

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE INSTITUTE FOR A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

DECEMBER 1990

LONG ROAD TO MEDIA FREEDOM



African visitors to the conference, Kole Omotosa from Nigeria and Benoit Ngom from Senegal.

Glen Moss, manager of Ravan Press, addresses the media conference.

... but
radio can
make a
difference
NOW

By Sue Valentine

"WE have seen the future and it's radio". This was possibly the clearest single message delivered at the media conference which was jointly hosted by Idasa and the Campaign for Open Media in Johannesburg recently.

Concern over the future of the alternative press, attacks on the corporate monopolies' hold over newspapers and distribution and on the cartel controlling the price of newsprint were among the important issues raised. However, such concerns paled a little in the light of the stark reality that most South Africans cannot read.

Welcoming delegates to the conference, which focused on "The Shape and Role of the Media in a New South Africa", Idasa executive director Alex Boraine made the point that freedom had to be won, it would not simply be given.

This formed a strong element of proceedings as journalists from newspapers, radio and television roundly condemned the SABC, as well as the Argus Company and Times Media Limited (TML), for their monopoly over much of the media. Less mention was made of the two Afrikaans publishing giants, Nasionale Pers and Perskor, both of which, like TML, chose not to attend the conference.

To Page 10

The tumultuous, painful and wondrous year that was 1990 is almost a thing of the past.

For Idasa, and more specifically, *Democracy in Action*, it was also a year of change. We cast the net wider to incorporate a broader spectrum of views and we attempted to give readers more to chew on.

The magazine began to reflect more of the amazing things that can and do happen

when people are brave enough to cross boundaries (see Koos van der Merwe and Essop Pahad of the SACP on Page 10 of this issue!); when they begin to accept that democracy means that their modest contributions can make a difference – and that we dare not leave everything in the hands of governments or those in powerful positions in society.

Our readership grew and it became more diverse. In 1991 we hope further to promote this

COMPLIMENTS ALL ROUND!



Sue Valentine and Ronel Scheffer of Idasa's media department

magazine as a meeting place for ideas that can contribute towards the development of solutions for our country's problems.

Democracy in Action depends on contributions. We thank our many writing contributors for their diligence and we hope that their ranks will grow in 1991. We are grateful to our readers – and all those who encourage the efforts of Idasa – for their constant support. Lastly,

and vitally important, our warmest thanks to the donors beyond our borders who continue to support this costly project.

Democracy in Action becomes a six-weekly publication in 1991 (to give us more breathing space and you more time to respond) and the next issue will appear at the end of February.

Here's to a pleasant break, a peaceful 1991.
Siningwenelela IKrimesi Emnandi!

– Ronel Scheffer (Editor)

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Idasa's goals are:

- To promote the development of a democratic culture in South Africa
- To address fear, prejudice, anger and other obstacles in the transition to a non-racial democracy in South Africa
- To engage influential groups and individuals who may be outsiders to the transition process
- To provide, wherever possible, information on critical issues and to explore ways of addressing these
- To facilitate discussion of constitutional and developmental issues relevant to Southern Africa
- To assist and encourage others to contribute to the attainment of these goals

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Opinions expressed in Democracy in Action are not necessarily those of Idasa.

A momentous year, but what has really changed?

TEN MONTHS after the State President's historic speech, mass mobilisation remains a key strategy of the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance. Why? With negotiations taking place at top level between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk, with major concessions gained, why does the emphasis remain on consumer boycotts, strike action and why are marches still the order of the day?

Firstly there is a perception at grassroots level that the ANC is battling to shift from a liberation movement to a political party and that De Klerk has gained the high ground. Secondly, there is a feeling also at grassroots level that decisions are being made at top level by the ANC without prior consultation. Those in leadership at local and regional level are therefore attempting to hold the loyalty of the people on the ground by mass action.

This is very easy to do. Nothing has really changed for the vast majority of people in South Africa, despite the many dramatic shifts which have taken place. The school system for blacks remains chaotic and unacceptable. The housing shortage is compounded every day as more and more people move from the rural areas to the cities. The majority of people are poorly housed, if at all. Health facilities are hopelessly inadequate and there doesn't seem to be any possibility of change in the short term. Transport to and from work is overcrowded and dangerous. In a word, the quality of life for the overwhelming majority of people in South Africa remains the life of an impoverished ghetto.

Unsympathetic

These conditions are compounded by electric light and water services being cut off from a number of townships that are behind in their rent payments. The perception remains that the security forces are generally unsympathetic and take sides in the battles within local communities. (In Mr De Klerk's response to the Harms Commission, instead of depicting a dramatic commitment to a new dispensation for justice, he virtually condones the behaviour of the Minister of Defence, Magnus Malan). And all of this is worsened by a declining economy with the attendant hardships of retrenchment and unemployment.

It is easy, therefore, in present circumstances to engage in mass mobilisation. The target is clear and close at hand: black local councillors are seen as the immediate cause of frustrated expectations. They lack popular legitimacy and the demand is that black city and town councils must be crushed and

councillors must resign. The battle lines have been drawn with black councillors aided by government spokesmen on the one side and the ANC/Cosatu/UDF alliance on the other. This brings in its wake confusion and dismay as well as the real danger of escalating violence which can derail the negotiation process.

Violence

There are at least six issues which must be clarified and acted upon.

● The right to peaceful assembly is a democratic right and is not up for debate. Throughout the Western world people who enjoy the vote regularly march to demonstrate their feelings on one issue or another. How much more is the need for those who still are without the vote to make their desires and demands known through public demonstration.

● Violence is incompatible with the democratic process. Between 1984 and mid-1990, the homes of 120 councillors were attacked. More than 20 have been murdered. Every day there are further reports of attacks, harassment, burnings and worse. It is imperative that the ANC leadership is unambiguous on the matter of violence and acts swiftly and in concert to stop violent attacks on black councillors. Mass protest in a highly volatile climate must be planned carefully and with circumspection.

Councils

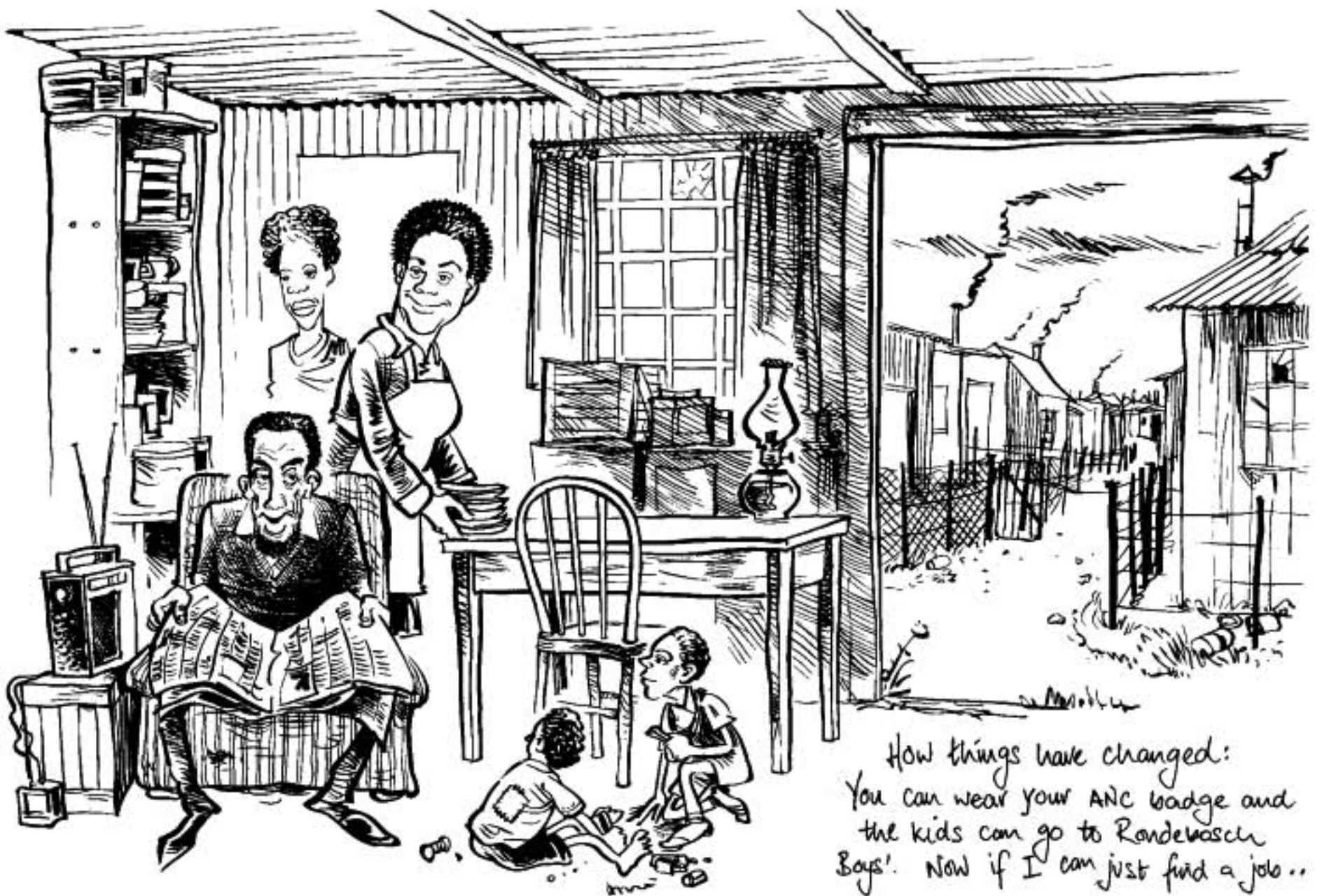
● Black local councils are clearly on the way out and the sooner they are disbanded the better it will be for all concerned. This will not happen unless a clear commitment and plan is devised to bring it about. Therefore government and the ANC leadership at top level should meet to draft an emergency plan which will replace black councils with temporary local authorities acceptable to township residents.

● All of South Africa must give serious thought to actions that will bring about economic upliftment in the short term for those who continue to live in squalor and poverty.

● There should be a national strategy devised to offer better life chances for urban black youth whose aimless lives find relief in political action.

● There can be no real negotiation leading to a new South Africa without the foundation of a democratic culture to encourage tolerance and the right of dissent. This is the most urgent task as we come to the end of what has been a tumultuous and momentous year.

— Alex Boraine
Executive Director



LETTERS

'Schlep' appreciated

ON BEHALF of the Congress of South African Writers' participants at the Idasa/Afrikaans Skrywersgilde conference, I would like to thank you for a well-organised conference.

Very few people realise and appreciate the nightmares, hassles and "schlep" that go into organising such a conference - congratulations for your patience, perseverance and assistance.

*Junaid Ahmed
Cosaw General Secretary*

Digterlike dankie

HIERMEE net 'n kort brief om my persoonlike waardering en dank uit te spreek vir Idasa se belangrike aandeel in die Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde se onlangse beraad.

Vanweë u groot finansiële bystand was die volgende dinge vir die eerste keer moontlik:

- Skrywers kon van die inwoningsfasiliteite gebruik maak. Dikwels moet veral jong skrywers by nabygeleë vriende slaap en kan hulle nie deel in die "nagtelike" gesprekke nie.

- Afgesien van ons klagtes oor die plastiek-Griekeland, het die Weskus-see, strand en lug (soos verlede jaar by die Valle) deurentyd aan jou kop gevreet en 'n kwaliteit aan elke ervaring daar gebring.

- Die heel belangrikste is egter dat skrywers van dieselfde land via u bemiddeling en befondsing mekaar kon ontmoet en uitkyk. Mense wat voorheen net name was.

Skrywers skryf waarskynlik omdat hulle nie kan praat nie. Die wedersydse absorbering van mekaar, die ervaring dat nie-wit skrywers die

Gilde se beraad bywoon, nie as tokens nie maar as gespreksgenote, sal hopelik op sigself 'n invloed in die gemeenskap hê. Skrywers kan alleen hulle groepe konfronteer met die "te pynvolle" as hulle self tot 'n mate daaraan blootgestel is.

*Antjie Krog
Kroonstad*

Island of democracy

Your proposed Institute for Democracy in Africa is a fine idea but what about all the work that remains to be done in Southern Africa?

While I fully support the idea of South Africans forging links with northern Africa, what does Africa have to teach us about democracy? I have my doubts that any purpose will be served through the creation of a "monastery" contemplating democracy, safely removed from the harsh realities of life on the African continent.

