

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

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

OCTOBER 1989

New mood in white community

By Ronel Scheffer

Over the past two months thousands of ordinary white South Africans, fed up with apartheid and frustrated by the limitations of traditional ways of political expression, were seen actively participating in the wave of protest marches and demonstrations that swept the country. Many of them had their first unpleasant taste of police beatings, and some spent short periods under arrest in police cells and jails for taking to the streets in solidarity with oppressed fellow South Africans. But where do they go next?

The effective political accommodation of this growing band of whites is one of the key questions that will demand the attention of anti-apartheid strategists in the months ahead. The election results and the protest marches provided ample proof that a significant number of whites are beginning to identify with the vision of the mass democratic movement. They want an end to the injustices that have been perpetrated in their name for decades, they want to be free of the legacy of debilitating guilt and are keenly aware of the need to



ERIC MILLER, Almapix

Solidarity in Cape Town's streets

cut through the barriers of enforced separation that has impoverished them as human beings and brought shame to them as South Africans.

Alas, they are not about to break into a toyi-toyi with the comrades or join the structures of the United Democratic Front. The broken rhythm of the dance is as foreign and scary to them as the organisational culture. And herein lies the rub: the political aspirations and challenges facing the white converts are akin but by no means identical to those of their fellow black South Africans. They are fighting for their survival, and a new society, from the very different angle of the oppressor, the privileged enfranchised. It would be

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Four Namibians spell out their hopes and fears for the future in an independent country. The real names of three of them have not been used at their request. Philip Shipulwa's name is real.

By Peter Kenny

Gabriel Shivute is a wine waiter with high spirits for his future in Namibia.

He is sure his party, the South West Africa People's Organisation, is going to achieve a massive victory in the November 7 elections and life will get better for him.

"Our president Comrade Sam Nujoma is back and we are going to rule ourselves. Life will be better when the Boers have gone," he says.

Mr Shivute is not a party activist, just a grass-roots supporter. Since he was a teenager Swapo was the party of hope for him, the only one that could push the South Africans out.

Every time Swapo holds a rally in Windhoek's Katutura township he wraps up in his dazzling blue, green and red scarf with the party's colours, even when it boils in summer, and stands on a dusty field in solidarity.

The jam packed little box-shaped bungalow that Mr Shivute lives in with friends and relatives in crowded Katutura is a far cry from the mahangu fields of Ovambo where he grew up, starting his working life as a herd boy.

His wife and five children carry on peasant farming there and he visits them for about a month each year, and sometimes for a long weekend.

Mr Shivute has a Standard Six education, and does not believe he will ever become the manager of the hotel where he works. But he is sure that once freedom comes, he will earn more, have better working conditions and be promoted.

Philip Shipulwa is a former fighter in Swapo's armed wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), but is now bitterly disillusioned with the movement.

He hated the system in Namibia so much that he left for Angola where he was trained as a soldier and was sent to the frontlines. But in February 1988 he was arrested, accused of being a South African spy. He escaped with the help of the International Committee of the Red Cross in July 1989.

"South Africa was not guilty of killing its own people like Swapo," said Mr Shipulwa

Joy, fear on eve of independence

in a recent letter he sent to newspapers.

Swapo will, he believes, just introduce a corrupt system of neo-colonialism bereft of human rights unless it admits the crimes it committed by detaining hundreds and maybe thousands from within its own ranks.

Gerry Miles is a white man in his early forties who is looking forward to independence. He came to Namibia from Zimbabwe 11 years ago, but has no plan to embark on a chicken run if a Swapo government comes to power.

Mr Miles, a successful business executive, considers himself to be a Namibian now and qualifies as a voter.

"Look, I just want to put my nose to the grindstone, work hard and make a good living in this land which is God's own country. I am not running south because they are just going to go through what we went through in Zim and are experiencing here now."

"I am not going to vote for Swapo because I believe we must have a strong opposition. But I do hope a Swapo government we get is strong and self-confident. I think the new world political order with people like Gorbachev will prevent hot-head ideologues from wrecking the economic infrastructure."

Cattle farmer Gert van Blerk has grave apprehensions about independence. He is a long-time supporter of the National Party of South West Africa and is also sure that Swapo will be the dominant power in the new government.

"I am a Southwester, and am prepared to become a Namibian as long as they leave us alone and the education and health standards don't drop too much. If there is trouble here we won't hesitate to pack our bags and head south."

He admits his farm is mortgaged to the hilt through the Land Bank and he has sent a lot of money to South Africa.

"I don't really want to go down there because De Klerk is going to do the same thing that the Botha's have done here," says Van Blerk.

□ Peter Kenny is a journalist in Windhoek.

New era dawns for Namibia — Page 8

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

IDASA's goals are:

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

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EDITORIAL

New political space for extending debate

For an institute concerned with a democratic alternative for South Africa, Idasa should observe recent developments in the country with care and interest. Viewed from abroad (specifically Oxford) where I have been since September 8, events seem to be unfolding with bewildering pace. Until the very day of the election, enormous performance pressure had built up on F W de Klerk. Foreign governments, whether for or against sanctions, without exception demanded the same thing of him: to bring about the conditions to negotiate the conflict in South Africa.

The ANC had spelt out in considerable detail what these conditions had to be. These were accepted in the form of "peace proposals" by the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), the Non-Aligned Movement and no doubt also later by the United Nations. On whatever front De Klerk and his government turned, they were met with the same demand: **negotiate**. De Klerk himself said he wanted a mandate from the whites to negotiate and no sooner were the election results out, when he lumped the DP performance with that of the NP and claimed that almost 70 per cent of the whites wanted him to "reform and negotiate". The immediate question became: **Will he deliver?**

FW's difference

In logic there is a simple truism which states: "A difference has to make a difference to be a difference." Whatever the cause — pressure or persuasion, carrot or stick — and whatever the political predisposition — hard line or moderate, right-wing, centre or left — **De Klerk has made a difference.**

It is stupid and foolish not to admit this or to exclude this difference from one's preferred policy or strategy. It is ridiculous to say that there is "no difference between F W de Klerk and P W Botha". To sit in front of British TV and see an ANC flag being draped around the head of Louis Botha with the gates of Tuynhuys in the background, the crowd chanting and cheering and not a policeman in sight, is unnerving — it's eerie. It can also be confusing and dangerously misleading.

sense that it goes to the kernel of South Africa's problem and whites' fears, namely loss of power and privilege).

What I found lacking in the article was how to achieve an economically egalitarian society without alienating those who have the skills (management and technical) — the whites in the main. If we are to have a social democracy in South Africa this could potentially demotivate those who have the wealth and skills at present. Is it really possible for South Africa on its own economic resource base to actually expand economically (growth) without substantial foreign aid in order to avoid widespread poverty and attain justice?

Remember PW?

Barely a month after the election: peaceful marches permitted; police put away sjamboks; political prisoners are released; ANC meetings openly take place; the SABC and NP supporting newspapers stress the need to negotiate with "authentic and representative leaders"; De Klerk and Gerrit Viljoen relax preconditions for talks; the Commonwealth adopt a more relaxed view on the South African situation and the foreign press are generally more supportive. So what is going on — and can anybody still remember what P W Botha looks like?

No panic

It would be totally wrong to see all this as a sign of the "regime panicking, capitulating or collapsing". Regimes who are uncertain about their own security simply do not act this way. It would be a dangerous delusion to think that "liberation, freedom or the transfer of power" is but a heave and a shove away. There is still a declared state of emergency in operation.

It would be completely unrealistic to think that negotiations are now possible or about to begin. Most of the conditions for this are now still absent. The simple fact of the matter is that there is a vast difference between relaxing control and negotiating a democracy. "Liberalisation" and "democratisation" are two completely separate but chronologically interrelated processes. The one does not inevitably lead to the other. "Liberalisation" is a necessary but insufficient condition for "democratisation".

Tough time

To release political prisoners, urban organisations, lift the state of emergency, even removing the last remaining apartheid laws, is absolutely necessary, praiseworthy and a blessed relief but this neither guarantees that negotiations will take place, or even if they do, that democracy will be the result. For those concerned with a genuinely democratic alternative for South Africa, the really tough part still lies ahead.

South Africa is fraught with insoluble problems: it is not simply an issue of eliminating apartheid but ensuring that exploitive elites do not again capture South Africa — a tall order.

**E Morkel
Lahstein (West Germany)**

E Morkel raises some valid questions concerning the problem of maintaining future economic growth and attaining a measure of social justice in the economy after apartheid. These are the big questions about which there is much debate in the country, and many different ideological or technocratic solutions are posited.

The article in question was simply a precis of the proceedings of a half-day seminar. During this

Letters

Address your letters to
The Editor, Democracy in Action,
1 Penzance Road, Mowbray 7700

Beware of exploitive elites

In the September issue of Democracy in Action you featured an article by Gary Cullen under the headline "Going for growth — while redistributing the cake". I found the article very pertinent and "radical" (in the



Rules changing

If I can use another bucket of cold water: "liberalisation" is always a dangerous and risky period in an authoritarian and repressive society. When control is relaxed, the rules of the political game begin to change and all kinds of vested interests become agitated and even threatened. In the months ahead a very wary eye will have to be kept on the right-wing and the coercive conclaves of the state apparatus. David Webster and Anton Lubowski did not die by accident. In weather report terms: turbulence and additional volatility from quarters deeply disaffected



with "liberalisation" should surprise no one.

However, "liberalisation" does also create new political space. It is desperately urgent that this space be used to broaden and deepen the debate on, and the organisational infrastructure for a democratic alternative for South Africa. The shift from "liberalisation" to "democratisation" depends on action, not theory. Perhaps the work of Idasa has only just begun.

— Van Zyl Slabbert
Director of Policy
and Planning

Protest marches meaningful

There had recently been rather pointed criticisms and allusions to the "uselessness" of the protest marches that had become a feature of political activity throughout the country, New Nation commented.

"At worst, these criticisms are dangerous cynicism and at best a lame attempt to justify non-participation in the struggle for change.

"It could be that those who criticise this believe that they become the national oracles through which all discontent must be expressed.

"We believe the marches are a fundamental expression of the desires of our people for

democracy, justice and peace."

New Nation continued: "They are by no means the only terrain of struggle, but mark a significant coming together of all those opposed to apartheid.

"Further, they have not occurred because of the benevolence of the government, but because of the growing power of the people, through unity of purpose, to overthrow tyranny.

"There is often a tendency to attribute each step of advance by the people to the regime, when it is the people who are the makers of history."

Opinions expressed by contributors to *Democracy in Action* are not necessarily supported by Idasa.

Youth sincere about future

After attending the Idasa conference on education in Grahamstown last year and the one on the Freedom Charter in Cape Town, I returned to my work as a head of department at Hudson Park High School in East

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Tied in a knot

In the era of Pretoriastroika one would expect a cabinet minister to choose his or her words very carefully indeed. Surprising therefore to read that the Hon Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order (he always had a certain way with words, told a criminology symposium in Pretoria recently that the police "will not be deterred by unwarranted outcries in public against so-called police brutality; outcries which are only intended to tie our hands."

