alone would not produce a swift transition to a just society. Mr Koopman intimated that he had little faith in political solutions — "politics perpetuate the crime of conflict in the interest of power" — and said it would be naive to think there would be a quick transfer of power in the country. By introducing his branch of democracy in business he hoped to make a contribution which would make a significant impact on the quality of life of the workers, and strengthen the economy at the same time.

The Border region plans to extend this debate in a workshop in May when we hope to bring together industrialists and trade unionists to thrash out issues in a non-confrontational environment.

Video Festival draws positive response

The Border region's "political" video festival early in January met with a fair response. The films were

screened during the first working week of the year and a total attendance of about 600 was recorded.

We showed 12 different films, most of them portraying the ravages of apartheid from a human interest point of view. The films which attracted the most interest were both made by the BBC's Educational Service, Channel Four: the hard-hitting *Witness to Apartheid* which dwells on violence and repression, and *David Goldblatt in Black and White* which gives the photographer's perceptions of the society we live in.

The latter film was screened again at a discussion evening later in the month. White guilt surfaced as an issue with several people in the audience saying that they have a sense of co-responsibility for the injustices perpetrated by the government. A black person in the audience said in response that whites as a group were not perceived as the enemy as it was accepted that not all of them support the current system of government in the country. It was suggested that whites should act collectively to demonstrate their opposition to the system.

*Ronel Scheffer
Regional Co-ordinator*

Northern Transvaal

TRANSVAAL is wyd. Rondom Pretoria is daar verskillende swart dorpsgebiede asook 'n aantal tuislande. IDASA het in hierdie gebied sy debuut gemaak noord-oos van Pretoria in die stedelike en semi-stedelike gebied van KwaNdebele. Dit was die krisisgebied van die afgelope twee jaar en ons betrokkeheid daar was voor die hand liggend. Nou open IDASA sy nete wyer en soek kontak in ander meer spesifiek-stedelike gebiede. Die eerste keuse het op Mamelodi geval. Die afgelope maand is gevestigde organisasies identifiseer en sover moontlik ont-

moet. Onder hulle die Pretoriase Raad van Kerke, Koinonia, AFRICA (Association For Real Inter-racial Contact and Alliance), RESA en affiliasies van COSATU en UDF. Samesprekings het hoofsaaklik gegaan oor die kontak en wedersydse begrip en oor die meer spesifieke rol van IDASA in die gebied.

TRADISIONELE LEIERS

Die samesprekings met tradisionele leiers het vanweë die feit dat baie van hierdie leiers voortvluggend is en selfs met hulle lewens bedreig word en sommige met bepaalde beperkings onder die noodmaatreëls aan bande gelê is, stadig gegaan. Ontmoetings is meesal in hotelle en by 'n swart prokureursfirma gereël waar dit hoofsaaklik oor die ondersteunende rol gegaan het wat IDASA kon speel of deur ander organisasies kon reël.

Ons is baie bemoedig deur die openhartige houding van baie organisasies wat reeds in die veld is en die weg is berei vir begrip en goeie verstandhoudings in die toekoms. Ons ervaar steeds hartlike samewerking van gevestigde instellings soos die "Legal Resources Centre", die "Pretoria Initiative for Reconciliation", "Lawyers for Human Rights" ens.

*Braam Viljoen
Regional Director*

Township Tour - Soweto Squatter Camps

ON 18 January, 15 people were taken to the squatter camps in Soweto. The first camp we visited is situated between Naledi and Tladi townships, and Moshenguville squatter camp, near Mofolo township was our next stop. As usual, the reaction from the visitors varied from pity to criticism. There were those who felt that the squatters need to take some of the blame for the conditions that they find themselves in, but at the end of the day, everybody agreed that the blame lies squarely at the doors of the authorities and the system they maintain.

*George Peffer
Regional Director*

IDASA harrassed

By Wayne Mitchell
National Co-ordinator

RECENTLY members of IDASA staff, as well as people attending IDASA projects have been harassed, detained and beaten.

Regional Co-ordinator Mr Monde Mtanga of IDASA's Eastern Cape office was detained on 9 December 1987 under emergency regulations. To date Mr Mtanga has not been charged or brought before the court of law as would be expected in any country which claims to be democratic. IDASA has sought counsel for Mr Mtanga in an attempt to secure his release. Mr Mtanga, a well-known political and trade union figure in the Eastern Cape is a member of the executive of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress as well as being chairman of the Eastern Cape Youth Congress at the time of his detention. Mr Mtanga, a devoted Christian, has espoused the concept of non-racialism in working towards a democratic future for South Africa.

