

## Slabbert grades SA's progress towards democracy

# We're doing okay

By SUE VALENTINE

**T**OP POLITICAL analyst Van Zyl Slabbert gives South Africa four to five out of 10 for its achievements during negotiations so far. This may not be a resounding "pass" but, given the complexity of the process and number of parties involved, it can be regarded as a sign that we are on track in the shift to democracy.

Slabbert, who is Idasa's director of policy



and planning, gives this average scoreboard rating of success for a number of key areas in the transition to democracy.

In an assessment delivered at Idasa's recent annual planning meeting, Slabbert identified four key goals of the negotiation process and evaluated the progress made towards achieving them.

He said the challenge facing South Africa

was to grow, democratise, develop and stabilise simultaneously. The success of the transition – and of the negotiation process by which South Africa had chosen to achieve it – rested on the country's ability to achieve political legitimacy, economic growth, redistribution and stability.

He attached a positive value to developments in these four areas, but gave low scores to the areas of stability and redistribution (each got three out of 10). Legitimacy and growth were both rated at seven.

Slabbert said he was reasonably optimistic about progress made in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process in so far as it created legitimacy in the national political process. Similarly, the National Economic Forum was making progress to ensure the economy would grow.

However, he was less positive about the outcome of negotiations when it came to redistribution issues. Forums on housing, education, local government and youth were

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## 20 reasons for hope in SA

**"T**HINGS are only getting worse." This has become the stock phrase that so many South Africans use to describe their feelings about our country.

Disillusioned by the drawn-out negotiations, depressed by the state of the economy, overwhelmed by the problems of crime, unemployment and education, confused and terrified by the political violence, more and more people are retreating into a state of cynical helplessness.

I have written this article because, in the face of the sense of impending doom that has invaded so many sectors of our society, I remain incurably optimistic.

The past 20 years of my life have been spent

**Sectors of South African society may be sunk in gloom, but human rights activist BEATIE HOFMEYR remains an incurable optimist. She explains why.**

working with communities and organisations dealing with some of the grimmest issues in our devastated country – forced removals, rural poverty, police violence, torture and detention, women's oppression, vigilantes, political violence, rape, right-wing violence, and so on.

I have always been inspired by the fact that, even in the darkest moments of 1976, 1980 and the states of emergency from 1985 to 1989, the hope that freedom would some day come never died among those most touched by apartheid.

Now I work for the Voter Education and Elections Training Unit (Veetu) at the University of

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### Tackling defiant right wing



BETTER DEAD THAN RED

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# DEMOCRACY in ACTION



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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## PAC panic

Delegates at a workshop on police-community relations sat up when a PAC delegate demanded to know what "Agripol" was up to in the Eastern Transvaal? Horror rose briefly at the thought of yet another dirty tricks outfit until a police delegate pointed out that Agripol was a TSS television programme on agriculture.

— *One Boer, one brouhaha.*

## Spy? Not I

The National Intelligence Service declined to send a speaker to an Idasa conference on covert operations in November. It was not NIS policy to take part in public discussions, said director-general M J M Louw. Furthermore, the NIS did not "engage in practices which could be termed covert operations in the sense implied" by the programme.

— *A spot of Alzheimer's here.*

## Brotherhood of man

The Women's National Coalition has complained to the Justice Department about a Port Elizabeth magistrate who opined recently that it was not necessary to fire a policeman found guilty of sexually assault-

## Ja-Nee

ing three colleagues and a teenage girl. The assaulted policewomen had "overreacted", the magistrate said; the policeman's crimes were "not serious enough to warrant a dismissal". He then found it acceptable to remark in a jocular tone: "We men must learn to keep our hands to ourselves."

— *What's delaying action, Shelagh Camerer?*

## Consolation prize

Pilfering was making such a dent in the profits of the Wild Coast Sun that the gambling resort decided that the luggage of departing guests would have to be searched. Masses of hotel property was recovered in this way. One guest who was asked to open his bags had stashed away six towels, 29 glasses, two face-cloths, a milk jug and — a Bible!

— *A case of hedging one's bets?*

## Winsome Win

Winnie Mandela may have fallen from grace but she is still capable of a felicitous slip of the tongue. "FW de Klerk," she told a rally, "is a wolf in a sheepskin."

— *She obviously thinks he's a car seat.*

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# Now we must work for peace at the polls



**T**HE END of another momentous year characterised by breakdowns and breakthroughs! Time to look back and to look forward.

Looking at the balance sheet of 1993, there were some major disappointments and setbacks but on balance substantial progress has been made in the transition towards democracy. It could be argued that it has been a long time in coming but perhaps the process was necessary. Most South Africans have underestimated the bitter legacy of more than 40 years of National Party government with its fixation on the politics of exclusion and oppression. In trying to understand the journey that South Africa has made during 1993 it should not be forgotten that it was in 1910 when the vast majority of South African were excluded from the constitution. More than 80 years of separation, suspicion and discrimination cannot be overcome with a slick, quick fix.

Another lesson which had to be learnt during 1993 is the art of genuine negotiation. For decades the NP government decided what was best for South Africa – now they had to listen and to give as well as take. To their credit they have proved to be good students of the art of give and take.

At long last we have an interim constitution. It is not perfect but it is a result of compromise and to have achieved a reasonable federal constitution safeguarding basic human rights is a tribute to hard work and pragmatic politics.

An election date has been set and despite understandable fears about possible intimidation and worse, it is very unlikely that this date will be changed. If a reasonably free and fair election does take place, it will produce the first ever fully representative government in the history of South Africa – a decisive and historic moment that many have worked towards against astonishing odds for generations.

The fact that we will have a government of national unity rather than a winner-takes-all government is cause for added encouragement. The African National Congress is far ahead in all the polls and they could have been bloody-minded and held out for majority rule. That they have not provides South Africa with a real opportunity for healing and reconciliation.

It would be foolish, however, to imagine that South Africa is set fair for a full democracy with accompanying stability and prosperity because of these momentous decisions. The endemic violence which has had the country in its grip for years shows no sign of abating. The Transitional Executive Council will have an awesome responsibility to try and reduce the level of violence – something that no one else and no other body has succeeded in doing.

While the overwhelming majority of political parties have accepted the interim constitution and are committed to contesting the election on the basis of that constitution, there are a number of key actors who have broken away from negotiations and are threatening to undermine the election process. The enormous efforts being made by the government on the one

hand and the ANC on the other to secure participation by the Freedom Alliance will be well worth the expenditure of time and energy if it can secure their participation. Although many would see the Freedom Alliance as being unreasonable in their demands, they have the ability to derail the process and therefore every attempt must continue in order to encourage their participation. If they separately or together throw their weight into fighting an election there will be far less temptation to engage in violent resistance. In assessing the mood in many parts of South Africa, it is clear that the right wing is prepared to go to desperate lengths in order to undermine the transition towards free and fair elections.

It is clear that the real centre of conflict will be at local level rather than regional or national level. There are many towns in the Free State, Cape, Transvaal and northern Natal that have already threatened to take up arms in order to protect their white exclusivity. While it is highly improbable that the Freedom Alliance will continue in its present form, it is nevertheless to the advantage of all South Africa that every effort be made to find a constitutional and peaceful way to accommodate some of the aspirations of those on the far right.

It is impossible to believe that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who for many years fought apartheid, refused to take independence and called for the release of Nelson Mandela, will continue to keep company with the AWB and a Conservative Party which, with all its verbal gymnastics, seeks to perpetuate apartheid in a so-called Afrikaner fatherland. If he is to be taken at his word then Chief Buthelezi seems determined not to participate in the election and then the pressure will come not from the government or the ANC, but from within the ranks of his own party. There can be no doubt that there are many at leadership and grassroots level in the IFP who are determined to participate in the election on 27 April 1994. They will participate with or without Chief Buthelezi.

The first prize would be to try and find some way in which to persuade and encourage the Chief Minister to change his mind and actually participate in the election as the leader of the IFP. It is also important that he and his party, and all leaders and parties, not only participate but also go on record as being prepared to accept the result of the election, no matter how it affects their particular party.

In looking back, South Africans have much to be thankful for and substantial progress has been made. In looking to the future, considerable work remains to be done and in particular men and women of peace and goodwill need to unite in order to ensure that the run-up to the election and the election itself proceed with the minimum amount of disruption and violence. If that can happen, South Africa is assured of the beginnings of a peaceful and prosperous future.

*Alex Boraine  
Executive Director*

# 'Grasp the nettle'

A CERTIFICATE pinned to a board in her secretary's office describes Mamphela Ramphele, Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town, as recipient of an "impossible is not a word in my vocabulary" award. That's how her colleagues in UCT's Equal Opportunity unit like to tease her but it also captures something essential about her attitude.

So she's optimistic about "the situation in the country" - the matter to which South Africans gravitate obsessively in encounters of any length - the subject we have circled for half an hour while she sketched a development strategy for the youth.

"I'm saying that we are on the right track, that in the long term we're going to reach the end of the road, if we keep our heads cool and have the political will to act," she says as she slices up an apple with a Swiss army knife (this is lunch, snatched in five minutes of chat between wall-to-wall appointments).

## *'Boys on the border and boys in the township, it's all the same thing'*

It's a phrase she uses a few times - "political will" - something she believes exists in sufficient measure to save South Africans from their nightmares. "Even Kriel can rise above his own mess and stop posturing," she says. "Even Apla can rise beyond its own mess. I can tell you, the problem is not on one side - it's everywhere."

The same breezy confidence informs her approach to the problems of the "lost generation". "I don't think we should even talk about 'lost', you know," says Ramphele. "When you talk 'lost', you've given up and I don't think there is anything that indicates to me that I should give up on any section of our society, let alone young people."

"I think what is important is to move away from looking at the problem as a problem of young people. It's a societal problem. We have failed to nurture young people.

"But we've gone further than that: we have acquiesced - in some cases actively engaged them in fighting our wars because we were too much of cowards as adults to do the fighting ourselves. By that I mean both black and white kids - boys on the border and boys in the townships, it's all the same thing.

**A national youth development programme must be seen as an essential part of national reconstruction, says UCT luminary Mamphela Ramphele. Otherwise everything else will go up in smoke. She spoke to SHAUNA WESTCOTT.**

"I think that we are being challenged by what is going on in terms of young people in this country to take cognisance of the history that has brought us to where we are. But we are also being challenged to develop creative approaches to the problems that we face.

"Young people actually are, I think, a symbol, a metaphor of what we have neglected in ourselves as a people. We have neglected basic services, or basic needs provision for people. By that I mean basic housing, basic education, basic health, basic issues of simple nutrition. If we were a society that provided adequately for those things we would hardly be landed where we are."

Ramphele is "very encouraged" by the launch of the National Youth Development Forum in September. This is what the country needs, what the youth needs - she ticks off points on a mental checklist - the "elements of a viable national youth development programme".

First, she says, it needs to be recognised that there are some young people who cannot be forced back into the formal schooling system.

"They've got out of the simple habit of sitting behind a desk and no convincing or cajoling will get them back there. On the contrary, if you force them back into the school system, they will be disruptive of the whole process for the other kids.

"So we need to find a creative non-school-based programme of education to take care of those young people, and I would hope that politicians grasp the nettle and some announcement is made soon that children of 18 years and above should not be registered in the school system unless they are doing their matric or Std 9 and they have done well enough to actually have the prospect of completing schooling in the next two years."

Secondly, says Ramphele, there has to be public recognition and acceptance of the fact that many teachers, particularly Department of Education and Training (DET) teachers, are "simply not skilled to teach". Further,

that these teachers are demoralised, because they know they are not capable of teaching and yet are expected to teach.

"So what they have now done is what kids were challenging them to do in the 1970s and 1980s, which is to come out on the streets and toyi-toyi. Now the kids want to learn, the teachers are catching up with the toyi-toyi rather late in the day.

"Again, we need firm political leadership, someone has to say: right, you want to remain in the teaching system, you have to be party to the provision of high-quality education. Resourcing education in such terms as new schools and better equipment will come to nought unless you also deal directly with this problem of teachers who are not really properly equipped to teach.

"We need a vigorous in-service training programme, which is not about giving people certificates but a real process aimed at helping teachers to provide high-quality education. This would involve both teachers and students changing their attitudes and creating a different environment in the classroom. Teachers who are not prepared to be

## Ramphele call

part of this should not be allowed to continue to teach."

Whether this reform of the education system happens or not will depend on - yes, political will. Someone has to "grasp the nettle" - another phrase of the moment - because: "There are some teachers who are beyond it now - alcoholics, there are many alcoholics in the DET system, people who run private businesses while teaching - the whole system is corrupt. Somebody has to grasp the nettle and clean it up. There has to be greater accountability. Otherwise we will continue to produce the kids who land up on the streets."

The third element of the programme "has to be about developing a skill development process which is tied up with the place of work", Ramphele says, lamenting the fact that South Africa lacks the "culture of apprenticeship" so fruitful in countries like Switzerland and Germany.

She is concerned about a trend in favour of making technical education like university education, "where people end up with degrees and little technical knowledge".



LUMINARY: Mamphela Ramphele

## or clean-up in classrooms

"I think we are going the wrong route if we follow Britain as our model. We ought to be following the European continent in terms of revamping our technical colleges, our technikons, into technologically equipped places producing technically skilled people who will drive our economy. We don't need another type of BA that happens to come from a technikon."

### *'There are many alcoholics in the DET system'*

What Ramphele wants to see is "a well-functioning technical college system, linked to places of work, accommodating a lot of young people in residentially based programmes".

"I really insist on it being residentially based where feasible," she says, "because part of the current problem is the fact that young people live in homes which are overcrowded, where they have no space, and nobody really has time to listen to them, and therefore they have very little opportunity to

develop into well-rounded human beings.

"The old boarding school type of approach had its drawbacks but one thing it did do was to introduce young people to the life of routine, the life of order, the life of accountability, the life of understanding that there are certain rules and regulations that govern behaviour. If you live in a family of 17 people in a shack or two-roomed house - and quite frankly it's amazing how much order there is in that - the fact of the matter is that you suffer. So, we really need to exercise our minds to provide a mix of training opportunities, including residentially based opportunities."

Ramphele believes that this kind of workplace-linked approach to education and training will be of some help to the 52 percent of South African youth who are unemployed - three million young people between the ages of 16 and 30.

"We've got to train young people with an eye to them getting employed, either in the concerns where they have trained or in enterprises that they form as groups - small business development enterprises. One of

the big problems in this country is that we're very good at producing job seekers but not at producing job creators," she says.

"I would imagine that one of the major thrusts of this National Youth Development Forum has to be about enabling young people not only to get work but to create work. But we need also to be looking at public works programmes to mop up this 52 percent you're talking about.

"I'm not talking about digging trenches only, although there's nothing wrong with digging trenches. I'm talking about planting forests, for instance, doing all sorts of things which are vital for our economy and for our ecology. There are many things, I mean you look at the backlogs in housing, look at the backlogs in the provision of facilities, communal facilities, and so on. I think young people could be used in this as well.