Then again, Africa has been neglected by the world and is regarded as the last possible place for investment, with little hope of this changing in the near future. Perhaps by sowing the seeds for political reform and democracy at Gorée the necessary stability and freedom will be created for economic transformation as well.

*K Jacobs
Cape Town*

(You seem to answer your own question. Whether we like it or not, we are part of the African continent and what happens in Africa affects all of us. The Ida project is totally separate from Idasa and will not draw any funds or other resources from it. An exploratory process will start early next year to determine the feasibility of the project. - Alex Boraine)

JA-NEE

Concrete jumble?

A BRIDGE near Pinetown must win this month's prize for "bringing outsiders into the process". On the same slab of cement appeared (and with officious swiftness disappeared) the following graffiti: "Blanke verkiesing nou!" and "Inkatha and the PAC must unite!"

- Now it's cementic confusion.

The one and only

A Cape Town newspaper must take the cake for the ultimate insider headline: "He won't help imprisoned coup leaders". Who could "he" be?

- His Excellency, of course.

Left foot forward

HARD to believe, with red carpets rolled out recently for FW in Senegal, that it was only three years ago that the first Dakar safari roused the wrath of the right - and that FW was right there too.

- Remember when Dakar was synonymous with da treason, says cartoonist Grogan.

Blush with death?

THINGS remain savage for journalists, however. In the wake of Nelson Mandela's walkout from the studio of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, ABC Johannesburg correspondent Rob Raschke was threatened with death because his "organisation has been trying to embarrass our leader".

- As Bertrand Russell remarked, democracy is when it's safe to be unpopular.

An even chance for future SA?

The foundations laid for democracy in 1990 may still be unsteady, but the progress made since February 2 provides grounds for hope.

BARRY STREEK reports.

THERE can be no question that movement towards democracy and a culture of freedom in South Africa, both in theory and in practice, progressed this year.

But if the foundations for a democratic system of government were being laid, especially in the period after February 2, they were severely rocked by the horrific violence in various parts of the country, in which some 2 500 people have died – at an estimated cost of R3 billion in the first six months of the year.

Claims were made about the role of hit squads, vigilantes, warlords, third forces, the militant youth, the police and the army. Some of those claims were wild and unfounded, but many of them had elements of truth in them, particularly as far as those who suffered were concerned.

Violent clashes also took place between supporters of various political groups, including the ANC, PAC, Azapo and Inkatha.

On the far right, extremists did their level best to stir things up and often resorted to violence, as various trials and incidents have demonstrated. Most disturbing were unprovoked attacks by right-wing terrorists on innocent bystanders, purely because they were black.

The fundamental point is that there are still far too many people and groups in South Africa who will resort to the gun, the bomb, the knife, the panga or the stone to express their political grievances or try to capture political ground, for anyone to have reasonable confidence about the future of real democracy here.

Despite public statements by the leaderships of different political groupings and desperate pleas in the predominantly black press, the spirit or atmosphere of tolerance, an essential ingredient for democracy, remains low.

Even before the grim Rand violence re-emphasised this, a prominent member of the ANC, Albie Sachs, who has spent his entire adult life fighting for a democratic South Africa, was moved to say in an interview: "I sometimes fear that our country will still be authoritarian after it has ceased to be racist."

Sachs did add, however: "The authoritarianism is almost as deeply entrenched as the racism, and we have to counter that with concepts of rights: rights for ordinary people, rights for the poor, rights for the dispossessed. This could be a very major force for change."

Indeed, the democratic foundations laid in 1990 may still be unsteady, but the progress made since February 2 provides grounds for hope for a democratic future, despite the vio-

lence and intolerance that has been displayed.

If at the end of 1989 – particularly after the September 6 elections when the Democratic Party was vilified for being "soft" on security as well as the ANC, and the National Party saw fit to publish an advertisement featuring a photograph of a DP leader with the SA Communist Party's Joe Slovo to win white votes – anyone had suggested that South Africa at the end of 1990 would be where it is, most people would have regarded that person as soft in the head.

But the fact is that for the first time since 1950, when the Communist Party of South

said.

For a while, non-ANC anti-apartheid groups made snide comments about the ANC being in "alliance" with the National Party because they were negotiating, but increasingly that type of criticism is disappearing as different groups begin to accept that some form of negotiation, and therefore compromise, is necessary.

There will undoubtedly be problems and delays, not to mention statements aimed at the gallery, in getting the formal negotiation process off the ground, but it certainly looks as though 1991 will be decisive in this regard.



Early encounters between the NP and ANC leadership remain far removed from grassroots problems.

Africa was outlawed, there are no banned political movements. The number of officially "listed" communists, who could not be quoted in their own country, has dropped dramatically. Political leaders have been released from jail and have returned from exile, a process which is continuing.

The government has called this "normalising" the country's politics, and although there is still a long way before we have "normal" politics, specifically the essential ingredient of the democratic process – a vote for all adult citizens, the trend towards opening the system is clear.

After decades when confrontation and conflict have dominated political strategies and thinking, a new atmosphere has developed and the broad acceptance of the need for negotiation, involving all political groups, has evolved.

And the process of negotiation, as Nelson Mandela has said, "is a process of compromise".

"The ANC is well aware of this, and is going into this negotiation process with a minimum of non-negotiables and expecting to be reasonable and to be involved in compromises," he

Indeed, despite occasional public statements to the contrary, it is clear, if one talks to government and ANC negotiators, that a reasonably good working relationship has developed in the various committees and working groups that have been set up between them.

MOREOVER, a considerable degree of consensus on some key issues, in principle at least, has developed over a wide spectrum.

For instance, the requirement that every adult should have the vote and that the new constitution should be a multi-party democracy is common to all groups except the far right.

It was not long ago that many people in anti-apartheid circles derisively dismissed a justiciable bill of rights as a bourgeois, liberal/capitalist instrument. In 1990, however, an enforceable bill of rights is widely accepted.

The ANC's Pallo Jordan even said at a Five Freedoms Forum conference in Johannesburg in August that a bill of rights based on the US system would be acceptable. He went on to say that the protection of minorities was "a very strong and valid tradition in democracies".

Time to scrap black local councils



While the government is engaging legitimate black leaders at national level, it refuses to do so at township level.

By Jan van Eck

time as a new local government deal has been agreed upon – existing black town councils and town committees be abolished (except where they have demonstrated genuine grassroots support).

They should be replaced with interim committees that are truly representative of the whole community, together with high level and politically neutral administrators. (Administrators have already been appointed in 21 of the 84 local black authorities in the Transvaal.)

HAVING suggested the scrapping of black local government structures, I would like to suggest several reasons why these structures have become so unacceptable and why they cannot be allowed to remain in place.

- They are rejected because they are apartheid structures and the community never gave anybody a mandate to "represent" them on these bodies.

- Because of mass rejection by the community, large numbers of councillors have used widespread coercion, intimidation, violence and nepotism in an attempt to retain some grassroots support.

- The active and enthusiastic (and very violent) support given to these black councils and councillors by the different agents of the state, especially the SAP and the SADF, and the way they have hounded opponents of these councils, confirmed community suspicions that the councillors were/are nothing but agents of the apartheid state.

The seeming unwillingness of the state to act against councillors and councils in spite of the widespread allegations of maladministration, mismanagement, corruption and the violent and intimidation against opponents of "the system", has merely confirmed the fact that there is collusion between the state and its apartheid creations.

It should be clear from all of this – along with the rate at which councillors are resigning and councils collapsing – that these structures are on their dying knees, and that nothing will save them.

The sooner the government accepts this, the sooner we can start looking at viable interim alternatives to replace them. □

Jan van Eck is the Democratic Party MP for Claremont and the DP spokesman on local government.

"The ANC is not against the protection of cultural and language rights in a new South Africa," he added.

As the ANC's Raymond Suttner told a group of Cape Town businessmen in November, there is also consensus about the need for economic growth and the need to tackle poverty and remove inequality.

No-one should be over-optimistic over the degree of consensus that has been reached on these issues, and considerable differences about how to deal with them remain. However, if one thinks of the suffering, conflict, death, destruction and waste during 42 years of National Party rule, it can only be encouraging that South Africans have finally discovered that they are not so far apart and that a system of government which has legitimacy among all is the only way forward.

There are indeed grounds for hope for a democratic future. But much more has to occur before that hope can be translated into reality, and two issues could be decisive.

The first is the role of the security forces in the process of change. Can they be transformed into legitimate instruments for the maintenance of law and order? Or will the majority of South Africans still regard them as instruments of control for the white minority?

SOME elements in the security establishment are complaining that the police are becoming "too neutral". There may well be movement in that direction but far more has to be done because neither the police nor the army are perceived by many South Africans, probably the majority, as being neutral.

Secondly, it is high time that political movements accepted responsibility for the actions of their members and supporters. If democracy is to take root, there has to be discipline.

This is, of course, much easier said than done, but the need for discipline is essential. Although it is freely acknowledged that supporters of different groups were involved in the violence this year, not one of those groups has disciplined – publicly, at least – people who have resorted to the thoroughly anti-democratic instruments of violence.

It may be necessary for the political groups to adopt a joint code of political behaviour so that everyone, particularly members and supporters, knows what is acceptable. An unequivocal stand against anti-democratic actions is long overdue.

DEMOCRACY and the use of violence for political ends are contradictory. Leaders and political movements should be making this abundantly clear to their supporters.

If there is militant adherence to democratic methods and the extension of rights to all South Africans, there will be an even chance, as Albie Sachs suggested, that the South African tradition of authoritarianism will be replaced by the spirit of democracy, freedom and tolerance. □

Barry Streek is on the political staff of the Cape Times.

THE crisis in black local government is reaching such proportions that it can in actual fact derail the whole negotiation process unless something is done.

While the two main actors in the negotiation process, the ANC and the government, have to a large extent found one another – due largely to the special chemistry between Mandela and De Klerk – the same is just not happening at grassroots, township level.

While the government at national level has gone out of its way to engage "non-system" legitimate black leaders such as Nelson Mandela, it is doing the exact opposite at township level by insisting that township residents work with and through the totally rejected and illegitimate town council system.

So, while the demand that the government negotiate with legitimate and truly representative leadership has been met at national level, the demand has not been met at black local government level.

Until the government meets this demand, the nationwide campaign and mass mobilisation against black councils will continue. It will result in continuous violent confrontations and polarisation between the grassroots masses on the one hand, and on the other hand, the black government structures and the South African Police who are used both to protect these government structures (which is understandable) and to keep them in place, in spite of community rejection (which is not understandable).

The violent and repressive measures taken by the state and its agents such as the security forces (SAP and SADF) have resulted in the people at township level – who are demanding nothing more or less than what has already been acceded to by government at national level – finding themselves at the receiving end of large scale state violence which has included shootings, teargassing, beatings, arrests etc.

It has been my personal experience that in those townships where this conflict has developed between residents and "the system", (i.e. the town councils and the security forces) talk of abandoning the negotiation process and resuming the armed struggle is rife.

If we want to arrest this very disquieting trend, I believe that the issue of black local government should receive priority attention at the national negotiation level and that – until such

Controversy over bill of rights

By Janet Cherry

Stimulation and entertainment were finely balanced at the annual Human Rights Festival in Port Elizabeth, which began with a conference that unpacked some of the issues behind the slogans.

THE director of the Human Rights Trust, Rory Riordan, kicked off the opening conference of the organisation's annual Human Rights Festival with a strong argument for the ongoing need for a human rights movement in South Africa. He began by noting the value and achievements of the movement, identifying 14 strands of human rights work - including legal, medical, educational, church-based and advice office - which he felt had made an enormous difference in South Africa over the years.

The future, however, was another question, he said.

Given that it is likely that there will be an agreed, negotiated constitution for South Africa, including a bill of rights, does this mean the end of the human rights movement?

Riordan argued strongly that it does not; that human rights organisations should remain independent of any future government - even if deeply sympathetic to that government. The human rights movement, he argued, is "durable and tough, having survived the apartheid government". It would be "premature to throw in the towel now".

The new government would need to be monitored and the human rights movement would need to be strengthened and expanded if it was to play a role in ensuring democracy in the new South Africa.

Max Coleman of the Human Rights Commission argued that the human rights movement could not be divorced from the political struggle. There were two main players in the human rights struggle in South Africa, he said: those who exercised power and denied human rights, and the majority of people, the "victims" who had been deprived of human rights but had not rested in their efforts to attain the most basic rights.

