

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

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

SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1990

State must be engaged in schools' battle

AN INVALUABLE and practical insight into the difficulty of changing the mess that apartheid has made of education was presented at the "Schools for the Future" Conference by the secretary for education and

culture in KaNgwane, Peter Buckland.

After listing numerous reforms that had been introduced by his department, Buckland stressed that the education system had not been transformed. On a positive note,

he suggested, however, that if one has learnt, one cannot be said to have failed.

Among the key lessons his department had learnt were:

- Governments do not transform societies, people do. If people are going to change society

they need to organise themselves.

- Transformation requires engagement with the state. Criticism and tearing down may be a start, but ultimately the system must be engaged.

To Page 4



Bill Staude, regional director of the DET.



Pupils express their views: Rejané Davids, Nolundi Gcilishe, Ruth Faragher, Annegret Rust and Thomas Hill.



John Samuel, head of the ANC education department.

THE MOST urgent challenge in building a new education system in South Africa is to revitalise and foster a "culture of learning" in society.

This was the opening night message from John Samuel, director of the SA Council of Higher Education and recently appointed head of education in the ANC, to pupils, parents and teachers from 50 Cape schools and a range of student/education organisations who attended the conference.

The urgency of the task was clear to the 300 and more delegates who showed an attentive eagerness to listen and exchange ideas at what was essentially a "working conference", aimed at getting the process of negotiating a new education system started at local level.

At the end of the weekend the resounding verdict was that the chance to meet and talk with people from other schools and communities had been invaluable.

During the final report-back session on practical means of developing schools to meet the challenges of the future, virtually all the

SA needs a 'culture of learning'

IN a country with 17 education departments, eight million illiterate adults and a breakdown of meaningful education, the nature of a future school system is critical. SUE VALENTINE reports on the 'Schools for the Future' conference hosted by Idasa in Cape Town in September.

groups committed themselves to "spreading the word" on what they had learned, as well as to cultivating the contacts made. A call on the government to create a unitary education department was also approved.

A warning note amid the optimism came from University of Cape Town educationist Peter Kallaway who, in summing up a workshop session, said that despite all the talk of hopes and fears about open schools, too little attention was being given to guiding principles, concrete actions and future direction.

He said teachers argued against bureaucratic controls and seemed to think that things would improve if they were left to themselves. "Such talk is very romantic," said Kallaway. "We have an education system with nearly 10 million

people, we cannot organise all that with only the teachers."

Developing the notion of a "culture of learning", John Samuel said the consequences of apartheid and the erosion of this culture - which

To Page 4

INSIDE

The politics
of peace
- PAGE 6 -

Demokrasie en
onderhandeling
- BLADSY 10 -

Cries from
the battlefields
- PAGE 12 -

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

Idasa's goals are:

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

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EDITORIAL

Signs of hope amid the gloom

THE horrifying violence which has left hundreds dead, many more injured and caused hundreds of thousands of rands worth of damage, has brought in its wake a deep sense of depression and gloom throughout South Africa.

While this is understandable, some positive measures have begun to emerge. Firstly, albeit belatedly, the state has shown its willingness to take seriously its responsibility in quelling the violence and to do so in an impartial manner. Secondly, the violence has shaken the complacency of many groups. Throughout South Africa there have been statements from political leaders, business leaders, church leaders and ordinary South Africans expressing their abhorrence of the violence, its total unacceptability and a commitment to peaceful negotiation. Thirdly, both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela are on record as saying that they will not allow violence from any quarter to derail the negotiation process.

Alliances

This last point is extremely important and encouraging. As a result we can expect that parties will begin to seek partners and alliances as we look towards the beginning of formal negotiations and eventual elections.

Mr De Klerk and the National Party have put considerable pressure on other political parties in their decision to open the National Party membership to people of all races. In doing so the National Party took a very real risk; it may well be that they have lost some of their traditional support to the Conservative Party. Nevertheless, it would appear that Mr De Klerk has had the unanimous backing of the cabinet and the caucus in this decision.

Certainly there are a number of distinct advantages in opening up the National Party. In the first place, the party can no longer be accused of being racist. Secondly, it is a further demonstration of Mr De Klerk's commitment to genuine and fundamental reform. Further, it broadens the base of potential support which could be enjoyed by Mr De Klerk and enables the National Party to become a genuine centre party, thereby attracting a wide variety of supporters who cannot find a home in the ANC/Inkatha/PAC on the one hand, or the Conservative Party on the other.

Membership

Having opened its membership to all, there is no longer any real need to seek alliances with the Democratic Party, the Labour Party or Solidarity. Mr De Klerk can now simply urge members of these parties to join this new centrist, non-racial party. Therefore the pressure is certainly on the other parliamentary parties.

South Africa's politics are remarkably fluid and any firm projections regarding

alliance politics are risky. But one thing is clear: there is a new dimension to politics in South Africa and the new space has brought about a new search and a renewing of positions. Consequently, there are bound to be many surprises ahead of us.

An obvious partner for the National Party to seek alliance with is Inkatha. This is no longer the attractive proposition it may once have been. Inkatha has become a political party in its own right, hoping no doubt that it can move into an alliance with the National Party. But Inkatha, since the outbreak of violence in Natal which has now spread so disastrously to the Transvaal, has become extremely controversial and the National Party may well want to keep some distance from Inkatha for that reason.

A second option which would have been unthinkable and impossible only a few months ago, is a possible alliance with the African National Congress itself. In this respect the South African Communist Party is a very serious problem for the National Party and this is the major reason why Mr De Klerk is seeking to isolate the SACP in his most recent speeches. Mr Mandela is the key to any possible alliance between the National Party and the African National Congress.

There are already the beginnings of an informal alliance and a degree of co-responsibility as witnessed by the frequent meetings and contact between the two leaders as well as between Mr Mandela and the Minister of Law and Order.

Suspicion

It is unlikely though, that the present relationship will go beyond an informal alliance. Already there are tensions on the ground for the ANC because of the suspicion among rank and file members of the state and its instruments, notably the security forces.

Therefore, it is probably in the interests of both the National Party and the ANC that the relationship will be based on co-responsibility. This would be very much of an informal alliance, at least in the short term.

Whatever direction alliance politics takes, the search for relevance and fresh appraisals involve at least a measure of informal negotiation. This is healthy and points towards realignments which can only assist the transition towards a non-racial democracy.

What is equally important is that while the jockeying for power goes on and deals are considered, it is for ordinary South Africans wherever they are - in local government, at universities, in communities, at professional level - to begin seriously meeting each other so that the process towards a democracy and a new South Africa can begin to have a base which is far wider and deeper than can be expected merely from leaders meeting from time to time.

- Alex Boraine
Executive Director



And why do you suppose your little Billy is the only one who can solve the country's problems?

Albie Sachs

LETTERS

disappointing on environment

CONGRATULATIONS on the excellent Idasa public meeting on the environment held in Cape Town in August. The speech by Ursula Eid of the German Greens Party was stimulating and informative, offering important challenges to South Africa without being prescriptive.

However, the input by senior ANC member Albie Sachs was extremely disappointing. His speech and replies to questions were superficial and sentimental. He often seemed ignorant of the most basic questions with which the worldwide environmental movement is grappling.

Surprisingly, Sachs made no attempt to outline ANC policy or even offer policy guidelines on ecological issues. Much of his talk was devoted instead to his personal love of nature and the South African people's "connectedness to the land".

Whatever the merits of this, it has nothing to do with the central environmental problems confronting South Africa together with all nations: deforestation, overpopulation, global warming, nuclear proliferation, the destruction of the ozone layer, the reliance on non-renewable fossil fuels for energy and the massive pollution of land, air and water.

When he did touch briefly on some of these issues, Sachs often missed the point. When questioned on the problem of population growth, for example, he simply compared the low population density of South

Africa with the high density of Germany, and concluded that "quality rather than quantity" was at issue here.

This is wrong. Since natural resources are not infinite, and economic growth is limited, the number of people who have to be supported obviously affects the average quality of life. The planet is just not capable of sustaining the current rate of global population growth, hence the international concern to slow it down.

COMPARING the population densities of South Africa and European countries is fallacious. In the first place, the latter generally have zero or negative growth rates while the former, along with the rest of the Third World, is growing at an exponential rate. Secondly, the population density of particular countries has to be assessed relative to their carrying capacities in terms of available drinking water, arable land and so on.