### *'If you have a career ahead of you, you don't take risks'*

"Then there's also the issue of literacy. We have a 60 percent illiteracy rate in this country. In countries like Cuba they used young people during school holidays or as part of their national service to teach literacy. We could also be thinking creatively about this as part of a public works programme."

Youthful ignorance about sexuality - and the resultant high incidence of both teenage pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases - is another area that must receive attention.

"We have to talk about sexuality in the school system, in the workplace, in religious groups, and so on. But ultimately, I believe if young people are on a path which gives them hope, they have no time to have babies.

"You know, they have babies because they need something to cuddle, something they think will make them be taken seriously. It may be very infantile in formulation but the fact of the matter is that subconsciously that's what happens. If you have a career ahead of you, you don't take risks, whether they be in terms of teenage pregnancy, or AIDS or anything else."

Asked to comment on the assertion that unless population growth is reduced, no amount of sound, good, progressive programmes will help South Africa, Ramphele says she would agree but, she adds with a note of asperity: "The fact of the matter is that you don't reduce population growth by sterilising people. You reduce population growth by improving their socio-economic circumstances. Then they can't afford to have babies."

# Reasons for hope

From Page 1

the Western Cape, where we train thousands of people to participate in elections, as voters and as activists for their organisations.

The elections have created a wave of excitement and energy that is sweeping through every village and township in South Africa. In the age of *realpolitik* it may no longer be fashionable to really believe in "freedom, justice and equality", but millions of South Africans do – and they are mobilising as never before to finally claim some control over their lives.

We have come a long way in the last few years. Only five years ago – think back to 1988 – there was almost no hope that we would escape an endless cycle of civil war and repression.

To crush all opposition, PW Botha, Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok used the full powers of the law, the security forces, the joint management centres and the infamous death squads.

Nelson Mandela and about 3 000 other political prisoners were still in jail. Thousands of detainees, among them almost the entire leadership of the United Democratic Front, were in their third year of detention.

The headquarters of the South African Council of Churches and the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference were among the buildings of progressive organisations destroyed in bomb blasts. More than 1 000 people died in political violence in Natal. The armed struggle was intensified and more than 220 attacks took place.

Thirty organisations were effectively banned, including the End Conscription Campaign and the Detainees' Parents Support Committee.

Dulcie September and Albie Sachs were among dozens of political leaders who were killed or injured in bomb attacks.

From this, we have somehow made the almost impossible leap to democracy. It has been a painful and tumultuous process and there are many forces that will fight to the end to cling to the benefits they derived from apartheid and to prevent a successful democratic solution.

Our violent and polarised past should bode ill for the prospects of peace, democ-

racy and unity. But South Africa and Sarajevo are poles apart. Political parties representing almost 90 percent of South Africans are negotiating constructively and are committed to the elections.

The Freedom Alliance has neither the capacity nor the popular support to derail the process. From Kempton Park down to the grassroots, political leaders have been committing themselves to peace, reconciliation and political tolerance.

Shocking newspaper headlines may contradict this, but as the Peace Secretariat

***'It seems inevitable that the ANC will be the first government. It will bring a new calibre of leadership to government. Almost all the leaders who make it to Parliament will be people who have made huge personal sacrifices for the sake of freedom and democracy'***



Beatie Hofmeyr

reminded us, only the bad news makes it into the media. Since the mid-1980s, political conflict in Natal has claimed more lives every year and in the 1990s it erupted in the PWV. Most of us became emotionally blunted to the deaths and could not even read or analyse the details of yet another gruesome massacre.

Although the "third force" theory was treated with derision by the government and the police, it is now widely accepted that faceless forces are involved in fanning the flames, and that the conflict is not simply about political turf.

Too many conflicts start with "drive-by shootings" where people open fire from a van on a group of pedestrians. In divided communities with little access to resources, tensions exist and the smallest spark can ignite a war.

What we do not read about in newspapers are the hundreds of community activists who work tirelessly and with great courage to put out the flames.

In the PWV almost every major township was affected by widespread violence last year. This year the political violence has been confined mostly to the East Rand. Most of the violence in other townships was the result of taxi wars and did not spread through the whole community.

This miraculous outbreak of peace was no accident. Old enemies sat down together; churches, civics and political organisations worked on peace committees to repair their shattered communities. Even in Natal, after nearly a decade of violence, many communities managed to stop the fighting.

No matter how serious and widespread the killings are, we must not forget that the vast majority of the areas in South Africa are peaceful – even in Natal. And, as the National Peace Day in September showed so clearly, the people of this country want peace.

To talk of reconciliation during an election campaign may seem naive, but the foundations for rebuilding this country have already been laid.

The political leaders who emerged from years of imprisonment or exile surprised many by their lack of bitterness and their incredible capacity to forgive and accommodate their old oppressors as fellow South Africans. And in spite of the right wing, most white

South Africans have also grown to accept change – even if that acceptance is still tempered by fear and prejudice.

It is not often that negotiations avert civil war, or that the opposing sides agree to put the country's interests above their own. But we may just manage it.

We have already agreed on a formula for a government of national unity, an interim constitution and a bill of rights. These processes are imperfect and fallible, but they are born out of a new spirit of compromise, realism and maturity among our leaders.

It seems inevitable that the ANC will be the first government. It will bring a new calibre of leadership to government. Almost all the leaders who make it to Parliament will be people who have made huge personal sacrifices for the sake of freedom and democracy.

Whatever one may think of the politics of the ANC, it has always been driven by solid social democratic values that put the welfare of "the people" as its central concern.

My confidence about the future stems from the firm belief that we are capable of patriotism, that we have the desire for peace and justice, the hunger for a better future and the leaders to take us there.

Beatie Hofmeyr works for a voter education project at UWC.

# Sowing non-violent seeds

**WHAT DID** did we expect to happen when apartheid went or began to die? A great loss of life was in fact predicted by elements in Umkhonto we Sizwe and also in the security forces. Figures cited were of as many as three million people being killed either to maintain apartheid or to destroy it. That's almost 10 percent of our population.

In 1979 the South African Council of Churches asked me to head their commission on violence and non-violence. At one of our earliest meetings we looked at the situation and we could not see how it would be resolved by anything other than war or something pretty near to it.

Yet we resolved that we were not going to give up the beliefs that we had acquired from Mahatma Gandhi and others. We would go on sowing the seeds of non-violence, ways of action and hope that would grow when the fire had passed.

As it happened, those seeds grew better and quicker than we had expected. And I believe they actually influenced the present transition. The sowers were individuals and organisations – many adopted the methods of non-violence. This internal resistance, I believe, saved us much loss of life in producing the turnabout that we saw in February 1990.

Of course the external pressure of sanctions also played a decisive part. But being a rather blunt instrument in terms of non-violence, sanctions left us with unemployment, with frustration and also with crime.

Drawing on worldwide experience of civil disobedience, it wasn't so hard to develop a programme against apartheid. But it is not so easy to devise a programme in our present community conflict. But I want to suggest that we should not despair – we should go on sowing the seeds and the action of non-violence.

The new situation has alarmed many of us and has caught by surprise many activists who relaxed after February 1990. We became accustomed to blaming apartheid for all ills and dreamed that our hearts would be pure and society healthy once it was removed. But the death toll is increasing as apartheid goes.

It is worth remembering that when India shook off the British Raj at the cost of about 8 000 lives (the proportional figure for our population would be 1 000), a deeper and more long-standing feud over power and land surfaced in the form of Hindu versus Muslim communal strife. This claimed 30 times as many lives as the independence struggle, and a non-violent solution was much harder to find.

Gandhi tackled this communal strife by fasting, using the power of his personal status and people's love for him. But it also broke his heart and it claimed his life.

Gandhi's successor, Vinoba Bahave, and others launched two



**What hope does non-violent action offer in the situation of widespread communal conflict that exists in South Africa? ROB ROBERTSON, retired cleric and editor of *Non-Violence News* for the past 14 years, offers some lessons from Gandhi's life.**

movements relating to this new distress. One was the "land gift movement" which, again by personal moral pressure, persuaded the rich to give vast tracts of land to the landless.

The other was the Shanti Sena peace army of non-violent volunteers who were prepared not only to mediate and monitor between rival groups, but also to interpose their bodies when actual violence broke out and not to strike back. These things can be done. In India it

was not widespread enough to transform the whole society, but these movements showed the way. For example, they inspired the formation of the Peace Brigades International now acting in Latin America.

Let's recall for a moment how we went about fighting apartheid and compare this with Gandhi's methods.

Before initiating civil disobedience in the 1920s, Gandhi persuaded the Indian Congress to adopt a "Constructive Programme". For India this meant:

- Working to establish communal unity between different sections of the population. This included breaking down the practice of untouchability, including lepers and the hill tribes in society, upholding the equality of women with men and the participation of the peasants.

- The promotion of self-reliance in respect of village industries, especially the manufacture of cloth as a basic activity of India's millions.

- The promotion of health by education, village sanitation and the prohibition of alcoholic liquor and drugs.

- The development of new and basic education linked with adult education and the channelling of the abilities of students to the common good.

- The establishment of labour unions and the achievement of economic equality.

- The choice and the development of a national language.

Gandhi believed that, if the effort of the whole nation was secured for this programme, the Indian people would stand up on their own feet and the British Raj would simply fall off their backs.

But in practice, of course, it is difficult to get such unity and take such action. The British government was still able to impose its will by legislation in some areas of Indian life and at these points civil disobedience was necessary to clear away the legal obstructions.

Gandhi said: "Civil disobedience can never be diverted for a general cause such as independence. The issue must be definite and



*GANDHI: Tackling violence with love.*

# Non-violent seeds

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capable of being clearly understood and within the power of the opponent to yield. Civil disobedience in terms of independence, without the co-operation of the millions by way of constructive effort, is mere bravado and worse than useless."

In South Africa we took the Freedom Charter as a kind of inspirational hope, but it was not a programme of action. Instead we used civil disobedience, which became "ungovernability", to bring apartheid down, intending thereafter to rebuild. We have to pay a price now, and we should not complain. It was a half-baked approach, but better than all-out war.

We used the methods of non-violence but not always the spirit of non-violence, and I want to emphasise this. To Gandhi this spirit was fundamental. Non-violence had to be based on love, even for the opponent, and this is what made it so powerful.

We used the methods of non-violence, but sometimes the spirit of war. It is the purpose of the Fellowship of Reconciliation to regain this spirit.

Gandhi said: "Non-violence is a power that can be wielded equally by all - children, young men and women and grown people - provided they have a living faith in the God of Love and therefore equal love for all. When non-violence is accepted as the law of life it must pervade the whole being and not be applied in isolated acts."

Two helpful tests can be applied to test current actions to ensure this spirit. Firstly, are we trying to weaken our opponents or to empower them? There are two kinds of power. Good power is the human ability to co-operate voluntarily by persuasion. Evil power is the ability to coerce by fear or violence. It is the latter power that corrupts.

The spirit of non-violence is to help one's opponent into a wider co-operation with the rest of humanity and with oneself. "Passive resistance is an all-sided sword; it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood it produces far-reaching results."

## ***'Non-violence had to be based on love, even for the opponent, and this is what made it so powerful'***

The second test of the spirit of non-violence is: who bears the suffering, we or they? It is not always easy to get a clear answer here. If our non-violent action is designed to make the opponent suffer until forced to change, it's not in the spirit of non-violence. If we put ourselves in the line of suffering to highlight and absorb the violent policies of the opponent, then we are acting in the spirit of love and truth.

Gandhi wrote: "In the application of satyagraha, I discovered in the earliest stages that the pursuit of truth did not permit violence being inflicted on one's opponent but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to another. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's self."

Gandhian non-violence is not a magic way of dispensing with injustice and violence without any effort, sacrifice or risk. But it is far less risky and costly than war.

**This is an edited version of an address given to a symposium hosted by the Fellowship of Reconciliation Group in Cape Town.**

# We're doing okay

From Page 1

finding it difficult to reach consensus on bread and butter issues.

Slabbert said this reflected a fundamental contradiction which would have to be resolved: a democratic constitution could not be built on an apartheid budget. There was no short-term solution to existing problems in housing, education, health and social services, but it was vital that solutions be found.

Stability was also an issue which could threaten the success of the transition. Slabbert said the different political parties were "highly unresolved" on this question.

"If we don't settle stability it will be difficult to settle legitimacy. If there is no legitimacy, there will be no growth and if there is no growth, there can be no redistribution."



Van Zyl Slabbert

## ***'The politics of liberation is changing in tone and nature to become the politics of government responsibility'***

Holding elections would not necessarily stabilise the political situation in the country, nor would it consequently ensure legitimacy. He said other countries which had gone through transitions to democracy, such as Chile and Poland, had opted to first settle the thorny issue of stability before moving on to elections.

On 1 May South Africa would get a government of national unity, but Slabbert cautioned that governments of national unity had a tendency to spend because they had to buy off people's anger. They were also not necessarily capable of solving problems.

Slabbert listed five possible problem areas:

- Composition of the government;
- Co-ordination of the administrative and executive authorities via the civil service;
- Stability of local communities;
- Delivery of services;
- Political populism.

The matter of the participation of the right wing in the new government would need to be resolved. It might be possible to attempt to ensure stability by giving the Cabinet portfolios of law and order, agriculture and the army to the right wing, while the ANC took responsibility for health, housing and education.

At the level of local government, Slabbert reiterated his concern that the national election would not deal with problems experienced by communities on the ground. He questioned whether people had a sense of ownership and how this could be created. Unless services were delivered to local communities, the transition would falter.