The arrest of Mr Mtanga follows the brutal murder of Mr Eric Mtonga, IDASA regional director for the Border region, whose body was found dumped in the Ciskei near King William's Town during 1987. To date no arrests have been made and efforts to bring the murderers to trial have been superficial with none of Mr Mtonga's colleagues in the East London office even having been questioned about Mr Mtanga's movements on the day of his murder.

During January two pupils, Sonwabo Madikane and Mandla Malgas, were returning home from a lecture session in Cape Town on democracy when they were arrested by police and assaulted because they were carrying IDASA literature. The literature which they were carrying is freely available to the public and the meetings are open; in fact all members of the security community have ample opportunity to attend lecture sessions based on democratic ideals and debates. At the Nyanga police station they were subjected to electric shocks before being released without any charges being laid.

A Kenilworth doctor, who confirmed having examined them the following day, reported that all

*Mr Monde Mtanga
- currently in
detention.*



muscles of both, especially their arms, were tender to touch and pressure while their wrists were lightly grazed and swollen. Mr Malgas had a bruise and swelling on his right jaw, while Mr Madikane had a bruise on his left chest, two ribs tender to pressure and a small burn on the surface of his right little finger.

The three tragic incidents as outlined above must be seen in the context of IDASA being exposed to a campaign of disinformation and regular security police harassment. Members of staff are periodically being contacted by security police who request to meet with them under dubious circumstances. To date such requests have been met with the response that IDASA is an above-board organisation and that if the security establishment requires any information regarding the work of IDASA it can approach members of staff openly to discuss any problem which it might like to raise.

One must assume that there is a well co-ordinated campaign against IDASA and its staff due to its success in exposing South Africans to the concept of a non-racial democracy as opposed to totalitarianism. Nevertheless, despite these set-backs those involved in working towards democracy in South Africa have no choice but to soldier on towards what they believe is just.

IDASA 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, Free Market Foundation.

5. **Democracy and the Church**

Prof. J.W. de Gruchy, Professor of Christian Studies, University of Cape Town.

6. **Democracy and the Media**

Mr J. Latakgoma, Editor, The Sowetan.

Democracy and Education

Mr M. Ralawe, Chairman, NEUSA (Eastern Cape Region).

Democracy and Labour

The late Mr Eric Mtonga, Regional Co-ordinator, IDASA (Border Region).

7. **The Dynamics of Reform & Revolt in Current South Africa**

Dr. F. van Zyl Slabbert

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 Onslaught.

8. **The Dynamics of Reform & Revolt in Current South Africa**

Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert

LECTURE 2: The Dynamics of Reform: Co-optive Domination - Sharing Power without Losing Any

9. **The Dynamics of Reform & Revolt in Current South Africa**

Dr. F. van Zyl Slabbert

LECTURE 3: The Dynamics of Reform: Patterns of Resistance and Revolt.

10. **Dakar Report Back**

Dr Alex Boraine, Executive Director, IDASA, Cape Town (4.8.87)

11. **The Dakar Reports: Responses from 16 Delegates**

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Above: Inside the Forbidden City with Mr Zhu Junfa, Council Member of Chinese Association for International Understanding.

Historic visit to China

Continued from page 1

radical reform programme which includes not only political ideas but also its approach to the economic needs and demands of that vast country. There has been a decisive shift from socialism towards a "mixed economy". There is a new pragmatism which augurs well for that society. This was illustrated by our contacts' attitude towards Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Of special interest was their strong view that Gorbachev can only be trusted if Russia gets out of Afghanistan, stops supporting Vietnam in its attacks on Cambodia and removes the 100 000 troops massed on the Chinese borders!

This openness was also demon-

strated by their interest in visiting South Africa (whether we will be able to persuade our own authorities to allow this is unlikely) and their keenness to establish links between Beijing University and universities in South Africa.

The Chinese Association for International Understanding has also requested IDASA to arrange, if at all possible, a further visit to China during 1988 together with a representative team of South Africans. We will certainly do everything we can to make this possible because we would love other South Africans, both Black and White, to be exposed to the quite fascinating experiences which were ours.

ENROLMENT FORM INSTITUTE FOR A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

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Kindly cut out and return to The Regional Director in your region. For any further information, kindly contact the office in your region or write to the national office at:

IDASA, Hill House, 1 Penzance Road, MOWBRAY 7700, Cape Town.



Above: Alex Boraine and Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert with faculty and students of Beijing University.