His view was contested by the next speaker, Donald Leyshon of Rhodes University's Law

Faculty, whose tightly argued and provocative paper proved a highlight of the conference and sparked much debate.

He began by questioning whether a bill of rights would work in South Africa, arguing that the conceptions of what is involved are so different that it would be unworkable.

Whites, he argued, see a bill of rights as a "messiah" that will save them from their "fallen state" and protect them against the black majority. They wish to use it to retain control and to "take back with one hand what they are giving with the other".

Blacks, on the other hand, are attracted to a bill of rights not for its own sake, but because it is seen as an "olive branch" which is politically expedient to offer to whites in the negotiation process. Among blacks, he argued, there is no real commitment to a culture based on individual rights.

If this analysis is accepted, he went on, a bill of rights may then be seen as a mechanism for consensus between two opposing racial groups with nothing in common. If so, is it viable or even desirable?

He backed up his argument with an analysis of the Law Commission's report, and the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines and Freedom Charter.

The Law Commission report emphasises first generation rights but includes such "bizarre" rights as "the right to a good name and reputation", "the right to physical and spiritual integrity", "the right to disassociate from other individuals or groups" and to "reject membership of a party or trade union"; the "right to practise economic intercourse and make profit", to "freely practise culture" and

"carry out scientific research and art".

Reading between the lines, said Leyshon, reveals this emphasis as reflecting a bill of rights designed to preserve the white way of life under black majority rule.

The ANC, on the other hand, emphasises second generation rights: a share in the wealth and the land; work and security; houses and comfort. It subjects first generation rights to qualifications: a prohibition on racism, racial, ethnic or regional exclusiveness, nazism and fascism.

Leyshon argued that a bill of rights can undermine the sovereignty of the people: parliament, although democratically elected, is limited in the laws it can enact because it has to conform to the bill of rights.

'Whites see a bill of rights as a "messiah" that will save them from their "fallen state". Blacks see it as an "olive branch" which is politically expedient to offer to whites.'

The idea of parliamentary sovereignty has been discredited in South Africa as parliament has never been representative of the people, and the rule of law has been perverted. However, is it not inherently better, he asked, to have a sovereign parliament, as in other Western democracies?

AFTER this controversial address, and a too brief question session, Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Curren addressed the conference on the issues of the next five years.

He stressed four points he felt were pertinent to the human rights movement, firstly, that it should remain independent from those in political power.

Secondly, the organs of civil society such as



Basic human rights still remain an issue in South Africa.

Op soek na 'n reënboogkoalisie

Deur Mark Behr

“OMGEWING vir ‘n Veranderende Suid Afrika” was die tema van ‘n eendaagse seminaar wat onlangs deur bykans 250 belangstellendes aan die Universiteit van die Witwatersrand bygewoon is. Die seminaar het vier dae van filmvertonings deur die Environment Film Workshop Group afgesluit.

Een van die mees verblydende aspekte van die seminaar was waarskynlik die uiteenlopende samestelling van die gehoor en die paneellede wat aan besprekings deelgeneem het.

Insette is gelewer deur sprekers wat gewissel het vanaf die Direkteur-Generaal van Waterwese, Greenpeace-aktiviste, ingenieurs, vakbondlede en regslui tot by die PAC woordvoerder vir omgewingsake.

Dit is na hierdie pluraliteit van verteenwoordigende en besorgde stemme wat dr Jacklyn Cock verwys het met die woorde: “The threat to South Africa’s environment might make a rainbow coalition possible – but we all have a very different experience of what constitutes that threat.”

Terwyl die bedreiging vir die inwoners van Sebokeng gestalte vind in die probleem van riool en vullisverwydering is dit vir ‘n segment van die blanke bevolking eerder te vinde in die voortgesette koalienontginning teen Chapmanspiek. In die woorde van Barney Desai van die PAC, “For whites it is aesthetics. For blacks it is survival”.

Ondanks hierdie probleem van uiteenlopende prioriteite wat voortdurend tydens die debat na vore getree het, was almal dit met Stanley Sangweni van die ANC eens dat die beginsel van “sustainability” die riglyn vir enige toekomstige ekologiese beleid moet uitmaak.

Hiervolgens moet gestrewe word na ‘n sintese tussen die noodsaaklikheid van sosio-ekonomiese ontwikkeling aan die een kant en die belang van omgewingsbewaring aan die ander.

“We have to meet the needs of the present generation without losing sight of the needs of future generations. Sustainable growth cannot be a substitute for environmental protection – separation of the two is a sure way to disaster.”

‘Miskien is dit nou dat die wêreld begin brand dat ons kan begin om verder te kyk as die kleur van mense se vel, politieke ideologieë of sosiale status. Miskien is dit op ‘n snaakse manier die wêreld se manier om die mensdom se menswaardigheid te herstel.’

Voorts was almal dit eens dat die vrye vloeï van inligting asook die reg om vrylik protes aan te teken teen die misbruik of oorbodige uitbuiting van die natuur, voorvereistes is om verandering teweeg te bring in die bou van ‘n ekologies sensitiewe nasionale bewussyn.

Terselfdertyd is vroe geopper oor die moontlike inkorporering van ekologie-georiënteerde vakke binne ‘n toekomstige onderwysyllabus. Hierdie punt het veral steun geniet aan die hand van menings dat selfs klousules wat op omgewingsbewaring van toepassing gemaak word binne ‘n toekomstige grondwet, op sigself nie die probleem sou kon oplos nie.

Wat vereis word is ‘n daadwerklike transformasie van die mense eie posisie in verhouding tot die natuur. As sulks sal strafbepalings of die oplegging van hewige boetes ook slegs ‘n beperkte voorkomende invloed hê en word dit noodsaaklik dat sulke maatreëls aangevul word met grootskaalse maatskaplike opvoeding.

In die nasleep van apartheid sal verskille tussen Derde Wêreld-verskynsels, soos die jaarlikse verlies aan 400 miljoen ton oppervlaktegrond, en Eerste Wêreldprobleme, soos die Transvaalse Hoëveld, wat een van die wêreld se hoogste syfers vir lugbesoedeling het, nie vanself verdwyn nie. Hierdie bedreigings, ondanks hulle uiteenlopende aard, vorm deel van dieselfde krisis wat Suid-Afrika en die wêreld in die gesig staar.

TYDENS die seminaar het dit ‘n mens opgeval dat die fokus op omgewingsbewaring, die totstandkoming van meer ekologies-gebaseerde drukgroepe, en die feit dat organisasies en politieke partye oor die hele politieke spektrum met toenemende erns na kwelpunte kyk, moontlik beteken dat ‘n gemene deler tog gevind kan word ondanks die ooglopende verskille.

In die woorde van een afgevaardigde: “Miskien is dit nou dat die wêreld begin brand dat ons kan begin om verder te kyk as die kleur van mense se vel, politieke ideologieë of sosiale status. Miskien is dit op ‘n snaakse manier die wêreld se manier om weer die mensdom se menswaardigheid te herstel.”

Mark Behr is streekkoördineerder van Idasa in die Wes-Kaap.



trade unions and women’s organisations had been the basis for overthrowing injustices in South Africa and should remain independent of the government. If they merged with the state it would mean the demise of civil society, the end, not the beginning, of “people’s power”.

Thirdly, it was crucial for South Africa to be part of the international human rights movement. And finally, human rights organisations and organs of civil society should be involved in the process of negotiations and current constitutional debates. Such issues should not be left to the major political parties.

CURRENT then raised the issues to be confronted by the human rights movement in the immediate future. The most contentious of these, he argued, was the question of second generation rights – that is, socio-economic rights.

If the courts cannot enforce economic justice, he argued, what is the point of having these rights entrenched in a bill? Should a constitution in fact say anything about the economy? Is this not prescribing to parliament? Should the constitution enshrine the principles of these issues? On the other hand, other rights such as education are dependent on the economy; can one guarantee the right to education in a constitution if one cannot fulfill it because of economic constraints?

There is bound to be a fight, he argued, between vested interests and affirmative action. And certain rights come into conflict with other rights. The demand for land reform, for example: if such a policy is implemented and leads to failure, it will result in hunger; this would mean a tension between the right to food and the right to land.

Janet Cherry works for the Eastern Cape Adult Learning Project.

Going for growth but how?

There is general consensus on the need for a vibrant and growing economy in South Africa. There is agreement also on the need for restructuring to redress the injustices of the past. What is lacking is clarity about how to ensure growth. **SUE VALENTINE** reports on a recent economic indaba.

WITHOUT a viable economy that goes at least some way towards meeting the expectations of all South Africans, the transition to democracy – already a fragile process – may be wrecked altogether.

This theme underpinned and informed much of discussion during the Cape Colloquium on "Growth and Redistribution" organised by the Association of Democratic Economists and the University of the Western Cape's Institute for Social Development.

In some hard-talking sessions, academics, trade unionists, business people and representatives from the Department of Finance and the ANC debated and examined ways of ensuring more equitable health, education and pension services within the confines of the failing South African economy.

However, far less forthcoming were clear suggestions on how to ensure economic growth which, as figures presented by Stellenbosch academic Servaas van der Berg showed, is desperately needed. In the last 15 years employment in South Africa has increased by only 1,1 million while the labour force has grown by 4,6 million.

Some of the implications of union demands for higher wages versus business profitability and investment emerged during a paper delivered by economic researcher Niccoli Natrass (*see DIA October/November issue).

Responding to her calls for a social or wage contract between capital and labour, the education officer of the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), Alec Erwin, voiced no clear objections but said primary attention had to be given to the labour market where high-wage industries needed to be fostered.

In one of the opening papers, Van der Berg stressed the fundamental importance of a viable economy that could meet the aspirations of the people – especially those of the urban

workforce.

He said that in the medium term the budget was the only effective means of redistribution, but that in general people's expectations of what the South African economy could offer them far exceeded the reality.

South Africa was far too poor (and would remain so for a long time) to provide the financial resources to extend expensive "white" services to the entire population. If government spending on white social services (primary and secondary education, health and pensions) were to be extended to black South Africans, spending would have to increase five times – from R5,4 billion in 1986/7 to R25,2 billion.

Increased taxes and cuts in defence and other "ideological" expenditure could not hope to generate these kinds of amounts.

Van der Berg showed that if the "more realistic" alternative of re-allocating existing social expenditure to achieve parity in social spending was adopted, this would mean a reduction by one third of spending on whites.

He added, however, that there was some scope for meeting the expectations of the poorest sections of South African society. Redistribution through social spending could go much further in meeting people's immediate needs than nationalisation or land reform could ensure.

Given that the market value of the mines was R70 billion, as was the market value of all white-owned farms, it would be possible, with just 10 percent (R7 billion) of this, to make some immediate and significant changes.

With R7 billion, all black homes could be electrified. Alternatively, this amount could be spent on building 200 000 housing units, or 2

850 primary schools with 25 classrooms each, or 1 425 high schools with 52 classrooms, or employing 31 700 teachers for a period of 10 years.

In a paper which examined "Growth, Congestion and Efficiency: Problems in the restructuring of social services", Rhodes University economist Andrew Donaldson said basic needs had to be met through accelerated economic growth and job creation.

Health care and education could not substitute for the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, a place to read and study and lively company.

Incomes had to rise and poverty levels fall before one could hope for sustained advances in health and education. However, despite the overall bleak picture, Donaldson said there were ways to improve immediately the efficiency and fairness of the social services.

'People's expectations of what the South African economy can offer them far exceed the reality.'

"The key to progress lies, loosely speaking, in identification of changes which impose quality controls on congested institutions," he said.

IN A paper that drew sharp challenges from union and ANC delegates, University of the Western Cape economist André Roux, like Van der Berg, rejected the notion that nationalisation could successfully deliver the resources needed for meaningful improvements in society.

Roux critically examined a list of 11 points frequently proffered as reasons for nationalisa-



Delegates, from left: Alec Irwin (Numsa), Rob Davies (ANC), Marcel Golding (Num) and Moses ngousheng (ANC).

tion, citing sources which showed that, on balance, evidence was against public ownership and that large-scale nationalisation would "almost certainly cause long-run efficiency losses".

Acknowledging that the existing division of power in the South African economy was unsatisfactory, Roux argued that state intervention in the economy did not have to take place through nationalisation. As much as a strong trade union movement was needed, so was a dynamic business sector. A range of co-operative possibilities existed.