— Which same hands are itching to use the sjamboks and batons, perhaps?

The forces of positivism

After his meeting with Archbishop Tutu and two other clerics State President F W de Klerk had much to say about "a gap created by mistrust" that are dogging his campaign to keep everybody in South Africa happy and quiet. "I strongly tried to impress upon them (the clerics) the fact that the time has come for them to change their attitudes from a negative one to a positive one."

— Could one hope that the president in turn promised that his government would abandon their "negative" attitudes as manifested by laws such as the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the State of Emergency and the random detention of political activists? Be positive, Mr President!

Sê nou net

Rapport se rubriekskrywer Pollux het onlangs vir Dr Verwoerd aangehaal wat in 1948 gesê het: "Blankes en nie-blankes reis saam in trems en treine; blankes en nie-blankes meng in hotels, waar maaltye bedien word, besig om meer en meer besit te neem van die teaters en die strate..." Pollux lewer dan kommentaar: "Die kringloop is byna voltooi. Hoe sou Suid-Afrika vandag gelyk het as ons nie die wye sirkel geloop het nie?"

— Wat Pollux nie durf vra nie is: hoe sou Suid-Afrika vandag gelyk het as die Afrikaanse pers nie die regeringsbeleid oor die afgelope 40 jaar so slaafs nagepraat het nie?

Who's who to whom

The KwaZulu Natal Indaba plans to launch a "Black Who's Who" to help pinpoint achievers and leaders in the African community in the region.

— Now there is a document that will be snatched up by the government, who recently still expressed a need to "identify" representative black leaders.

Ystervrou verbrou

Die vier swart Suid-Afrikaanse koerant-redakteurs wat onlangs vir Maggie Thatcher in Londen gaan spreek het, kon beswaarlik verwag het dat hulle byna dieselfde behandeling sou kry as wat die meeste oorsese besoekers van oud-President Botha te wagte was. Thatcher het die vier glo behoorlik die leviëte voorgelees en volgens koerantberigte nog 'n gratis les in die ekonomie ook gegee.

— Met haar party se gewildheid op die laagste vlak (vanweë ekonomiese beleid) in tien jaar wonder 'n mens of sy ook een van die dae in die politieke wildernis gaan wees soos ons eie vingerswaaiers.

limited time the speakers and participants were able to air different approaches to the issues raised by E Morkel though no complete consensus was sought or indeed possible.

The success of the event was in the range of people it brought together, providing a chance to get to grips with points of consensus and difference, upon which future strategies can be built.

This seminar was in keeping with the general approach of Idasa which is to facilitate dialogue upon which future consensus can be found, rather than to concern itself with the development of policies.

The article as a consequence frustrates with its lack of answers, yet hopefully it has enriched some of the people on whom we depend for answers now and in the future. — Gary Cullen

Challenge in changing mood of whites

From Page 1

both dishonest and foolhardy to disregard the implications of that reality — we can't all pack our bags and trek to the townships in one simple move, so to speak.

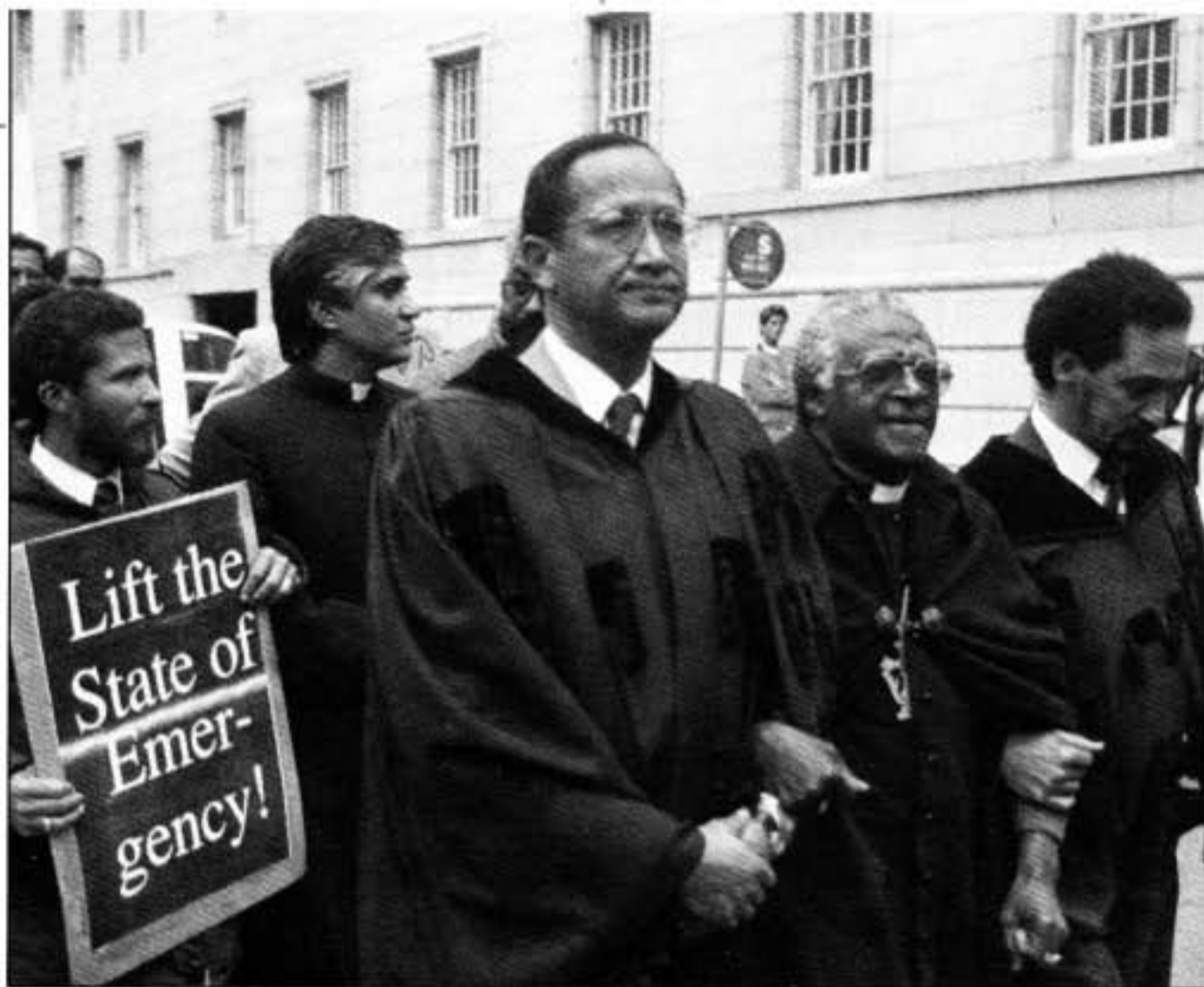
So whether aspiring white democrats? Often confused and not fully comprehending or in agreement with the rhetoric and political idiom of the MDM, they end up with one (guilty) foot in the Democratic Party and the other gingerly reaching for a "vastraplek" in the ranks of those whose proud record of resistance against oppression and exploitation, and vision of a non-racial, democratic South Africa, have captured their imagination. The uneasy relationship between the DP and the MDM, resulting largely from the DP's insistence on contesting the elections in the Coloured and Indian houses against the urgings of the MDM, adds to the dilemma of these whites who generally come from a monogamous political background.

In recent weeks several MDM spokesmen have remarked on the need for the movement to personally intervene in the white community and to go beyond merely supporting the work of organisations already deployed in that area. Within the UDF there appears to be a growing awareness of the strategic importance of drawing whites into the struggle. In an interview published in *Upfront* UDF national executive member Titus Mafolo stressed the need to draw as many whites as possible closer to the MDM's negotiation concept. On his release from prison ANC veteran Walter Sisulu also pointedly referred to the duty those in the struggle had to inform all South Africans, particularly Afrikaners, of their political objectives. "We think it is essential for our mutual education and enlightenment to have extensive contact with the Afrikaner, and the youth in particular," Mr Sisulu told *Vrye Weekblad*.

Some whites already active in the MDM hope that the December Conference for a Democratic Future, which should include a broad range of anti-apartheid organisations, may come up with a programme to work in the white areas.

White converts can draw some comfort — and guidance — from the example of Jan van Eck, probably the only white South African who has managed to bridge the gap between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics with relative success in recent years. The MP for Claremont does not find himself in a dilemma serving in the tricameral parliament and maintaining a close working relationship with the black community at grassroots level at the same time. "But I must confess that it is frustrating to sit in an unrepresentative parliament," he says.

A member of the white UDF affiliate, Cape Democrats, Van Eck is grateful that he resisted the temptation to leave parliament altogether and become fully involved in the democratic movement. "Whites must be freed from their fear and prejudices and we won't succeed in doing that by turning our backs on them — in the same way as one cannot turn



Franklin Sonn . . . whites should not overcompensate.

one's back on Lt Rockman because he is a policeman."

Strong differences still exist within the MDM about participation in the white chamber of the tricameral parliament (the coloured and Indian houses are rejected completely) and dual membership of political parties represented in parliament and UDF affiliates are also frowned upon. Van Eck feels comfortable with both and believes he has to work in both areas. "MDM people have on occasion told me that parliament may not be relevant but that I myself and the role I play in parliament (highlighting the plight of black communities and keeping whites informed in the process) is relevant."

He stresses the need to narrow the gap between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics. "The wider that chasm grows, the more violent our future will be," says Van Eck. His advice to whites therefore is that while they continue to exercise their vote and maintain a low level of activity in parliamentary politics, they should devote more of their energies to participating in the campaigns of the democratic movement so that they can also begin to understand something of the politics that will shape the future of the country.

The future of South African politics lies not in co-operation between the DP and the government but in co-operation between all white democrats (including the DP) and the MDM. In fact, Van Eck stresses, that the DP will have to move cautiously to avoid being co-opted by the state which will attempt to do this to prove its legitimacy.

Franklin Sonn, rector of the Peninsula Technikon and a key figure in education debates, argues that the worst thing whites can do is to overcompensate in their attempts to gain acceptance within the MDM. He sees the democratic movement as broad front which must bring together all those who share the ideal of a non-racial, democratic future, using the Freedom Charter as a guideline. Inevitably the political baggage of its participants will not be identical.

"If we draw too fine distinctions for participation it will debilitate the movement and we will have missed the opportunity to estab-

lish a broad pressure group for change . . . it will degenerate into a study group like the New Unity Movement where they spend hours examining the texture of people's hair and the shape of their toe nails under microscopes."

He believes that "tolerance and brotherliness" should typify the movement and that small differences must not distract it from the central issue of replacing the existing rigidly hierarchical and authoritarian "voor-sê" political culture with a truly democratic one, and moving from group-thinking to shared values. "The power and strength of the democracy is illustrated in the process . . . many people do not realise that democracy is a process and not an end result, and that we will discover its strength in the process of democratising people."

The strength of the democratic process also lies in its continued commitment to challenging and questioning, says Sonn. "Individuals must not be allowed to become inviolable . . . we must challenge and ask questions all the time."