To treat the "population problem" as if it were solely the concern of conservative lunatics who want to "stop the blacks from breeding", and to make facetious comments about sterilisation, as Sachs did, is not helpful. The long-term solutions — government education programmes and efforts to raise the national level of literacy — simply have to be undertaken.

In his speech, Sachs also warned against attempting to address environmental problems in South Africa by restricting development, as the Greens Party is proposing for Europe. The mass of South Africans do not have access to electricity, piped water and paper, he said, and must have it.

This is no longer a matter of debate: it is beyond question that South Africa is a developing country in which the vast majority of

To Page 12

JA-NEE

Sounding off

DESPITE extensive repairs, ever since a bomb blast damaged Idasa regional director Hermien Kotzé's car in East London, the hooter goes off when she turns right.

— Loose connections are one thing, let's hope their powder is wet the next time.

The invisible other half

THE hopeful signs shown by the ANC through the inclusion of two women in its initial negotiating team have been dashed by the recent announcement that despite the constitutional committee being expanded to 20 members, only one of them is a woman.

— Aluta continua

Biting the bullet

A CAPTAIN of industry on the recent Idasa visit to the Frontline states brazenly tackled the PAC over its "one settler, one bullet" line during a meeting in Harare. "So where's the bullet with my name on it?" he asked the PAC representative. "There's more than one for business," was the adroit reply.

— Ja-nee.

Censoring the scenic

TAKING tourist snaps across bridges over the Zambezi can have its drawbacks. Another Idasa Frontline "tourist" got a half-hour grilling and lost his camera film to boot after zealous Zambian border police objected to a picture he took of the bridge.

— Strategic maybe, but it doesn't do much for Southern African relations.

Avoiding a new basis for social divisions

IF EDUCATION reforms perpetuate the divisions between education and training or the vocational and the academic there can be no hope for a democratic education system in South Africa, according to British educational sociologist Michael Young.

Making the point that no one has yet been successful in tackling the issue of the low value attached to technical or vocational education, Young said the divisions in education originate not in the curriculum, but in the economic system. The education curriculum simply perpetuated the divisions.

He said the assumptions which informed the British education system were unavoidably part of South Africa's heritage because of the colonial relationship. If South Africans did not understand what that legacy entailed, it would continue to haunt their future.

The divisions pointed to a political issue which assumes a difference between those educated "to know" and those educated "to do". "This is the very antithesis of democracy," said Young.

Other countries had tried various strategies to grapple with the problem:

- Low status vocations can be upgraded – a solution typical in America. However, in Britain (and arguably in South Africa too), the issue is not so much about the content of the work than about its

connotations.

- In France academic education is diversified to provide multiple routes into higher education. This has gigantic financial implications, but it also means that new forms of stratification emerge and with them, a new hierarchy.

- If one accepts the inevitability of divisions, it is possible to try and strengthen both routes, as implemented in Germany. This depends on a culture which accords high status to the world of work.

- The most radical alternative — but the one most needed, according to Young is to begin to envisage a unified system of curricula and qualifications. This would create a more flexible system in which people could move freely between the world of work and that of full-time study.

"The world of work must be a practical and theoretical part of all education . . . We must envisage a new model of what education is about about how people transform the world, not about truth and employability."

If education reforms in South Africa repeat the mistakes of Britain, then even though racist laws may be abolished, a new basis for social divisions will be created.

State must engage in schools' battle

From Page 1

- To engage meaningfully with the state people must be empowered with the necessary facts and figures to challenge and counter the information that the state may produce.

- A broader definition of "the people" is needed to transform education meaningfully. If "the people" are defined simply by their opposition to the state, they will be disempowered when the state openly identifies with the struggle and presents itself as progressive. A "people's" government must still be monitored and the differences and tensions between the government and civic society must be understood. "If the struggle ends, the terror begins," he added.

- Transformation of education requires resources. Buckland offered figures on the per capita spending in South Africa: in white schools it is R1 002, in DET schools it is R320, in KaNgwane it is R36. Unless there is significant redirection of resources to rural and marginal areas, transformation will fail, he said.

- A bureaucracy is necessary. "Bureaucracy is the worst possible way of managing an education system, except for all the others!" Unless a sensitive and democratically accountable management system is created all plans and policy documents will be meaningless.

- Expertise is essential in order to progress beyond slogans. When governments finally agree to the people's call for an end to something and ask for alternatives, constructive suggestions must exist.

- Transformation requires time. Buckland said "top down" reform sometimes had to be implemented because transformation would take too long. He cautioned however, that "every time we make that compromise, we subtly undermine the transformative capac-

A learning culture needed

From Page 1

had intensified over the last 15 years – had created a "bitter and deeply alienated youth". The social consequences of the erosion of a learning culture could not be calculated statistically, but it was a reality which needed to be addressed.

The exclusion of parents and teachers from education was both a consequence and a cause of the erosion of a culture of learning.

In 1987 the school enrolment figure in South Africa was 8,5 million. It is estimated that this will have reached 14,5 million by the year 2020. The past, present and future had to be addressed simultaneously, said Samuel.

To rebuild a culture of learning it was necessary to infuse a sense of urgency into political organisations, trade unions, churches, women's organisations and youth and student organisations. Learning and education must be placed firmly on their agendas.

Samuel concluded that "a climate of learning" needed to be encouraged and developed to establish a new society. "Education and learning are social activities and if the appropriate climate is not created after years of destruction and devastation, then we will not be able to rebuild and recreate a new society."

In a panel discussion on educational priorities, representatives of the NECC, the Department of Education and Training, the Democratic Party and the African National Congress put their views.

Yusef Sayed, an educationist from the University of the Western Cape and an executive member of the NECC, said education



Education sociologist Michael Young.

policy had to meet the needs of parents, students and teachers.

The basic ingredients of people's education included a more relevant education system and syllabi that overcame the legacies of racism, sexism and manual/mental work. Education was the state's responsibility and a fundamental right of all people. The NECC was opposed to any moves towards privatisation of education.

The education spokesperson of the DP, Ken Andrew, said the content and syllabus in any education system should meet the basic needs of literacy and numeracy, as well as being relevant to South Africa, Africa and the technological age. Schools should

offer as diverse and flexible a curriculum as possible.

Andrew said it was impossible to finance education spending at current "white" levels. In white schools there was empty space to the value of R2 billion which could be well used if schools were open to all.

The Cape regional director of the DET, Mr Bill Staude, comparing himself to Daniel in the lion's den as he faced the conference, said there was only one priority in education – the survival of the individual, and of the individual in society.

Education should equip people to be technologically knowledgeable and competent so that they could sell their skills and be capable of generating finance rather than simply being wage-earners.

On the question of administration, Staude said the community school should be the basic unit of education. The battle over schools in the black community was ulti-

mately about the ownership of education. "Ownership must rest with the community where the school is located," he said.

There was no other way of running a national education system but with a bureaucracy, said Staude. There had to be some centralised quality control of education and finance had to be centrally administered.

ANC spokesperson Phumzile Ngcuka was in agreement with Mr Staude on the issue of school administration, emphasising that the community must control education.

"At the end of the day, the community will play a very important role in the rebuilding a learning culture," she said. In a single education department the problems of education would no longer be compartmentalised between different "white" or "black" departments.

Unfortunately Ngcuka, like so many other ANC "spokespeople" on public platforms, had to issue a disclaimer about her views as opposed to the movement's because the ANC still has no clear position on a future education policy. She stressed that the ANC did not claim a monopoly share in the debate on a future education system and welcomed all contributions.

THE plenary session on student perspectives proved an indictment on at least one third of conference delegates who, for whatever reasons, decided not to stay to listen to what the pupils had to say.

Seven representatives from the Junior City Council, Pupils Unite for Peace and Awareness (Pupa) and Cosas responded to questions about the current and a possible future school system.

Regarding positive and negative aspects of the education system, the Pupa and Junior City Council representatives identified problems such as apathy, the difficulty experienced with raising political issues at school and opposition to creating SRCs.

The Cosas representatives were somewhat less equivocal. "Nothing can be positive in a corrupt, sexist education system that teaches people to be superior to others," said Rejané Davids.

The differences in visions for the future were less severe, although the Junior City Council representative, Thomas Hill, said that while most JCC members wanted open schools under one education department, some councillors were nervous about the idea. They felt academic standards should be raised to the level in white schools.

Pupa said white pupils needed to interact with black schools at all levels, not just through twinning schools. Pupils and teachers, not only parents, should have a say in whether schools were opened to all.