On the subject of efficient and/or successful state-run companies, Roux warned that South Africans "should not think we are so unique that problems that have happened elsewhere in the world will not happen here."

Responding to the paper, National Union of Mineworkers education officer Martin Nicol said that while nationalisation was widely advocated by most workers, it was not seen as the only solution. Nevertheless, nationalisation of certain industries could be used to influence job creation and to restructure industries such as mining along more "humane" lines.

He said that one of the main aims of nationalisation would be to destroy the power of the conglomerates because they held an "inordinate amount of power" and were not investing in areas that needed to be developed.

ON THE subject of land reform, the chairman of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, Dr Simon Brand, said it was not enough only to ensure access to land. It was also necessary to set in place support services for black farmers. This would include loan schemes, research and training services and mechanisms for land purchase.

He said two myths first had to be eliminated. The first was that the current system of white commercial agriculture was an efficient way of producing raw materials.

"It is clear that there are many aspects of this sector that show it is not a sustainable way to meet the agricultural needs of the country. It is ecologically and financially vulnerable and should not be allowed to continue as it has in the past."

The second myth, said Brand, was that black agriculture was not a viable proposition and that black people were incapable of farming.

He said there was enough evidence from surrounding countries that showed that when the necessary support systems were in place, small-holding agriculture could be very efficient and could even out-perform commercial agriculture in certain instances.

Referring to the state's role in redistributing land, Brand said: "Governments do not farm well. Land should not be in their hands for too long." All agricultural land, in principle, should be available on the basis of willing seller, willing buyer. □

Sue Valentine is Media Co-ordinator with Idasa.



Dr Simon Brand

'The first myth that has to be eliminated is that the current system of white commercial agriculture is an efficient way of producing raw materials. The second is that black agriculture is not a viable proposition and that black people are incapable of farming.'

Pension parity possible overnight

DISCRIMINATION in state spending on pensions could be eradicated overnight if the government so chose, offering a meaningful signal that apartheid was indeed a thing of the past.

This was the view expressed at the colloquium by University of the Western Cape economist Pieter le Roux.

Le Roux, who has served on the Mouton Committee investigating social service spending since March this year, said it would cost R2,4 billion for the state to establish parity immediately.

Under the present structure, white old age pensioners received R276 a month, Africans R175 and Indians and "coloureds" R225 a month. At present levels, this expenditure – excluding pensioners in the "independent" homelands of Bophuthatswana, Venda, Transkei and Ciskei – amounted to R2,6 billion or 4,8 percent of total government spending.

Le Roux said the question was whether these proportions could increase by half (52 percent) – the sum needed for parity to be introduced.

He said one of the most serious complaints of black pensioners was not that their pensions were lower than those of whites, nor that they were paid out only once every second month, but that the whole delivery system was totally inadequate.

Bribery, theft and maladministration were among factors whose consequence was that many people entitled to pensions received

only a fraction of their due or nothing at all.

Quoting Unisa's 1988 estimates of the Minimum Living Level – the lowest sum possible on which people can live within the existing social framework – Le Roux said an African couple living in Johannesburg would



Prof Pieter le Roux

'I can hardly see the present government being able to cut white pensions any further.'

need R168 a month each to survive. If a few essential items were added to make life bearable, they would each need R210.

Le Roux said that if one made realistic assumptions about the cost of rented accommodation (at least R100 a month), all pensioners, living on the barest minimum, would need R275 to survive.

"White pensions are today, in real terms, already 25 percent lower than they were 15 years ago. I can hardly see the present government being able to cut white pensions any further. It is only by raising all pensions to bring them on a par with white pensions that the state will be able to concretely demonstrate its commitment to do away with discrimination," Le Roux said. □

Koos and SACP pitch for media freedom

By Sue Valentine



Essop Pahad of the SACP (left) makes a point to the CP's Koos van der Merwe (right) while Van Zyl Slabbert (centre) looks on.

THE highlight of the discussion on political parties' views on media freedom was the sharing of a platform by the two "CPs" of South Africa - Essop Pahad of the SA Communist Party and Koos van der Merwe of the Conservative Party.

The lowlight was the failure to appear of the ANC's Pallo Jordan and the PAC's Benny Alexander. As many of the conference delegates mused at the time, it is to be hoped that their absence from the conference was no indication of the ANC's or PAC's attitude towards the media and its future in this country.

Opening the discussion, Piet Coetzer of the National Party said freedom of the media had to be related to other rights and freedoms such as privacy and the right of reply.

"Democracy must depend on a network of checks and balances - the media should be part of them. Statutory limitations on the media

should be kept to the bare minimum."

Democratic Party spokesperson Peter Soal said the media should be as free and responsible as any individual. "There should not be any limitations on the press."

He said the baggage of the old South Africa was not needed in the new South Africa, reminding the audience of how the old restrictive legislation of the Rhodesian regime had been seized on "with glee" by the incoming Zimbabwean government.

In an entertaining presentation, the Conservative Party's Koos van der Merwe attacked the NP bias in the mainstream Afrikaans press and the SABC, saying that the Afrikaans newspapers were actively organising for the NP.

He said the CP could not live with a totally free press. "When we come to power there will have to be some form of limitations on things such as drugs, pornography, satanism, terror-

ism," he said.

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) representative Gavin Woods said the IFP stood in the liberal tradition and rejected any ideas that the press should fulfil a role prescribed by the state.

SACP spokesperson Essop Pahad said the party was opposed to any notion that claimed that what was good for the party was good for the country, but said it was equally absurd to say that what was good for big business was good for the country.

Pahad challenged the conventional wisdom which holds that socialists were ideologically driven while liberals were not. "Liberal democrats are pursuing the interests of a specific class whether they like it or not," he said.

In the discussion which followed, *Weekly Mail* co-editor Anton Harber said that, despite the rhetoric of press freedom, the country was marred by a "conspiracy of silence" from all political parties and organisations. □

Taking stock of the cont

THE traditional debate and distinction between "advocacy" and "objective" journalism was tackled matter-of-factly by Mozambican journalist Leite de Vasconcelos in a session on "Open Media and the Experience of Neighbouring States".

De Vasconcelos, who is director-general of Radio Mozambique, said that during the struggle for liberation from Portuguese colonial control there had been no distinction between journalism and participation in the struggle.

During this period, journalists fought in battles and reported on them as well. To produce food and report on the efforts in agriculture, to teach and report about education could not be distinct tasks, he said.

Since independence Mozambique has been a one-party state and until now the radio, newspapers, magazines and television were owned

by the state or subject to state intervention.

De Vasconcelos said although the need for change was felt several years ago, this did not mean that what was done after independence had been wrong.

However, while still maintaining that militancy and commitment to the needs of the people were not necessarily enemies of good and honest journalism, De Vasconcelos said this commitment could not be channelled through a political party because no party was the entire people.

Speaking on the experience of the media in Namibia, Mbatjiua Ngavirue of *The Namibian* said the fact that the pre-independence agreement in Namibia was based on constitutional and political principles had helped to guarantee press freedom.

By contrast, he said, the Lancaster House

agreement in Zimbabwe centered around power-sharing which helped explain the tighter control of media in that country.

Ngavirue said although Namibia's Prime Minister and the Minister of Information and Broadcasting were not "by habit nor inclination" necessarily committed to a free press or democracy, they had nevertheless maintained the policy of respecting freedom of the press.

In a mature democracy it should be taken for granted that responsible journalists would put the national interest above party political interest, but in Namibia this had not always been the case.

A surprise guest at the conference was Nigerian novelist, journalist and professor of languages Kole Omotoso who was in South Africa on his first visit.

Omotoso said in Nigeria with its 120 million



Louis Raubenheimer of the SABC.

Long road to freedom

From Page 1

Conference delegates also grappled with issues such as control and access to the media, journalistic ethics, media freedom and the thorny question of the extent to which journalists had a responsibility to build national unity and whether racism, tribalism or sexism should be outlawed in the media.

Under the theme, "Towards an Open Media for a new South Africa", Gavin Stewart of Rhodes University's journalism department painted a bleak picture of repressive regimes and the systems that succeeded them.

"We will inherit intolerance and repression, along with a state monopoly of broadcasting and a corporate monopoly of newspapers and magazines," he said.

In the opening address to the conference, the manager of Ravan Press, Glenn Moss, said support for freedom of the media by political organisations was contradicted frequently by the actions of their followers. "Journalists in the townships face enormous pressures and are subject to disciplinary hearings and structures," he said, and emphasised that perilously little had been done to develop a culture of diversity and pluralism by the leadership of organisations.

Stewart said a survey done by his department among rural people late this year showed that a vast number were unaware that Nelson Mandela had been released, while others did not even know who Nelson Mandela was.

Amps (All Media Products Services) figures for 1989/90 painted a vivid picture of media poverty among rural South Africans who comprise more than 40 percent of the population.

According to research by the journalism department at Rhodes, 83 percent of people in the Eastern Cape are illiterate. By stark con-

trast, 98 percent of these people listen to radio and 96 percent listen to black radio stations.

Of South Africa's total population, one in four is illiterate and only about two people in 10 could read a newspaper. The only medium which shows some signs of reaching the majority of South Africans was radio.

This was confirmed later by the SABC's editor-in-chief of news management, Louis Raubenheimer, who said that the corporation's black language service was the only medium with any penetration in the rural areas.

He said despite the fact that such services were often labelled "apartheid services", independent research had shown that 80 percent of black listeners preferred programmes in their own language. Only about 17 percent had a reasonable understanding of English and about five percent understood Afrikaans.

Raubenheimer, who emphasised that he spoke in his personal capacity and not on behalf of the SABC, said there was a definite need for services in the Nguni and Sotho languages.

"The SABC is not opposed to competition, provided the wishes of the public are given recognition," he said. The SABC's privatisation drive as well as its task force examining the broadcast media came under attack time and again during the conference amid calls for the issue to be opened as a public campaign.

The workshop on broadcasting suggested to the conference that alternative research be done forthwith so that information would be on hand to evaluate and, if need be, to counter the conclusions presented by the task group.

The manager of Radio 702, Stan Katz, said if broadcasting were deregulated, the private sector could operate commercial stations dependent on advertising, alongside the state-funded service which would form the nucleus of public broadcasting but would be independent of government control.

Radio Freedom's Thami Ntenti said his station had always announced itself as the voice of the African National Congress and the people of South Africa, but in the light of recent developments in the country, Radio Freedom was re-examining its role.

As part of a challenge to the SABC's monopoly, the notion of "guerrilla" or pirate radio stations, which simply began broadcasting without waiting for permission, was mooted.

A recurring theme emanating from the big guns in the commercial press was the possibility of assisting smaller, alternative publications - in effect, a piggy-back system.

Murray Hofmeyr, chairman of the Argus Group, defended the company's size saying it was no different to other major newspaper groups in the world. It enjoyed a 50 to 60 per-

cent share of total daily circulation and a 15 to 20 percent share of weekend titles.

He said nationalisation of the press would not help create a diversity of media. The high cost of entry into the newspaper industry was a "very compelling reason" for the Argus Company's decision to offer others access to its human and material resources and in this way, to enable them "to find a voice".

The Star's editor, Richard Steyn, said neither state nor corporate ownership of the media was desirable. A greater spread of titles was needed to entrench diversity and to reflect grassroots opinion. However, he added that efforts to break up existing press groups in the country might lead to fewer rather than more titles - because of economic realities.

Other impediments in the way of an open media, he said, included "gatekeeping" (the dominance of the mainstream media by white, middle-class men who believed in capitalism), legal restrictions, the absence of a culture of dissent and public apathy.

"If people want an open media, they must

'Editors write what they like, because managers and owners like what they write'

want to know. It takes a mature democratic society to have an open media," he said.

Association of Democratic Journalists representative David Niddrie said the media, almost without exception, depended on advertising for survival. An alternative system of subsidies offered a means of "levelling the playing fields" in ensuring the publication of media representing the interests of rural people, youth and women.

Referring to claims that editors were free from intervention by management Niddrie quipped, "editors write what they like, because managers and owners like what they write".

In delivering the closing address, former *Rand Daily Mail* editor and chairperson of the Campaign for Open Media Raymond Louw said South Africa did not have even the press freedoms it had enjoyed in 1948.