Debra Marsden, acting chairperson of Cape Democrats, feels the time has come for serious discussions inside the country between whites and representatives of the MDM, along the lines of the dialogue programme the ANC has been conducting for some time now with white individuals and organisations outside the country. "It is especially important now that we are seeing a dramatically changing political climate to the extent that the government can no longer demonise the ANC to whites. The same 'undemonising' process is happening to the MDM," she said. The defiance campaign has made whites, who are generally still ignorant and fearful of the democratic movement, more amenable to learning about the UDF, the MDM and the ANC and even to working within the structures of the movement.

Cape Democrats, established in April last year, is one of a handful of UDF-affiliated organisations that work in the white community. Similar groups, all of them broadly designed to give white democrats a political home and access to the democratic movement, exist in most of the bigger centres in

WHITE COMMUNITY

the country. Cape Democrats' membership, ranging from liberals to Marxists, has grown from about 100 at inception to 450. In practice they are part of the MDM debates and activities, giving content in the process to non-racialism. Through education and training programmes the membership gets equipped with the necessary understanding and skills to work effectively for change, both within the MDM and through outreach programmes and forums designed to create political awareness in the white community.

Mrs Marsden feels Cape Democrats' limited resources — and the restrictive conditions resulting from the State of Emergency — have hampered their efforts to bring the MDM to the white community. However, the issue is a priority on their agenda and will be receiving close attention in coming months. She believes that all elements within the MDM have to give serious thought to making themselves more accessible to the white community. "We must decide what it means in practice when we say there is a place for everyone in the struggle."

Cheryl Carolus, a member of the UDF executive in the Western Cape, says the democratic movement's door is open to anybody who opposes apartheid. But the MDM believes that effective opposition only comes through people participating in organisational structures. "We should learn together now what it means to be anti-apartheid and that is why it is important for people to consider some relationship with the UDF, if not active participation in its structures."

She defines the struggle as a process whereby the masses of people in an organised fashion seek an end to oppression and exploitation. "It is our belief that the struggle can only be effective when there is active participation by the masses of our people — as opposed to a few sharp thinking individuals. The form and the content of our struggle can only be determined by those formations which represent the masses of ordinary South Africans," says Ms Carolus.

For this reason, the movement wants to encourage anti-apartheid whites to join any of the progressive structures, be they political, professional, church, community or women's groups. Whites, says Carolus, should think of themselves first and foremost as South Africans and the MDM would encourage them to participate in activities which seek to promote non-racialism. Participation in organisations would be a further step because this is the most consistent and disciplined way of building non-racialism and giving non-racialism content.

Debra Marsden... dialogue needed between whites and the MDM.



Debra Marsden... dialogue needed between whites and the MDM.



Jan van Eck... narrowing the gap between democrats.



Cheryl Carolus... white politics produce a narrow vision.

Carolus says the confusion which is articulated from time to time by whites — and people engaged in white politics generally — in relation to certain strategies and actions of the MDM, often stem from the very narrow vision they have of the severely disadvantaged position of the voteless majority in the country.

A few examples of this "narrow vision" are reflected in some recent disputes related to the Democratic Party, says Carolus. The MDM was perplexed and disturbed, firstly, when some DP candidates suggested that the defiance campaign was ill-timed and that it should possibly be scaled down to avoid a drift of whites back to the right-wing parties. Carolus says blacks find it incomprehensible that anti-apartheid whites, fully knowing that they (blacks) do not even have an inferior vote, could want to deprive them of their only means of protest at such a time.

Similarly, the concern in white ranks about elements within the democratic movement disrupting DP election meetings was based on an inadequate understanding of the situation, she says. The UDF at no time made an official decision to disrupt DP meetings, yet it cannot completely control the actions of people on the ground who were, and still are, deeply disturbed about the party's decision to contest the elections in the coloured and Indian houses. The tricameral parliament remains a powerful symbol of rejection to the majority of people in the country and the DP, or any other section of

Whites should think of themselves first and foremost as South Africans and the MDM would encourage them to participate in activities which seek to promote non-racialism.'

the white community, should not lose sight of this, says Carolus.

She adds: "It is difficult to control the anger

of the people about some of the statements made by DP leaders. We try to refrain from attacking them in public but they must know they can't have their cake and eat it."

The tension between the DP and the MDM is to some extent inevitable, but it clearly needs to be kept at a constructive level. In a recent interview in *Upfront*, a committee member of the Western Cape interim co-ordinat-

ing committee of the UDF, Cameron Dugmore, stressed the need for the DP to define how it sees itself. "There is a growing concern that the DP, or certain elements in the DP, see themselves as providing a future middle-ground in South African politics," he said. "Their decision to enter those other Houses, despite the fact that the individuals have no community support, is a serious contradiction."

He continued: "The DP should not be surprised at the level of animosity they are generating. If they are serious about playing a significant role in bringing about a non-racial democratic society they have to realise that they must take the MDM a lot more seriously. They also need to understand that they are not a government in the making."

Dugmore said the fact that whites were beginning to identify with the vision projected by the MDM was very significant for the resolution of South Africa's problems. The strength of the MDM, and the fact that it clearly represents the majority, is forcing more white people to look elsewhere for a solution. "And they are definitely not finding that solution in FW's five-year plan or in the DP."

He attributed the increased potential of whites in the direction of the MDM to the fact that the movement had concretely taken up non-racialism in its struggle. "Compared to Zimbabwe or Namibia, South Africa has more possibilities to do this."

□ Ronel Scheffer is Director of Publications with Idasa.

Whites must be freed from their fear and prejudices and we won't succeed in doing that by turning our backs on them — in the same way as one cannot turn one's back on Lt Rockman because he is a policeman'

Embracing the future

In transitional societies young people are not only a reflection of the future in the present but also ideally positioned to shape and mould the future. **ANDRÉ ZAIMAN** reports on a weekend project in the Eastern Transvaal wilderness which brought black and white youths together to start this process.

"Dialogue requires an intense faith in human beings; their power to make and remake, to create and recreate; faith that the vocation to be fully human is the birthright of all people, not the privilege of an elite."

- Paulo Freire



Four Pretoria scholars make friends in the wilderness.

have in common: the future. But true dialogue is only possible if there exists in the group a certain degree of **trust**, a climate of acceptance of **all** the participants: black and white, rich and poor, strong and weak; an ability to **listen** to other people and a commitment to a democratic **process** that guarantees the equal participation of all.

- For black and white pupils to start a dialogue that is based on honesty and sincerity requires that they be taken away from their known environments to an environment that is more or less **equally unknown to all the participants**. Quite often the selection of the venue for these kind of encounters predetermines and structures white youths into an even more advantaged position over the township children simply because they are used to and feel comfortable in fancy, urban hotels or conference centres whilst their black counterparts experience these centres as "white, foreign and hostile". As urbanites, they share the same anxieties about the wilderness and the rural or bush context places them at least in this respect on a more equal footing.

- The starting point for real and fundamental change lies as much in the individual as it lies in the society and its institutions. If the individual does not fully grasp what democracy means, if he or she does not begin to **internalise democratic values** at an early age, the battle against tyranny in transitional societies will be lost. It is therefore crucially important that pupils are conscientised about the kind of society we live in and how it has affected all of us individually; and that their understanding of true democracy based on freedom, equality and respect for human dignity, be deepened beyond rhetoric.

- The relationship between human beings and their environment is a fundamental but neglected aspect of the debate about a common future. As people striving towards a more progressive society, we dare not ignore the environmental factors that are destined to influence and change the political, economical and social aspects of the world.

Taking in the environment... the scholars explore nature.

It was decided that the planning of the weekend should be left in the hands of the pupils to the largest possible extent, and therefore a committee was mandated by the whole group to plan the structure of the weekend. This committee consisted of pupils and Idasa staff members, who acted as advisors and facilitators.

After a six-hour bus journey the group arrived at Thornybush Game Lodge near Hoedspruit and immediately went into the boma for a dinner by candlelight around the fire. As the rest of the group sang in the reed-enclosed boma till late in the evening, the committee did the evaluation of the day's activities and final planning for the following day.

Despite the late night, we were all in time for early morning tea and sandwiches at 6.30 on the verandah. We were met by our two armed game rangers and set off into the African wilderness for a three-hour walk during which we saw game ranging from cheetah to giraffe, many beautiful birds, trees and insects and received an interesting talk on ecology.

After a hearty brunch, the rest of the day was spent in workshop. The workshop was started with the Idasa-facilitators giving a brief input on theory:

- Gibb's four needs of a group (acceptance, sharing information about ourselves and the issues we feel are important in our lives, setting goals and organisation for action).
- Paulo Freire's work on critical awareness.
- Dialogue and human relations training.

But the essence of the workshop was to teach through self-discovery and participation, not through lecturing. Therefore we built the workshop around a series of games, with each game having a particular theme. The seven themes that were tackled during this particular workshop, were trustbuilding in groups; learning to listen; sharing leadership and responsibility; constructive self and mutual criticism; strengthening team relations; making democratic decisions; evaluation: reflection and action.

The games produced much laughter and fun, interspersed with periods of silent and serious reflection, much debate and sometimes even serious differences; but at the end of it all a common understanding and commitment to a true **democratic process**



Fighting racist court decisions

In an article in the 1969 South African Law Journal, Prof Barend van Niekerk wrote "that a considerable number of replying advocates, almost 50 per cent in fact, believe that justice as regards capital punishment is meted out on a differential basis to the different races, and that 41 per cent who so believe are also of the opinion that such differentiation is 'conscious and deliberate'." He was commenting on replies received from advocates to two questions in a survey. The questions were concerned, firstly, with the possibility of the intrusion of the racial factor into the imposition of the death sentence and, secondly, the "conscious or deliberate" nature or otherwise of such intrusion. Barend van Niekerk was charged for contempt of court as a result of this article, but was acquitted by the Transvaal provincial division of the Supreme Court. That was in 1969.

During more recent times, especially the past 12 months, there has been a trend which conclusively proves that equality before the law is not a human right enjoyed by all the citizens of this country.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulates in Article 7 that all are equal before the law and entitled without discrimination to equal protection of the law. It is this right which Lawyers for Human Rights is trying to protect and enforce.

Lawyers for Human Rights has found this distressing trend of a lack of equality before the law in a number of cases. In instances where a group of black people are involved in a killing, invariably as many as can be identified are charged with murder on the common purpose doctrine and vigorously prosecuted, resulting in most of the accused being sentenced to death. On the other hand where a group of white people (particularly farmers and policemen) are involved in the killing of a black person, only the main perpetrator is charged with murder; the others are charged with offences ranging from culpable homicide to assault. The prosecution proceeds almost

The distressing trend of lack of equality before the law in South Africa has moved Lawyers for Human Rights to embark on a special project to help restore this right to those who are denied it. Project director AHMED MOTALA (right) reports . . .



apologetically and the accused are given relatively light sentences.