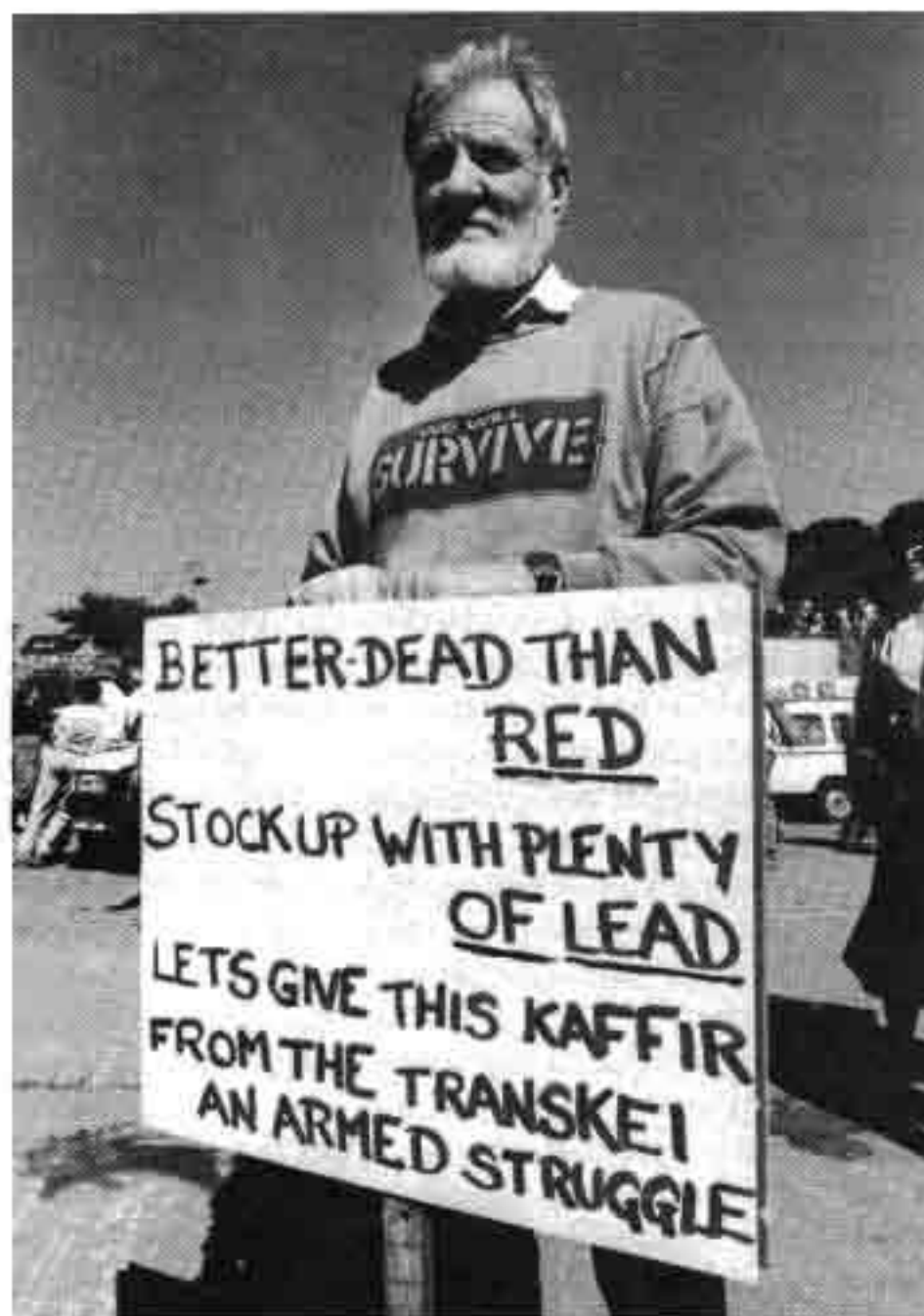
Slabbert noted that the politics of liberation was changing in tone and nature to become the politics of government responsibility. The populist nature of the politics practised in the broad mass democratic movement would also be challenged.

He suggested that a first indication of the tensions that would need to be resolved was the clash between Cosatu and the ANC, in the persons of Sam Shilowa and Cyril Ramaphosa, over agreements reached in multi-party talks which did not endorse certain workers' demands.



# No trifling with 'chosen people'

**The war talk of the right wing is making many South Africans nervous about the future. How does one pull the sting from its tail? Stellenbosch academic SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE ventures some suggestions.**



ganda of its strange contingent of white (mainly American) advisers. The IFP also has large amounts of foreign money at its disposal.

The IFP finds itself in a rather ironic situation. While Buthelezi may be its strength and its unifying factor, he is potentially also its greatest liability and may eventually cause its downfall. He is the victim of an inflated self-image and self-confidence. He is obsessed with the idea that he should be one of the three most important leaders in the

country – if not the most important. He cannot accept that he is at best a regional and ethnic leader. Out of fear that the election will cut him down to his real size, he has a vested interest in stopping or postponing it.

My prediction is that the IFP will after all be a very active participant in the election. Buthelezi and the IFP have too much to lose if they opt not to participate. If the IFP does not participate, it will have no legal claim to a part of the government of KwaZulu and Natal after the election.

Although the IFP's reluctant participation may lead to an escalation of violence in the run-up to the election, Buthelezi and his warlords undoubtedly realise that non-participation could ignite a small "civil war" with devastating consequences for the IFP. Hopefully the TEC will make it clear to the IFP that, should the IFP opt not to participate, the TEC will deploy a sufficiently large contingent of security forces to maintain order during the election.

***'It is estimated that some 45 percent of Afrikaners will vote for the AVF'***

In considering the likely action of the IFP, one cannot ignore the strange love-hate relationship between it and the National Party. In spite of all the rhetoric to the contrary, there is reason to believe that the NP and the IFP are hand in glove and that Gerrit Viljoen's idea of a Christian Democratic Alliance (CDA) to counteract the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance is still active. In all probability the NP and the IFP will enter into a tacit election pact, at least in Natal.

If the IFP is mere sound and fury, the same is unfortunately not true of the AVF, and the fanatical streak in some of its constituent parts cannot

be taken too lightly.

The AVF is par excellence an Afrikaner phenomenon. Of the 900 000 that may vote for it in the election, less than 100 000 will be English-speakers. It is estimated that some 45 percent of Afrikaners will vote for the AVF, 45 percent for the NP and the remaining five to 10 percent for other parties.

One cannot analyse the problematic (and potentially dangerous) nature of the AVF

THE foundations would have been laid for a relatively peaceful election on 27 April had the Freedom Alliance (FA) been party to the remarkable agreement on the transitional constitution. But FA non-participation and hostility towards important parts of the transitional constitution raise the question: has the FA the inclination and the capacity to disrupt and even to prevent the election? If so, what preventative measures can be taken?

The FA is fortunately not a closely knit alliance. The four constituent parties are in fact very strange bed-fellows. Their only common denominator is their demand for a kind of confederalism that will allow them the individual option of secession.

The leaders of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei cannot claim meaningful grassroots support. It will therefore not be too difficult for the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) to call their bluff, although Bophuthatswana has a measure of financial "independence" which may make it a somewhat harder nut to crack.

***'Can we allow 2,5 million voters to hold the country to ransom?'***

The two really problematic right-wing parties in the FA are the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). As far as electoral support is concerned, it is unlikely that the AVF will get a million votes, while the IFP can at best get 1,5 million.

The question foremost in people's minds is whether we can allow 2,5 million voters to hold the country and the constitutional process to ransom because of their strong opposition to the transitional constitution. Their demands are not only undemocratic, unco-operative and economically unattainable, they are also infamous for their blatant group selfishness.

The IFP is a well-organised party with a clearly defined territorial base. Zulu ethnicity supplies the rationale for its overheated Zulu nationalism, although the IFP claims non-ethnicity. The IFP's ideological thrust is reinforced by the leadership style of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, by the power game conducted by its warlords and by the free market propa-

**'Chosen people'**

From Page 9

without taking the rather problematic nature of white Afrikanerdom into account. This has its roots in the idea – cultivated and propagated rather judiciously by Afrikaner leaders after the defeat of the Boer republics by Great Britain in a rather immoral colonial war – that Afrikaners were the victims of an "eeu van onreg" (century of injustice).

These leaders used the idea of a people or "volk" deprived of their right to govern themselves in their own land, to project the idea that the Afrikaner volk were a chosen people with a God-given destiny, like the Old Testament people of Israel. After exploiting this "volk" idea for decades as part of its ideological justification for apartheid, the NP had to drop it once its membership was opened to other population groups.

The AVF is presently the sole carrier of the "volk" idea. Given the strategic role this idea has played in the NP ideological approach for almost a century, one should not be surprised that the right-wing half of Afrikanerdom still clings to it in a desperate attempt to regain lost ground. At the same time one should emphasise the responsibility the NP has to counter the AVF's ideological propaganda.

President F W de Klerk never tires of claiming that the NP had already decided in 1986 that the Verwoerdian policies of separate development could not work. But one would like to ask what he and his party have done during the last six years to demystify the legend of the chosen people. Time for owning up is long overdue.

The failure of the NP to undertake this task of demystification has created the opportunity and the ideological and moral "space" for the AVF to get away with proverbial murder in propagating (and demanding) its completely unattainable Afrikaner volkstaat.

When Eugene Terre'Blanche claims that the land was given to the "volk" by God and that nobody will deprive the "volk" of its sacred birthright, he gets close to being blasphemous. But instead of being taken to task by the NP and especially by Afrikaner churches, he is given ample opportunity to propagate his "war talk" on SABC-TV. Why do we stomach this kind of nonsense?

When the Afrikaner right wing is put into its proper historical and ethnic context, it

becomes clear that it is of little avail to negotiate with it about the partial accommodation of its volkstaat aspirations. It will not be possible to satisfy the right wing as long as it remains obsessed with the ideological idea that Afrikaners are a chosen people with a God-given destiny.

The only way to pull the sting from the tail of the right wing is to deprive it of its alleged religious, moral and ideological justification for a volkstaat. The only institutions that can challenge the right wing's moral, religious and ideological claims are the NP and Afrikaner churches and cultural organisations.

*'It will not be possible to satisfy the right wing as long as it remains obsessed with the idea that Afrikaners are a chosen people with a God-given destiny'*



Sampie Terreblanche

Why do reform-orientated Afrikaners balk at rejecting their own past and the ideological stand of the AVF? Why are they not prepared to do it? Can it be that while the NP's "mind" is in the negotiated settlement, its "heart" is not? It is a rather sobering thought that the NP is still too orientated towards the right wing to risk challenging its ideological stand.

Apart from ideology, there are also economic considerations to be taken into account when attempting to explain the stubbornness of the right wing, and these have historical roots going back to the beginning of the century. At this time the per capita income of Afrikaners was less than half that of white English-speakers, and this was a source of great resentment in Afrikaner circles.

After the NP came into power in 1948, it implemented several programmes aimed at the upliftment and enrichment of Afrikaners. In the fast-growing economy of the 1950s and 1960s, these programmes were perhaps too successful, catapulting Afrikaners en masse into the ranks of the *nouveaux riches*. Unfortunate distortions in values and aspirations resulted, with Afrikaners becoming conspicuously bourgeois and materialistic in their attitudes.

However, a period of stagflation and creeping poverty followed. Shrinking agri-

cultural subsidies and successive droughts made farmers in summer rainfall areas the first to experience relative impoverishment. Although the greater part of the white community has had to scale down living standards over the last 20 years, the rural community and industrial wage earners have taken a much larger knock.

There is ample reason for a rough generalisation that the right-wing half of Afrikanerdom has been impoverished to a greater degree than the rest. The economic position of many right-wingers has become quite vulnerable and a clear class distinction has become visible between them and the rest of Afrikanerdom.

While the right-wing group is mainly rural and petit bourgeois, the "reform-orientated" group is mainly urban and somewhat better-off. Consequently, right-wingers have a lot of economic grievances and harbour serious fears about the negative effect a black-dominated government may have on already reduced standards of living.

Instead of trying to accommodate the unattainable

volkstaat of the right-wingers, it may be a better strategy to try to allay their economic fears. To what extent a new government will be able to give the economic guarantees that will pacify the right wing, is difficult to say. But it makes much more sense to negotiate with the right wing on certain economic guarantees than to try to accommodate their stupid demands for a volkstaat.

There remains the question of the security implications, if the AVF should persist in its threat to boycott the TEC and not to participate in the elections.

Potentially the AVF is a much greater threat to peace and stability than the IFP. Members of the AVF have lots of dangerous arms at their disposal and many are extremely well trained in certain aspects of guerrilla warfare. Although some of them have close links with sections of the defence force and the police, it is highly unlikely that they will find support in these circles for any project of destabilising the country in the run-up to the election.

In taking the necessary preventative measures, the TEC should not underestimate the danger of sabotage and of attempts to assassinate important political leaders. Hopefully the TEC and the security forces will be well-prepared for these eventualities.

**Sampie Terreblanche is Professor of Economics at the University of Stellenbosch.**

## Small media under threat

By SOBANTU XAYIYA

**A**BOUT 150 delegates from media and non-governmental organisations gathered in Cape Town recently to discuss and define the role of community media during and after the 27 April elections.

One of the central issues that occupied delegates was the survival of community media. Most organisations are already operating within limited budgets and many are doubtful that they will make it beyond the elections.

There are fears that the small developing media will not be a priority to a new government faced with pressing issues such as housing, education, hospitals and roads. Delegates said there was a need to campaign for a state subsidy.

But head of the Peninsula Technikon's Journalism Department Eronini Megwa urged delegates to look towards the corporate sector for funds.

The ANC's Pallo Jordan said that under a new government a community media fund would probably be set up and administered by an independent trust.

Panelist Chris Vick, editor of *Work in Progress*, said community media tended to be stuck in the politics of the past. The time had come to "move out of the trenches".

Vick said good and bad had emerged from community media in the 1980s. Among the mistakes were:

- Not realising their limitations;
- Being stuck in resistance mode;
- An exclusivist approach was maintained. Community media should not be isolated, but should acknowledge that other media existed;
- They failed to involve the communities of which they were a part;
- Training policies were inadequate and did not guard against "burn-out" of trainers.

The conference launched the Community Media Network (Commnet) with an eight-member steering committee assigned the task of arranging a similar gathering in January. A Commnet executive will be elected at that meeting.

Sobantu Xayiya is a freelance reporter based in Cape Town.



ELECTION RAP: Mahlatini and the Mahotella Queens

## Music to voters' ears

**A**REPORT by Idasa's media department to a recent trustees' meeting added an uncharacteristic beat to proceedings as the infectious rhythm of mbaqanga took over the meeting:

*Now is the time for all to see  
South Africans voting for democracy  
The vote is for you, the vote's for me  
Let's use it well so our land will be free  
We have the chance to get it right  
To choose our leaders without a fight  
To end the violence, be safe at night  
The new beginning is in sight ...*

This extract from "Planting the Seed of Democracy" performed by Mahlatini and the Mahotella Queens, is only one aspect of the first burst of radio programming produced by Idasa's newly formed radio unit.

Up and running since mid-September, the programming produced so far takes a variety of formats and is targeted specifically at small town and rural listeners.

An essential ingredient of the programming is music and in addition to the Mahotella Queens' song, a rap item - "Use Your Voice" - by the Young Rap Project has been produced by Making Music in Cape Town. Both pieces of music will not only form part of the programmes, but we hope will also be played on music stations in their own right.

Other aspects of the programming include a series of 15-minute programmes in Afrikaans and Xhosa which will offer voter education through music, interviews, drama, stories and short interviews canvassing ordinary people's views on various topics.

To date two pilot programmes have been produced and submitted to the national structures set up by a range of non-govern-

ment organisations and the SABC to co-ordinate broadcast material for electoral education.

In addition, the radio unit has produced a number of educational announcements or adverts, each between 30 to 60 seconds long, in English, Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Tswana and Afrikaans. These cover basic aspects of voting such as the secrecy of the ballot, the importance of casting a vote and the right of citizens to vote freely without intimidation. The aim is to broadcast a variety of voter education messages via these short spots on different radio stations throughout the country.

Several radio dramas are also in production. They will run as mini-series within the weekly Afrikaans and Xhosa programmes while the others will be produced as single entities to be broadcast in Zulu over the holiday season.

The radio unit comprises three producers with radio experience from a variety of backgrounds: existing Idasa staffer Sue Valentine and two new recruits - Fiona Studdert (an Australian who has worked in community radio for 10 years) and Jackie Davies (a South African who has worked with the BBC).