For Cosas, with its long tradition of protest and struggle, the rights of students in the future were something which "would be fought for".

On the topic of non-racial schooling, Neil McGurk of Sacred Heart College in Johannesburg, said talking about the experience of being at a non-racial school was meaningless – it was an experience which had to be lived through.

"There is nothing superior about the white cultural experience, a growing sense of liberation has come from the communication of black cultural experiences to us as whites,"



Neil McGurk and Peter Buckland.

he said.

"South Africa is a black country, this is a reality whites will have to learn to live with. The vast majority of schools in South Africa are black schools and the opportunity of attending a mixed race school will be a fairly luxurious one for most students."

McGurk said the open school models posed by the Minister of Education and Culture were "typical examples of the pathologies of white culture". They showed a "street-wise wisdom of how to keep white privilege and to keep black children out while not being seen to do so."

The gulf between the white and black experience in schools was illustrated sharply by two contrasting examples offered in answer to a question about the achievements of SRCs.

A Cosas student extolled the virtues of the

pupils and teachers to have a say in the running of their schools was taken up by several of the discussion groups. "We've always left out the students. We have to start putting the 's' into our PTAs," commented one white delegate.

Numerous suggestions emerged at the end of the conference as the working groups reported back on their discussions. In summarising the process, UCT educationist Jo Muller said the issue of democratic participation and control was essential at both the local and national level.

At a local level, the community should be able to exercise "control"; at national level it should participate in debates.

The long, difficult process of transforming the education system – "unscrambling the omelette" – had almost been left too late and it needed urgent action.



Delegates at the Schools for the Future conference.

"revolutionary struggle" and lauded those students who had sacrificed their lives to be educated in the language of their choice and to establish SRCs in their schools. A white teacher, attempting to offer "a more concrete example" of an SRC achievement, spoke of how their students' council had won the right for pupils over the age of 18 to be seen in public bars – something to which the law of the land entitled them, but which the school had previously forbidden!

However, as the conference progressed, understanding grew and the right of parents,

constituencies that are often voiceless, such as rural or unemployed people, also had to be included. Above all, said Muller, communication was the most important task facing everyone. Building links was where all strategies should start. "We cannot take the moral high ground," he said, "we haven't got the answers, but we must begin to open up contact."

If nothing else, the conference started that process.

Sue Valentine is Media Co-ordinator with Idasa.

'A growing sense of liberation has come from the communication of black cultural experiences to us as whites'

'Nothing can be positive in a corrupt, sexist education system that teaches people to be superior to others'



A show of strength in Johannesburg, June, 1986.

How to make peace work

OVER the past few years South Africa has been inundated with an endless stream of conferences and books on the post-apartheid era. But until quite recently one crucial aspect of the new society was ignored: the armed forces and policy on security and defence.

These issues were addressed seriously for the first time at the Idasa conference on "The Future of Defence and Security in South Africa" held in Lusaka in May this year. However significant this conference may have been, its real value will depend on whether it remains an isolated exercise or marks the start of a broad public debate.

The need for such a debate is crucial. Even the most optimistic prognosis of the future must anticipate some level of violent conflict and future security policy can either intensify or reduce the militarism that wracks our society. In any event, the armed forces will remain the decisive instrument of the state.

The conventional approach to developing security policy concentrates on strategic and technical considerations. It begins with a "threat analysis" that attempts to identify the possible future threats to the country, and concludes by working out the type and size of the armed forces required to meet them.

Fuelled by the self-serving interests of the military and the arms industry, the tendency is to predict "worst case" threat scenarios and to develop bigger or more sophisticated armies, improved weapons systems and larger arsenals to meet them.

This approach has obvious limitations. It has too narrow a military perspective, is over-reliant on the use of force and tends to ignore the underlying reasons for conflict. It diverts resources from more productive ends and contributes to a war psychosis in civilian society.

Most important, it is counter-productive. If all nations are engaged in extensive war preparations, their fear of each other is heightened and their sense of security undermined. As the vicious cycle of "bigger and better" escalates, war preparations are more likely to cause than prevent wars.

Is there a creative alternative to this

Future security policy can either intensify or reduce the militarism that wracks our society. LAURIE NATHAN makes a case for a "peace" policy in which the emphasis will be on either preventing conflict or resolving it without force.

approach? Without wider discussion and research it is too soon to say. But it is possible to imagine some of the dimensions of a different policy, that could be termed the politics of peace.

This new policy would differ fundamentally from the conventional approach in both its aims and means. To begin with, its main objective would be to establish and maintain peace, rather than security.

Peace would be understood as more than its dictionary definition of "freedom from war". It would include security, but would also encompass economic and social justice and protection of the environment. This broader definition has several advantages:

- It recognises that violence is not limited

'It makes sense to bring "peace" in from the fringe and include it in the mainstream of political thinking.'

to direct physical harm to people and property, but can be psychological (for instance, censorship), economic (poverty), environmental (destruction of natural resources) or political (disenfranchisement);

- It focuses attention on the need to identify and address the causes of violence, conflict and crime;
- It aims to build something positive rather than to prevent something negative;
- It situates security in relation to other goals and a greater ideal;
- Its achievement lies primarily in a fundamental political and economic restructuring of society and not in military means.

The politics of peace would be as concerned with violent conflict as the traditional approach to security, but its emphasis would

be on either preventing such conflict or resolving it without force.

At a regional level the prospect of a serious military threat to South Africa is extremely remote. All the countries of Southern Africa will undoubtedly welcome the

post-apartheid state into their community.

The sub-continent may remain politically and economically unstable for some time, but a military response to this problem will only exacerbate it. The road to peace lies rather in South Africa becoming a member of the United Nations and Organisation of African Unity, participating in the joint economic and social programmes of the neighbouring states and refraining from interfering in their domestic affairs.

The most likely internal sources of violence would be right-wing and left-wing groups dissatisfied with the process of negotiations or the new government's policies. It should be obvious from the history of our country that the use of state force against them will only intensify their resistance.

THE recent experience of Namibia shows that competing ideologies and interests can be accommodated through negotiations. The spirit of co-operation and compromise that characterised the drafting of the new Namibian constitution has significantly reduced the potential for ongoing hostilities.

In other Southern African countries the transition to independence was quite different. For various reasons the leading liberation movements excluded rival groups from the formation of government and policy. This contributed to the latter's decision to engage in armed resistance against the new state.

The crucial lesson for South Africa is that the degree of future conflict depends to a great extent on the inclusion and accommodation of competing parties in the negotiations and shaping the new constitution and government. It also depends on the creation of a democratic political system.

The politics of peace would have profound implications for the new police force and army.

Their character, for example, would be

Police in need of new ethos

Police liberalisation is an essential feature of democratisation in a society where the police have been a central pillar in the maintenance of apartheid. RONALD WEITZER offers some concrete proposals for reforming the SAP.

shaped by the fact that they are trusted by all citizens, reflect the values of the new society and are subject to civilian control. They would therefore have to be non-racial, committed to upholding the new constitution, accountable to parliament and non-partisan in relation to party politics.

Their role would be defined partly along conventional lines, that is, in terms of internal and external threats to security. They would obviously have to be capable of containing violence, if necessary through the use of force.

But their role would also be defined by the national goal of peace and a non-military approach to conflict. Their armed deployment would be an act of last resort when political solutions had been exhausted.

This definition of the role and character of the police and army, and the improved situation in South Africa and the region after apartheid, would have important consequences for the size, composition, training, structure, budget and strategies of both forces.

NONE of these ideas are new. Most have been argued in a more comprehensive way in other forums. But there will no doubt be many obstacles to their acceptance.

One obstacle is "peace" itself. Few concepts are simultaneously as desired and discredited. This is not surprising when governments engage in war and war preparations in the name of peace and regard peace movements as "the enemy".

In South Africa peace activities have been regarded with particular suspicion, in part because they have been seen by parties engaged in violence as undermining their cause. Peace activists are viewed as "idealistic and naive", or worse, as "cowards and communist dupes".

One way of overcoming this problem might be to avoid using the term and to motivate for it in more acceptable language. But it is difficult to see how we will ever approach a situation of real peace if we are frightened to embrace the word.

At this critical point in South African and world history, with years of conflict behind us and new possibilities ahead, it makes more sense to bring "peace" in from the fringe and include it in the mainstream of political thinking.

The main reason for the marginalising of peace initiatives is that they threaten the interests of states, militaries and arms industries that acquire status, power and profits from war and war preparations.