Black people convicted of murder, particularly when the victim is white are sentenced to death in disproportionately high percentages. White people convicted of murder, particularly when a black person is the victim, are sentenced to death only in minute percentages. For example, in 1983, of 21 whites convicted of murder of blacks, not one was sent to the gallows. Barend Strydom is one of the very few exceptions.

As a result of blatant racial discrimination in the administration of justice in this country Lawyers for Human Rights has resolved to establish a special portfolio to monitor prosecutions, convictions and sentences in appropriate cases. This programme will be referred to as Lawyers for Human Rights Project Article 7. In making this allegation about discrimination in the administration of justice, we are mindful of the fact that there are many judges and magistrates who dispense justice fairly without considering the race of the accused. Those judicial officers who are racist in their application of the law discredit the entire judiciary and legal system in South Africa. For the sake of civilised standards and a future democratic South Africa this programme is aimed at eliminating racial discrimination in the administration of justice so that all citizens

can be equal before the law.

In launching the project, Lawyers for Human Rights has notified the offices of various community organisations, including Black Sash and Idasa, as well as members of Lawyers for Human Rights. This will ensure a flow of information from all parts of the country in regard to cases relevant to the project where there has been discrimination in the administration of justice. The media have also been called upon to render their assistance.

After receiving information of cases, we will investigate them and take appropriate action. We intend to investigate each case thoroughly and then to highlight injustices which we find. Through the media we will inform the public of cases where there has been inequality before the law. It is our belief that the judiciary will take appropriate steps to curb discrimination, to protect its image and credibility.

All cases will be scrupulously documented and at the end of each year, a report will be prepared and published for both national and international consumption. We will make copies available to international human rights forums including the appropriate United Nations bodies.

In some cases where it is necessary we will make representation to either the appropriate chief magistrate, or the appropriate judge president or to the chief justice.

On a practical level, where we are able, we will assist with appeals, either by providing a lawyer through our Pro Bono Scheme, that is where the person is unrepresented or if the person is impecunious and cannot afford further legal representation, we will consider an application for funding through our Litigation Trust Fund.

Lawyers for Human Rights looks forward to the assistance of organisations and their members in making this a successful project, strengthening its endeavours to restore to those who are denied it, the right to equality before the law.

was fostered. Shy people mixed and spoke freely in the groups, dominant and aggressive persons were aware that their behaviour in groups was sometimes destructive and often undemocratic, we learned to listen better to one another and we were all made aware of just how little we still know and understand about democracy.

There was consensus in the group that the weekend was a big success; that it equipped us better with the essential tools and skills to have democratic debates about serious issues which directly affect the lives of all of us; that we contributed in a small way towards the nurturing of a democratic culture in the school and in society; that we acted out the concept of non-racial nation building and in so doing managed for a short moment to embrace the future.

But the greatest achievement of the weekend was that, despite apartheid and apartheid schools, we managed to transcend (albeit briefly) the race, class and historical divisions of our society, having come to accept each other as equal human beings.

□ André Zaaiman is the Regional Director of Idasa in Pretoria.

Tieners kweek begrip vir mekaar

Dit is een ding om te intellektualiseer oor nierassigheid en demokrasie, maar iets heel anders om direk daarmee gekonfronteer te word. So ook moes 35 Afrikaanse en township tieners die verskille en ooreenkomste met mekaar uitklaar op 'n naweek saam in die Franschhoek berge wat in September deur Idasa gereël is.

Die verskille was duidelik. Tieners het gepraat oor die verskille in hul skool leerplanne en die omstandighede waaronder hulle skoolgaan, hoe hul sosiaal verkeer en hul familie situasies. Daar was verbasing toe een meisie hoor dat haar groepmaat nie 'n badkamer in haar huis het nie, en verstomming toe dit blyk dat niemand in die hele woongebied so 'n luuksheid het nie.

Die eerste oefening waaraan die groep



Kaapse tieners byeen in Franschhoek.

deelgeneem het, was om na 'n video, "Blue Eyes Brown Eyes", te kyk. Dit handel oor 'n oefening wat gedoen is in Amerika met laerskool kinders. Die kinders is geïdentifiseer op grond van die kleur van hul oë. Sekere voordele is eers aan die kinders met blou oë gegee, en later aan die kinders met bruin oë.

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New era dawns for Africa's last colony



Twee tieners diep in gesprek tydens die naweek.

Tieners byeen

From Page 7

Die doel van die oefening is om kinders in die situasie te plaas waar hulle teen gediskrimineer word op grond van iets waarvoor hulle geen beheer het nie. Die invloed wat hierdie drie-daagse program op die betrokke kinders het, is merkwaardig. Beste maatjies baklei, kinders verloor hul selfversekerdheid, bitterheid en onvergeeflikheid neem toe, klaspunte daal of styg afhangende van die oogkleur wat die dag bevoordeel word. Van die groepe wat op laerskool deel was van die oefening is nou volwasse en stem saam dat dit 'n direkte invloed op hul lewens gehad het.

Baie vrae is in hierdie sessie gelug wat die naweek beantwoord moes word.

Die groep tieners is die naweek verdeel in kleiner groepe wat kompetierend deelgeneem het aan verskeie kulturele, sport en leerprogramme. Almal het groot genot geput uit 'n program waarin die groepe mekaar Afrikaans en Xhosa moes leer. Sokker en vlugbal is gespeel en 'n marathon is gehardloop voordat die gordyn Saterdagmiddag opgegaan het vir 'n puik konsert. Die groepe het gesing, gedans, toneelgespeel en later 'n bespreking gehad oor hul rol in Suid-Afrika en wat 'n voorreg dit is om in so 'n kultuurryke 'n land te woon.

Die verhoudings wat gebou is oor die naweek en die voorveronderstellings wat afgebreek is, was duidelik toe die groepe plakkate gemaak het. Die een wat gewen het se woorde was, "We All Stand Together". Dit het aangesluit by die les wat die aanbieder van die eksperiment in die video haar leerlinge wou leer. Moenie 'n ander persoon oordeel totdat jy in hul skoene geloop het nie. Al het hierdie groep nie — en al sou hul waarskynlik nooit nie — het hulle 'n pad saam gestap op die weg na begrip en verdraagsaamheid.

Marion Shaer
Regional Co-ordinator



Vuurmaaktyd in die berge.

The political framework under which Africa's last colony will attain its independence will shape the economic fortunes of the new state. The extent and nature of external dependence — variously expressed in budgetary assistance from South Africa, in transport and level of economic integration — implies that Namibia's economic fortunes are to a considerable extent a reflection of that of South Africa.

To be sure, Namibia has scope for more autonomous development and for new patterns of intra-regional trade, especially within the framework of the Southern African Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), but its current dependence on the extractive sector — mining accounts for 34 per cent of GDP and 80 per cent of export earnings — may limit domestic political sovereignty to some extent.

Immediately after independence, vulnerability in the area of public finances will be especially acute, following Pretoria's earlier decision to cut its budgetary assistance from R308 million in the 1988/89 fiscal year to a mere R80 million in the current financial year.

Assets

In contrast to most of its neighbours, Namibia is well served by a modern, extensive physical infrastructure relative to the size of the population. It boasts nearly 43 000 km of roads (4 382 km tarred), 2 383 km of railways, a strong communication infrastructure, an electricity grid of 5 300 km integrated into that of South Africa via Aggenys in Namaqualand and an adequate broadcasting service.

In assessing the new state's development potential, various real and potential constraints and assets, need to be considered. The real development assets include:

- Natural resources (finite) — base metals, diamonds, uranium, zinc;
- Viable agricultural sector (extensive pastoral); off-shore fishing resources;
- Strong physical infrastructure;
- Tourism;
- Low national population density.

The potential development assets include:

- Intensive crop farming (Kavango, Caprivi);
- Energy sector (Ruacana, hydro-power, Kudu gasfield);
- Some scope for local beneficiation;
- Diversification of trade (SADCC, Lome arrangement that governs trade and economic relations between third world and

Whatever the precise nature of it has the features of a small state with dependence for years t

industrial countries, Preferential Trade Agreement).

Among the real development constraints are the marginal ecology in parts; shortage of skilled manpower; economies of scale difficult to attain; high transport/market costs; high export dependence of economy; high population growth rate (3 per cent per annum) and uneven spatial distribution of population; high rate of urbanisation.

In addition to these, external economic involvement is chiefly located in fishing and mining. Consequently, Namibia has a weak, underdeveloped industrial sector and limited control over local financial and mining capital. Similar economies elsewhere show that exclusive reliance on extractive industries

The leadership qualities of Swapo president Sam Nujoma will be a crucial factor in the transition period.



is not particularly helpful in overcoming socio-economic problems. Deteriorating terms of trade tends to depreciate the value of commodity exports.

Agriculture

The agricultural sector is vitally important to Namibia. Although there are only 4 500 commercial farmers (6 000 commercial farms), this sector employs 33 000 or 16 per cent of the total labour force and sustains more than 300 000 people (almost 25 per cent of the total population). Some 872 000 Namibians are within subsistence agriculture.

The fishing industry — after mining the biggest investment South African companies have in Namibia — recently showed a mild recovery. While the 1987/88 catches have been the best since 1976, these were still well below the record 1975 catch of 760 000 tonnes. Over-exploitation of this important protein source by overseas and South African vessels remains a serious problem.

Alfred



THE ARGUMENT

Transition to independence, Namibia will have to exercise sovereignty. **ANDRÉ DU PISANI** reports.

While mining will continue to be of central importance for the economy after independence, two caveats are important: firstly, this sector's capacity to employ will in all probability fall even further, and secondly, because Namibia's mineral products are almost exclusively exported overseas, apart from tin and zinc produced by the South African Iron and Steel Corporation (Isacor) and used for refinery operations in South Africa, the country is highly vulnerable to fluctuations in the international market — and these are beyond the control of the local political authorities.

Namibia has potential in the field of energy. The Atlantic Ocean Kudu gasfield, west of Luderitzbucht, although still undeveloped, offers potential for export.

Social fabric

Namibian society is bound to undergo significant demographic changes in the following two to three years. The sources of such changes relate not only to the return of some 41 000 refugees, but above all to rapid rates of urban migration, especially to larger urban centres such as Windhoek, Swakopmund, Tsumeb, Rehoboth and Keetmanshoop. The population of Windhoek, the capital city, is bound to increase from the present figure of 150 000 to 280 000 — 300 000 over the next two years.

Education is another area where Namibia will need additional investment. Namibia has an overall illiteracy rate of 60 per cent and a huge shortage of qualified teachers. Finally, like most newly independent states, Namibia faces manpower shortages in virtually every skilled and semi-skilled profession. This includes the central bureaucracy.

Political realm

Policy is the area where economics and politics merge. Swapo, the party most likely to constitute the majority in an independence government, recently announced substantive changes in both economic and political policy.

Informed by the principles of social justice, national self-reliance and the ethics of redistribution, Swapo's economic policy provides for a mixed economy. Provision is

made for private, co-operative and joint ventures. The private sector, however, would be expected to "cooperate with the state to ensure the realisation of social and economic goals for the benefit of the entire population".