He called for the immediate abolition of media curbs in the Police and Prisons Acts, adding that if the government wanted to restore some public faith in itself as a reforming regime, it should dismantle the 100 and more laws affecting the media which were still in force. There was still a long road to reshaping the media, he said. □

Sue Valentine is Idasa's Media Co-ordinator.

ment

people and a multitude of different languages, privately-owned newspapers proliferated.

The press was free but, as Omotoso pointed out, "free to do what?". Press freedom did not make for political maturity, he said.

A visitor from Senegal and head of the African Jurists' Association, Benoit Ngom, gave the conference a brief picture of the media in his country. Speaking French (translated by Prof Omotoso), Ngom said the press in Senegal was free and largely privately owned. However, there was only one television station and one radio station, both state-owned.

In sharp contrast to the South African Newspaper Registration Act which can set a registration deposit as high as R40 000, the establishment of a newspaper in Senegal entailed the submission of the title and name of the editor only. □

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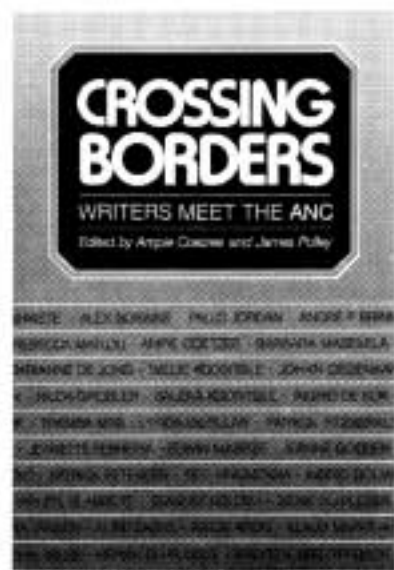


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ORAL HISTORY

'City of gold' yields to the evidence

NEARLY 900 people packed the Johannesburg Art Gallery on the last Sunday in October to enjoy the fruits of the five-month oral history research project "Jo'burg City - Whose City?"

The project was organised and convened by Idasa's Johannesburg office in conjunction with Actstop (The Action Committee to Stop Evictions) and the South African History Archives.

It involved 15 student history teachers from the Johannesburg College of Education, the University of the Witwatersrand and Khanya College, under the supervision of Leslie Witz of the History Department of the University of the Western Cape.

The students interviewed residents of Pageview, Homestead Park, selected by Actstop, to construct an oral history of the inner city.

The object of the project was three-fold: to expose trainee teachers to the world of oral history; to begin a new and different process of public and direct exposure for inner city residents; and to create a cultural event which would show Johannesburg as it is today, challenging the historical stereotype of "the sunshine city built on gold."

Actstop publicity secretary Cas Coovadia was the master of ceremonies at the launch, which was opened by Christopher Till of the Johannesburg Art Gallery. Coovadia expressed his delight at the evidently enthusiastic response from the public.

The people who make up the Actstop constituency - embattled residents of the city - would, through similar programmes, assume their rightful place as participants in and joint owners of the cultural centres of the city, he said.

Standing with his back to the Hillbrow skyline and to the people passing the art gallery, Andrew Boraine of Planact offered an overview of urban development and the apartheid system in Johannesburg.

He concluded with a strong call for morally and politically appropriate action to protect and further the interests and security of the poor, the displaced and the historical victims of apartheid who have contributed to the growth and development of the city.

Stressing the emotional impact of the project, Sally Jacquet, speaking on behalf of the

JCE students, told of how their isolated understanding of life in Johannesburg had been transformed during the research project.

Leslie Witz gave the background to Idasa's interest in the use of the oral history method as a vehicle for challenging South Africans and for furthering the democratic process.

Explaining the function of oral history in education, he said history was not just about "the facts". History needed to be seen as a product of power struggles between different perceptions and historical analyses, a product of the interface between the historian and her/his evidence.

"This entails much more than just changing the content and the method of history teaching," he added.

Addressing the question "whose city is Johannesburg?", Witz said no-one had the right to claim, through their interpretation of history, that Johannesburg was exclusively "theirs".

Instead the people of Johannesburg should discover the

history of their city and its people for themselves. "It is incumbent on the history teachers in our schools to lead the way and assist people in the process," he said.

LULI Callinicos of the History Workshop at Wits drew together the interviewing process and the photographic exhibition of life in the inner city by showing how teachers and students, through a critical analysis of the raw material, could begin to reflect on society.

She said the most important gift a critical historical analysis of society could give was an empathy for fellow citizens and all their differences.

"But we can only achieve this synthesis of qualities if we consider, seriously, critically and imaginatively, all forms of evidence," she said.

The photographic exhibition was opened by poet Achmat Dangor with a compassionate and personal reflection on what it was to have grown up a product of Johannesburg.

Wrapping up the evening, the African Jazz Pioneers drew the diverse Johannesburg crowd together into the sculpture garden at the hub of the art gallery.



Luli Callinicos

Melody Emmett
Regional Co-ordinator

TALKING GENDER

A MILESTONE in the struggle of women has been reached at the University of the Western Cape, where a pioneering series of workshops with the theme "Talking Gender" is attracting interest from adult educators in West, East and central Africa.

The first week-long workshop, hosted by the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (Cace), brought together 40 women educators from literacy, service, health, development and religious organisations and trade unions in South Africa.

This month the two-part series – the first national, residential workshop of its kind held in the country – will end with a three-day session for the women who attended the initial workshop in October.

In the interim Cace director Shirley Walters attended the Second Assembly of the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education (AALAE) in Mauritius, where key African educators asked to be kept informed of developments.

These included the Kenyan co-ordinator of an African feminist network called Femnet, a representative of the UN agency Unifem, and delegates from Gambia, Uganda and Mali. A similar series of workshops for women within the AALAE network may be held in future.

The first Cace workshop deployed popular education methods – drawing on women's own day to day experiences – to encourage active, collective, creative participation as questions like the following were explored:

- How do we ensure that women's subordination is not simply carried over into the next phase of our development towards a more democratic society in South Africa?

- What action do we take to challenge the uneven power relations between men and women, particularly in organisations termed "progressive"?

At this month's follow-up workshop participants will plan strategies to challenge gender subordination as well as practise running their own programmes to examine it.

Popular education, observed Tamara Braam of Erase (Erase Racism and Sexism in Education) after the first workshop, is about empowerment, an essential component in challenging gender relations.

"These workshops are important because women's oppression has been pushed to the background due to apartheid and the struggle



Researcher Nontobeko Mofokeng, left, Althea MacQuene of Ilrig and Mizana Matiwana of Cace, right.

By Liz Mackenzie

for a living wage. Women's oppression is not taken seriously as part of that, but it is an essential part of fighting for a new order."

Both she and Tasneem Essop of the South African Municipal Workers Union said that an important element of the workshop series was experiencing the support of a network of women committed to eradicating gender inequalities.

Essop added that the first workshop had started to challenge old ideas and "made real inside you the things you couldn't articulate before".

Because this workshop was the first of its kind here, the planning group felt it was important to confine it to women initially. This would empower a national core group of women to take this work further, using participatory methods.

It was stressed that men should be included in the process and that women's empowerment should not be seen as oppositional to men but as of mutual benefit in the community.

A handbook based on the programme is due to be written and published to serve as a guide for educators.

"This will enable us to spread ideas more widely and create a country-wide network of people with a similar commitment," says Walters.

The need for this is stressed by another member of the workshop planning team, Zelda Groener, who points to the fact that women are notably absent from leadership positions in many organisations.

"As a result, women's issues are often not a consciously integral part of the organisation's

activities and programmes, so many women have been marginalised."

The hope of the planning team – which included Phuti Tsukudu from Careers Research and Information Centre (Cric), Phumzile Ngcuka from World University Services (WUS), and Gertrude Fester, Liz Mackenzie and Cecile-Ann Pearce from Cace – is that the two-part workshop will help women muster the resources to change this.

The workshop participants emerged after a process of communication with more than 300 organisations and individuals.

"We wrote to them about an international research project on Gender and Popular Education. This is a joint programme with Cace and the Women's Programme of the

International Council of Adult Education," says Walters.

"We asked for feedback and got a strong response on the need for people here to be trained to address gender subordination within their organisations more effectively."

A VITAL contribution to the success of the Cace workshop was made by Canadian Joan Conway. An experienced popular educator in gender studies, she helped design the workshop and came to Cape Town as the workshop's main facilitator after a two-month stint of running programmes in Zambia.

Her clarity and careful nurturing of the process enabled many women to speak out, some for the first time.

She emphasised the need for women to take the "women's standpoint" in analysis of social forces. Otherwise we would be taking the so-called "neutral" standpoint of society which gave men increased access to resources and benefits.

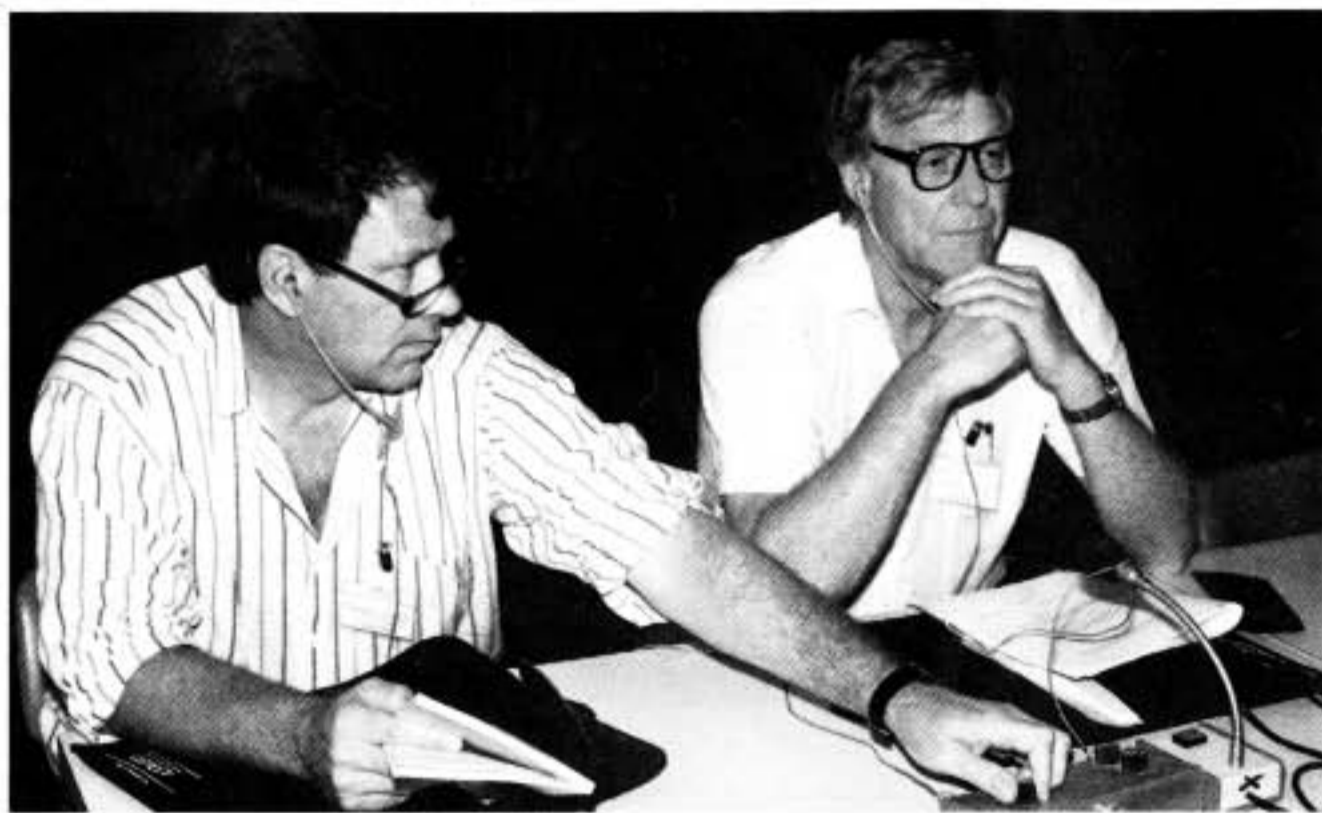
Challenged after the workshop on its "exclusion of men", she said simply that it had been "inclusive of women".

Sansco representative Nogolide Nojozi spoke for many participants when she said that what she had seen at the workshop "showed me that, given the chance, we can prove ourselves as the leaders of tomorrow".