To secure public support for these activities, governments promote the view that force is an acceptable means of resolving disputes, military victories bring glory, "the enemy" is demonic, and "people are inherently aggressive".

The most powerful challenge to these ideas has been the educative work of progressive social movements. The anti-war movement in the United States, the European campaign for nuclear disarmament and the environmental movement are examples of the influence that can be exerted on public perceptions and government policy.

This is not to suggest that a peace move-

To Page 8

THE present transitional period offers a unique opportunity for serious discussion of proposals for reforming the South African Police. Yet neither the government nor opposition forces have given adequate priority to the issue of policing in a post-apartheid society. Major changes in policing are absolutely imperative to improve the image of the force and to bring its practices closer to the ideals of normal policing.

The ANC accepts the need for reconstructing the police. Its proposals have included improved crowd control methods, greater public involvement in policing at the local level, dismissal of policemen who have engaged in acts of brutality and the integration of ANC personnel into the force. But policy reconstruction must go much further in order to build an accountable, apolitical, demilitarised and publicly acceptable police force.

It is not entirely clear that the De Klerk government considers the SAP part of the problem in the country, and, hence, in need of transformation. In January the State President informed 500 senior officers that the government wished to remove the police from "the political battlefield" and emphasise their civic responsibilities. In April the Minister of Law and Order announced that policemen would no longer be permitted to be members of political parties.

While such admonitions are healthy, they are only a limited first step on the road to sweeping renovation of the force. Indications that the government might be considering more extensive changes are belied by ministerial statements and actions, which have changed little.

Rather than taking seriously the myriad criticisms of the SAP made by responsible parties, the government continues, as in the past, to lavish praise on the force for its professionalism and accomplishments; to admit that "a few rotten apples" exist, but not entrenched organisational problems; to insist that officers involved in abuses of power are

duly investigated and punished; and to brand concrete proposals for reform the concoction of persons on the lunatic fringe. These attitudes must change before any serious modernisation of the SAP can begin.

The following proposals are derived from my research on a number of deeply divided societies - Israel, Northern Ireland, Namibia, Zimbabwe and the old American South -

where policing traditions bear some striking similarities to those in South Africa. The lessons of these cases underscore the vital importance of police liberalisation in polarised societies as well as the difficulties inherent in such a project.

In South Africa, this project is well worth undertaking since it promises to pay huge dividends, in the long-term, in winning popular confidence in the police and reducing the highly confrontational and dangerous aspects of police work.

The scrapping of discriminatory laws should reduce the frequency of abrasive encounters between the police and blacks. But it

is also necessary that the police be removed from the internal security frontline and that exceptional powers granted under the security laws be repealed.

It appears that senior officers now appreciate the benefits of concentrating on conventional crime control, but they are unwilling to accept the need for a complete abandonment of police security duties, the dismantling of the security branch, and a thorough demilitarisation of the force.

Police normalisation is inconsistent with a prominent role in surveillance and detention of political opponents, use of agents provocateurs, torture and hit squads. Riot squads, however, have a proper place in most police forces and should be preserved in South Africa; but they should be retrained, properly equipped with non-lethal weapons, and enlarged so that they will not be so prone to overreaction when confronting hostile crowds.



A policewoman being helpful.

To Page 8

PEACE POLICY

These changes are no guarantee against police violence during public disorders, but they should significantly reduce such incidents.

For decades the police were subjected to systematic political indoctrination in defence of white supremacy generally and National Party policy in particular. Political opposition to the government was interpreted as subversion and the SAP became one of the most intolerant institutions in the country. This authoritarian orientation must be reversed.

While organisational cultures are never readily amenable to radical change, the SAP is badly in need of a new ethos and mission based on a universalistic — as opposed to sectarian — approach to the various racial and ethnic groups and a concentration on ordinary law enforcement.

Personnel changes are also long overdue. The government should take steps to ensure that the most senior ranks consist of enlightened officers who champion a new vision of policing and are dedicated to diffusing that vision throughout the force.

Screening procedures should be designed to eliminate from the force the most racist and aggressive members and as a means of quality-control for new recruits.

The discredited kitskonstabel force should be dismantled immediately and municipal police, who have a slightly better reputation, should be retrained. Training of all personnel should stress norms of political neutrality, sensitivity to racial and ethnic differences, use of minimum force and professionalism.

Police accountability is an elusive ideal in all modern societies, and it should not be expected that a police force, or any other state agency, can ever be fully accountable. But steps toward enhancing supervision over the police are crucial in divided societies where the police are regarded as being above the law by members of the subordinate population.

The SAP has never been genuinely accountable to other branches of the state. Parliamentary debates and questions on policing matters have given opposition parties a forum in which to publicise controversial police practices and extract valuable information from ministers. But the National Party's control of parliament has guaranteed that it would rubber-stamp executive decisions.

Accountability to the courts has been severely hampered under the state of emergency, which indemnified policemen for actions undertaken "in good faith" to handle unrest. While the number of police convicted of killing or wounding persons hovered around 250 a year in the mid-1980s, the punishment meted out was often rela-

tively lenient. Clearly the courts must take a more vigorous approach to crimes by agents of the state.

A study by Don Foster and Clifford Luyt found that only a small fraction of convicted policemen were subsequently discharged from the SAP. This raises the question of the adequacy of existing disciplinary mechanisms inside the force.

While the integrity of departmental inquiries is often problematic in police forces throughout the world, they are widely regarded as cosmetic and ineffective in the SAP. It is therefore vital that tighter controls be instituted and that the outcomes of internal inquiries be publicly disclosed.

Supervision can also be strengthened by the creation of two separate independent oversight bodies, whose members must be maximally impartial, legally trained, representative of the public, but not adversaries of the police.

One agency, with offices throughout the country, would receive complaints against individuals and be empowered to investigate the serious allegations; its findings would then be submitted to a public prosecutor. This would circumvent the current intimidating system where a complainant must file a complaint at a police charge office.

Another body would monitor and report on patterns in registered complaints and recurrent policing problems, with a view toward recommending changes to the responsible minister.

If these mechanisms function properly and are not undermined by police resistance to outside "meddling", as has so often been the case elsewhere, they should go a long way toward building public confidence in the system's control of deviant cops.

It may take officers and constables some time to recognise the long-term advantages. Morale in the SAP is already in short supply, and there is a danger that changes will be greeted with resistance or resignations by constables. It is therefore crucial that police commissioners and ministers explain fully the reasons behind each reform to all members of the force.

Some constables reportedly fear persecution in the event that a new government comes to power. Policemen need to be reassured that they will not be punished retroactively for their role in upholding the apartheid order. At the same time, all members of the force will have to accept that change is inevitable and that the SAP cannot continue with business-as-usual during this transitional period.

Ronald Weitzer is an assistant professor of sociology at George Washington University in Washington DC. He recently spent a month working with the Institute of Criminology at UCT.

Working at peace

From Page 7

ment should necessarily be formed in South Africa. But people and groups who are committed to peace have to get involved in the debate on the future of the armed forces and security policy, and not leave these issues to military experts alone.

Another reason for the marginalising of peace campaigns is to be found in the argument that they are so idealistic that they dare not be taken seriously.

This argument is not without validity. "Nice ideas" will never be taken seriously if they remain at the level of ideas. The outstanding challenge is to translate them into viable policies that are properly researched, including investigation of the experience of other countries.

With the full weight of our violent past and the failure of traditional security policy bearing down on us, and with the possibility of ongoing hostilities in the future, it would be simply stupid to ignore the need for a new approach to building and maintaining peace.

Laurie Nathan is chairperson of the End Conscriptio Campaign in Cape Town and author of *Out of Step: War Resistance in South Africa*.

(With acknowledgement to Sash magazine, September 1990).

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Civic struggle comes of age

Just another workshop on the ever contentious issue of local government? Thankfully, this was not the case with a consultative workshop hosted by Idasa in Port Elizabeth in September.

JANET CHERRY reports



Thozamile Botha: independent civics.

MANY who attended the workshop felt it represented a real breakthrough in the politics of local government in the Eastern Cape. As one Johannesburg speaker from Planact, a research body which helps civic organisations, remarked: "In Jo'burg the civics meet the local authorities around a negotiating table. Here we are meeting in a spirit of open discussion and debate."

Innovations in the politics of local-level negotiation are not new to the Eastern Cape. In a sense, the workshop was the culmination of many previous initiatives, taking the process one step further, beyond talk and into the arena of restructuring the system of local government.