There is no provision for large-scale nationalisation, although almost half of the country's local capital stock would — as at present — be state-owned assets. Land reform and some redistribution of the ownership of farmland — notably land owned by absentee landlord's — are posited as important policy priorities.

Provision is made for a mineral development strategy — aimed at integrating this sector with the rest of the economy — and for intensive crop farming in Kavango and Caprivi.

External economic relations would undergo change, with Namibia as the 10th member of SADCC, and participation within Lome, the PTA and the Commonwealth. Reducing economic dependence on South Africa is a clearly stated objective. Namibia is likely to remain within the Southern African Customs Union (Sacu) for some time to come.

Political policy is essentially eclectic and pragmatic. National reconciliation and nation building are posited as two explicit goals. The extent to which these and other policies would be successful or otherwise, will depend upon some of the following variables:

- Swapo's capacity to consolidate power without alienating significant ethnic groups such as the Herero, Damara and the whites.
- The level of political institutionalisation in the body politic (especially low after decades of apartheid and ethnic fragmentation).
- Swapo's capacity to gain control of the country's economy, without alienating local and foreign investors.
- The resource endowment of Namibia and how it could be put to good use for the benefit of the majority.
- The crippling legacies of the war.

Alternative futures

Against this admittedly cursory exposition, three alternative socio-economic and political futures for Namibia are considered. In considering these three alternative futures, it needs to be remembered, that Namibia's future will also be shaped by regional developments and by the way South Africa decides to project its power.

In the first outcome, Namibia would essentially remain a captive of South African and other external interests. The new state would in effect enjoy the dubious status of an "enclave economy", like Swaziland or Lesotho in their dependence on South Africa. Clearly, this is a "worst case" scenario, and is unlikely for both economic and political reasons, even if South Africa continues to hang on to Walvis Bay — which seems likely for the foreseeable future.

A second path, would be for a Swapo-dominated government to emulate Zimbabwe. Under this second scenario, one could realistically expect, inter alia, an increasing role assigned to the state; some land reform and redistribution; greater emphasis upon rural development; state assistance to peasant agriculture; an appreciation of the economic importance of the small white agricultural sector; attempts to redistribute income; some reduction of economic interaction with South Africa and greater diversification of foreign trade and economic links (Wolfgang Thomas, Occasional Paper No. 5, Department of Geography, US, 1985).

The amount of foreign assistance would vary, depending upon the absorptive capacity of the economy and the tax, and other economic incentives provided for in government policy. Here again, the related failure of Zimbabwe since independence, to attract foreign fixed investment by over-emphasis on ideological purity, may prove to be instructive.

The possibility has to be considered, however, that Namibia may be more constrained and less successful than Zimbabwe, in view of the following factors:

- Zimbabwe has a better resource endowment than Namibia and inherited a stronger, more diversified economy than Namibia.
- The ethnic composition and spatial distribution of the two countries differ.
- Namibia is far more dependent on South Africa than Zimbabwe ever was. Clearly, Pretoria has considerable potential to destabilise Namibia if it wanted to.
- The leadership qualities of Swapo president, Sam Nujoma, might prove suspect.

Dependence

Finally, a third possibility would be for Namibia to develop along the pattern of neighbouring Botswana. This would mean a most pragmatic Swapo government, a multi-party democracy with a large measure of personal freedom, and non-Swapo parties playing a significant role in the shaping of government policies.

In this model, the private sector would remain the motor of the economy, although some state participation in some key areas such as mining would be sought. Economic interaction with South Africa would remain on much the same level as before, and may even increase. There would be less emphasis on income redistribution than in the previous case. Namibia would become a member of SADCC, but choose to remain within the Sacu and the Rand Monetary Area (RMA).

Whatever the precise nature of its transition to independence, Namibia has the features of a small state and will have to exercise sovereignty with dependence for years to come.

□ Dr Du Pisani is Director of Research at the SA Institute for International Affairs (Wits)

Barriers broken down at Umgababa

Living together and mixing freely — that is what the "Life Together" programme at the Umgababa holiday resort over a weekend in October was all about. Teenagers from the Tongaat region participated in the Idasa organised event and more than 60 youths took part in the programme which proved a resounding success.

For many this was a unique and first-time experience. At the end of the day many of the youths were convinced that they could shape the future as the adults had little chance of achieving success. The theme for the day was "Can we Live Together" and the participants brainstormed the topic in a workshop situation. In doing this many realised that the barriers and the smokescreens had to be eradicated in order to achieve success.

With the end of the programme came many sad faces, for the youths had to part. Pages were exchanged with addresses and telephone numbers and the delegates felt that one day was too short for such a programme. Many were of the opinion that a more lengthy programme would have been in order.

Fana Zungu
Regional Co-ordinator



A group discussion at Umgababa.

Township visits very popular

"There are just too many requests, we can no longer deal with them," said Pro Jack, Idasa regional co-ordinator in the Western Cape, flinging his arms out in exasperation.

"Just this morning we have been asked to conduct visits by seven different groups — business people from overseas, students from Stellenbosch, management groups from major companies . . . what are we going to do?"

In just two months Idasa's Western Cape office has hosted 30 visits to the townships, ranging from an individual trip for a consular official as a visiting scholar through to groups of 80 members of the public.

"I believe these trips are very beneficial," says Pro Jack. "You can see people changing their attitudes before your very eyes."

"On the visits we make sure that participants don't just sit on the bus," he said.

"We want them to walk in the mud in KTC and go into those little hoekies where people are proud of their homes made of zinc and plastics.

"The participants always meet with the leadership. I sometimes worry that we are taking too much of the leadership's time, but they are always friendly and helpful."

The township visit programme is specifically designed to give people an insight into the housing shortage and the so-called black on black violence that destroyed parts of Crossroads and KTC squatter camps.

"When Stellenbosch students from one residence throw stones at those of another, no-one talks about white on white violence. There is often a gut-racism that informs white understanding of what has happened in the squatter areas of Cape Town over the last few years," says Nic Borain, regional director of Idasa in the Western Cape.

"What we try to do with the visits is give people a sense of what life is like for township residents," he said.

"Once you have seen Khayelitsha you are forever bound by the knowledge that the problem of housing is extremely serious and urgent. When you have spoken to the residents you realise that the question of black political rights is as urgent."

Idasa's Western Cape office will be cutting back on informal visits to the townships, but will continue with much of the existing programme. Anyone wishing to take part in a visit should contact Sarah at 22-2150 during working hours.

Memorial service for Lubowski

Advocate Anton Lubowski, a guest at the opening of the Natal regional office of Idasa in 1988, was remembered in a well attended memorial service held in Durban recently.

Advocate Lubowski, the first



Adv Anton Lubowski

white Namibian to publicly declare his membership of Swapo, was assassinated outside his Windhoek home in September. He was at the time a member of the Swapo election team preparing for the November elections to be held under UN Resolution 435.

The memorial service was addressed by local members of the legal profession and the mass democratic movement as well as Pastor Pius Dinika of the Christian Council of Namibia and Mr Laurie Nathan, past consultant for Idasa and a member of the Namibia Solidarity Committee.

A message from Swapo was read.

A year earlier Advocate Lubowski had spoken on the prospects for independence in Namibia. Overturning all the local pessimism he expressed optimism that a settlement would be achieved and cited a common international formula, financial pressure, internal resistance and the vulnerability of the military as pointers to this optimism.

Within the year, he was working in Namibia for the elections which are a part of the settlement process. Speakers at the service remembered his commitment and enthusiasm, his willingness to involve himself fully, and his regular call on South Africans to acknowledge that Namibian independence was inextricably linked with South African freedom.

During the memorial service, notice was given of the establishment in Durban of a Namibia support group.

Paul Graham
Regional Director

Local government for the people?

In September, the Port Elizabeth office of Idasa helped to arrange one of the most significant work-

shops on local government yet seen in the city. It was significant because for the first time white opinion-formers sat across the table from recognised community leadership and debated the pros and cons of non-racial local government.

Keith Wattrus, Idasa co-director, and Roger Matlock, director of the Urban Foundation in Port Elizabeth, were instrumental in setting up the meeting. The Urban Foundation, who have conducted their own research into non-racial local government used the meeting as an opportunity to present some of their findings. These were then discussed and new proposals were thrown in from around the table.

Debate remained at a sensible and unemotional level, and clearly no one could have left without being deeply impressed by what interaction of this nature can achieve. With the "city



Keith Wattrus

fathers" becoming increasingly aware of the necessity of including everyone in their planning, new hope has been held out for a harmonious single city of Port Elizabeth.

Included amongst the 36 people who attended this workshop were city councillors, members of management committees, representatives of the town clerk's office, representatives of both the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Industries, university professors, business representatives and Black Management Forum members; members of the Black Sash, the Port Elizabeth Action Committee, and senior leadership of the United Democratic Front and some of its affiliates.

Several persons who are restricted had their restrictions temporarily lifted to enable them to attend, and this in itself augurs well for the future. Could it be that Port Elizabeth could lead the way towards a non-racial democratic future? If the current mood holds, and we think it will, then we say: "Watch us!"

Keith Wattrus
Co-director

Saying no to apartheid's army

By Laura Pollecutt

Conscription is an issue which unites most women regardless of their status: they are the mothers, wives, girlfriends and sisters of white men who are forced by law to serve in the South African Defence Force. A recent meeting of the Johannesburg-based Idasa forum, Women Facing The Future Together focused on conscription and provided the 125 women who attended with three speakers from diverse but equally affected backgrounds. One of them has a son currently serving a six-year sentence for refusing to serve in the SADF because of his Christian principles; the second has served in the SADF as a commissioned officer and has since refused to continue participating in the system; and the third has lived as a victim of apartheid all her life and has experienced the SADF personally. Their contributions raised some burning issues.

Judy Bester, mother of Charles Bester sentenced in December to six years' imprisonment in a criminal jail, describes her family as typically middle-class white South Africans. She told the forum how she and her husband had had to work hard to provide the type of home and education she wanted for her children. Until recently she had felt "smug" about the family's achievements. Then came what she referred to as the "knockout blow" — Charles' decision to refuse his military call-up.

Recalling her emotions at the time of her son's sentencing, Judy said, "It was like being punched in the solar plexus. All the breath of life was knocked clean out of us, and it was the hardest thing in the world to pick ourselves up and carry on with life with some semblance of normality. The worst moment of my life was seeing our much loved teenage son being hauled out of the dock and hustled down to the cells by two burly policemen after he had put up a spirited defence against the might of the state."

Judy said many had questioned Charles' decision, some even going so far as to suggest "sinister forces bent on undermining the internal security of the state" had manipulated him. However, after providing a very clear picture of Charles' background and his deep Christian commitment, it was obvious that he had reached his own conclusions. "He wanted no part in the defence of a system based on discriminatory practices, one which denies human dignity rather than affirming it. He concluded that the SADF's role in the townships was not one of the impartial defender and protector, but (that the SADF) has become in some measure the tool of oppression."