"Cace deeply regrets the tragic news that Joan Conway died of an unknown virus several days after returning to Canada. Hamba kahle sisi!"

Liz Mackenzie works at Cace.

Hard talk with soft words



Van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine listen to conference proceedings in Dakar.

New era of self-criticism

STEVEN McDonald, writing in the August edition of Washington Report on Africa, states: "Africa stands on the brink of possibly its greatest political transformation since the dawn of independence a generation ago."

He justifies this somewhat sweeping prophecy by referring to the popular demand being made in many parts of Africa for an end to one-party states and for the introduction of multi-party democracies. There can be no doubt that the momentous events which have taken place in Central and Eastern Europe have found an echo from Cape to Cairo.

Whilst it is early days yet, a recent conference in Dakar, Senegal, supports the view that Africa is entering a new period of self-criticism. The conference was sponsored by the Centre for the Study and Research of Pluralistic Democracy in the Third World (Cerdet) and was held from 6 to 9 November in the Senegal capital.

Under the leadership of Jacques Mariel Nzouankeu, president of Cerdet and Professor of Law and Economics at the University of Dakar, delegates from many parts of the African continent gathered together under the title, "The Consolidation of Pluralistic Democracy".

Idasa was fortunate enough to be invited to send a delegation and in the early hours of 6 November, Van Zyl Slabbert, Silumko Mayaba, André Zaïman, Jenny Boraine and I arrived from Lisbon to take part in a very rare event on the African continent.

Proceedings, attended by about 60 delegates, were opened by Senegal President Abdou Diouf. Other addresses were given by

Nzouankeu, National Endowment for Democracy president Carl Gershman (whose organisation sponsored the conference), Milton Morris of the Joint Centre for Political and Economic Studies in Washington, and Unesco deputy director-general Thomas Keller.

The serious debate of the next two and a half days was marred by poor organisation, not helped by the need for simultaneous translation from French to English and vice versa. Feelings ran high at times, ironically not between black and white but between the Francophones and the Anglophones! Another major problem was the plethora of speakers and the very limited time for meaningful discussion.

SLABBERT gave an address on the transition to democracy, referring of course to South Africa, and he was in company with speakers from Algeria, Benin, Botswana, Cameroon, Congo and Morocco. I spoke on the problems of racism in the transition to democracy. Other speakers with me came from Nigeria, Uganda, Senegal, Ivory Coast and Sudan.

There were panels on Democracy and Religion, Civil Society and the Emergence of Democracy (an excellent paper by John Holm of Cleveland State University who has spent a lot of time in Botswana), Democracy and Economic Development, and Democracy and Education.

Despite the full programme there were moments which stood out. A contribution from Bona Malwal, editor of the Sudan

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IF NOTHING else, one thing that Mark Shinnars (PAC), Popo Molefe (UDF) and Lybon Mabasa (Azapo) have in common is a successfully completed principled negotiation skills course organised by Harvard University's Conflict Management Group.

Principled negotiation? In South Africa? In a country of inherently positional bargainers ("hardball" as the Americans would say). As strange as it might seem, one may now expect to hear the following questions being considered seriously by a party in a negotiation process: "Am I giving them a problem or an answer? Will the outcome satisfy their interests acceptably? Am I using objective criteria? Am I listening? Am I open to persuasion?"

These were among the approaches taught at the seminar, held at the Heia Safari Ranch outside Johannesburg and facilitated by the Wilgerspruit Fellowship Centre.

Idasa's Johannesburg director, Liesel Naudé, was one of the participants, while Idasa co-director in Port Elizabeth, Keith Watrus, who completed the course at Harvard University in 1988, joined the four Harvard staff in presenting the seminar.

SO, WHAT did the participants learn besides a repertoire of American jargon? And does principled negotiation throw out any new lifebelts to a South African process which, as it moves through the uncharted waters ahead, is bound at times to get out of its depth?

Certainly the realisation dawned that negotiations, particularly when several parties are involved, are far more complex than readily meets the eye.

Loads of pre-negotiation preparation is required, with many possible alternatives needing to be explored; and when the action starts, flexibility is the name of the game. Mental "antennae" need to be picking up all the vibes continuously, from all directions, for use at the optimum time.

A straightforward (or so it seemed) coalition exercise, which highlighted the need for simultaneous internal (intra-organisational) and external (with other organisations) negotiations, predictably had everyone at sixes and sevens.

But when this "two-track" exercise was re-explained in a South African context, its relevance and appropriateness to the local situation suddenly became glaringly apparent.

Another valuable lesson for local would-be negotiators was the distinction between trust and reliability. A lack of trust should not necessarily impede negotiations provided reliability is apparent.

Useful also was the "one-text" concept, which allows successful outcomes to be built incrementally on areas of agreement, while negotiation-threatening areas of disagreement are largely ignored.

Many practical examples were worked

Tragic period with no end in sight

DESPITE the hope generated by political developments earlier this year, 1990 has also marked the most tragic time in the history of South Africa following the deaths of hundreds of people countrywide.

This was the message delivered by the Director of the Project for the Study of Violence at the University of the Witwatersrand, Lloyd Vogelman, at a recent Idasa seminar in East London.

The seminar, which focused on ways of addressing the violence, was attended by a small but diverse group of people ranging from the Pan Africanist Congress to the South African Police - a "first" for East London! The education officer of the ANC branch in King William's Town, Peter King, also addressed the meeting.

Both speakers agreed that one of the biggest problems in dealing with the violence was that no one person or organisation could be held solely responsible. All the allegations flying around only served to aggravate the situation.

Vogelman argued that therefore, one had to identify those parties who would benefit from such seemingly mindless destruction.

He singled out Inkatha, whom he believed had, over the past months, been elevated from a regional to a national organisation. According to Vogelman, it was imperative to come to terms with Inkatha if one hoped to resolve the conflict on the Reef, and the country as a whole.

Looking to possible solutions, Vogelman

stressed that first and foremost tolerance in all sectors of society was needed. More specifically:

- It was imperative that a political settlement be reached, because a political settlement would open ways for a non-violent settlement.

Local level structures must be established, because only at a local level is it really possible to exert a disciplined approach to civil and political action.

- The police force needed to be expanded. The police have an extremely difficult task - decisions often need to be made in a matter of seconds, leaving very little time for reflection. For this very reason, we need better trained police who be made more accountable at all levels.

- Furthermore, South Africa needed a comprehensive welfare system, and programmes of socio-economic upliftment to counter the high rate of community as well as family violence. Business should be playing a far greater role in establishing various programmes such as victim aid programmes, anti-crime programmes and prison rehabilitation (70% of prisoners return to prison). Churches could also be making a substantial contribution in this regard.

Vogelman ended on a sombre note, saying that violence would not be stopped in South Africa for a long long time. He stressed, however, that we were not victims of our world, but had the power to change it.



Lloyd Vogelman

Bea Roberts
Regional Co-ordinator

through, but their lack of applicability to South African conditions was perhaps one of the shortcomings of the week's proceedings. Certainly, the Harvard staff took home with them the advice of the local co-facilitators, that the "de-americanisation" of the curriculum would make the concept of principled negotiation more easily understood by South Africans, and also more palatable.

So by the end of an exhausting week, the theory gained was seen as invaluable, though practice would be required to make it perfect. Yet more than a little trepidation was evident among the departing participants as they thought of re-entering their highly-charged spheres of negotiation, armed with skills which might be ridiculed for their good-mannerliness, consideration and objectivity.

"Now if only we could get everyone to do this course," might have been the wish on their minds. If the Harvard-based rumours are to be believed, that wish may yet be realised. □

Liesel Naudé and Keith Watrus
Regional Directors

New era of self-criticism

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Democratic Gazette, was an absolute gem. He spoke for only about five minutes but every word counted. He reminded all of us that democracy was not yet another political tool to increase power but was a system and a way of life which set out to limit power.

It came as no real surprise to learn later that Malwal was in exile in England and that his Gazette was published in England. He dare not go back under the present regime in Sudan.

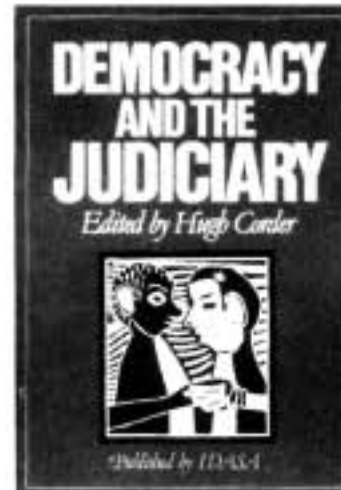
We also met very brave men and women from Kenya who, at great risk, opposed the one-party state in their country. Others we talked to told of corruption and dictatorship and their determination to work for a new democratic dispensation in their countries.

One could not help but get the impression that a lot of lip-service was being paid to democratic values and sometimes we wondered whether speakers were suddenly extremely concerned about democracy more out of their desire to continue receiving foreign aid than because of a genuine commitment to democratic values!

Nevertheless, enough took place in Dakar to suggest that many in Africa are weary of military dictatorships and poor economic performances with accompanying impoverishment and stifling authoritarianism and are determined to do something about it.

Coming from our own struggle towards democracy and our own type of insularity, it was refreshing and challenging to talk with fellow Africans about the possibilities of the democratisation of the African continent. □

Alex Boraine
Executive Director



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Formidable challenge for education

HAVING visions of the future should not be a star-gazing exercise.

This was the view expressed by Yusuf Sayed of the NECC at a teachers' seminar in East London organised jointly by Idasa and the Independent Teachers' Enrichment Centre (Itec) around the theme "Schools - Visions of the Future".

The speakers - Sayed, Peter Kallaway from UCT, and South African Teachers' Association president Peter Moore - had been asked to share their visions of what schools should look like in the future. However, discussion was tempered by a sense of realism and the awareness that education faces a complex future on its way to becoming democratic.

Since February 2 the climate in the country has definitely changed. As Kallaway pointed out, the shift from resistance politics to a nation-building approach holds particular implications for education.

"We have had nearly a decade of 'reform' in the field of apartheid education," he said. "The formidable task of educational reconstruction that confronts us now is almost unique in the annals of mass education."

The speakers all agreed that the biggest obstacle in the way of transforming the education system was the lack of available resources. "We can't have what we want," Kallaway said.

Sayed stressed that the "vision" people were fighting for had to be



Peter Kallaway in discussion with teachers.

balanced against the resources available. He called for a redistribution of resources, which he said would entail a redistribution of privilege.

On this topic of finance, Kallaway pointed to two distinct international trends. The first, which he called the politics of growth greed, had as a guiding principle the sanctity of private property. This model promoted the privatisation of health and education.

Both the Democratic Party and the National Party seemed to favour this model, judging by their increasing emphasis on private schools and private sector intervention in education.

The second trend Kallaway called the politics of development compassion, falling within the social democratic tradition. This model called for some kind of welfare state, with state responsibility

for health and education, and was favoured by the ANC and MDM.

Sayed said that the NECC's position was quite clear: education was a basic right and it was the state's responsibility to provide education for all its people. Privatisation turned schooling into a commodity, and teachers became producers of saleable commodities.

FURTHERMORE, privatisation of schools would intensify the problem of the number of children unable to attend school, which at present was about 90 000.

Sayed singled out two other aspects of future education as needing urgent attention: curriculum, and the actual structure schools were going to adopt.

He stressed the need for a curriculum which developed a critical consciousness in students, one that was relevant, prepared students

for living and working in society, and which overcame inequalities of race, class and gender.

He said the NECC believed in a centralised, unitary system of education, with democratic structures formed within the schools. PTSA's and a teachers' union were of the utmost importance, as everyone affected by education had to have a say in it.

Moore felt that a single ministry of education was necessary, but added that there should be regional education departments serving all people in a particular region. A competent bureaucracy to run the system properly was of the utmost importance.

Moore listed a set of principles which would have to underlie schooling in the future: education had to be non-racial, accountable to the wider community, affordable; all children should have access to equal educational opportunities; schools should allow differentiation in language and denomination; backlogs had to be adjusted; curricula had to be changed.

He said that schools were a reflection of society, and working towards a democratic society implied working towards the establishment of democracy in schools. Values such as tolerance, mutual respect, regard for the sanctity of the individual and the right to privacy had to be instilled in schools.

A SHORT input was given by Mziwodumo Dliwayo of the newly launched South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu), which represents 200 000 teachers countrywide.