A resolution to this end was passed unanimously at the end of the two-day event, mandating Idasa to facilitate the formation of a forum – a "mini local constituent assembly" – of local government structures and civic organisations.

The consultative workshop, held over two full days, was both broad and deep.

It was broad in terms of the constituencies represented – from city councillors, ratepayers' associations, municipal officials and civic representatives from many towns in the Eastern Cape – as well as in terms of the scope of what was discussed, from transport, finance and training needs, to electoral systems and the role of civic organisation.

It was deep in that at last the rhetoric of "One City, One Municipality" began to be examined realistically and concretely, with all parties accepting the principle of a united local government system and starting to look at the nitty-gritty of restructuring.

Highlights were challenging inputs of exceptionally high quality from a range of speakers and some stimulating panel discussions.

Andrew Boraine of Planact explained how the Soweto People's Delegation had started negotiations with the Transvaal Provincial Administration over the rent boycott. The result was agreement on the formation of a representative Metropolitan Chamber which would operate until a new local government system is in place, as well as the principle of an integrated financial system for Soweto and Johannesburg.

Mike Sutcliffe of Natal University's department of town and regional planning argued for a new approach to urban develop-

ment, involving some creative solutions.

He urged people to become involved in "practical planning solutions at grassroots level", rather than replacing one bureaucracy with another. Provision of housing and transport could be seen as opportunities for providing employment rather than as problems.

A lively discussion followed in which Mr P K Botha, town clerk of Port Elizabeth, joined the panel to adroitly answer a barrage of questions about service charges, rates and subsidisation.

AT THE end of the discussion, Mr Botha, becoming frustrated with all the questions being fired at him, came out with a definitive statement to great applause: "We need one municipality for PE/Ibhayi/Motherwell; one common tariff; no duplication and no wastage in personpower."

Philip van Ryneveld of the University of the Western Cape, speaking on local government finance, put forward a set of figures showing what it would mean if the municipality and Ibhayi/Motherwell shared resources equally in an attempt to upgrade services in the townships.

He argued that by transferring the cross-subsidy from industry and commerce from the white, coloured and Indian areas to the black areas, the disproportionate spending on white areas in relation to black areas could be evened out.

However, a single tax-base would not be able to solve all problems: a subsidy of R116 million would be required to bring the black townships up to the standard of the rest of the city.

Patrick Fitzgerald of the ANC gave one of the most stimulating and entertaining addresses of the conference. Setting the scenario of "a frightening gap between the demands of the people and the ability of any future government – even an ANC government – to deliver housing, land, health and education", he stressed the role that local government could play in harnessing community creativity, energy and potential.

Criticising the "caste bureaucracy" of South Africa, which is white, male, Afrikaans, middle-class and Christian, he argued for a transformation of the "nightmarish jigsaw puzzle" of the public service.

This does not mean that existing civil servants will disappear from the scene. It means

a new model of "professional public management", which involves retraining existing public servants to be sensitive to a developmental context, attracting the "best and the brightest of the youth" to the civil service, and bringing in older people experienced in civic or trade union affairs.

Chris Heymans of the Urban Foundation and Thozamile Botha of the ANC also gave outstanding papers.

Heymans focused on electoral systems of local government, giving a comprehensive analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of different types of voting systems. He argued that democracy and efficiency are not incompatible; that a correct balance has to be found and that democracy can be deepened at a local level through "neighbourhood committees" and community advisory committees linked to municipal departments.

Botha made a strong case for the continued existence of independent civic organisations, even when a democratic local government system has been implemented.

The notions of "accountability" and "democracy", so easily bandied about, were challenged by Botha, who argued strongly for affirmative action and positive discrimination in favour of the impoverished and homeless.

FIVE resolutions were passed:

- A local government charter should be drawn up as a guide for urban development.
- A forum of all local interest groups to address the issue of transport should be formed.
- All people have a right to basic services and all, except those who can afford nothing, should pay for services.
- Civic organisations should be autonomous, accountable and politically non-aligned.
- Idasa should facilitate the convening of a local government forum representative of the people of Port Elizabeth as a whole.

It is up to Idasa and all bodies concerned with local government in Port Elizabeth to ensure that the Eastern Cape stays in the forefront of initiatives to transform the local government system into one which is truly representative.

Janet Cherry works for the Eastern Cape Adult Learning Project.

ONDERHANDEL

en demokrasie in Suid-

In die opwindende en oorwinnende tye waarin ons leef het baie progressiewe mense al half meganisties begin dink dat onderhandelinge noodwendig tot 'n demokrasie in Suid-Afrika

sal lei.

ANDRÉ ZAIMAN wys op 'n reeks struikelblokke in die pad van die demokrasie en argumenteer onder meer vir 'n verbrede intellektuele raamwerk.

IN 'N onlangse artikel rondom die kwessie van nasiebou in 'n bevryde Suid-Afrika, skryf prof Johan Degenaar, die politieke filosoof van Stellenbosch, as volg: "Van Zyl Slabbert het verwys na die feit dat die sosiale en ekonomiese probleme van Suid-Afrika met toenemende intensiteit die kapasiteit van die huidige politieke raamwerk om dit aan te spreek, oortref het. Ek wil graag een stap verder gaan deur aan te voer dat ons probleme ook die huidige intellektuele raamwerk oortref het."

Komende van 'n gerespekteerde en kreatiewe denker soos Degenaar, is dit 'n verfrissende stelling wat beslis verdere aandag verdien in 'n politieke en intellektuele omgewing wat soms vasval in die (her)sirkulasie van muwwerige idees van Wes- en Oos-Europa. En indien ons werklik ernstig is met die skepping van 'n alternatief wat werklik demokraties is, dan behoort ons te erken dat Degenaar se stelling ook by implikasie verwys na die tekortkominge in die debat rondom die demokrasie wat in Suid-Afrika dikwels gebuk gaan onder konsepsuele armoede, oppervlakkige aannames, kontekstuele dislokasie en onoorspronklikheid.

In die opwindende en oorwinnende tye waarin ons leef, het baie anti-apartheid aktiviste en progressiewe mense ook al amper half meganisties begin aanvaar dat onderhandelinge noodwendig moet lei tot 'n demokrasie in Suid-Afrika. En hoewel dit duidelik is dat onderhandeling (en meerderheidsregering) 'n onontbeerlike stap in die proses is, is die demokrasie nie die noodwendige uitvloeiende daarvan nie. Die einde van wit oorheersing konfronteer ons met ons ondemokratiese, onregeverdigde verlede (die verlede word as 't ware ook bevry); in hierdie opsig kondig dit ook die stryd om demokrasie en sosiale geregtigheid op 'n direkte wyse aan.

In die geval van Suid-Afrika is daar duidelik sekere faktore wat die daarstelling van die demokrasie in post-apartheid Suid-Afrika bemoeilik.

Die intense sosio-ekonomiese ongelykheid en armoede as gevolg van jare-lange

uitbuiting van swart Suid-Afrikaners deur kapitalisme, kolonialisme en apartheid, het veroorsaak dat swart Suid-Afrikaners onrealistiese verwagtinge koester ten opsigte van bevryding. Hierdie probleem is vererger deur die wyse waarop organisasies soos die UDF in die verlede politiek bedryf het: te veel klem op massa-mobilisasie en te min op politieke skoling.

Die gevolg hiervan is 'n hoogs-gepolitiseerde massa met 'n beperkte politieke skoling wat moes staatmaak op die interpretasies van 'n relatief klein groepie aktiviste. Hierdie probleem is op sy beurt weer vererger deur onderdrukking en die gebrekkige opvoedingstelsel in veral swart skole.

Die skaal en omvang van die apartheidserfenis; die hoë verwagtinge van die bevolking en die duidelike onvermoë van 'n nuwe regering om in veral die kort termyn hierdie probleme suksesvol en betekenisvol te oorkom, mag en sal waarskynlik lei tot sosio-maatskaplike onrus na apartheid. Waar die volgende regering (waarskynlik die ANC) opponente aan die linkerkant sal hê (die PAC en afhangende van sy strategiekeuse, selfs die SAKP) waar ontevredenheid en onrus die ekonomiese probleme mag verskerp, kan die volgende regering dalk besluit dat dit "in landsbelang is om stabiele regering te verseker en wet en orde te handhaaf".