The process by which the programmes are being devised and produced aims to draw on both community and professionals, established performers and presenters - to broaden the range of voices and the styles of programming traditionally heard on South African radio.

A wide network of translators, actors and advisors has also been drawn into the project which will run at least until the election in April and probably beyond.

By SUE VALENTINE

# Parties say 'no way' to no-go areas

**W**HILE negotiators at Kempton Park managed to talk their way through wide differences of opinion, the language of war still resounds through many parts of South Africa.

An indication of the intolerance that still grips the country is the existence of no-go areas where political parties are not free to campaign.

Most politicians slam the existence of such areas as contrary to the concept of free and fair elections.

Former ANC regional secretary Tony Yengeni said no-go areas should not be permitted to exist. "The ANC must be able to organise and build itself in KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei," he said.

## 'Accessibility to all areas is what democracy is about'

To ensure that elections were free of intimidation, "the immediate installation of a national peacekeeping force" was needed, he said.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) should shoulder much of the responsibility of fostering a climate of tolerance.

An IFP media liaison officer in the Western Cape, Cloete Breytenbach, said accessibility to all areas was "what democracy is all about".

In Khayelitsha, the party had "sympathisers" but had not opened a branch as, Breytenbach alleged, most members were "afraid of threats and victimisation".

Though the IFP was in favour of holding a rally there, it was not worth the risk at present - "but closer to the elections we will definitely have to do so".

For increased safety, the IFP would use halls, not open air venues, for such meetings.

The IFP supported the concept of a national peacekeeping force to protect all political parties. Breytenbach said his organisation was also training a self-protection unit to guard its leaders.

"The idea that we are training an army is incorrect," he added.

Asked to comment on accusations that IFP adversaries in Natal did not enjoy free political activity, Breytenbach said: "Anybody can

**How do you foster a climate conducive to free and fair elections when some townships have become no-go areas for certain political parties? SOBANTU XAYIYA spoke to political groups across the spectrum.**

hold a political meeting in Natal, but there is a difference between such a meeting and political instigation.

"For example, when the ANC wanted to march to Ulundi it publicly stated that it wanted to go there to overthrow Chief Buthelezi."

The NP's organiser and media officer, Jan Kruger, said the existence of no-go areas indicated a high level of intimidation, violence and lack of political tolerance.

To counter intimidation, the NP had set up a national toll-free line for victims to voice complaints.

"We are also partaking in national peacekeeping structures to promote an atmo-

sphere of political tolerance," said Kruger.

NP supporters in the townships were "afraid to come out into the open" because of intimidation.

"The NP will continue to hold rallies in no-go areas as we did this year in Mitchells Plain," he said.

Kruger brushed aside allegations that the SADF, SAP and Internal Stability Unit might be seen by some as NP private armies.

"The security forces are there to serve the whole country, not a single party," he said.

A PAC youth wing leader, Patrick Baba, 31, rejected the concept of political tolerance in a South African context: "The people who oppressed and dispossessed us cannot talk to us of political tolerance.

"The NP can come to the townships, but not to exploit and deceive residents. Though we aren't in favour of disruption of their meetings, we are not going to let our people be misinformed," he said.

Baba said he was at the Uluntu Centre in Guguletu this year when a DP meeting was disrupted, "but I wouldn't claim that the people there were Inkatha, PAC or ANC", he said. "They were simply Guguletu residents who were sick of deceit."

Asked what mechanisms could be used to ensure that future meetings were not broken up, he said: "It is not up to the PAC to give guarantees to other organisations. When they came to usurp our land they never consulted us."

## 'Optimistic things will change'

**Do South Africans believe the April 27 elections will usher in an era of equality and prosperity? SOBANTU XAYIYA took to the streets of Cape Town to find out.**

**S**OPHIE Poni, 36, of Crossroads, said the ANC's positive relationship with Cosatu would result in a better deal for workers under a new government.

To illustrate her point, she explained that about 10 years ago, during the heyday of apartheid, her husband earned less than R100 a week.

When he joined a Cosatu-affiliated union his wages were substantially increased. Her own wages went up from R7 to R30 after she joined the Domestic Workers' Union.

"Yes, I'm optimistic that things will change for the better after April 27," she said.



LEAHY: Hopeful



PONI: Wages up

British immigrant Michael Leahy, 31, was cautiously optimistic. He was hopeful that elections would open the door to a successful future, but warned against high expectations: "Running the country won't be an easy job for Nelson Mandela. It will take a couple of years for the economy to become strong and viable."

Jane Ndinisa, 50, of Crossroads, said schooling and wages would be helped by an ANC victory.



TONY YENGENI: Favours a national peacekeeping force

CLOETE BREYTENBACH: Won't risk an IFP rally in Khayeltisha

Baba said the PAC wanted a transitional authority with active participation of the international community rather than "mere observation".

The DP's James Self argued that elections were never held in a totally free and democratic environment. He suggested that "we should rather ask ourselves what set of circumstances would make the elections demonstrably unfree and unfair".

He said the presence of peace monitors, the Independent Electoral Commission and international observers had already made a difference in creating the necessary climate for free and fair elections.

The DP had misgivings about the practicalities of training and equipping a multi-party national peacekeeping force in the short time before the elections.

The best way of ensuring free and fair elections, he said, was for parties "to bind themselves to a code of conduct and to take appropriate steps against their members and supporters who infringe the code".

Idasa's Western Cape Regional Director, David Schmidt, said it was obvious that there were many no-go areas where parties could not compete fairly - in Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu, Ulundi, Ciskei and other regions.

Ironically, at national level there had been "a remarkably civil negotiating forum where everyone is present despite disagreements. But that reality is not mirrored on the ground".

This was because the concept of democracy had not filtered through to all levels. "The language, the concept of war" was still prevalent in many parts of the country.

Some parties were trying to resolve the problem of intolerance, such as ANC leaders who had taken the brunt of the violence after the break-up of the DP meeting in Guguletu this year. But mostly, the performance of many parties had been unsatisfactory.

Schmidt said there was a need for a code of conduct. He suggested that:

- Political parties should act against members who violated a code of conduct.
- Parties should be sensitive when campaigning in areas which were traditionally not theirs.
- Monitors should educate people on the ground about democracy. Voter education was crucial in this regard.

• The security forces could play a major, positive role, but would not be seen as arbiters of peace in many parts of the country. The KwaZulu police should be kept out of areas of Natal where their presence would be seen as provocative. The TEC could play a major role in this regard.

In an area such as Natal where conflict was deeply-rooted, local government was better placed to deal with divisions than regional government.

Schmidt said the Freedom Alliance would take a hostile stance towards the elections and that some members might even try to destroy the process. But, because of their small support base, it would not be strategic for them to do so.

## or the better after April'



ROTHMANN: Hard NDINISA: Upbeat

The unemployed widow and mother of five commented: "The ANC is already encouraging children to go to school. Also, the party is against wage disparities."

And if the Nationalist Party won a majority on April 27?

"I cannot even think about that," she said. "South Africa would become even worse off than Ethiopia and starvation would be the order of the day."

Jene Rothmann, 57, an antique vendor at

the Church Square flea market, also said people should not have excessive hopes for a post-election South Africa - or for life in general.

"I worked my whole life to have a house. It didn't fall in my lap," she said by way of example. Rothmann, a mother of two, said her husband was not well and that she was "keeping things going" with her antique business. Her son, trained as a lawyer, is unemployed.

"As long as everybody is reasonable and doesn't expect too much from the future, things will go smoothly," she said.

But Piet Jacobs, 34, of Mitchells Plain cited the recent occupation of houses in Delft by squatters as an indication that "things could deteriorate if not kept in check".

And a Sea Point domestic worker who gave her name only as Zoliswa said she feared losing her job "if the madams loose the election".

## VOTER EDUCATION RESOURCES



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IDASA has produced a 12-minute audio cassette on the essential messages of voter education and suggestions as to what business can do to help prepare South Africans for their first democratic election.

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Election messages in Rap and Mabaqanga for South Africans of all ages. The artists are Mahlatini & the Mahotella Queens, and the Young Rap Project. The two songs, *Plant the Seed of Democracy* and *Use Your Voice*, form part of voter education radio programmes produced by Idasa's new radio unit.

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A user-friendly voter education resource package for trainers with a detailed, easy-to-use trainer's manual.

**Price ranges from R10 to R120**

*Order from Queenette Watani at IDASA's  
Training Centre for Democracy (Address  
above)*

# Tolerance grows, from Bisho to Bloemfontein

**Are party election agents ready for 27 April? ALICE COETZEE  
analyses the achievements of a series of multi-party training  
workshops run by Idasa.**

**T**HE African National Congress boots the Democratic Party out of Orange Farm, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging closes down an ANC meeting in Middelburg, the Inkatha Freedom Party refuses to allow an ANC march on Ulundi – and everywhere the cry goes up, yet again, for political tolerance.

It has become almost fashionable – and not without good reason – to talk gloomily about political tolerance and the prospect of strife-ridden elections. Quite rightly, the responsibility for political tolerance has been laid at the feet of the political parties and, their leaders in particular.

Negotiations at the World Trade Centre went a long way towards showing the extent to which cut and thrust among political opponents is possible without bloodshed. But that experience has not filtered down through organisational ranks to any significant extent.

Vast amounts of time and money have been spent on issues such as voter education, but scant attention has been paid to building democracy within and among the political parties. This became glaringly apparent when Idasa was asked to facilitate a meeting in March of all political parties to discuss the need to train party election agents.

The overriding demand from parties was for voter education for their members. The nature of the demands revealed how little was known about the mechanics of the upcoming elections and the role of party agents before, during and after election day. Meeting once a month for five months, representatives from each party designed a multi-party training process and programme.

The initial atmosphere of suspicion and reserve has changed to one of co-operation and comradeship. The most unlikely groupings are to be seen lunching together, cau-

cing over tea, or defusing contentious situations in meetings.

Reservations about the multi-party nature of the training have faded. The Azanian People's Organisation has participated from the start while the IFP and African Democratic Movement (Ciskei) have been regular members in spite of the on-off stance of their principals. The Pan Africanist Congress and ANC have been among the strongest supporters of the programme. The only non-players from the outset were the Conservative Party and Bophuthatswana.

One of the main objectives of the programme was to build tolerance, and it has been impressive to see this developing in the regions at the level of party activists. Trainers have been surprised by the speed at which mutual tolerance has developed in areas as far-flung as Pietersburg and Bisho, Bloemfontein and George.

Says trainer Benny Makena: "On Saturday morning everyone is tense, but by the afternoon they have put their differences aside and are working together through the material." The pattern repeats itself time after time, he says. Party groups that arrive on guard on Friday night end up exchanging addresses when they leave on Sunday afternoon.

Party agents who would have faced each other with hostility on election day may now know each other. In spite of the competition that may exist, there will be a common understanding of the constructive role of party agents and the contribution they can make to free and fair elections.

Idasa's programme director, Paul Graham, comments: "The aim of the party agent training has been to take people through the spirit of the law and not the letter of the law. Party agents who resort to the law to tie each other up in knots will not contribute to free and fair elections. But party agents who



HELP AT THE POLLS: A party agent assists a blind voter in a simulation exercise.

HENNER FRANKENFELD, Southlight

know what type of problems to expect on voting day, how to solve them and how to work together will be contributing to free and fair elections."

A total of 21 party agent training workshops for more than 1 500 party agents were held regionally during October and November.

The programme has raised some interesting issues which impact on the possibility of holding an effective election:

- Most revealing is the poor communication between the parties' national and regional/local operations. Those with a strong federal system have been particularly hampered. For instance, local representatives will arrive at a workshop with little idea of what the programme is about, although their party has been involved in shaping it.

- During the workshop session called "countdown to elections", participants' alarm is evident when they realise what their parties must get done before election day. Parties which have never been part of an election machine are at a huge disadvantage.

- Capacity within parties is problematic. With party activists on the ground being

pulled in every direction, there may not be enough people to have strong teams of party agents in place. Each party will need between 1 000 and 10 000 party agents on election day, so their inability at times to field the required eight to 10 participants at each workshop raises doubts about parties' capacity on a larger scale.

- Another concern is second-generation trainers. Each workshop aims to train participants as party agents and to equip them to train at least 100 other people. But those without prior training skills may find this difficult, despite a comprehensive trainer's manual.

- An interesting dynamic that bedevils any democratic process is the seemingly unbridgeable gap between a group of people who have gone through a process (such as multi-party negotiations) and those who have not. This is evident in the workshop programme, with the result that everyone gets on board only by the end of the programme.

There is only so much that can be done

before April 1994. The tragedy is that this type of programme should have been started two years ago. It could have been implemented in different stages and at various

***'The aim of the party training has been to take people through the spirit of the law and not the letter of the law. Party agents who resort to the law to tie each other up in knots will not contribute to free and fair elections'***

levels. The training of party agents should have been the culmination, not the starting point.

Still, some positive direction for the future has emerged. If there is to be a vibrant multi-party democracy in South Africa after the 1994 elections, specific attention must continue to be given to the development of multi-party programmes which enable the parties to compete vigorously and equally on the same playing field.

Alice Coetzee is a co-ordinator in Idasa's Pretoria office.

# Covert

Covert operations are "a necessary evil", it was asserted at an Idasa conference held in Pretoria recently, where security experts discussed the need to transform one of the ugliest aspects of the apartheid era. LOURENS ACKERMANN was there.

IT'S A MURKY AREA, hidden, mistrusted. Its players are hated, disliked even by their own, tolerated by their masters only because they are necessary, their very existence embodying the failure of politics. This is covert operations, subject of a November conference organised by Idasa at the Espada Ranch east of Pretoria.

The conference addressed both the abuses of the past and the future role of covert operations in a democratic South Africa. As a result the field covered was broad, embracing the ethics of covert operations, international perspectives, propaganda and more. Case studies were examined: Eric Mntonga, Chris Hani, Matthew Goniwe ..., the list goes on and on, a shameful reminder that the history of South Africa, certainly of the last two decades, can be told through the names of assassinated leaders.

Are covert operations necessary, especially in a democracy? Yes. There was little or no disagreement on this. Is it a sphere that can be controlled, made accountable? Yes, perhaps; and no - here there was a lot more disagreement.

ANC security adviser and former Operation Vula agent Moe Shaik, commenting in his personal capacity on a question from the floor, described covert operations as "a necessary evil" over which "there must be control, and accountability".

This remark provoked a shake of the head from General Hein du Toit, former chief of Military Intelligence, who was sharing the floor with Shaik, Carel Boshoff junior (Afrikaner Vryheidstigting), Jan Munnik (Police Reporting Officer for the Wits/Vaal region) and Sally Sealy (Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression) for a panel discussion on policy formulation.

"Covert operations are our efforts to influence events in other countries. They are deniable and unattributable. This is the quintessential nature of these operations, and why they are done in secret. Accountability is anathema. The very reason for secrecy is that



FUNERAL: Triggered violence

IMVO ZABANTSUNDU

## Umtata father grieves

**For some people October's SADF raid in Umtata is over and almost forgotten. But for those it struck so viciously, the anger and pain linger on, says ZOLA SONDLLO.**

A GROUP of men armed with automatic rifles drive into Umtata under cover of night, their target: a house in Northrest that allegedly harbours Apla "terrorists".