He said building unity among teachers would be a long process as teachers in South Africa had been divided for decades. They had now discovered that there was not that much difference between them, but they were still divided by apartheid education.

The real value of the seminar lay in the group discussions after the main inputs, where differences were explored and debated. Some people admitted that they had never before been involved in discussions of this nature with people on "the other side".

David Screen
National Director

Bea Roberts
Regional Co-ordinator

Dream for the sub-continent

AN emerging vision of a greater Southern African economic region is among the fruits of an August visit by South African business people to three Frontline states.

Sponsored by Idasa in conjunction with the Wits Business School, the tour was followed up in November with a seminar entitled "South Africa in the Southern African Region".

The keynote address was delivered by Zimbabwean economist, businessman and former director of the Beira Corridor Group Eddie Cross, who motivated strongly for greater regional co-operation.

Comparing the socio-economic

development of the various countries in Southern Africa, he made the interesting point that in spite of South Africa's economic dominance of the region, for most South Africans the "quality of life" - as defined by a recent World Bank report - is amongst the lowest in the sub-continent.

Varying responses were offered by a panel consisting of an Idasa spokesperson, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Leon Wessels, Democratic Party Foreign Affairs spokesperson Colin Eglin and Edgar Tekere, former secretary-general of Zanu and now leader of the Zimbabwe Unity Movement.

From the panellists and the audience, a vision of a greater Southern African economic region emerged, encompassing a dozen countries from South Africa to Zaire. Given the right political will and leadership, it is a vision which offers a possible solution to some of the region's common problems.

All present agreed that South Africa's own process and speed of political transformation would affect the socio-political development of the region as a whole. All agreed too on the need for an ongoing engagement with our neighbours to the north.

Day in the life of a conflict monitor

WHEN I started working at Idasa I knew that the work would be different and exciting. However, I never expected to be driving around on a Saturday afternoon with two riot policemen, two bunches of bananas and a goat's leg in my car.

Then again, the violence in Natal has had many unexpected consequences. One is that conflict monitors are sometimes asked to help families who have fled their homes and are experiencing difficulty - often fearing for their lives. In this case it was to help perform certain traditional Zulu customs that relate to mourning.

When someone dies, it is customary for grieving families to wear either a piece of black cloth called "inzilo", or black clothing for a certain period, until two ceremonies take place. These are conducted at the graveside or in some cases at the place where the person died.

The first is called "ubuyisa umuntu" and involves telling the deceased spirit that s/he must rejoin the family and, when the family has fled their home, where the family now lives. The second, called "ukumula inzilo", is the removal of the mourning cloth after a ritual feast.



Riot police, an ECC monitor and the family of the deceased join in the traditional meal.

These were the ceremonies the Dube family needed to perform for their son Bhoyi, who was shot at least five times on 15 August while he slept. He was the oldest of four boys and his wife had just given birth to a baby girl.

The reason he was killed was that he refused to attend "camps" called by the local induna which were supposed to prevent comrades from organising in Ntaphuka, part of a rural area called Ndwedwe. Ndwedwe has seen some of the most bitter and pro-

tracted violence in Natal, and what happened to Bhoyi is unfortunately more the rule than the exception.

Bhoyi's brother Mthembkeni saw the killers as they walked away. Fortunately they did not recognise him or his cousin as they bragged about the fact that they had just "killed a comrade".

With the killers identified and an affidavit given by myself to the police, something should have been done. Nothing has. The police have not even asked to see me or Mthembkeni.

The family did not leave the area directly after Bhoyi's death. However, when another attack a week later made it clear that they had been targeted, they fled.

At their request, I made arrangements with the riot unit based in Inanda to have three men accompany us to Bhoyi's grave for the first ceremony for the dead.

I have a small Italian car that was not built to take more than four people on a smooth drive. I can now say for certain that it was not meant to take five grown men, two R1s, a shotgun and a hand-held radio - especially not when it has been raining for a week and the roads have become ravines.

In any event, the ceremony was performed without incident, lasting about 20 minutes, and after greeting neighbours no-one had seen since leaving the area we made our way back through a wet and dark Ndwedwe.

A week later we made the journey again, this time on a hot and

clear Saturday and thankfully not in my car.

Accompanied by an ECC field worker and two men from the riot unit (one of whom, like myself, had grown up in Roodepoort and commented that he couldn't wait to go back), we set off for Ntaphuka at six in the morning.

This time the convoy was bigger and included three sangomas, a case of soft drinks, several loaves of bread, a few quarts of stout, a barrel of "umgomboti" (a Zulu beer) and two goats purchased on the way.

Devastation met us when we arrived at the homestead that had been intact the previous weekend. One hut had been petrol-bombed and all the windows had been broken. I then understood why the family had taken the trouble to make a concrete cover for Bhoyi's grave, which they told me would probably have been desecrated had it not been sealed.

Tradition required that the animals be slaughtered and eaten at the graveside. Most of the activity revolved around this process, with the men eating outside and the women and sangomas eating in the hut.

THE peace of the ceremony was interrupted twice by local vigilantes wanting to stop the proceedings. A heated discussion and a show of force from our two riot policemen headed them off the first time. The second time they came with the KwaZulu Police in tow, who, after talking to the riot policemen, left the homestead.

As we were getting ready to leave I was given a well-cooked leg and two bunches of bananas from one of the family plantations. The effect of the day on the family was one of sadness on the one hand, but also relief and joy that the ceremony had taken place.

The relief became clear when the father spoke to me as we parted on the road, he going to his place of refuge and I to take the riot policemen and the ECC worker home. Taking my hand, he asked me to come and visit them soon, and added: "Now we are free." □

Steve Collins
Community Conflict Monitoring
Service Co-ordinator

The pre-primary way

THE visit of the director of Hatfield Montessori non-racial school, Shan Ellis, to Idasa's Pretoria office recently, led to discussion about the possibility of opening another similar pre-school in January 1991 in Kameeldrift West.

The school would cater for children aged between three and six years and would be situated next to Magaliesberg Mountain between the white suburb of Pretoria North and communities living in the areas of Ga-Rankuwa, Soshanguve and Mabopane.

In facilitating a consultative meeting between interested progressive organisations in the areas of Ga-Rankuwa, Soshanguve Idasa brought together the management of the

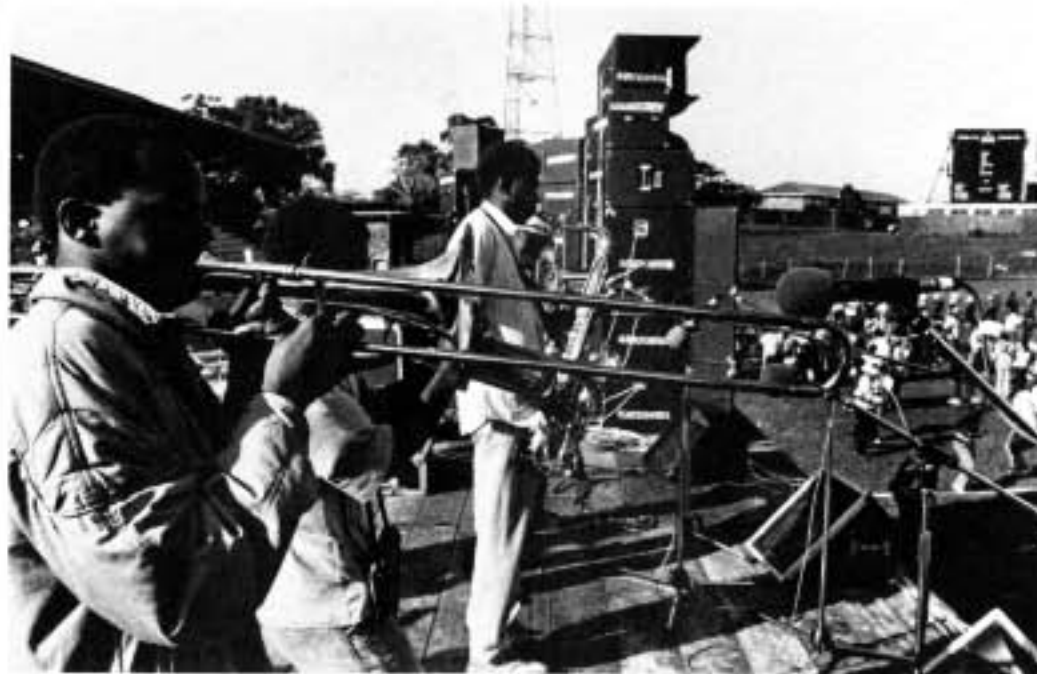
Putco Depot in Rosslyn and six members of the Soshanguve community in an informal meeting.

A few days later, three Idasa staffers visited the Hatfield Montessori School and had a brief discussion with Mrs Ellis about the activities of the pre-school. She told us that the school was over-subscribed and there was a lack of pre-schools in Pretoria which promoted integration of our society.

Explaining the Montessori teaching methods, Mrs Ellis said they were based on the belief that self-motivation was the only valid impulse to learning. Freedom in a Montessori classroom is freedom to learn, balanced by the responsibility of allowing others to □

Paul Zondo
Regional Co-ordinator

Youth tuning in



The Alex Arts Centre Youth Band in full swing at the festival.

tive programme in the struggle for a new South Africa.

The festival line-up included top Afro-jazz outfits like Sakhile

and Bayete, as well as Zanusi, the Durban-based band led by Bruce Sosibo of Malopoets fame. Sayco representatives said that through

the co-operation of the musicians and their own fundraising they were able to offer the youth a great festival at an affordable fee of only R2 each.

The festival provided an opportunity for leaders to communicate to their most militant constituency the reasons for entering into negotiations and suspending the armed struggle. The youth of Natal have been among the most strident opponents of negotiation as they have been the target of much of the region's political violence.

This essential aspect of normalising the political process was misunderstood by police, who maintained a large presence throughout the day without making contact with the organisers or coming to grips with the reconciliatory nature of the gathering. □

Charles Talbot

Community Conflict Monitoring Service Co-ordinator

THE sun was out, the birds were most probably singing, but there was no telling. The crisp sound of the five-strong brass section of the Alex Arts Centre Youth Band had everyone's attention and guaranteed that the youth of Natal were on their feet and dancing.

This was the Youth Festival organised by Sayco at Curries Fountain Stadium in Durban on the last Sunday of October, under the banner of "Youth, Peace, Negotiations". Sayco Natal president Mzwandile Mhlanzi said the festival was aimed at "bringing youth from all over Natal together".

In a keynote address, the new provisional chairperson of the ANC Youth League, Peter Mokaba, emphasised the importance of current national negotiations and local peace talks. He said it was vital for the youth to see these processes as part of a posi-

Venda returning to the fold?

PRETORIA'S Idasa office recently chartered a plane to Thohoyandou in Venda for a seminar on the practical aspects of reincorporating the "independent" homeland into a future united South Africa.

We expected the 50-minute flight to have us in Venda well in time for the 9.45 am start. But massive cloud cover over Thohoyandou meant landing in Pietersburg and arriving at our destination at 1.15 pm by hired minibus. A bad omen, you might be tempted to say - but thankfully this was not the case.

The message that came through loud and clear from the seminar was the overwhelming need for people everywhere to be brought into current debates.

Everyone, from the students to the rector, thanked us for bringing to their campus people of the calibre of Mathole Motshekga (ANC Legal Department), John Dugard (Centre for Applied Legal Studies, University of the Witwatersrand), Fanie Cloete (Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand), Joanne Yawitch (National Land Commission), and Johann van der Westhuizen (Centre for Human Rights Studies, University of Pretoria).

The seminar, which was set up jointly by Idasa and the Law Faculty at the University of Venda, examined the following topics: "Relinquishing independence - a view from the ANC"; "Some legal and constitutional aspects of reincorporation", "Reincorporation and the bureaucracy" and "The question of land".

The 250-strong audience, made up mainly of students, almost unanimously rejected Venda's current "independent" status. At first the almost exclusively "white" panel were regarded with suspicion as supporters of the status quo, with the audience offering strong initial support for Motshekga as the official ANC speaker.

However, by the time Johann van der Westhuizen summed up both the input and the audience response in his inimitable way, spontaneous applause had broken out.

There was much interest and fierce questioning both during and after the sessions. Issues raised included Motshekga's view of Venda's present "independence" as illegitimate, therefore ruling out any justification the Venda regime could claim for representation at any negotiation table.