André Zaïman, the next speaker who is also Idasa's regional director in Pretoria, proved that conscientious objection was not the preserve of the young and uninitiated. André, who as an Afrikaner dissident has had a painful and often lonely journey, served in the SADF and fought in Namibia. Since the completion of his national service he has resigned his commission as officer and refused to do the required reserve duty



SADF role questioned . . . Judy Bester and Sister Bernard Ncube.

or camps. André traced Afrikaner history to explain what he believes objection really is and means.

He referred to 2 March 1915, when Boer leader General J B M Hertzog was asked in

Parliament why he never spoke out against the Boer generals who in 1914 refused to be conscripted into the Union Army in order to invade South West Africa. The general's reply indicated that had he spoken out in favour of the generals he and many others would have been in jail. However, had he said what the government had wanted him to say he would have been a political prostitute.

"I am not a political prostitute," André said. "Objection confronted me with this choice because it is an act of value definition, of setting unambiguous parameters for your morality; an act of saying this I will do and this I won't. In objecting one rejects certain things; in this case the right of an illegitimate state to conscript you and consequently force you to defend a system that is indefensible."

Apart from believing that objection is a

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Keuse vir vryheid moontlik

Mense in Suid-Afrika word deur sekere moeilike morele keuses gekonfronteer. Die weiering van jong blanke mans om in die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag te dien is 'n poging om dié dimensie van die morele keuse weer aan wit Suid-Afrikaners voor te hou, sê Andries du Toit, een van die 771 mans wat onlangs geweier het om in die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag te dien.

"Dienspligweieraars soos David Bruce (wat tans sy ses jaar tronkstraf uitdien vir sy weiering om in die SAW te dien) probeer om mense te inspireer om wel hierdie klein keusetjies te maak. En as Suid-Afrikaners begin om dié keuses te maak, mag hulle dalk weer begin trots voel om wit Suid-Afrikaners te wees," sê hy.

Andries, wat sy voorgraadse studie op Stellenbosch voltooi het, werk tans aan 'n meestersgraad in politieke wetenskap by die Universiteit van Kaapstad en kon tot dusver nog sy dienspligverpligtinge uitstel. By die voltooiing van sy Meestersgraad kan hy egter wel opgeroep word en dalk tot ses jaar tronkstraf gevonniss word. Nogtans twyfel hy nie daaraan dat hy die regte keuse gemaak het nie.

Hy was reeds deel van die eerste groep van 23 jong mans wat in Augustus 1987 bekend gemaak het dat hulle weier om in die SAW te dien. Vandag erken hy egter dat hy in 1987 nie werklik gereed was om die gevolge van sy besluit te kan verwerk nie. "Maar ek het met 'n mate van roekeloosheid en desperaatheid by my besluit gebly voordat ek uiteindelik besef het dat ek wel bereid sou wees om die gevolge van my besluit te hanteer."

"Voordat ek die keuse gemaak het, kon ek nie oor die toekoms dink nie. Ek het van jaar

tot jaar gelewe en die toekoms was net 'n grys wolk waarvoor ek nie wou dink nie. Nadat ek besluit het om nie in die SAW te dien nie, kon ek weer met hoop oor die toekoms in Suid-Afrika begin dink. Nou kan ek deur die Karoo verby dorpie soos Merwe-

ville ry en met redelike sekerheid weet dat ek oor 40 jaar nog steeds hier gaan wees om dié dinge te ervaar."

Dat hy die keuse téén diensplig sou maak, sou vir die meeste bewaarders van volk en vaderland seker nie te verbasend wees nie. Andries kom uit 'n liberale familie — sy pa, prof André du Toit, is onder andere 'n direkteur van Idasa — en hy was op skool nooit baie entoesiasies oor kadette en die weermag nie. "Ek kon myself nooit

met die fascisme van die kadette assosieer nie. Nogtans het diensplig vir my onafwendbaar gelyk en het dit nooit by my opgekom dat ek keuses daarvoor kan maak nie."

Op die ouderdom van 16 het hy egter 'n jaar in die VSA deurgebring wat sy uitkyk op die lewe heeltemal verander het. "Ek is gekonfronteer deur 'n skool wat nie gekenmerk is deur die lomp en kinderagtige fascisme van my ou skool Paul Roos nie. Ons is as grootmense behandel en daar is verag dat mens soos grootmens sou optree. Daar was ook intense debatte oor die morele kwessies van die dag. Daar het ek besef dat mens wel oor dié kwessies keuses kan maak."

"Dit klink nou bietjie dramaties, maar ek het Amerika toe gegaan as iemand wat teen apartheid gekant is en teruggekom as iemand wat homself met die struggle van die gewone mense van Suid-Afrika identifiseer."

Hy sê dat die militarisering van ons samelewing hom geweldig getref het met sy terug-

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Andries du Toit

Saying 'no'

From Page 11

value definition, André also believes it is an act of defiance. Just as all conscripts share a collective responsibility for the terrible crimes of apartheid, there is also a tremendous power and potential that is locked up in our collective defiance to obey unjust laws. This, André believes, is the way to wrestle control over our lives from the state.

He says, "Objection is also a demonstration of the commitment and resolve of white South Africans to fight repression and oppression no matter what the costs. It is the demonstration of our realisation that building a better future implies sacrifices, of our willingness to do so, and of our belief that a more just society is in fact possible. With this act of

civil disobedience we strengthen and nurture the growth of a democratic political culture . . . and we contribute towards the suffocation of authoritarianism that has become the hallmark of our society."

The authoritarianism of the state and the callous behaviour of the SADF were confirmed by Sister Bernard Ncube who was able to speak from firsthand experience. Currently the president of the Federation of Transvaal Women, Sister Bernard is a member of the Companions of the Catholic Order, has taught extensively, and has completed a diploma in theology. She has been in detention several times but the last time was for 16 months, 13 of which were spent in solitary confinement.

After giving a brief history of the entrance of the army into the townships in 1984, Sister Bernard gave a detailed and personalised

account of the SADF's invasion of Kagiso, a township outside Krugersdorp in the Transvaal.

"The army invaded every street, house and school. We were unprepared and felt traumatised and confused. It was like a whirlwind with young children calling you for someone who had been beaten up or shot and we did not know how to handle the situation. At night children would come looking for accommodation, parents would be seeking children and often they would be found in hospital.

"Then I dared to say I would phone parliament and in fact spoke to Leon Wessels who was the MP for the area. I tried to explain who I was and told him that there had already been eight deaths in two weeks. I asked him to do something for us, I pleaded with the magistrate to help stop this brutality."

Before a report could be done and sent to Cape Town, more deaths occurred and Sister Bernard and the community decided to launch an interdict against the brutality of the SADF. Judge Goldstein was prevented from hearing the interdict and a local investigation was stopped before the defence was finished. This was mainly because Sister Bernard and her colleagues were locked up. Six months later efforts to sue the government for injuries inflicted by the defence force (some people are in wheelchairs as a result of SADF action), the community were told that the interdict could not be received and all claims were stopped.

All this, Sister Bernard says, has not affected the beliefs of the young lions who she says are still highly spirited and resisting every time. She concluded with a plea to all mothers to say "no" to the brutality of apartheid before the loss of respect for life permeates our lives.

Keuse vir vryheid

From Page 11

keer. Sy romantiese identifikasie met die struggle het die kwessie van diensplig ook meer onmiddelik gemaak. "Ek is gevul met vrees en afsku oor die moontlikheid dat ek as 'n lid van die SAW dalk iemand sou moes doodmaak of dalk self doodgemaak sou kon word vir waardes waarteen ek hart en siel gekant was."

Dit was egter eers in 1987 dat hy finaal besluit het om 'n dienspligweieraar te word. "Op UCT was ek nie by al die protesoptogte betrokke nie. Ek het op die rand gestaan en maar my gang gegaan. Nogtans was ek by ander mense en organisasies betrokke en twee van my kenisse is in daardie tydperk in terme van Artikel 29 van die Strafproseswet in aanhouding geneem."

Andries sê dat die konfrontasie met die brutaliteit van die sisteem hom al hoe meer laat besef het dat mens keuse in Suid-Afrika

moet maak. "Met Ashley Kriel se begrafnis het ek ook besef watter grimmige en geweldadige plek Suid-Afrika is en watter offerings mense moet maak wat in die struggle is. Ek het besef dat Suid-Afrika 'n land van doringdraad en traangas geword het."

Dit is in dié konteks dat hy kort daarna besluit het om deel van die groep van 23 jong mans te word wie se verklaring so 'n opskudding by die generaals veroorsaak het. Dit gaan vir hom dus oor meer as net 'n beswaar teen die SAW. "'n Mens moet 'n keuse maak of jy deel wil word van die stryd en skouer aan skouer vir bevryding wil veg met al die gewone mense van Suid-Afrika en of jy jou lot by die klein kliek van Juppies en tegnokrate wil ingooi," sê Andries.

"Baie mense probeer om die realiteite te ignoreer en vergryp hulself aan drank of dagga, aan CD-spelers en duur motors, maar so sit 'n mens net tralies om jou bestaan. As jy egter 'n keuse maak om vir vryheid te veg, kan jy jouself in die proses ook bevry."

Letters From Page 3

London with a renewed desire to do something to get people from different cultures together so that a better understanding of our situation can develop.

After meeting a deputy principal of St Matthews High School in Ciskei at a teachers' event arranged by the Independent Teachers' Centre in East London, we arranged to have a workshop involving pupils from our schools in a cultural exchange situation.

On a Saturday in March about 50 pupils from St Matthews High (a girls' school) joined a number of our girls, plus a couple of brave boys, for a workshop that was planned jointly by our English and pastoral departments. Group discussions were held on a variety of topics including the relevancy of school, strengths and weaknesses, greatest leaders and post-school plans.

The discussions were cautious at first, but after some ice breaker activities they livened up. Feedback from our white pupils included amazement at the clear objectives and goals that black pupils seemed to have. They were also surprised at the historical and general knowledge that these pupils had.

Those of us who were privileged to have a part in this event went away with a greater hope for the future because there existed among these young people a genuine desire to get to know each other better. Since the

workshop some of the pupils have been corresponding.

Johan Smulders
East London

(letter shortened)

Socialism not the cure

I have read with great interest your publication and I have closely followed the political developments within South Africa. A recent comment in your publication by Murphy Morobe of the Mass Democratic Movement disturbed me. Mr Morobe called for state intervention into the economy and said he doesn't rule out "some form of nationalisation". In other words to cure the problem of state intervention into the economy (via apartheid laws) he proposes further state intervention. It seems he should be proposing state deregulation.

Throughout the world people are learning how socialism (nationalisation) destroys prosperity. Instead of redistributing the wealth it only succeeds in redistributing the poverty. Instead of making the poor rich it only manages to make the rich poor, with one exception — those agents of the government in charge of the redistribution.

Laws which restrict economic freedom on the basis of race must be repealed but it is the height of absurdity to replace those with

other laws that also restrict economic freedom. The answer to repression is freedom, not repression, and when the MDM learns that, all of South Africa will be better off.