They stop in front of the house, jump out of their vehicle and boot down the door. Guns fitted with silencers, the murderers pump 18 bullets into each of the five figures - not terrorists, but sleeping schoolchildren.

The South African Defence Force has struck again. The spirit of Rambo lives on.

Hours later, a man arrives home from a business trip to find the bodies of his children lying in pools of blood. His 12-year-old son has a bullet between his eyes. Carpets and clothes are soaked in blood.

The shocked father goes to his neighbours to spread the news. Soon a crowd gathers, murmuring angry thoughts. Relatives weep and, glimpsing the torn bodies, a young man curses, "bloody Boers".

At first greater Umtata seems calm, but as the news spreads tension rises and anything could trigger violence. That trigger proves to be the memorial service for the victims five days later.

On Wednesday, 13 October, as thousands leave the Independence Stadium after the memorial service, toyi-toying youths form

groups, their angry chants mounting as they move downtown. They stone cars belonging to whites and assault passengers.

Recalling that day, Liezl Baucher, who has lived in Umtata for more than 20 years said: "I was driving along when I saw the mob. I thought I had nothing to fear because I've been living here for years. But then rocks started hitting my car.

"My car stalled and the crowd surrounded me. I was pulled out and beaten. Some people pulled my hair and others stoned me." She was saved by the arrival of police.

"I bear no grudges," said Baucher. "I understand people's anger."

Since the Umtata massacre, white business people are tense. They signed a petition protesting against the raid and said they abhorred the actions of the South African government.

But they also abhorred the destruction of their property by angry youths who smashed windows and looted businesses.

When looting broke out, police were at first restrained and fired only warning shots. Looters would disperse, then regroup and the smashing and looting would begin again.

The police, one suspects, must have felt that had they taken drastic measures, they would have been accused of serving the "settler regime". Eventually teargas was fired and the Transkei Defence Force was deployed to disperse looters.

Yes, a measure of normality has returned to Umtata. But a father still grieves for his children.

Zola Sondlo is a freelance journalist based in the Transkei.



# ops 'a necessary evil'



Moe Shaik



Hein du Toit



Jan Munnik



Sally Sealey

HEINER FRANKENFELD, Sunlight

it facilitates denial," he said.

However, this does not mean that covert operations have no place in a democracy. The question is rather what their place should be - a question debated in an effort to formulate a new doctrine.

Covert operations have no place within the borders of a country, according to General Du Toit. He said the culture of manipulation and intervention in domestic policy developed in the South African Defence Force over the years was the result of hijacking by dominant personalities (read Magnus Malan and PW Botha) who ignored the laws setting out the parameters for permissible action.

The general was supported by Annette Seegers (University of Cape Town), who spoke on the ethics of covert operations in South Africa. She said that the military should never be used in action against fellow citizens.

"Be they right-wing, left-wing, communist, fascist - they are, for better or worse, our communists, fascists and miscreants who are entitled to protection not persecution from their military." It is an indication of the extent to which the continued misuse of the state apparatus in South Africa has blurred these lines that Seegers's point seemed a fresh and

original one.

Beyond South African borders, the policy of destabilising frontline states such as Angola, Zimbabwe and especially Mozambique, cost \$45 billion (R148 billion) and half a million lives, according to a 1989 Commonwealth statistic. This year, according to Max Coleman of the Human Rights Commission, R6 billion - nine percent of the national budget - was allocated to secret funds about which the public know nothing.

What does one do? Rocky Williams of the Military Research Group argued that political mechanisms are insufficient for coping with covert operations because there is always a limit to the oversight that is possible, a precarious balance between control and efficacy. However, formal structures are a beginning, he said.

Intelligence oversight committees can perform a monitoring function. Legislation such as the Freedom of Information Act in the United States allows the public limited access, but access nevertheless, to the kind of information currently "classified" in South Africa.

Then there is the important issue of budget oversight. The German parliament exerts financial control over the military by means of a committee, composed of a representative

from each party in the Bundestag, which is empowered to review the security budget.

Alone, such measures are insufficient, however. They are premised on a particular political will, one which sees civil government and all its culture, not the military, as the proper way to govern.

Part of the problem is one of definition. When does intelligence gathering become dirty tricks? What separates covert operations from clandestine operations. According to David Shuter (Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, London), whose address to the conference sketched an international perspective, covert operations are not different in type but only in degree from normal politics.

Most intelligence is not collected on dark street corners from hard-eyed strangers with drooping cigarettes and upturned collars, but from publicly available material. Eighty percent of all intelligence can be debated in parliament. What distinguishes military intelligence is the effort put into it.

Shuter acknowledged the tendency, helped along by film and fiction, to romanticise as well as demonise spy organisations. However, he said secrecy was of dubious use - "its own punishment as well as its own reward" - and stressed that it stands in natural opposition to the culture of democracy.

In his presentation entitled "Defining National Security", Laurie Nathan (Centre for Intergroup Studies) expanded on this theme, pointing out that one person's threat is another's security. Ironically, attempts at shoring up security often led to perpetual insecurity, as South Africa demonstrated well.

Nathan urged a broader definition of

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## 'Third force' threat haunts delegates

THE Goldstone Commission pronounced that the evidence presented to it was insufficient to prove the existence of a "third force". While this may have been the necessary legal approach to a disputed question of fact, it is wholly inadequate in the face of the realities of Natal and the Transvaal's East Rand.

So far the commission is the only official body to have said anything on the issue. That it is still a bugbear was clear at the conference on covert operations. Whatever the

topic of the session, speakers would return to it time and time again.

The Goldstone Commission came under heavy fire but was equally hotly defended. Defenders of the commission stressed that it could make findings only on the basis of the facts placed before it. They emphasised also that the commission was limited by its terms of reference.

The commission itself has not closed the book on the issue of a third force, however. "The jury is still out on the third force," it

has said.

Like covert operations, the notion of a third force does not fit into a neat definition, nor is it monolithic.

Rocky Williams (Military Research Group) sees the third force in South Africa as a compound of Military Intelligence, Special Forces, 32 Battalion, the homeland armies of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, political parties (from right to

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## Covert ops 'a necessary evil'

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security or, to be more accurate, a move away from the notion that security is only state-centric. Threats to security could come in the form of poverty, injustice and oppression. Territorial integrity was but one aspect of state security, albeit an important one.

Another problem with covert operations is that often they are started neatly but soon gain their own messy momentum. Their existence can justify their need to exist.

After the end of the Cold War all secret services had to readjust – the angst at having an enemy is always only slightly greater than the angst at not having one.

Who is the enemy now? One has existing structures, therefore there must be an enemy. Make one.

This logic is far from ludicrous. Large portions of any country's security service depend on a threat to keep their jobs. It becomes tempting to manufacture one, or at least to exaggerate the existing one. This threat becomes hard to assess in the sober light of day because of the secrecy which surrounds it, and immediately one is back in what seems to be the perpetual circle that is part of covert operations.

"Necessary murder" was how WH Auden described the Spanish Civil War. Poets don't make good securocrats, this is true, and romantics should be kept far from the levers of power.

But, allowing that covert operations are necessary, what can be done to preserve the new South Africa from the excesses and aberrations such operations seem to trail in their wake?

Differences of definition and framework aside, there was all-round agreement at the conference on one issue: without a healthy political culture all will fail. The character that covert operations take in a society is shaped by the political philosophy of a handful of individuals. Enormous trust is placed in them and the process of their selection is of the utmost importance. The next conference on covert operations needs to deal with this issue.

The conference, sponsored by the Naumann Foundation, was organised in conjunction with Lawyers for Human Rights, the Centre for Human Rights at the University of Pretoria, the Military Research Group and the Human Sciences Research Council.

Lourens Ackermann is a freelance journalist based in Johannesburg.

## Any Smileys out there?

CAN one speak of ethics in relation to covert operations? They seem in opposition. The covert involves concepts like "plausible denial"; the ethical is truthful – "transparent" in the political jargon.

Whatever they may be in fact, fictional spies and spy stories continue to fascinate large numbers of readers. When they emanate from a corrupt system like apartheid, however, such tales are often one-dimensional, the intrigue centred around the lengths to which some will go in order to stay in power.

In the democracy that we are inching towards the tales – and the issues, ethical or otherwise – become more complex. Good people may be doing bad things for a good cause. According to the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting's Carel Boshoff junior, it is not the morality of covert operations but the morality of the state protected by them that is the issue.

Annette Seegers (University of Cape Town) asserted in her address on "Ethics and Covert Operations" that the covert operatives of this world are a homeless species, hunted by the enemy, rejected by their own. The result is a sub-culture in which they clubbishly gather together for support.

The Hammer Unit which was active in the Eastern Cape is a case in point. Sam Sole of *The Sunday Tribune*, who spoke on "The Hammer Unit and the Goniwe Murders", characterised the unit as an "old boys' club" whose members looked out for each other, living in their own world according to their own rules.

### Third force

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left) and disaffected individuals. Its composition may be nebulous, but its consequences are cruelly specific. It has claimed thousands of lives. Is there a pattern to the killings? Yes, says the Human Rights Commission's Max Coleman. He says they are part of a strategy of internal destabilisation, a covert operation of unprecedented proportions that has left 12 000 dead and 20 000 injured.

Ninety percent of the violence in South Africa is in Natal and the East Rand. Ninety percent of the violence in the East Rand is in

This is the world of the circular argument. The national security of the state is under threat. What is the national security? We can't tell you or it would not be secure.

The conference itself was an example of this conundrum. Those who know, like former police captain Dirk Coetzee, an invited



MORALITY: Carel Boshoff jr.

speaker, did not pitch up. Others will not come forward. The speculation of the ignorant must continue as best it can.

Much of the time covert operations are run by ideologues and executed by thugs. Sometimes, but rarely, one has a good person doing a thankless job. Such is spy writer John le Carré's George Smiley. South Africa has had more than its share of thugs and Red-under-every-bed ideologues. Are there any Smileys out there willing to do the job?

Kathlehong or Tokhosa. It is that focused.

Flare-ups have coincided with breakthroughs in negotiations: the Pretoria Minute saw 709 people dead in August 1990; figures dropped until the referendum in March 1992 – 437 dead; the toll then diminished but rose sharply with the announcement of an election date in July this year.

How does one close the gap between the legal standard of proof beyond a reasonable doubt and the ongoing reality of murder in the townships? John Carlin, correspondent for the British newspaper, *The Independent*, said there is "circumstantial evidence that by sheer weight turns into proof".

# Experts quibble as right wing grows

**Racism in Germany is mounting again, leaving 10 people dead in neo-Nazi attacks against 'foreigners' in the past two years. But the government and experts are divided on how severe the problem is, Cape Town reporter REHANA ROSSOUW found during a recent trip to Germany.**

**"NEVER again!"** vowed the survivors of the Holocaust after Allied forces liberated them from Nazi concentration camps in Germany in 1945.

Yet less than 50 years later, an atrocity was once again committed by Nazi sympathisers at a German concentration camp. Last October, two youths vandalised the Sachsenhausen concentration camp memorial in Oranienburg, north of Berlin, seriously damaging a museum depicting Jewish suffering in the camp.

Both were acquitted by a German judge who ruled that there was insufficient evidence to prove they had been motivated by ideological beliefs.

The arson attack and acquittal has raised the question of whether the Germany the world despised during the Third Reich is on the rise again.

The world watched in horror in September last year when a xenophobic mob went on the rampage in Rostock against a hostel for asylum seekers. "Germany for the Germans - foreigners out!" was their cry.

A Turkish woman and two girls, aged 14 and 10, died in November last year when their Hamburg home was set alight by neo-Nazis. But while political commentators and human rights activists in Germany called for severe action to counter the rise of neo-Nazi racist attacks, the government, the courts and the police were sending out a different message.

After the deaths of 10 people in racist attacks in the past three years, police units dealing with right-wing extremism increased their strength - from 20 to a total of 60 officers throughout Germany.

They maintain that neo-Nazi groups are not as much of a threat as the left-wing terrorists of the 1970s.

Professor Hajo Funke, author of three



books on German racism, including an examination of the Rostock attacks, believes the problem is more serious.

"There have been a lot of attempts to overcome Germany's Nazi past, but there has been a lot of denial too," Funke said. "In the 1950s, when there was an upsurge in racist attacks, we had to face our heritage and admit we could learn some lessons by empathising with minorities and oppressed people."

"But after the unification of east and west Germany in 1989, because of the resultant economic and cultural problems, the right became more aggressive and violent than ever before."

The attacks on asylum seekers in Rostock clearly illustrated that German racism has its roots in the socio-economic misery - especially of the youth - caused by the political and cultural transformation process in Germany.

The old authority structures of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) collapsed and were not replaced by new social structures or norms. "People in the east were expecting change orientated to social welfare but quite the contrary was experienced," Funke said. "What they saw was domination by the west, politically and economically."

"People were stripped of their power at a time when they wanted a stake in their everyday affairs. Among parts of the population there have always been latent anti-foreigner sentiments."

Funke places the blame squarely on the German government for bringing these sentiments to the fore by raising the problem of asylum seekers in the months prior to the Rostock rampage.

While at least half of all asylum seekers faced a real threat to their lives in their countries back home, and most experienced serious economic hardship, politicians claimed that only five percent qualified for asylum.

"This gave the public the impression that 100 percent of the asylum seekers were liars and were after money that rightly belonged to Germans."

Funke said Rostock clearly indicated "state-based racism". The violence could have been averted if the government had had the political will to do so.

The asylum seekers were moved from Rostock two days after the violence - indicating that action was possible.

Germany's "new fascists" behind the violence at Rostock were young people - skin-heads, neo-Nazi groups and thugs.

"They should have been prosecuted immediately afterwards, but again there was a lack of political will to do so," Funke said. "No-one served time in prison after Rostock."

Funke said he did not believe facism would gain majority support in Germany again as the right-wingers were being forced to operate in a democratic system.

Although the German constitution allows for neo-Nazi groups to be prohibited, there was reluctance to do this as it would force these groups underground and the police would find it difficult to ascertain their intentions and their strength.

"We have to fight this problem as democrats; we are not the Weimar Republic," Funke said.

Dr Dieter Roth, of the Institute for Political Research and Electoral Behaviour, agreed that right-wing attitudes had remained latent in Germany for 40 years but were beginning to make an impact in the polls.

The institute has recorded a swing to the right in the states of Hamburg and Baden Wittenburg.