DIE probleem van welvaartherverdeling (of in baie gevalle restorasie) en geregtigheid binne die bogenoemde konteks word verder gekompliseer deur die beperkinge wat die ontwikkeling van die wêreld as "global village" op post-apartheid Suid-Afrika plaas. Geen land kan in die moderne tyd homself isoleer van die wêreldkonteks nie.

Op ekonomiese gebied beteken dit die bedinging en verkoop van Suid-Afrikaanse produkte op 'n internasionale mark wat op kapitalistiese beginsels opereer. Hierdie dilemma plaas nie net bepaalde beperkings op die interne ekonomiese produksiewyses van die land nie, maar stel ook duidelike parameters waarbinne ekonomiese hervorming en herverdeling kan plaasvind.

In die lig van die feit dat swart Suid-Afrikaners kan en gaan aandrang op betekenis-

volle grondherverdeling en die beperkinge wat die internasionale en nasionale kontekste op hierdie eise plaas, kan hier dalk 'n versoeking sy kop uitsteek om die probleem op 'n outoritêre manier aan te spreek wat nie geïgnoreer kan word nie.

Binne die raamwerk van die bestaande "teorie van transisie" soos uiteengesit in Philippe Schmitter en Guillermo O'Donnell se vergelykende studies rondom hierdie onderwerp (met inagneming van die beperkte toepasbaarheid daarvan op ons situasie), word daar verwys na die belangrikheid van die sogenaamde "ondemokratiese pakt" wat in die oorgangsproses gemaak word.

In Suid-Afrika se geval kan daar op die oomblik dus verwys word na die "ondemokratiese pakt tussen die ANC en die NP-regering". Dit is ondemokraties in die sin dat baie van die ooreenkomste geheim gehou word en dat dit gemaak word sonder dat hul gevolg betekenisvol geraadpleeg word.

Maar, met konkrete en empiriese waarnemings en verwysings, stel Schmitter en O'Donnell ons telkens gerus dat in die onlangse geskiedenis verskillende grade van demokrasie dikwels uit sulke ondemokratiese pakte voortgespruit het. Dit is dus duidelik ook moontlik om 'n demokrasie sonder die aanwesigheid van demokrate te produseer!

Behalwe vir die feit dat Schmitter en O'Donnell ondubbelsinnig waarsku dat die



Die Pretoria-beraad

NG frika

totstandkoming van 'n politieke demokrasie via transisie in die meeste gevalle gelei het tot die bevriessing van die sosiale en ekonomiese ongeregtighede en ongelykhede van die samelewing, kan die "ondemokratiese pakt" in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks moontlik verdere gevare vir die bereiking van die demokrasie inhou.

Alhoewel Schmitter en O'Donnell melding maak van die feit dat baie van die lande wat

van nie-rassigheid in die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek gemaak, maar terselfertyd is die Stalinistiese verlede en outoritarisme van die SAKP welbekend. Hierdie kultuur het noodwendig ook by die ANC inslag gevind, veral by die grassroots ondersteuner wat op 'n daaglikse basis met die tirannie van apartheid gekonfronteer is.

Daarbenewens het beide politieke akteurs hulself jarelank daarop toegespits om interne



reding en devolusie van die onderhandelingsproses behoort 'n prioriteit te wees.

foto: PRETORIA NEWS

'n suksesvolle transisie kon deurvoer 'n sosiale geheue van demokrasie gehad het (die outoritarisme was as't ware 'n onderbreking van die demokrasie), bly die grootste komplikasie in Suid-Afrika se geval die feit dat beide hoofakteurs opgevoed is deur ondemokratiese ideologieë (die NP deur Afrikaner/"Christelik" Nasionalisme en die ANC deur die tot onlangse Stalinistiese interpretasie van die Marxist-Leninisme van die SAKP).

Daar bestaan weinig twyfel dat die belangrikste en by verre die invloedrykste denkers in die ANC vanuit die SAKP kom. Hierdie party het 'n baie belangrike bydrae tot die vestiging en oorlewing van die idee

ideologiese hegemonieë (in baie gevalle gebaseer op onverdraagsaamheid en eksklusiwiteit) te skep.

Die skepping van strukture wat op dominasie en outoritarisme teer, die verknogtheid aan mag, die ongekenne en intense onderdrukking van die ANC, die veranderde internasionale konteks ten opsigte van Oos-Wes en die verswakking van veral die ANC se magposisie as gevolg daarvan, die oorbeklemtoning op internasionale bondgenote, die wydlopende en heterogene klasbasis van die populistiese ANC, die gebrek aan burokratiese vaardigheid van die ANC in teenstryd met die hoë tegnokratiese (en repressiewe) vermoëns van

‘ Daar is faktore wat voortdurend die commitment van beide akteurs tot die demokrasie sal beproef, uittart en ondermyn. ’

die huidige burokrasie, is alles faktore wat kan bydra tot 'n situasie van vrede ten alle koste en/of kan meewerk tot die voorsetting van outoritarisme in post-apartheid Suid-Afrika.

OM DUS op te som: beide die hoofakteurs (ANC en NP), het hulself in die openbaar verbind tot die daarstelling van die demokrasie. Die mense van Suid-Afrika het op hierdie stadium geen rede om die integriteit en erns van sodanige openbare verklarings in twyfel te trek nie. En, as ANC-lid sal ek ook sterk wil argumenteer dat die ANC 'n groter aanspraak het op die titel "draer van die demokratiese ideaal" (in uiters beproewende en moeilike omstandighede) as enige ander politieke opponent.

Maar, ek wil ook argumenteer dat daar faktore is, beide subjektief en objektief, wat voortdurend die commitment van beide akteurs tot die demokrasie sal beproef, uittart en ondermyn.

Dit is duidelik dat die verbreding en devolusie van die onderhandelingsproses 'n prioriteit behoort te wees. Hierdie devolusie moet plaasvind van die nasionale tot die plaaslike vlak, en ook van die stedelike na die landelike terrein. Dit is te gevaarlik om onderhandelings alleen in die hande van De Klerk en Mandela te laat. En veral op die plaaslike en landelike vlakke, kan ons nie meer bekostig om in die algemeen te fokus op gesprek en onderhandeling nie, maar moet daar 'n sterk fokus wees op die gesamentlike oplossing van veral die sosio-ekonomiese probleme as raamwerk vir politieke gesprekke.

Dit is noodsaaklik om ook ander, komplementerende en in baie gevalle verwaarloosde areas, velde of fasette te ontgin in die soeke na oplossings vir die uitdagings van die toekoms. Dit is dan juis op hierdie punt waar die bepaalde politiek-ekonomiese geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika, die strewe na die vestiging van die demokrasie in die praktyk en die noodsaak van 'n verbrede intellektuele raamwerk (as verwaarloosde, onontginde of ideologies-verwurgde area) mekaar kruis. Ons moet ook aandag skenk aan die ideële, die ideologiese en die intellektuele fasette van die toekoms.

Daar is 'n "nuwe werklikheid" aan die ontwikkel en in Johan Degenaar se stelling is daar die duidelike waarskuwing dat die realiteit in Suid-Afrika onder ons begripveld kan uitskuif. Ter wille van die demokrasie kan ons nie langer met ou oë na hierdie nuwe werklikheid kyk nie.

André Zaïman is die streeksdirekteur van Idasa in Pretoria.

From Page 3

people live in impoverished conditions without adequate access to basic social services. The real debate, which Sachs ignored, is the means by which these services will be provided and basic human needs met.

With regard to the electrification of the townships, for example, are we going to use nuclear power (courting the risk of another Chernobyl and producing highly toxic non-disposable waste)? Are we going to use coal and oil (contributing to global warming)? Are we going to place limits on the expansion of the energy industry and concentrate instead on conservation, reallocating available resources and developing alternatives? Or what?

At the end of the day, 20 to 30 years down the road, if global warming continues at its present rate the polar caps will melt, the level of the sea will rise and coastal towns and cities will be flooded. Capetonians will not be grateful then for piped fresh water when the Atlantic Ocean is pouring down their chimneys.

South Africans have to wake up to the fact that scientists are not being fanciful or melodramatic when they tell us that the very survival of humankind is at stake. The tension is not simply between development and care for the environment, but between short-term development and the risk of extinction.

If we want to make a meaningful contribution to resolving these tensions, we have to abandon romantic and whimsical views of nature and confront the basic issues underlying the environmental crisis: international and national control and distribution of power and resources.

Laurie Nathan
Cape Town

Rural realities overlooked

AN EMPHASIS on South Africa's cities as crisis areas is understandable and necessary. But too often urbanisation issues seem to be dealt with in relative isolation.