J Peron
San Francisco

(letter shortened)

Bridge building

The executive and members of the Isnembe Social League (ISL) would like to extend their sincere thanks and appreciation to Idasa for funding and making possible the successful programme held at the Umgababa Holiday Resort on 23 September.

The Isnembe Social League was not able to fund such a programme although members were eager to participate in a bridge building exercise of this nature.

Idasa has been instrumental in promoting good relations between the various races and this exercise was ample proof of it. The youth have certainly learnt a lot about the basics of life, and the barriers that are preventing progress at present.

We hope that Idasa continues in this spirit, and may God give you all the courage and energy to continue your work.

Sanjay Maharaj
ISL President
Tonga

(See report, Page 10)

Private schools: vice or virtue?

A seminar on equal education for all was held recently in the Natal region. It was attended by some 150 teachers and educationalists from the Natal Teachers Association of South Africa, the Society of Natal Teachers and the National Education Union of South Africa.

It set out to cover issues of equality in provision, to explore curriculum and people's education and to discuss the role of private schools in society. It was this debate which generated substantial discussion, especially in a session dealing with questions concerning the role of private schools.

Freelance journalist SITHEMBISO SANGWENI attended the conference and wrote this report on that particular debate.

The role of private schools was the subject of intense discussion at the "Equal Education for All" conference held in Durban in September. The conference was jointly hosted by the Natal Teachers Society and Idasa.

The question that dominated the discussion amongst the academics was whether private schools could provide real equal education for all.

Cynthia Mphathi, a lecturer at the Umlazi college for Further Education who spoke on education and culture, told the delegates that "since we are living in the technological era our culture needs to be functional as opposed to being aesthetic".

"The sentiment being shared here, calls for a re-look and re-appraisal of what we would like to pass on to our children," said Mphathi.

She said that culture, which was a complex issue, included knowledge, belief, art, morale, and custom collated as details of people, their geography, history and relations which exist between them.

Culture, she added, was a progression of human society from one stage of organisation to the next, where each stage is characterised by an increase in man's conscious control of nature. This includes the art of subsistence, or primary institutions like government, family and property.

However, Mrs N Nkosi, another lecturer at Umlazi College of Education, spoke on the role of private schools and pointed out that private schools have generally been perceived as perpetuating social inequalities. This was borne out by the fact that children who attended private schools were from middle class families. "Private schools propel an elitist culture which creates social distance between children," Nkosi said. As a result, children from private schools find themselves isolated from real life, she said.

But parents still send their children to these schools because they felt that the private schools provided a chance for their children to receive a decent education, Mrs Nkosi said. Because they admit a limited number of students and because of their privileged positions these schools, for example, attracted some of the best teachers. However, white private schools have played a divisive role in the society because of their selectivity, Nkosi said.

Prof A M Barret of the University of Natal said that private schools had a role to play but warned that this role was not primarily to provide equal education for all.

"If private schools do have a role this would presumably mean that we should strive to provide equal opportunities for members in the defined groups to enable them to choose such schools instead of state-controlled ones," he said.

In South Africa it is a matter of urgency that issues of equality be addressed. "Inequalities between groups, whether economically or racially defined, are painful evidence of an unjust society," Barret said.

He added that in black schools in particular there is a debilitating, destructive loss of morale, a loss of faith in schooling in general.

He attributed this to the unequal distribution of resources and added that it was also the result of state-backed monolithic interpretations of culture, which among other things denied a proper place for the principle of freedom and hence the empowering role of education. However, he conceded that private schools have a role to play but pointed



Delegates at the equal education seminar listen attentively.

out that he could not justify their role simply on grounds of equality, but partly because he believed that the principles of equality itself is threatened unless their cardinal principles are taken into account.

The African social concept of "ubuntu" required "caring for individuals and groups, freedom to develop understandings, skills and personal relations, as well as equality of treatment, whether the treatment is of access, provision or outcome," said Barret.

The seminar was closed by John Aitchison, University of Natal education specialist, who summarised some of the discussion including the one on private schools. Commenting after the event he pointed out the need for more informal contact between teachers over day to day issues of classroom experience and facilities in addition to the more abstract debate over policy and provision.

Teachers find common ground

After arranging several successful weekend forums for scholars, Idasa's Port Elizabeth office decided to do the same for teachers. Teachers from all Port Elizabeth communities were invited to spend a weekend in October at the Tsitsikamma Lodge outside Port Elizabeth.

Generally the response to the invitation was poor, except for the white English-speaking community and the black community, who both supported the venture enthusiastically. Sadly, those who missed this opportunity by standing sceptically on the sidelines, have fallen a further few steps behind in the process which emerged from this very successful initiative. The teachers, when they left this weekend, might have been forgiven for believing that they have the edge on their counterparts who are still battling to overcome their prejudices and scepticisms.

The 22 teachers who did participate clearly found it a most constructive exercise. One never ceases to be amazed at how quickly the realisation dawns that there is so much common ground and goodwill, just waiting to be discovered. Colleagues who have been separated in their careers by race barriers suddenly come together and find that they not only share many of the same concerns, but experience many of the same problems. Distrust and fear are replaced by

relief and hope as new friendships are formed, and new associations made.

Brother Neil McGurk, head of the non-racial Sacred Heart College in Johannesburg, was the guest facilitator at the weekend. He brought with him a wealth of information and experience, built up through years of resolving, in his school, the very problems that are set to face others who are just now entering the realm of non-racialism.

Most enlightening was his overview of the demographic patterns in education in South Africa, and his warning that white schools are slowly being faced with the truth that they will either have to close down or be prepared to admit all races. And that the jobs of many teachers will only be secured by the willingness of their schools to become non-racial.



Teachers get together.

Regrouping in SA sport on the cards?

By Cheryl Roberts

Sport in South Africa is on the threshold of a new era. Organisations — from both the establishment and non-racial perspectives — will have to make some important political and strategic decisions about the transformation of sport in preparation for a new society.

One of the biggest challenges confronting democratic sports organisations is the development of a mass-based non-racial sports movement. This sports organisation will have the task of organising not only the urban sports people but also those in the rural areas, emphasising a people's culture of sport in doing so.

In recent years there have been calls from community and labour organisations for sports bodies to become mass-based and representative of all sports people. At this juncture no specific organisation has emerged which can claim these features but there are indications that the transformation of sport is high on the agenda of sports organisations.

It has been argued that whilst the South African Council of Sport (Sacos) has done sterling work in the promotion of non-racial sport against many adverse factors, the organisation has not met the expectations of it to become the mass-based, sports movement. The recent formation of the National Sports Congress (NSC), an organisation closely allied to the Mass Democratic Movement, might be an indication of the impatience of some sports people with the progress Sacos has made over the last few years in this regard.

Despite the recent criticism of Sacos the organisation has played a huge role in the successful international isolation of multi-national sport. Shortly after its formation in 1973 Sacos resolved to support the international moratorium on sports contact with South Africa. This was the policy being pursued by the exiled South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc). To gain support for the international campaign Sacos highlighted the contradictions and inequalities of the apartheid social order which ensured privileges for a minority and minimal amenities for the oppressed majority.

In 1977, following representations from Sanroc and Sacos, the United Nations passed resolutions which prohibited international tours to and from South Africa. A further ban was slapped on coaches visiting the country for coaching assignments.

In February 1986, the president of the South African Cricket Union, Mr Geoff Dakin, admitted that the sports boycott had helped to promote social change in the country. He went on to say that anti-apartheid activist Peter Hain had acted as a catalyst "in getting us to look at ourselves in the mirror".

The success of the isolation campaigns



MDM-organised demonstrations plagued the international rugby team on their recent tour of South Africa.

prompted the government into action. Since the mid-1980s the government has consistently tried to depict the sports network as being deracialised and depoliticised. In response the anti-apartheid sports groupings have sought to deliberately show that the political language still existent in the sports apparatus with their slogan of "No Normal Sport in an Abnormal Society". Sacos played a major role in popularising this slogan.

A little over 18 months ago Sacos could claim to be the only legitimate sports structure amongst the oppressed. But, impatient with the pace of the mass organisation of non-racial sport, another structure, the NSC, has emerged. The NSC claims that it was not formed in opposition to Sacos but is prepared to work with Sacos to bring about a truly mass-based, democratic sports movement in the country and to assist with the development of non-racial sport, particularly in the African townships where large numbers of players have been lured into the ranks of multi-national sport.

Whilst the NSC argues it was not formed in opposition to Sacos there is no doubt that its existence has opened an area of contestation between the two sports forces as both are competing for the same constituency. Since the NSC's inception, relations between it and Sacos have not been healthy and a few meetings between the two — held under strained conditions — did little to alleviate the simmering tensions.

In September the two sports groupings met yet again to sort out their differences and the parameters of their territories. How-

ever, talks deadlocked after the NSC refused to acknowledge Sacos as the authentic sports wing of the liberation struggle. At this stage both the NSC and Sacos are consulting with their respective constituencies on how to resolve the non-racial sports impasse.

The basic divide between the NSC and Sacos and the issue on which they fail to agree is each other's affiliations in the liberation struggle.

From the outset the NSC stated that it is aligned to the Mass Democratic Movement. Sacos claims that because its membership has diverse political affiliations it has chosen to remain non-aligned. Sacos also argues that it committed itself, from the time of its formation, to the liberation struggle and does not find it in the interest of non-racial sport to align itself to a particular political force.

It is because of this steadfast stance on alignment that speculation points to what has been termed as a split in non-racial sport. Whilst the future of sport is difficult to predict there are some indications that point to a likely scenario.

Whilst one grouping are arguing for a conciliatory and working relationship between the two anti-apartheid sports forces there are some who say that the parting of the ways must come about.

Although not formally announced, the NSC is expected to launch on a national scale early next year. Already interim committees have been set up throughout the country. Sacos is unlikely to allow dual affiliations, that is, membership to both Sacos and the

Compassionate study of ravaged Mozambique

By ANTHONI VAN NIEUWKERK

MOZAMBIQUE: CAUGHT IN THE TRAP by Derrick Knight (Christian Aid, London, 1988)

Although South Africans frequently read and hear of the tragic course of events in Mozambique, not many can comprehend the massive scale of death and destruction that continues to ravage the country. Yet it is important for all of southern Africa's inhabitants to understand the history of the conflict in Mozambique, because therein lies a number of lessons for all of us. "Mozambique: Caught in the Trap" is one of a few publications that tries to paint, in words and photographs, a vivid picture of the grim reality that faces Mozambique today.

The book is written from a Christian perspective, and therefore deals in a compassionate manner with the plight of the victims of poverty, displacement, disease and Renamo's atrocities. Its author does not pull any punches, however. A great deal of the tragedy in Mozambique is attributed to deliberate South African policies which, under the Botha government, included active support for Renamo.