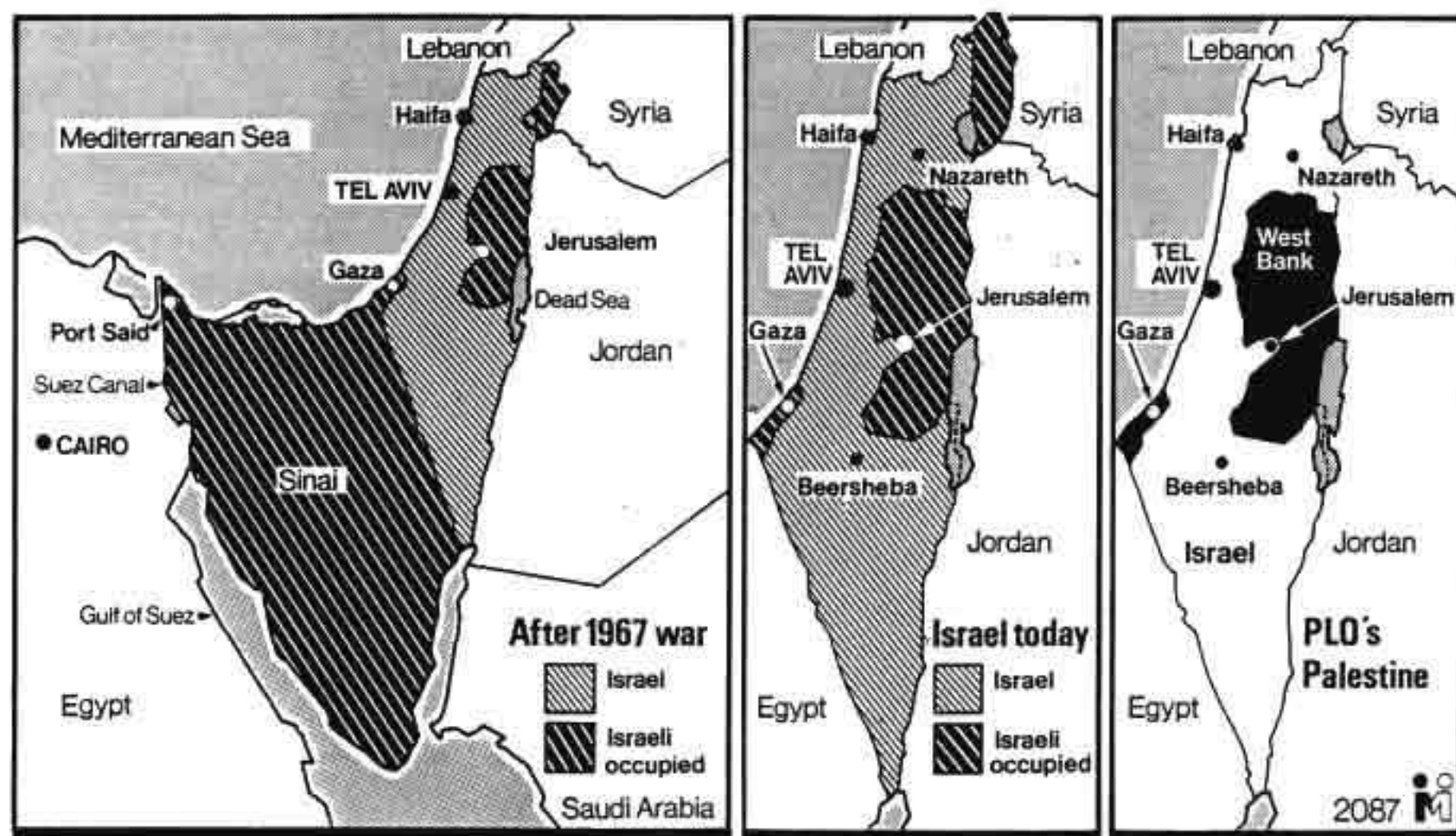
"We have noticed that people usually vote for the right-wing party they think is most successful. They don't really care about the name," Roth said.

"We also know for a fact that two-thirds of votes going to the right-wing are protest votes, from people who are frustrated with the establishment parties."

Rehana Rossouw is a journalist in Cape Town.

# Israel give

**TWENTY** South Africans from organisations involved in electoral issues recently spent two weeks in Israel at the invitation of the Israeli government. They found that most Israelis support the peace process under way in their country, IDASA staffer Geoff Brown told SHIREEN BADAT.



**A** CLOSE look at the Israeli electoral and political system, rather than the peace process, was the main purpose of a recent visit there by a group of South Africans.

The Matla Trust, the Independent Mediation Service of South Africa, the Consultative Business Movement, the ANC and Azapo were among organisations who sent representatives on the visit, which coincided with nation-wide municipal elections for mayors and city councillors.

The South Africans found that, despite party differences, most Israelis support the peace process. It was clear that the elections served as an unofficial referendum on the peace process initiated by PLO leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli premier Yitzhak Rabin.

The Israeli electoral system is similar to the one in which South Africans will participate on 27 April. "It was very interesting to observe how proportional representation worked in practice," Brown said.

The South Africans met Israelis from across the political spectrum - from the Labour Party to the conservative Likkud Party, from the Israeli Communist Party and the Arab Democratic Party. As a result they heard a range of Israeli opinion on how proportional representation has worked for the past 30 years.

A notable feature of the system is that it forces parties to form coalitions. The municipal elections offered a concrete example.

In Tel Aviv prior to the election, the Likkud Party formed an alliance with the far left against the Labour Party. Likkud went on to win five seats as well as the mayoral seat. But Labour won 10 seats. The Likkud mayor then formed an alliance with the Labour Party in order to have a strong council.

"The similarity with South Africa in this respect is very great," Brown said. "We have already agreed to the principle of coalition. The major political players are committed to a government of national unity and we are bound to have the same type of appearance."

"In parliament it will be interesting to observe, especially among the smaller parties, the constant alliance shifts that will occur on issues ranging from defence policies to the building of roads."

The South Africans learnt a number of important practical lessons in observing the election. The most important thing was that in order for an election to be a success, the parties need to be well prepared - both technically and politically.

But this does not mean the election has to be very sophisticated. The group visited a voting station set up in the sick bay of a local school. The polling booth was a simple

wooden structure, and very simple voter information material was used.

The only sophisticated elements observed were, firstly, the Independent Election Commission which monitored the campaign and polling round the clock. High-tech computer equipment made it possible for the commission to know how many people had voted at any given time. It was also possible to monitor whether additional material was required at any of the polling stations.

Secondly, the political parties also had a sophisticated communication arrangement which helped them to ensure that voters got to the polls. There were 3 500 party workers, each equipped with a cellular phone.

"This is very important in the South African context. Even though parties may have popular support, it is imperative that they get people to the polls on the actual voting day," Brown said.

In Israel parties were able to monitor voting patterns on the day by means of the voters' roll. In the absence of a voters' roll in South Africa, good communication systems will be all the more vital.

Brown said the most impressive fact of the election was that there had only been one and a half percent spoilt papers. "This is clearly as a result of the political maturity of the Israeli people," he said.

# Waste of coalition politics

## Kibbutzim, unions and 'demo corner'

How democratic is Israel?  
GEOFF BROWN responds.

ISRAEL is a mature, well-developed democracy. Israelis enjoy freedom and a vibrant civil society exists where a great deal of lobbying, facilitation and education for democracy takes place. Among Israeli citizens there is a noticeable degree of equality.

Some 80 percent of the population belongs to trade unions. Unions own 20 percent of the national economy. Kibbutzim, where people live communally in a system guided by socialist principles, own 20 percent of the national economy.

*'There is a vast discrepancy between Israeli and Palestinian standards of living'*

It is an exciting, vibrant political system to which the people of Israel are very committed. People participate actively in political life and membership of political parties is vital. A 24-hour demonstration corner exists under the bedroom window of the prime minister's residence for whoever has gripes with government policies.

But there is no doubt Palestinians have been given a bad deal by the Israelis. For instance, there is a vast discrepancy between Israeli and Palestinian standards of living. East Jerusalem, occupied by Palestinians, has a very poor infrastructure compared to the west side of the city, where the Israelis live.

However, Palestinians are not a majority in Israel and therefore cannot expect much say in government.

We visited the Gaza Strip as well as the Occupied Territories. The distorted economies of these Palestinian areas were clear to



Yitzhak Rabin



Yasser Arafat

see. The peace agreement between Israel and the PLO commits the Israeli government to a policy of economic compensation to help re-establish these economies.

A political adviser to Yasser Arafat whom we met said the PLO had no choice but to enter into negotiations with the Israeli government. The PLO no longer had the stamina nor the capacity to continue the armed struggle.

He likened the agreement signed between Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin to our Groote Schuur Minute, in which the two main players acknowledged each other's existence. The intifada continues, however, and this is very similar to mass action campaigns waged in South Africa.

*'The Israeli Defence Force runs democracy education courses for army personnel'*

The PLO believes that the peace process in Israel is very significant to peace in the rest of the Middle East and that the signing of the accord will have a peaceful spill-over effect. Already it seems likely that Israel and Syria will conclude an agreement over the Golan Heights by the end of December.

The South African group visited the Israeli Democratic Institute, which is very similar to IDASA. The institute facilitates seminars which in turn inform state policy. We also visited the Adam Institute, a training centre for civic education and democracy workshops.

An eye-opener was the democracy unit in the Israeli Defence Force. A full-time unit staffed by army officers, it runs democracy education courses for army personnel. It was also strange for the South Africans to meet colonels and other high-ranking officers in the Israeli Defence Force who are members of the Communist and Marxist parties.

There is no doubt that Israel has been an aggressor and that its role in the Middle East has left much to be desired. But there is a lot that South Africans can

learn from Israel, not only because of the similarity between our electoral and political systems but also because of the vibrancy of Israeli civil society.

## IDASA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IDASA is a national organisation committed to the development of a culture of democracy and human rights in South Africa. It seeks to be a critical ally of the transition to a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country.

Applications are invited for the post of Executive Director. The successful applicant will be expected to give dynamic and innovative leadership to the organisation during and beyond the transition. As such, s/he will have an academic background with a significant track record in sound and effective management with tried and tested administrative skills. An intimate knowledge of the socio-economic political situation in South Africa is essential if the responsibilities of this post are to be carried out successfully.

As the senior staff person in IDASA, s/he will be directly responsible for public relations and fund-raising and therefore will be in regular touch with social, economic and political leaders in South Africa as well as those in the international community.

In accordance with the style and culture of IDASA, the successful applicant will respect team work and consultation within and without the organisation. S/he will be based at the national office in Cape Town and will be expected to travel within South Africa and overseas. S/he will report to the board of trustees. An attractive salary package, including medical aid, provident fund and transport, is offered to the successful applicant.

**Applications, in writing only, should be sent to:**  
**Dr Alex Boraine**  
**IDASA**  
**1 Penzance Rd**  
**Mowbray 7700**

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## IDASA IN ACTION



TRAINING TRAINERS: Teachers at a Natal workshop.

## Teachers help with voter education

THE Training Centre for Democracy's schools programme is based on the simple philosophy "if you train a teacher, you train the community".

During October and November the schools programme team trained at least 200 teachers on how to conduct voter education workshops. The workshops were held in the Eastern Transvaal, Natal, Karoo and Pretoria and the team will soon be heading to Kimberley and to the Northern Transvaal.

Teachers were targeted to do voter education in their communities as they already have some training in teaching and they often play significant roles in community-based structures.

The centre's non-partisan approach makes it possible to train teachers who are affiliated to various political parties. The strength of this "training of trainers" programme is that trainers are equipped with skills to be able to produce their own voter education programmes.

They are trained to develop programmes in a way that



INSTRUCTING: Idasa's Lufuno Nevhutalu leads a schools programme workshop.

meets the needs of the audience using cheap materials and resources. This involves training trainers in needs analysis skills, setting of programme objectives, selecting appropriate programme content and how to use various presentation methods.

At the end of the course teachers are not only skilled to run effective voter education programmes, but are also able to use the acquired skills in their classrooms.

Lufuno Nevhutalu  
Tutor, Training Centre for  
Democracy

## Future of civil society in the spotlight

By VASANTHA  
ANGAMUTHU

AS THE election approaches the long history of co-operation between the African National Congress and organisations of civil society may be coming to an end. Juggling is taking place within civil society which could see either the emergence of a strong, independent movement of non-governmental organisations or their collapse into the ANC.

Some organisations – among them the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the South African Democratic Teachers' Union and the South African National Civics' Organisation – have pledged allegiance to the ANC. Others who argue strongly for strong and independent organs of civil society say structures like the United Democratic Front played a role outside of government to challenge it and to act as a pressure group.

At a conference hosted by Idasa last month, to discuss the role of civic society in the recon-

struction of Natal/KwaZulu, several speakers attempted to define civil society.

Idasa's Alex Boraine said civil society was broader than the individual or the family, but different from the state. He said civil society played a significant part in the development and maintenance of democracy.

In South Africa the development of civil society was emphasised because apartheid had kept the majority outside mainstream political life. While there was agreement that there was a need for a rich and vigorous civil society, concern was expressed that the drift of leadership from the civil society sector into government was weakening civil society.

Boraine said there was a critical need for civil society to continue as there was no guarantee that the election will secure the democracy for which people have been fighting.

"Civil society must be transparent, accountable and stand against political abuse of power at the local, regional and national levels."

Boraine said: "In South Africa, largely due to the history of oppression where the overwhelming majority have been denied access to democratic institutions, people have sought alternative means to participate in the process.

"This has resulted in the formation of youth groups, civic bodies, women's groups and church organisations which became a much more important area of participation in democracy."

One of the fears expressed at the conference was that as people move towards democratic elections with representative government the role of civil society could diminish.

Boraine said that while civil society was beginning to see some of its work shrinking, it still had a vital role to play after elections. "Civil society has to stake out its territory."

Jeya Wilson of the Democratic Party said an independent and vibrant civil society was essential because "democracy is too important to be left to the politicians". He

said the ANC had to resolve the problem of having organised labour as one of its partners.

Inkatha Freedom Party national spokesperson Ziba Jiyane said the ANC's programmes had collapsed civil society into political society. "It has to be uncoupled if we want truly liberal democracy."

The ANC agreed that civil society must be independent of the state. ANC regional executive member Mike Sutcliffe said there must be a dynamic relationship between the state and civil society.

Working groups at the conference explored ways of protecting South Africa's future civil society. Their proposals included the election of an interim Natal working group, which would include organisations involved in the various sectors of public life – education, health, rural areas, law, arts and culture, urban society, the environment, religion and welfare.

(With acknowledgement to *The Daily News*)

By FAWZIA MOODLEY

## One in three wants to 'escape' SA

A MOOD of despondency has gripped all sections of the country's population with one in three South Africans wanting to "escape". Whites try to do so by emigrating while blacks become withdrawn and inactive.

This picture was painted by independent researcher Jannie Hofmeyr at an Idasa lunch in Durban recently.

Hofmeyr, who warned that further delays in a political settlement would worsen the situation, was nevertheless hopeful that matters would improve as the election drew closer.

His findings were based on research conducted among more than 1 000 respondents countrywide in July, after the death of ANC leader Chris Hani

– the lowest point on the political barometer of the country. Hofmeyr said that for a "short period after 1990" there had been strong support for non-racialism in the country, but now the "goodwill has gone".

There was a re-emergence of racial stereotypes with whites believing that blacks were backward and incapable of ruling the country, and blacks feeling that whites were selfish and unwilling to change. He also found a shift away from a desire for "nationhood to narrow self-interest", as evident in right-wing threats of civil war.