Dugard made it clear that if Venda's independence were to be taken seriously, the present leaders would be in a strong position to negotiate the terms of reincorporation, such as the kind of system (federal or otherwise) into which Venda would return; if not, he argued, they would be in a very weak position.

Cloete looked at possibilities for a bureaucracy and infrastructure which might or might not become obsolete. Yawitch argued convincingly that reincorporation would make little or no difference to the problems surrounding "the land question".

OUR thanks to the law department of the University of Venda for hosting this seminar which, in terms of our work in the Northern Transvaal, was innovative and stimulating.

The vagaries of the weather determined that there was insufficient time to explore the above and other issues at greater length. What is clear is that interest in debate is high on this campus, and that Idasa's work to the north of Pretoria, both on and off campuses, is waiting to be done. □

Kerry Harris

Regional Co-ordinator

Hopeful image of new SA

THE Idasa schools' forum, South African Youth For Tomorrow Today (SAYFTT), may well be singing "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" on SATV in the near future!

At their final meeting for 1990 in the Pretoria office recently, they screened a video on arts education, elected their committee for 1991 and inveigled an SABC television team into filming them singing "Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika". The crew had asked if they could use footage of the meeting for an SABC documentary on October as Friendship Month.

The request to film the impromptu performance came from two students who had previously contemplated leaving SAYFTT because it was "too political". Their entreaty seemed to fascinate the bemused television crew, who obliged after some indecision, having already dismantled equipment.

And so, in the director's office, under the glare of arc lights (Take 2, Take 3, Take 4 . . .) a hopeful image of the "new South Africa" shimmered! □

Kerry Harris

Regional Co-ordinator

SA making new foreign friends?

By **Anthoni van Nieuwkerk**

ISOLATED STATES - A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS, Deon Geldenhuys, Jonathan Ball, 1990. 764 pages including index. R90.

SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY - THE SEARCH FOR STATUS AND SECURITY 1945-1988, James Barber and John Barratt, Southern, 1990. 398 pages including index. R40.

TWO academic contributions, currently available in most bookshops in South Africa, look at South Africa's foreign relations under apartheid. The authors describe the South African state's elusive search for status and security (Barber and Barratt) and its international isolation (Geldenhuys), offering useful perspectives and contributing towards a broad understanding of South Africa's position in the world.

Neither work, however, attempts to give a perspective on how a democratic South Africa will, or indeed can, conduct future foreign policy. Obviously, for South Africa to regain international acceptance (to be "rehabilitated", as Geldenhuys puts it), white minority rule needs to be replaced by a popularly elected and democratically accountable government.

For Barber and Barratt, the search for international status and security cannot succeed through shifting policy and social engineering. "Success will come," they argue, "only if the government abandons its principal aim of ensuring the preservation of a white-controlled state". Many observers would argue (not without strong disagreement) that since De Klerk is following precisely this strategy, his government is bound to be successful.

South Africa's Foreign Policy is very readable, well researched and gives an informative account of South Africa's foreign policy between the years 1945 and 1988. Its mode of analysis, using a chronological framework and written from a liberal perspective, places the work among contemporary history rather than political science or international relations proper.

The lack of a properly developed theoretical framework seems to be the book's most glaring omission. Altogether three paragraphs were set aside for this purpose. Except for a reference to foreign policy-making in South Africa as an "oligarchic-bureaucratic" process, there is no discussion of any of the well-known theories of foreign policy-making.

When an academic refrains from properly explaining her particular choice of analytical tools, doubt is easily cast on the validity of the subsequent research findings. In the case of Barber and Barratt's work, dubious assumptions meet the eye. For example, they state that the white public, although not part of foreign policy-making, were aware of the broad issues, reacted strongly to external pressures, and "set a mood within which the government operated".

Current research indicates the opposite. Precisely because the white public was effectively isolated from foreign policy-making, the regime had a relatively easy task of manufacturing and manipulating public opinion on international issues. In this they were well assisted by a variety of propaganda instruments, notably the SABC. Years of "total onslaught" rhetoric, for example, gave rise to extreme levels of misperception, so much so that most whites today continue to regard our neighbours with suspicion. According to a SA Institute for International Affairs survey published under the title "What do we think? A survey of white opinion on foreign policy issues", most whites believe our neighbours to be "threatening" and "untrustworthy".

South Africa's Foreign Policy can therefore broadly be described as

fitting into a mainstream conceptual school described by Peter Vale as "episodic", an approach in which little effort is made to develop strong analytical frameworks. Work in this genre has had little impact either on practical foreign policy outcomes or on the trade of the foreign policy analyst. Consequently, newly emerging theories in foreign policy analysis with potentially rich application value are ignored in favour of what Vale calls "comfortable assumptions of traditional international relations".

How else can one interpret Barber and Barratt's breathtaking conclusion that "respect for sovereign status, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs had been the bedrock of the government's policies over forty years"? This might have been the rhetoric, but in the case of Southern Africa, the regime's actual foreign behaviour made a mockery of these principles.

Uncritical assumptions like these inevitably lead one to the conclusion that the authors clearly do not understand or choose to ignore the brutal nature of South Africa's regional foreign policy over the past few

years: the military invasion of Angola, years of meddling in the internal affairs of Namibia, support of proxies like Renamo in Mozambique, and the use of sanctions against some of our neighbours.

Geldenhuys's *Isolated States*, a book running well into 700 pages, has a different focus. It deals with a relatively rare concept in international relations, that of isolated states. South Africa, together with Israel, Chile and Taiwan, are described interchangeably as isolated, ostracised, or outcast.

The book is well organised. In its framework for analysis, Geldenhuys informs us that enforced isolation (unlike self-imposed isolation) is by design a punitive measure applied against an offending state. It is a means by which a group of states of the international community at large imposes isolation on the offender. With this definition in mind, Geldenhuys sets out to propose and apply a set of indicators to measure the international

isolation of states. This he does in chapters 3 - 18, covering political and diplomatic, economic, military and socio-cultural isolation. Not surprisingly, the study finds that this country is (for the moment, anyway) the most isolated of the four, and Chile on the whole the least.

The study also shows that isolation, however severe, has in no case been total. For example, Taiwan is still officially recognised by over 20 states, and South Africa trades extensively despite widespread economic sanctions, and even manages to acquire arms and military technology from abroad notwithstanding a mandatory embargo.

HOW successful in achieving the desired objective was South Africa's enforced isolation? In more general terms, is it possible to predict the outcome of the isolation encountered by states like South Africa or Israel? Geldenhuys, acknowledging the relevance but also the difficulty of answering this question, puts the issue thus: "To what extent do the deprivations of ostracism guide the isolated state's conduct, whether towards compromise or capitulation?"

It is to be regretted that Geldenhuys chose not to attempt an answer to the question. The debate over the impact of isolation on the South Africa regime's political choices (for example, Namibian independence, the release of Nelson Mandela, or the unbanning of the liberation movements) is only now beginning, and could have been more substantial with Geldenhuys's contribution. Nevertheless, *Isolated States* is an impressive scholarly work. □

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John Barratt

Vengeance feared as migrants return

IN OCTOBER monitors for the Durban and coastal areas recorded at least 65 deaths caused by ongoing violence.

This figure is down on the previous month and lower still compared to August figures - a statistical dip that has been enough to persuade people that the violence is ending in Natal. This perception persists despite the fact that the monthly average is higher than it was last year when everyone was beginning to see Natal as worse than Beirut.

So the violence continues. The view that it is subsiding is a dangerous one that can only serve the interests of those parties or individuals not interested in peace.

When some of the worst violence the country has seen occurred within two weeks of the launch of the Inkatha Freedom Party on the Rand, the media justifiably focused attention on what was happening in the townships around Johannesburg, even if they confusingly insisted it was a "Zulu versus the rest" war.

This intense media coverage forced South Africans who were still suffering a hangover after the 2 February party to sober up very quickly. Unfortunately this process was bedevilled by confused and often contradictory statements from leadership on all sides.

An example was that while it was a relief to see the police eventually respond to calls to act forcibly, most of us cringed when the operation was called "Iron Fist".

The point is, however, that what initially forced the rest of South Africa to confront the issue of violence has allowed them to forget

'As long as it appears that the state can use its firepower to help stop the war, as long as monitors are called upon to request assistance from all branches of the forces except the KwaZulu Police, it is difficult to campaign for a removal of forces from the townships.'

what is happening in Natal. The media focus that shifted from Natal to the Reef has never returned.

It is hard to avoid concluding that the reason for this is that the violence in Natal does not have the media hype, does not offer the sensational headlines, afforded by the battles in the Transvaal. It is equally difficult to avoid feeling depressed and disillusioned about a country that has come to accept the mayhem in Natal as the norm.

In Natal itself, the press reached a high point in reportage with the publication of a fifty-page Sunday Tribune supplement called "Towards a new Natal". Essential reading for anyone from outside Natal, the supplement was prepared by

The perception that the violence in Natal is subsiding is mistaken and serves the interests of those disinterested in peace, says STEVE COLLINS of Idasa's Community Conflict Monitoring Service.

staffers from both weekly and daily papers. Daily reporting for some reason has not been able to offer the same insight.

Before it was possible to follow up on this excellent start, however, papers became Natal rugby fanzines as the Natal team's victory over Northern Transvaal displaced "a new Natal" in capturing the imagination of a tired and depressed press and public.

But there are other reasons, besides the shift of media attention to violence in the Transvaal and glory on the rugby field, for the growing misperception that the violence has ended. The most obvious was the decision to lift the state of emergency.

Most outsiders interpreted the imposition of the emergency as necessary to stop the violence. Its lifting was therefore a signal that the violence had ended.

In Natal when the announcement was made you could sense the collective sigh of relief. It was difficult to find anybody voicing concern about the fact that the violence was far from over. One more Harare Declaration pre-condition for negotiations had been met, and the

expectation was that the behaviour of the police and SADF would change.

In reality, however, the situation has not changed. There is no detectable distinction between security force action now and before the emergency was lifted. On the one hand the security forces have

got used to operating in whatever way they see fit. On the other, the violence requiring security force action continues.

The democratic movement has been silent in public about the role and conduct of the security forces because of the dilemma in which they find themselves. As long as it appears that the state can use its firepower to help stop the war, as long as monitors are called upon to liaise with and request assistance from all branches of the forces except the KwaZulu police, it is difficult to campaign for a removal of forces from the townships.

The consequence is that communities are having to admit their reliance on what is at times still a racist and brutal security system.

Another reason that the violence has become less of an issue over the last three months is because it is taking place in the rural areas. This makes it harder to "find" for journalists as well as less interesting to urban newspaper readers.

However, in the last month disturbing trends have become visible that point towards a heightening of the conflict in urban as well as rural areas.

One of the stimulating factors has been the launching of ANC branches in several areas. The launches have been peaceful; it is Inkatha's insistence on holding meetings in the same areas a week or two later that often causes violence.

An example of this occurred in the S J Smith hostel outside Lamontville where a number of residents were assaulted after an Inkatha rally in the hostel stadium. An ANC branch had been launched in the area a week earlier and it was clear from the number of buses that arrived at the Inkatha rally that most of the rally-goers came from other parts of Durban.

Another such incident was narrowly avoided in Inanda on Sunday 28 October, when Inkatha attempted to hold a meeting in an area that has very little Inkatha support and where an ANC branch had been launched already.

No suitable venue had been arranged and many of the Inkatha marchers said they were "going to raid Besters". Several policemen we spoke to raised the problem of Inkatha bringing armed men to an area where they had little support.

In the event, monitors and police prevented the volatile situation from exploding, and SADF troops remained at the scene and escorted the Inkatha members back to their areas. Had this not been done, the death figures for the month could have doubled.

THE root of the problem in this instance seemed to be conflict around development, but the general concern is the readiness of Inkatha to provocatively gather and march in areas which they have identified as pro-ANC.

In other urban areas there have been several instances where the media could have highlighted the continuing violence. In Mpumalanga, for instance, within two weeks of the ANC National Executive Committee and Inkatha delegations touring the township, a mother and her baby were shot dead. The tour received media coverage but the deaths were not reported.

A major concern is what rural communities may face when the migrants who fought on the Reef return in December.

Already there are rumours about revenge and a sense that the Zulu hostel-dwellers were "embarrassed" in the Reef violence. If that "embarrassment" is turned against ANC supporters in the rural areas, we could see the end of any hope that the peace accords have created. □