It would be unrealistic, however, to blame South Africa and Renamo for all of Mozambique's ills. The book devotes a chapter to what its author calls "A mean heritage". Colonial neglect and subsequent underdevelopment, economic policies by Frelimo based on rigid Marxist lines, and large-scale nationalisation all contributed to the exacerbation of the Mozambican crisis. For instance, it is claimed that "Some early Frelimo policies unwittingly aided the MNR by reducing the level of active Frelimo support among the rural population. The lack of attention to the peasantry in economic planning was compounded in some areas, by attempts to compel unwilling peasants into communal villages".

The book furthermore presents the reader with a large number of "case studies", where the people of Mozambique, usually victims of violence or witnesses to atrocities, are allowed to speak for themselves. Reading through these documented cases makes for chilly reading. The following are only two such extracts:

"The people tell me of their suffering and of the atrocities committed by the bandits. They respect no one. They force people to work for them. They send people on forced marches. They force women to become prostitutes. They kill people they find hiding in the bush..."
— Alberto Duarte, a Baptist Union Pastor

"I am a worker on a farm near Nauela. When the enemy arrived in 1986 I ran away to Alto Molocue. When we thought the bandits had gone we went back to find them still in the district. They came and went so we took to sleeping in the bush. They began to burn our houses... I lost, I lost, I lost. All my parents. I lost some brothers and sisters."
— Alberto de Sao Remo, farm labourer



Apart from these graphic descriptions, the extent of the suffering is clinically laid out by the use of statistics. These indicate that in the last eight years in Mozambique as a whole, 500 000 people have died from the effects of the war. Some five million Mozambicans are now displaced or affected or have fled over neighbouring borders in the hope of finding peace. The effect of having to cope with up to a third of the total population either on the move or dependent on relief supplies has been shattering on the Mozambican economy.

In spite of all this doom and despair, however, hope shines through. President Chissano told Parliament in 1987: "We cannot wait for peace to start economic rehabilitation, nor wait for economic power to win the war against the armed bandits." The scale of the emergency has called into being a massive relief operation supported by national and international programmes and budgets. These efforts are described in detail, including the role of the Christian Council of Mozambique and the SADCC countries. In 1987, the Mozambican government adopted the Economic Recovery Programme, which was designed to stop the serious decline in the economy and to create a base for a new start to Mozambican development.

Recent events in Mozambique have overtaken some of the more pessimistic conclusions reached by the book. The ruling party has reconsidered its dogmatic adherence to Marxism-Leninism, and a peace process between Frelimo and Renamo is now beginning to take shape. Given the nature of Renamo's composition, however, an end to the conflict in Mozambique might still take years.

The Christian Council of Mozambique and the other churches in the region have asked "to help us cry out against this unjust war which is being moved against Mozambique, to make people understand the real nature of the war and to do all in their power to bring peace to our shattered country". This is a call which is addressed to all of us, and which should be seriously considered.

□ Anthoni van Nieuwkerk is a research officer with the SA Institute of International Affairs.

NSC and will in all probability ask their membership to make a choice. The choice of course will not be an easy and simple one but will require painstaking thought before finality is reached.

Initially the NSC's constituency is likely to be centred around African sportspeople. But at the same time, although they have not formally announced their intended affiliation, it is likely that non-racial codes like soccer, cricket and rugby will gain a majority backing to move their allegiance from Sacos to the NSC.

Here the decision will be a political one — because these codes support the MDM, they will want to play their sport under the banner of the MDM. For the other codes and players under Sacos and those who are not affiliated to an umbrella sports structure, their decision to join either sports grouping is likely to be prompted by the facilities, funds, amenities that are being offered. After all, most people play sport for the enjoyment and whoever makes their life most enjoyable in this regard will win their support.

The NSC, whilst still in its formative stages, has a challenging road ahead. It has the advantage of learning from the mistakes and weaknesses of other sports groups but it has the advantage of being guided by the oppositional forces, particularly the MDM. If its "Unity in Sports" conference in July was anything to go by then the stage has definitely been set for the emergence of one of the most significant sports organisations in South Africa.

What does the emergence of the NSC mean for multinational sport? In its short existence the NSC has already attracted the attention of some multinational codes like the road runners and the South African Cricket Union who want to talk to the NSC. But besides attracting their attention the NSC is already having an effect on the internal administration of some codes — like the recent happenings in athletics. But those who think that the NSC will be a liberal sports structure compared to the "hardline" attitude of Sacos are mistaken.

The NSC's agenda for a mass based sports movement will in all probability include discussions between all sports codes. But these talks will have stringent pre-conditions like the abandonment of rebel tours and acceptance of non-racial sport. Also, there is no way the NSC will relax the sports moratorium, particularly as it affects multinational sport, and it will campaign vigorously for its continued isolation.

As far as Sacos and the NSC are concerned they will continue with their programmes. For both anti-apartheid sports forces the real test of strength will be shown by the support they command on the ground. If either fail to deliver the sports goods they will cause a knockout blow for non-racial sport. Both are aware of their challenges, weaknesses and complexities at this juncture. Hopefully, they will act as stimulants for their respective roads ahead.

There is no doubt that South African sport has reached a critical turning point. Which way to turn and how to respond to events and developments unfolding are integral issues confronting sports organisations. Once decided, these will have a crucial bearing on the sports network in a post-apartheid society.

□ Cheryl Roberts is a freelance journalist in Cape Town.

Election results leave govt with limited options

Key figures in Zimbabwean politics attending a three-day seminar on the short and long term implications of the 1989 elections in South Africa repeatedly asked their South African guests whether the National Party government would really be prepared to start negotiation with the leaders of the majority of the people of South Africa.

But the panel of academics, journalists and politicians from South Africa invited to Harare by the Cold Comfort Farm Trust to brief local politicians and representatives of the different embassies on the issue differed sharply.

The seminar, attended by representatives of the Zimbabwean Institute for Development, the office of the Zimbabwean Minister of Internal Affairs, and the University of Zimbabwe, generated heated discussions. Representatives of the ANC and the PAC also attended the seminar, jointly organised by Idasa and Cold Comfort.

Some academics were sceptical about the De Klerk government's willingness to negotiate themselves out of power. Idasa's research consultant, Ian Liebenberg, fell in with this cautious view and argued that there were only three options that the government could follow after winning the election with less than 50 per cent of the popular white vote.

Liebenberg said that the government had a choice of either upholding white domination by means of co-optive domination or starting on the way towards a real negotiated settlement. They were, however, unlikely to do so. The government will rather experiment with a form of "pacification democracy" built upon "sham negotiations", Liebenberg said.

He said that this changing political situation will open up strategic gaps that could effectively be used to force the government into real negotiations.

In his analysis of the election, Donald Simpson, political scientist and statistician from the Potchefstroom University for Higher Christian Education, disagreed with Liebenberg's pessimistic views on negotiation, arguing that the lack of growth in support for the Conservative Party and the voters' support for "reform" could mean that negotiations were a real possibility in the near future.

"If the Natal Indian Congress and the UDF had nominated candidates on an abstention platform for the House of Delegates and House of Representatives, the whole course of South African politics could have been changed," he said. He wanted to know why the MDM/UDF had not seized this opportunity to put up candidates to sabotage the tricameral parliament.

His views were the subject of a heated discussion and MDM and ANC representatives argued strongly that one could not contradict one's strategy by entering the tricameral system, which they view as totally immoral, unrepresentative and illegitimate.

This view was not fully shared by James Selfe, a member of the Democratic Party serving in the President's Council who argued that the new NP government's shift away from a security orientated government to a more civilian style of government created a political space in which groups opposed to

A group of South African political observers recently briefed a range of people in Zimbabwe on the implications of the September election results. They were asked whether the De Klerk government would be willing to negotiate themselves out of power — and not all of them came up with the same answer.

the government could manoeuvre.

"This state of things could easily be upset," he warned. "An incursion into South Africa, a breakdown in the peace process in Angola, a civil war in Namibia — all these things could bring internal pressures to bear on FW de Klerk's government and move it firmly back into the Botha pattern. Above all, flexibility must be met with flexibility if the external dimension to the internal problem (and here we are talking about the ANC and MK) is to be solved."

However, Zac Yacoob, a member of the executive of the Natal Indian Congress, warned that people should not expect the MDM or any of the other extra-parliamentary groups to hold their strategies at bay to wait for people within the system to adjust the political system. The struggle and the pressure against the National Party is of great importance and morally justifiable and necessary.

After an intense discussion the majority of the delegates agreed that the MDM should continue with their struggle with their existing

resources and that this struggle should be conducted in a "disciplined and constructive" way.

Barry Streek, a Cape Town journalist, gave a somewhat more pessimistic interpretation of the outcome of the election than Donald Simpson. He said that the people of South Africa were divided into two camps — or as he called it, "two balloons drifting swiftly apart".

According to Streek the perceptions of the political reality differed sharply depending whether one was drifting in the "system" or the "struggle" balloon. The two groups' political realities are shaped by different experiences and sharply divergent value systems.

"Until those within the system balloon really accept that those within the struggle balloon do represent the majority of South Africans, I don't foresee any progress towards real democracy in our country," Streek said. "And what happened in the election campaign did not, I'm afraid, do that much in this direction. It rather confirmed and entrenched the two balloons."

"At the same time, however, the government almost desperately wants South Africa to become an active partner in the development of southern Africa. This provides the potential for flexibility and a more open approach to the current rulers of South Africa. Indeed, such an approach could even help bring the balloons down to earth," he said.

After three days of exhaustive deliberation the South African experts also spoke to representatives of embassies from the United States, Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, People's Republic of China, Denmark and others.

Here once again the central question was if FW de Klerk could be trusted to negotiate with organisations that represent the majority of the people in South Africa. A question that has yet to be answered . . .

TV news 'carefully manipulated'

The news on television was carefully manipulated in the run up to the general election on September 6 to fit into the NP election strategy, according to Prof John van Zyl of the department of dramatic art at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Prof Van Zyl, who is also a well known TV critic for *The Star*, co-ordinated a joint Idasa/Wits television news monitoring project prior to the election.

Students monitored the SABC television news throughout the election campaign and drew some interesting conclusions on the role the SABC played in building up the image of President F W de Klerk while demonising the Mass Democratic Movement.

"It is quite remarkable how the MDM was constructed as a leaderless, voiceless mob without a clear ideology and without a democratic mandate from the people," Van Zyl says. "The result was that the MDM became the embodiment of the deep, atavistic fear of many white South Africans, that of uncontrollable, black mob violence."

The SAP on the other hand was constantly valorised on television. "Hardly a broadcast passes without a reference to the police, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the police have taken the place of the military as the prime source of the state's power. The Minister of Defence appears far less than the Minister of Law and Order."

According to Van Zyl, the election debates tended to reinforce the cultivated image of the NP as the party of the reasonable centre. "The Democratic Party was marginalised in these debates in spite of good individual performances by Zach de Beer, Harry Schwarz and Denis Worrall. Their very reasonableness and logic could not counter the sensational headlines and threats by Vlok."

"Overall," Van Zyl concluded, "television news was carefully orchestrated to hold up the MDM defiance campaign as a warning of black violence to voters, as well as cultivating an image of F W de Klerk as a capable international statesman, taking over the reins from an ageing, unpredictable P W Botha."