Hofmeyr said there was now "absolute tension" between productive and counter-productive forces in the country.

He warned that the only way to save the country was through strengthening of the "middle group" that was still committed to forging a peaceful future.

Among the factors that would militate against "nation building" was the high degree of alienation among 41 percent of the African population. This group was "highly alienated, sensation seeking, aggressive" and had no commitment to racial harmony.

Another stumbling block would be 27 percent of whites – ranging from potential supporters of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging to Hell's Angels type of groupings. This percentage was strongly "anti-establishment" and aggressive.

A sizeable 41 percent of all South Africans felt alienated, Hofmeyr warned, saying that this made conditions ripe for chaos – "unless the process of transition is quick".

On the other hand, a significant 28 percent of all groups were still strongly committed to the process of change and about 18 percent were "concerned and ready to act constructively".

Hofmeyr said that under the current state of despondency "inspirational language rings hollow" and even people like Archbishop Desmond Tutu would not be able to inspire "the will to be active".

(With acknowledgement to *Natal Post*)



# OUR COMMITMENT



# TO PEACE



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**Photos:** • Music therapy programmes aim at helping relieve the trauma in communities caught up in unrest and violence. • Bringing tomorrow's leaders together today by promoting mutual understanding and respect. • Combating hunger and poverty through grassroots development skills.

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We believe the vision of a nation at peace, with hope for the future is possible if people work together to ensure that basic human needs are met.



Tens of thousands of people have benefited from programmes which have been developed in partnership with our local communities.

CREATING A BALANCE

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## Conference brings 'hope for a new society'

THE "Conference on Peace, Development and Democracy" organised by Idasa's Western Cape office turned out to be a conference with a difference. The theme seemed conventional enough, but the way that it was approached gave conference participants a greater understanding of how these issues affect their lives.

The conference aimed to explore what peace, democracy and development mean to people at local level and to examine the challenges of making the three a reality in a city divided by apartheid. Participants came from across the Cape Peninsula.

The emphasis of the conference was on encouraging participants to interact with each other and explore the conference themes in an active way. They were divided into small groups, each with a facilitator, and group work took place before and after each plenary session. In the three plenary sessions, speakers were asked to speak from their personal experiences.

The plenary session on peace followed work in small groups which focused on identifying what threatened peace in par-



*GRAPHIC MESSAGE: Students at the Cape Technikon, under the guidance of graphic arts lecturer Doret Ferreira, created this mural on a wall of the Idasa Western Cape office in Observatory, Cape Town.*

ticipants' communities, and what they and their organisations could do to build peace. The neglected issue of domestic violence was part of this exploration.

The session on development began with participants trying to understand what development means, in general and to them as individuals. Among the issues addressed by speakers were the challenges of development, including building a common vision, identifying priorities and proper processes, and developing appropriate institutions.

Delegates heard a personal account of the Atlantis Forum,

and an account of the difficulties facing a black woman trying to be an entrepreneur in the Cape tourism industry. There was also a speaker from the Development Strategy Commission of the Western Cape Economic Development Forum who spoke about the vision the forum had for the Western Cape.

The last session on democracy focused on developing a common understanding and definition of democracy. Fortunately the conference was well-timed and speakers were able to reflect on the latest agreements at the World Trade Centre.

Evaluating the event at its close, participants said they felt that the discussions had been real, practical and relevant, and that important issues such as domestic violence had been placed firmly on the agenda. They also felt that it was extremely important for Idasa to continue this kind of work, and to hold similar conferences and workshops in their communities.

As one group put it: "The conference gave us hope for a new society and the challenges facing us."

**Michelle Booth**  
Regional Office Co-ordinator

## OFS education forum a success story

ONE of the most successful processes in the "forum industry" is the Orange Free State Education Forum, which has been looking at how to restructure education in the province.

The forum, which has been meeting on a quarterly basis for the past three years, held its third annual general meeting in Bloemfontein on 19 November.

It has focus groups dealing

with specific areas - such as post-secondary education, primary and secondary education and pre-school education.

Good progress has been made towards the unification of education departments in the region. In the non-formal sector, co-operation between teacher development organisations has been improved.

At the November meeting,

the forum reflected on its legitimacy and inclusiveness. Community organisation representatives said they were concerned that the adoption of a regional system of government would mean education would become an important regional responsibility.

As a result, the forum needed to be transformed, using the principles used by

the National Education and Training Forum (NETF).

It was suggested that the forum consider the immediate issues that require attention in the short term, like those relating to the 1994 school year.

Early next year, the forum will explore a more formal relationship with the NETF.

**Teboho Loate**  
Regional Manager

## Community policing under scrutiny

TWO CONTRASTING areas – the industrialised, strife-torn Vaal and more rural, peaceful Eastern Transvaal – were the focus of two recent workshops on “community policing” in which Idasa played a role.

They followed an earlier national workshop attended by national, regional and local politicians, police, peace workers and community workers. Idasa Transvaal was asked by the National Peace Secretariat and a sub-committee of the Police Board to help organise this workshop.

Participants agreed that such forums should be repeated at regional and local level. The aim would be to identify problems in community-police relations and to look for solutions.

The political dynamics in the Vaal and Eastern Transvaal are very different. The Vaal – which includes the townships of Boipatong, Sebokeng and Sharpeville – has seen months of conflict, largely between the ANC and IFP, with “third force” theories and allegations of police involvement.

In the Eastern Transvaal, there is less violence but the right wing seems to be a greater threat. Though Kangwane and KwaNdebele are complicating factors, the Eastern Transvaal has, by means of regional political and economic forums, achieved much regional co-operation.

At both workshops, participants were asked to list their problems. Allowing for differences in emphasis and regional particularities, the two lists were almost identical.

Community perceptions of the police included the views that they are:

- Racist and partisan;
- Prone to misconduct (brutality, torture and excessive force during interrogation, bribery and corruption, sexual harassment, even drunkenness



*LEARNING TO LISTEN: Participants of the Eastern Transvaal police-community workshop.*

on duty);

- Prone to a lack of transparency and accountability to the community;

- Slow to respond, unhelpful and weak on criminal investigation;

Many of these issues were traced back to inadequate and inappropriate police training, and lack of resources within the SAP (and, in the Eastern Transvaal, the Kangwane and KwaNdebele police forces).

Community representatives felt strongly about the presence of the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) in townships and the lack of control of local station commanders.

Another problem raised was the lack of higher-ranking officers who could represent and communicate with communities. In the entire Eastern Transvaal there are no black officers.

In both workshops, problems were urgently raised by participants from black communities where experience of the police had mostly been negative.

The police also listed problems they faced in dealing with communities, and again it seemed that these were not

confined to particular areas.

Often cited was intolerance and hostility towards the police, resulting in a lack of co-operation during criminal investigations. At times community leaders who had established a measure of co-operation with the police did not communicate this sufficiently to their communities.

In the Vaal, political conflict within communities and the availability of firearms were raised as serious obstructions to improving policing and police-community relations.

At the root of most problems was the fundamental lack of trust, and the resulting lack of communication, between police and communities.

Broader social problems such as unemployment, poverty and general ignorance about criminal procedure, police procedure and human rights created a context in which odds were stacked against the improvement of relations between the police and black communities.

But in both workshops the will to overcome the past was evident. After hours of listing problems and needs, participants were intent on finding solutions.

Problems as deep-rooted as these are not solved in the course of one, or even a series, of workshops. But certain issues were highlighted for more immediate attention.

In the Vaal, there was unanimous acceptance of the need for consultation forums between the police and community at local level. Other aims were to address problems on the ground, to consciously work on the issue of trust and attitudes, and to focus on the future rather than the past.

An interim facilitation committee was set up to co-ordinate the establishment of these forums in various parts of the Vaal Triangle and to liaise with peace structures in this regard.

The Eastern Transvaal workshop also emphasised the need for better communication between communities and the police. There was commitment from all parties to police-community consultation.

But members of the community delegations felt that certain contentious issues had to be resolved immediately, prior to the implementation of any process. They said the use of

## Show of unity on development

A MOTION proposed by the Pan-Africanist Congress, seconded by the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the Regional Services Council and unanimously accepted to spontaneous applause?

Wishful thinking? Not at all. This was the proposal for the Eastern Transvaal Regional Economic and Development Forum (REDF).

The launch had the support of the National Party, Inkatha, the Democratic Party, the African National Congress and the PAC. It also had the blessing of local business and labour interests, non-governmental organisations and conservationists from the Kruger National Park.

Idasa's Pretoria office was called in nearly two years ago to facilitate the process of investigating options. Behind the scenes lobbying, seemingly endless round-table interim steering committee discussions and sub-committees' delibera-

tions (on structure, principles, a work programme, and a *raison d'être*) came to fruition at the end of August.

And what is probably more amazing is that the state-sponsored, "illegitimate" Regional Development Advisory Council is closing down in favour of the REDF - with the approval of the powers that be.

Obviously many obstacles lie ahead. How does one define a work programme acceptable to the full range of stakeholders? Where does financing come from for an operation as large and important as this?

These and other issues are being faced head on. But the crunch for the continued success of the process lies in agreement on and implementation of a work programme. A workshop held on 21 and 22 September threw up ideas.

A job creation task group was created as a short-term structure. Ten longer-term task groups will focus on issues like tourism, agriculture, energy, housing, health and welfare. Conveners were appointed to all groups, and players who would have an interest in the topics or could make a contribution were identified.

From 31 December, all groups will have met at least once to strategise. Detailed briefs from the work programme workshop will guide each group and the REDF secretariat will co-ordinate working group activities.

Funding for the new REDF remains a priority, and looks promising. Close co-operation is also being forged with the National Economic Forum.

**Kerry Harris & Ivor Jenkins**  
Pretoria office

## From strength to strength

IDASA HAS grown significantly over the past two months, with a lot of new faces joining the team, and a couple of stalwarts moving to take up new positions.

In the Pretoria office a "come and vote" team will conduct voter education programmes in the region. It comprises Azikwelwa Mrobongwane, Edwin Molebale, Michael Matsena and Ephenia Oliphant.

Vivy Stavrou is the new co-ordinator of the Peace and Violence project in the Natal office. Vivy worked at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Rehabilitation at the University of Witwatersrand.

Langa Dhlomo, who recently returned from England where he was a volunteer psychologist, is the new regional training co-ordinator in the Natal office.

Following the closure of the East London office, Dumile Mzaidume has moved to the Training Centre for Democracy as administrator of the schools programme.

Jackie Davies, a BBC freelancer, has joined the Radio Project as production assistant.

The Western Cape office also has two new appointments. Pila Gcwabe has joined Idasa as secretary and Michelle Booth, a business and economics student, has been appointed office co-ordinator.

Vincent Williams, formerly a co-ordinator in the Western Cape office, has moved to the national office to take up the position of national systems manager. Vincent will be designing and overseeing systems in Idasa nationally.

A new face in the national finance department is Wesaal Dawood who has joined the team as accounts clerk.

### Policing

From Page 26

ISU, Askari and ex-Koevoet members in local police operations should be reconsidered. Information regarding their activities should be made available to political parties and community organisations.

A summit of regional leaders is planned for early December to look at the criminal justice system and criminal procedure, complaints procedures and human rights.

Police-community relations should take on new dimensions following the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council's subcouncil on Law and Order, Security and Stability. But to ensure that changes in community policing have long-term effects, the continuation of these forums at regional and local level is of vital importance.

**Bea Roberts**  
Regional co-ordinator

## E Cape forum getting there

THE FIRST plenary session of the Eastern Cape Regional Economic Development Forum, launched in February this year, was held in Port Elizabeth on 27 October.

The task of this forum is to help precipitate growth in the region, within the context of national and international economic developments, and to lay the foundation for sustained development.

The forum has established four working groups: transport, job creation, education, training and skills development, and housing and urban development. These are functioning well and the next task is to start two more groups: labour market and employment codes, and eco-tourism and rural development.

The forum is widely representative of the population of the Eastern Cape. The existing

working groups consist of at least one representative from organised business, political parties, regional and local government structures and civics. Additional members are appointed to working groups solely on the basis of their specialist knowledge and experience in a particular field.

The process is that members of working groups consult their constituencies before the group begins to formulate a programme of action. Programme proposals are tabled with the forum's management committee, and then go to a plenary session.

The idea is that the forum as a whole will then co-ordinate the input of the working groups, using this to generate a strategic plan and perspective for the region.

**Sandy Wren**  
Regional Co-ordinator

**JAZZ**, Toni Morrison, Picador, 1993, 229 pages, R37,99.

## Harlem's Shakespeare sings the blues

Judgment for a dozen years, and expecting its sweet relief any minute now".

It is "slow and smoky" music, it "loads up the air". "Come," it says, "come and do

**T**HIS is a sultry work. You can almost feel the heat that is at once climate, emotional temperature and sexual fever jumping off the pages. It is a book of pain and one of tenderness. Gothic suffering sits side by side with the mundane, with "stewmeat wrapped in butcher paper".

Barring the odd excursion to roots in the south, *Jazz* is set in Harlem in the 1920s, the place a *Cosmopolitan* review cited on the back cover calls "the seething, exotic capital of black America", the City that has captivated the mysterious narrator of *Jazz*:

"I'm crazy about this City. Daylight slants like a razor cutting the buildings in half. In the top half I see looking faces and it's not easy to tell which are people, which the work of stonemasons. Below is shadow where any blasé thing takes place: clarinets and lovemaking, fists and the voices of sorrowful women."

Here is another striking quality of the book: it is musical, poetic, dreamlike. The *Cosmopolitan* reviewer goes so far as to say "this is Shakespeare singin' the blues".

*Jazz* is the story, among much else, of Violet and Joe, who come to the City from

the Virginia countryside.

When *Jazz* opens Joe is "old. Really old. Fifty" (it is someone really young talking, of course) and he has fallen for an 18-year-old girl "with one of those deepdown, spooky loves that made him so sad and happy he shot her just to keep the feeling going".

Violet was so upset she went to the dead girl's funeral "to cut her dead face" but was thrown out of the church.

By **SHAUNA WESTCOTT**

All this spooky love and shooting takes place on the first page and in a sense the rest of the book elaborates a context for what "promised to be a mighty bleak household".

But the story moves on: another girl shimmies up the street, Violet invites her in "and that's how that scandalising threesome on Lenox Avenue began".

One of the many alluring threads in this work so densely thronged with images, with intoxicating language, is the nature of the music playing so dangerously through it. At least that's what the Miller sisters think of it, "having been looking for the Day of

wrong." It is music that has "something to do with the silent black women and men marching down Fifth Avenue to advertise their anger over two hundred dead in St Louis".

But the Miller sisters, sighing over their cups of Postum, know it for a sign of Imminent Demise, along with knees in full view and "lip rouge red as hellfire".

There are a thousand sub-themes, portraits, observations to consider in *Jazz*. Here's one:

"This notion of rest, it's attractive to her, but I don't think she would like it. They are all like that, these women. Waiting for the ease, the space that need not be filled with anything other than the drift of their own thoughts. But they wouldn't like it.