One looks in vain for the context of an explicit commitment to inclusive or comprehensive national development that takes seriously rural realities and potentials.

Maybe that context is implicit, but since so many of the frontrunners in the political struggles and debates are second-generation urban or urbanised immigrants from rural areas, the sense of rural needs is naturally less immediate.

There is a serious danger that the apartheid patterns of marginalising rural people and areas, or making decisions for them, will be carried over into the post-apartheid stage. Yet without the benefits of a constructive strategy of rural development, urban problems will be aggravated by the continuing inflow of economic refugees from impoverished rural areas, and repression refugees from "plaas-baasskap".

For the sake of the cities as well as the countryside, let's walk on two legs: treat rural areas as equally important sites of struggle for democratic development and wealth creation.

M Nash
Claremont

VIOLENCE

Cries from the battlefield

WHY is the violence engulfing the PWV region described as "black on black" or as a "Zulu-Xhosa war"? How should the ANC respond? These questions are posed by **ANDREW MAPHETO**, former Robben Island prisoner and currently Johannesburg regional organiser for the ANC.

ONE HAS yet to hear of "white on white" violence, yet the media and others (like US President George Bush) find it sufficient to characterise the current mayhem as "black on black" violence or as a Zulu-Xhosa war.

Why are such terms used? Is it the idiom of "swart gevaar", the language of the Immorality Act, with its implicit relief that at least the suburbs are safe? Is it that police demonology has gained credence?

Are we up against the racist notion that black people are incapable of holding political views or fighting to uphold political ideals? Is it only in the West that one may speak of the struggle against monarchists, fascists or other dictators while in Africa we have mere tribal wars or "black on black" violence?

Or are we to understand that the ideals that have inspired the ANC since 1912 have yet to be shared by the majority of people in the country?

It is necessary to note that the perpetuation of tribal divisions and animosities has been a key dynamic of the apartheid state. Further, that at this very moment, when talk of constitutional negotiations is at the centre of the political landscape, the National Party flies a banner of minority rights, including the claim that African people exist as separate nations.

It is therefore justifiable to ask how the formulation of the current conflict as Zulu-Xhosa war feeds into the politics of apartheid, how the apartheid regime benefits

if the Zulu-Xhosa perspective triumphs, and how this formulation relates to the debate on a constituent assembly.

But this is only part of the explanation for why the violence has been mischaracterised as a "black on black, Zulu-Xhosa war". Other factors concern Inkatha and the ANC itself.

The violence that has convulsed Natal has badly damaged Inkatha's image. No less so in the PWV region. The name Inkatha is, in many people's minds, synonymous with violence. It has come to mean families wiped out, children orphaned, lovers lost, homes destroyed.

It is essential - and in its own interest - that Inkatha addresses itself to this. Not only does its image as bringer of mayhem lend credence to the "tribal war" formulation, it also obscures Inkatha's credibility as a political organisation. Inkatha alone can change people's perceptions of itself.

As to the ANC, the problem is one of a narrow view of leadership. Decades of exile, prison and underground operation have led to distortions, including the alienation of leadership from the grass-roots.

The result is that when the word "leaders" is mentioned, people think only of Tambo or Mandela. The intervening levels of leadership exist merely as conduits or conveyor belts for what is said at the top.

This narrow view of leadership has made it possible for the ANC to be seen as a Xhosa organisation, since the organisation's most visible leadership core is predominantly Xhosa-speaking.

For people on the ground, the "Zulu-



THE STAR



Residents on the Reef flee in terror during township violence in September.

Xhosa war" characterisation has been disastrous. In some instances, hostel dwellers on different sides of the spectrum ask each other questions like: "My friend, we stayed together for such a long time. Why do you do this against me?" The answer is often: "My friend, it cannot be helped. You see yourself how things stand now."

I overheard one youngster say that if he could kill one Zulu he would feel he had avenged all the deaths.

But perhaps the saddest story was of a family who lost two children when their home was petrol-bombed. On the day of the funeral taxi-drivers refused to transport the mourners and the township youth let it be known that the local cemetery was not open to Zulu-speakers. "Bury your dead in KwaZulu," the family was told.

THE urgent and vital question is: "Who drives the violence?"

Generally what seems to happen is that special squads of killers or provocateurs move into a hostel or township, cause friction, then move away. The result is that the communities in which the poisonous seeds have been sown feel menaced and bound to be on a battle footing.

It is hard to escape the conclusion that a sinister and organised plan lies behind the violence. Inkatha may provide an umbrella under which lies a more disturbing phenomenon. Rumours abound of foreigners. Some talk of Renamo. Others speak of Koevoet or of KwaZulu para-military units.

Add to this the fact that the violence began

about the same time as the Pretoria Minute and one is justified in suspecting a plot – an act of desperation – from those who realised that there could be forward movement on negotiations without their presence on the national stage.

There are well-founded suspicions that one of the main intentions was to incite a general tribal war in the PWV region, failing which to undermine the ANC by portraying it as the custodian of one ethnic group and thus no home for all people.

This brings us to the police.

We have no doubt that the violence was planned, co-ordinated and effected with military precision.

Unfortunately, even bringing this information to police attention in order to prevent loss of life was not enough to induce them to act.

Why are they not telling us who is behind the violence, where it is being planned, who is financing it and, more importantly, who provides the guns and moves the killer squads from one spot to another?

Are we to conclude that the police are capable of uncovering the SACP's Tongaat meeting and Operation Vula but not of discovering the sources of this violence?

There are reports of incidents in which police not only aided Inkatha but actually attacked residents while pretending to be Inkatha. One Dobsonville woman put it this way: "There is no Inkatha here. Our Inkatha

is white policemen."

In some instances, the response of police asked to disarm Inkatha warriors attacking people in their presence has been chilling. "Why does Mandela not come to disarm them himself?" they say.

As the violence spread and intensified we increasingly had to ask ourselves whether the Pretoria Minute had sufficiently considered certain pertinent realities: how its provisions were to be implemented at ground level on a day to day basis; how to deal with the fact that the SAP is an undisciplined political entity.

In some areas the police were running amok and all we could do was telephone their senior officers. The more reports of police misconduct reached us the more we were compelled to urge our people to work in consultation with them.

"But the police are killing us," was the response and we were often booed.

A desperate call for arms became deafening. Unless our speakers said something very specific on the question of self-defence and arms, their messages were unheeded.

Some of our comrades even became reluctant to meet face to face with comrades from conflict-ridden areas. They had no answer to the demand for arms.

WHAT is to be done?

Frankly speaking, our people missed the presence and guidance of our national leaders at the height of the crisis.

It is a fact that to many of our people leadership means "top leaders" and when they are not seen to be there in a crisis people feel abandoned.

Generally speaking, the vision of strength the movement has earned and nurtured over the years was dented. People felt the ANC was paralysed, fallen prey to De Klerk's sweet talk.

Specifically, we suffered from the absence of a clear, considered response from the national leadership, and from a lack of co-ordination between them and activists on the ground. But the biggest obstacle in our attempts to interact more meaningfully in most situations was the lack of an organised base on which we could rely.

The result was that many people came to meetings as individuals, lacking a perspec-

'For people on the ground, the "Zulu-Xhosa war" characterisation has been disastrous'

tive on what was happening and consequently presenting easy targets for agent provocateurs.

In some instances the youth demanded that no peace be entertained with Inkatha or the police. They accused the civics of selling out or acting without a mandate. We were expected to support such views as "Give us guns and we will sort out the Zulus".

In short, there is a great deal of ignorance about some crucial ANC policies and unless attempts are made to provide an organisational reference point, vigilante groups may fill the vacuum.

How to intervene in the conflict

WHEN the violence that has wracked Natal for years spread to several Reef townships, Paul Graham, regional director of Idasa in Durban, met with representatives of Johannesburg organisations to share information about interventions used by organisations in Natal. This is a summary of the guidelines he gave to the meeting:

Monitoring the media

The media do not know how to explain the violence and are therefore inclined to make sweeping statements such as "Mob on the rampage in Inanda" when Inanda is a vast area and the "mob" is a group of 10 people gathered in one corner.

This kind of reporting can frighten many people. As reporters often rely on hearsay or police unrest reports or lose interest in the issue, it is very important for monitors to take journalists into the affected areas.

Monitoring the police:

The police have often been accused of taking sides and this has been widely documented. Monitors need to find a way of working with the police – pointing out biased actions to them and explaining that such actions make things worse.