"They are busy and thinking of ways to be busier because such a space of nothing pressing to do would knock them down ... They fill their minds and hands with soap and repair and dicey confrontations because what is waiting for them, in a suddenly idle moment, is the seep of rage. Molten ... Or else, into a beat of time, and sideways under their breasts, slips a sorrow they don't know where from."

### LATEST FROM IDASA AND DAVID PHILIP PUBLISHERS

#### South Africa and the World Economy in the 1990s

Edited by Pauline H Baker, Alex Boraine and Warren Krafchik

With the lifting of sanctions, South Africa stands poised to emerge from years of economic isolation into a world undergoing dramatic transformation.

- **What patterns of trade and investment in the world at large will shape the external environment facing South Africa in the 1990s?**
- **What will make a developing country like South Africa internationally competitive in this decade?**
- **What role can international trade and investment play in spurring economic growth in South Africa?**

These are some of the questions that came under the spotlight at an international conference organised by IDASA and the Aspen Institute. *South Africa and the World Economy in the 1990s* explores these questions and provides essential reading for those wishing to understand emerging international economic trends and their implications for South and southern Africa.

**R54.95 incl Vat**

Order from Media Department, Idasa, 1 Penzance Rd, Mowbray 7700; Tel (021) 47-3127.

### IDASA NEW PUBLICATIONS

#### ■ Political Tolerance in SA: Role of the Media and Opinion-Makers

A symposium report comprising papers on this subject by media practitioners and political analysts including Oscar Dhlomo, Lawrence Schlemmer, Z B Molefe and Willem de Klerk. The symposium was presented in Cape Town in July by the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid in conjunction with Idasa and the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

Available free of charge

#### ■ TSHINTSHA Long live tolerance! R20 incl VAT

What do tolerance and democracy mean for teenagers in South Africa today? This booklet offers guidelines for discussion through a series of different scenarios dealing with parents and parties, boyfriends, girlfriends, fashions, political and cultural differences. The short stories can be read alone or used in classroom discussions or youth groups.

Compiled by Sue Valentine.

Order from: Media Department, Idasa, 1 Penzance Rd, Mowbray 7700; Tel (021) 47-3127.



# Children have rights too

By MOIRA LEVY

**A TROLLEY FULL OF RIGHTS**, by Resources Aimed at the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (Rapcan), Story Circle and the children of Cape Town, 1993, 32 pages, R6 (free to schoolchildren).

IT IS ALMOST incongruous that such a cheerful, even humorous, publication could deal so competently with a subject as grim as child abuse and neglect. But this is an unusual book, and it signals a first for Cape Town publishing.

Aimed at children, it's a beautifully illustrated comic book, written in rhyme and complete with a list of telephone numbers and addresses for children who need help.

It is a magical tale of friendship and fun, featuring Pumla and Gus and their new-found buddy, the homeless Boots. The three set off in a flying shopping trolley to scour the town in search of Children's Rights. What they find are abused and unhappy children, each with a tale to tell of neglect, corporal punishment, sexual harassment, homelessness, exploitation. The result - what amounts to a charter of children's rights.

"We need to be safe. We need food, health and home. Protect us, don't hurt us, our bodies are our own. Children need to learn and

They sit and talk. Gus dries a tear.  
A trolley and two boots appear,  
belonging to a little guy  
who says:



play. Treat us as people. Hear what we say." These are some of the demands from the children they meet, and, no doubt, from the children of Cape Town whom Rapcan helps.

As the nationally negotiated interim bill of rights and constitution take political centre-stage, this timely book reminds us that children's needs and concerns must also be met. It will surely be a valuable tool of empowerment to the many children who daily have to deal with adults who abuse the

His name is Boots, how did you guess?  
They tell him why they're in a mess.  
He listens closely, then says:



Yes! He knows! He sees it too!  
The unfair things big people do!



authority and trust placed in them; it's those adults, perhaps all adults, who should heed this reminder that children have rights too.

This book is being distributed free to schoolchildren. But Rapcan and Story Circle would appreciate donations to enable them to print it in Xhosa and Afrikaans. Donations should be sent to: Rapcan, 46 Sawkins Rd, Rondebosch 7700, tel: (021) 685-4103 or Story Circle, PO Box 3207, Cape Town 8000, tel: (021) 233-298.

By BARRY STREEK

**GOOD GOVERNANCE WORKSHOP**, compiled and edited by Willem van Vuuren. Available from 19 Buitekring, Stellenbosch 7600. R45 (W Cape), elsewhere R50.

THERE is nothing inherently progressive about decentralisation and it can co-exist quite happily with the absence of local democracy, Robert Cameron has warned.

With so much claptrap and romanticism about the democratic virtues of regionalism and local government, his warning, given in a paper at the "Democracy as Good Governance" workshop at the University of the Western Cape, was appropriate and timely.

The papers from the workshop, compiled and edited by Willem van Vuuren, provide an interesting and important record of the proceedings and should be analysed by anyone interested in the transition process.

Cameron, a political studies lecturer at the University of Cape Town, writes: "Local

## Regional 'claptrap' debunked

autonomy can quite feasibly operate in an autocratic environment; for example, in the United States, discrimination by southern sub-national units towards their black minorities led to greater federal control."

In clear and unambiguous language, he draws out the kind of issues which should certainly be on negotiating agendas. Despite the reservations about local autonomy, he points out:

- Decentralisation is a mechanism for overcoming the problems of the highly ineffective centrally controlled planning that has been used in many developing nations since independence.

- Decentralisation can reduce congestion at the centre and can cut through red tape.

- Decentralisation can allow greater politi-

cal and administrative penetration of national government policies in remote areas, where central government plans are often ignored or unknown to the local elite and where support of national development plans is often weak.

- The aim of many decentralisation programmes is to improve the living standards of the poor through the amelioration of poverty, inequality and material deprivation.

- Decentralisation can lead to the development of greater expertise among local governments.

- Decentralisation can offset the influence or control over development activities by conservative local elites who are lukewarm about national development policies and insensitive to the needs of the poor.

Cameron makes a powerful and well-argued case for decentralisation which also demonstrates that academic analysis need not be obscured by intellectual language and concepts. This, regrettably, is a shortcoming of many of the other papers in this collection.

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

## Send Idasa into the schools

I WISH to voice my concern that "Democracy in Action" is not reaching sufficient people; it's not reaching the roots of the grass. It has so much to say that is wise, pertinent and realistic, yet it is preaching only to the converted.

We have a semi-private, Catholic school for boys in Welkom. It is attended by children from pre-school to matric age, many of whom are not white. When I read Mteto Mzongwana's article, "What happened to the dreams of youth?" I thought how wonderful it would be if it could be read and debated by pupils of all races, but by whites in particular.

The entire magazine should be reaching our schools so that pupils can digest the content of articles such as "Ordinary people hold the key"; "No new role for the press"; "Guilty until proved innocent"; "Living in the shadow"; "We are what we speak," and one I found rather amusing, living as I do in this conservative province, "Free State students face the future".

Statistics given in Silas Zuma's speech would boggle the minds of most white pupils - and their teachers, for that matter.

Sue Valentine's article, "How will we learn tolerance?", may be a bit too "adult" for young people to understand, but it should be simplified and sent to schools countrywide.

She quotes Professor Lawrence Schlemmer as saying that "to appeal for political tolerance and an end to the violence was perhaps asking too much".

One must, of course, agree, but the level of tolerance of the disenfranchised masses never fails to amaze me. We need to acknowledge their capacity for forgiveness and thank them for it.

I suggest that principals invite Idasa members to address pupils at prize-givings.

I believe that "our white kids" are as removed from the burning issues affecting their black peers as they are from the man in the moon.

I know many white matriculants who are going on to some higher place of learning. Yet they have no conception of how and why they were able to reach their current levels of education. Nor do they realise that "more than a million black children have primary level education only ... and that each year some 350 000 either fail matric or don't receive an exemption to study further".

It cannot be said that our children are out

of touch with reality - they simply have never been in touch, for who was to teach them? Most of them do not even regard themselves as "privileged".

A black member of the South African National Civics Organisation once remarked to me that articles in DIA are written mainly by "insulated" whites.

He likened this to workers at the Department of Social Welfare and Child



Mzongwana

Welfare. Such people had never been - and would never be - poor, deprived, social outcasts, he maintained. It was impossible for them to relate to the people they were advising or trying to help. He said he did not wish to denigrate their work, but that "deep down they cannot identify with the wretched".

Still, I wonder, if there is not something I can do? Can I subscribe to your publication and pass it around to those I think should be reading it?

Ruby Moore  
Welkom

## Peace Secretariat responds

I REFER to the article "Peace needs more blacks" by Sobantu Xayiya. The general tone is critical of the national, regional and local peace accord structures.

While there may be some validity in certain of these criticisms, we think it appropriate that there should be a proper examination of the facts in relation to certain of the allegations.

The article states:

• "Regional and local structures seem to be teeming with white personnel."

We are not in a position to comment about the regional structures in the Western Cape, but in the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat 90 percent of the regional staff are black, while about 95 percent of staff in the local structures are black. We have 19 local peace committees, most of which are comprised of black people from the various communities which those local peace structures serve.

• "The objectives of the accord will not be achieved only by monitoring marches."

The Peace Accord structures in the Wits/Vaal region are involved in a variety of initiatives including monitoring, education and training, economic reconstruction and devel-

opment, conflict resolution and building peace initiatives on the ground. Monitoring makes up about 25 percent of activities of this region.

• "Deploying large contingents of white peace-keeping personnel in the townships reinforces the traditional interpretation that black people are fighting among themselves."

The monitoring forces of the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat are composed of about 98 percent black people and the monitors are drawn from the communities they serve.

We suggest that if there are criticisms to be made of a particular local committee, region or area in relation to the composition of its committees or regions, then the criticism should be directed at that particular quarter and not all the structures.

Peter Harris  
Regional Director

Wits Vaal Regional Peace Secretariat

*Editor's note - We welcome your information on the Vaal monitoring committee. However, Sobantu Xayiya's article concerned itself specifically with the Western Cape.*

## Bias towards Buthelezi

One of the goals stated by Idasa is the promotion of a democratic culture in South Africa. So I was shocked to see in the comment by Alex Boraine ("Last obstacles will test dedication, skill") in your October issue that Idasa has reverted to gutter politics by attacking Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

To refer to Buthelezi as "obdurate and obstinate" does not reflect the attitude of an unbiased democrat working for democracy.

I suggest Boraine salutes true leaders who do not doggedly fall backwards to accommodate the whims of so-called leaders just to be popular or for short-term gain.

As for the so-called loss of support for Buthelezi in the Natal/KwaZulu region, I suggest to Boraine that the real proof of the pudding lies in the eating. Use of cheap propaganda tricks to try and annihilate or belittle leaders simply does not carry weight anymore.

Mrs GI Bekker, Media Liaison for IFP Members of Parliament

*To offer a critical analysis is not to resort to "gutter politics". No-one in public life is sacrosanct. As far as popular support is concerned, the only way to determine this is for Chief Buthelezi and the IFP to participate fully in the election on 27 April 1994. - Alex Boraine.*

## 'A struggle that can be waged by everyone'

I ARRIVED at peace-keeping and non-violence by quite a different path to that taken by many other people. I was never a pacifist, I was never an advocate of non-violence, although in 1976 as a student I participated in non-violent protests against Bantu Education when many people were shot dead.

But there was a particular experience around that time that touched me deeply. I lived in King William's Town, haunt of Steve Biko, and met many people through him. One young man I saw come and go at Biko's was Mapetla Mohapi.

He was a social worker - kind, soft-spoken and dedicated to whatever cause he was working for. He had just married and his second child was a few months old when he was arrested.

When I came home during the school boycotts, I heard reports that Mapetla had died. It was August 1976. He had been arrested and it was claimed that he had committed suicide.

Something started burning in my mind and I began thinking about all the people who had died in detention - Timol, Ntshuntsha, Khoza, Mabija.

Many who died were alleged to have jumped from high buildings or fallen on soap in bathrooms - it was disturbing. Mapetla could not have committed suicide. He had everything going for him. He was young, he had a beautiful wife, beautiful daughters, a small house and, more than anything else, he seemed to enjoy what he was doing.

Hardly a year after Mapetla's death, Biko was arrested and died. He was very important to King William's Town; he was supportive of all the efforts of transformation taking place in our area and attempts to revive our community.

I knew these two people could not have committed suicide. So when they died, I realised our struggle was dangerous. I also knew it could not stop. I realised that if I wanted to be part of this process of transformation it would be risky but that I could not continue along the path of non-violence. I decided I was going to fight. I left the country for military training.

But things didn't work out as I thought they would. I joined the armed struggle but unfortunately I never had a chance to see combat, and that was something I had been hoping for. I went to Lesotho and waited for my chance to fight. But the opportunity never came and eventually we were demobilised.

I started working with individuals who were engaged in transformation work with ordinary people, so as to improve their daily lives. I had the opportunity for reflection.

There was one particular woman whom I used to challenge, saying that it was a waste of time to teach people to build mud ovens, that we should rather mobilise them to fight. She defended her method of struggle.

"Your way of struggle depends on the young and healthy,"

she would say. "My struggle can be waged by everyone, even the old and sick."

While not completely convinced, I attended workshops with her and became more and more interested. I saw the change in people's lives.

It was 1985. Zimbabwe was five years old; Mozambique was in its tenth year of independence and liberation was happening all around us. When I examined the gains made through armed struggle, I had to ask if the sacrifices were consistent with the gains. To my shock and dismay, the answer was no.

It had not been worth the lives of my comrades, people I stayed with in camps who died in the hope that we would get a better deal.

What are we going to get on 27 April 1994? Will the sacrifice of "liberation before education", of "liberation now, education later" be redeemed by the gains of 27 April?

Look at Zimbabwe and its heroic struggle. Look at the gains of ordinary people - no land, no jobs, no future, no security. The same can be said of Nicaragua, of Namibia - the story can be told everywhere.

I am not an advocate of doing nothing but looking at things objectively, I challenged my views and the views of others. I became increasingly convinced that the gains were not worth the sacrifice.

And it is with this background that I throw my weight heavily now behind peace efforts. I do this against serious odds because many people see their survival, rightly or wrongly, only as the destruction of a perceived enemy - whether it be a squatter leader, a "Boer", a farmer or a

settler.

It concerns me to see the concept of peace being thrown around by everybody. Often with good intentions, peace is advanced for all objectives. I have been working closely with people who see peace as peace, with no qualifications - it is unconditional.

We are now at the point at which South Africa needs peace unconditionally. Squatter communities cannot go to work because people cannot tolerate a statement by a political leader. Others can't go to the toilet, the shop or anywhere and feel safe because someone has made a particular statement, whether it be in the name of peace, a "boerestaat", to join negotiations, for Zulu national preservation or against settlers.

I belong to a different breed. I have begun to think of peace that has to be brought in at all costs. People in this country now want peace at all costs - it doesn't matter who wins, or whether this or that is right or wrong. At the end of the day, when people are fighting, nobody is right.

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By LUYANDA KA MSUMZA