Often the police don't know how to intervene in a conflict or have not worked out a way of effective policing. Monitors can help them with constructive suggestions.

General monitoring of conflict areas:

There are three possible ways of monitoring. One can analyse the causes, consequences and trends in the conflict areas or one can gather affidavits relating to police action and



Residents move out of a hostel in Tembisa with police protection.

discuss them with the police in a form of "advocacy" monitoring. The third type involves an attempt at peace-keeping.

In Durban there is a 24-hour hotline for people to phone. Those monitoring the hotline contact the appropriate authorities – police or army – and call lawyers or ambulances and so on.

An important aspect of monitoring is being present at the scene of potential conflicts. It is much easier to get into the area before the battle begins. In Natal, these are predictable and often coincide with rallies.

The Durban hotline enables monitors to know about events that have been planned

both parties – even if they are not skilled in this work.

In potential conflict situations, it is important to contact all the groups involved beforehand. Assistance can be given in negotiating the routes buses will take to a rally, and each side can be informed of this. The police must also be informed of these arrangements.

It is also important to have joint funerals and to depoliticise them – otherwise the lines are drawn even more rigidly within a community and the women (who are a potential uniting and peace-making force) become divided.

such as rallies or funerals. Monitors attend these events as observers, making sure the police know they are there and then try to communicate with both groups.

This kind of monitoring is time-consuming if done on a regular basis. In Natal, they have worked out a roster system for organisations to take responsibility for different weekends.

Another way of focusing attention on the issue is to organise high profile, fact-finding missions. The delegates usually cannot get to the bottom of the issue, but they help to make people aware of what is going on.

Such groups can include diplomats, editors, businesspeople, party leaders and the police. The mission involves meeting those affected by the violence and is a violence-reduction strategy, not an attempt at mediation.

Peace-making in an area is a full-time job. It can't be done on an ad hoc basis. The mediators should be known and trusted by

Reaping the ugly harvest

By Joyce Harris

SINCE 1948 the apartheid policy of the National Party government has systematically oppressed, discriminated against, forcibly removed, influx and efflux controlled, and generally restricted the lives of the majority of the people from the cradle to the grave.

A minority government has imposed unjust laws on a voteless and unhappy majority, and the only way in which it could do so was through the use of force. Structural violence has been built into the system, which has expressed itself in many ways, from bullying high-handedness to actual physical assault.

As conditions have changed, as black people have become increasingly articulate, as reform and repression have contradicted each other, as rising

expectations have come up against the limitations of minority unwillingness and a hopelessly inadequate economy, rising frustration and anger are increasingly expressing themselves through the use of violence.

Poverty, overcrowding, unemployment and land hunger are all exacerbating the situation. People are living in appalling conditions, creating a tinderbox easily set alight. Schooling is chaotic, and for many altogether non-existent, and young people are walking the streets with nothing to do and no future. They have nothing to lose.

Add to this already volatile situation the unbanning of banned organisations, the heady articulation of needs, grievances and policies, the jockeying for position in the new South Africa and the pursuit of power, and

there is the match to set the tinderbox alight.

It is easy to play on the emotions of angry people with little to lose, who have been the victims of violence in some form or another, and who are ready to do anything in pursuit of a better way of life.

There are all too many reasons for violence, and seemingly all too few remedies.

The country is reaping the ugly harvest of the dehumanisation implicit in apartheid. It has provided all the ingredients, yet it cannot, at this stage, be held solely responsible for all that is happening. Some of the fault may well lie with the early failure to reject it by those who should have known better.

At least one generation of young blacks, probably more, have been brutalised by the violence to which they have been

subjected and by the mayhem of the streets, which has been their only medium of instruction. Those who have perpetrated the violence – young white and black policemen and young servicemen – have also been brutalised by what they have done and seen.

No-one remains untouched or unblemished. The whole of society is tarnished. Life has become cheap, maybe worthless, and this breeds inhuman and bizarre behaviour carried out with very little of the moral revulsion which could ordinarily be expected.

It is the responsibility of each one of us to call for an end to the violence and to do everything we can to create a climate in which it is seen to be counter-productive.

Joyce Harris is honorary life vice-president of the Black Sash.

IN THE first six months of this year the violence that has engulfed Natal also spread to an isolated valley near Hillcrest.

Peace-making in rural Natal

By Steven Collins

The community of Nqetho had lost six youths through a conflict between two groups, the "Amakati" (the cats) and the "Amagundane" (the rats), that had erupted because of a split in the youth organisation. In normal circumstances, the split might have been resolved through discussion, but it appears that the security forces used the split to disrupt the youth and the community.

After an initial appeal by a concerned resident, Idasa's Community Conflict Monitoring Service (CCMS) collected various statements and compiled a report on the area. The community met to discuss the problem with representatives from the Black Sash, the End Conscription Campaign and the Anglican Church. At the meeting the community elected a peace committee to liaise with the CCMS and to pursue ways of ending the conflict in the area.

However, the community was only one part of the problem and CCMS was asked to facilitate a meeting with the security forces as well.

Several points emerged from what was to be the first of a series of meetings involving Idasa, ECC, Black Sash, Anglican Justice and Reconciliation Commission and security force representatives. Most important was

the willingness of the security forces to engage in discussion with us.

In addition, there was an admission from the SADF that in the past they had sometimes taken sides in the conflict - although they claimed that this had more to do with their physical position than malicious intent.

A key point was the request from the security forces to be allowed to meet the community to discuss the problem, to clear up misconceptions on both sides.

At the next meeting, the security forces agreed to act impartially and the community agreed to report any complaints to them.

An interesting point arose when the SADF was invited to attend the community meeting the next day - unarmed. At first the soldiers refused, but after some discussion they agreed. At the following day's meeting the community applauded them warmly.

While it took time for the mistrust on both sides to subside, the fact that matters had improved since our first meeting with the police meant that the peace committee felt the police were sincere. The police had also taken several concrete steps to address the situation, including removing an informer from the area.

A further important breakthrough was the agreement by the community that the police and Idasa should

attempt to meet the "Amakati", who represented a small number of youths and had excluded themselves from the peace process.

After much discussion and one failed attempt, we met the "Amakati". It was clear the majority in the group wanted peace. After this was established they were invited to what some of the elders in the community thought was the biggest community meeting they could recall.

A 14-year-old member of the "Amakati" summed up the spirit of reconciliation that existed, saying that they were tired of the fighting. They wanted to visit the families of the boys who had been killed - not to make excuses, but to express their regret at what had happened. The meeting ended with an agreement that there would be one memorial service for the youth who had died.

The youths have now reformed one youth organisation, and a civic organisation based on the peace committee structure which involves elders, youth and women has been elected. Now that the fighting has ended and there is a resolve to discuss problems as they arise, the community can begin to address the real problems that face the Nqetho valley - the absence of tarred roads, electricity and fewer than 10 taps.

Steven Collins is a CCMS co-ordinator.

Dream of a thriving region

By David Screen

A RECENT Idasa-facilitated trip to the Frontline states set out to probe business and investment opportunities as well as to gain some kind of understanding of the political process of transition in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

The 11 participants were all alumni of the Wits Business School and represented a number of major companies in South Africa, including Rio Tinto Zinc, Engen Limited and Middleburg Steel and Alloy. In Mozambique, the major topics of discussion were the economic recovery programme, which has been in operation for the last couple of years, and the war with Renamo.

Economists and business people we spoke to highlighted five major areas of concern: the transport system, agriculture (whose future lies in the north of the country), exploitation of the tourist industry, a free-zone policy, and building an international airport.

Problem areas identified by business people and government leaders were the lack of foreign exchange, the war with Renamo, illiteracy and lack of skills, immense poverty (Mozambique is one of the poorest nations in the world), and what can only be termed "a shattered economy".

On the war with Renamo, the Mozambicans were very positive. After a recent second meeting between Renamo and Frelimo in Italy, they believed that prospects for peace were very good and that they would move towards a multi-party democracy by March next year.

In Zimbabwe, the reception of the group was somewhat cooler than it had been in Mozambique. We met a number of business leaders, the Minister of Transport and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. We also had a very good two-hour session with three PAC members, including the Southern African representative of the PAC.

Conversation tended to be around the SADECC, (the Southern African Development and Economic Co-ordinating Council), and the Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA).

We found that government was far less receptive to a change in attitude towards South Africa than the business community. Many of the business people concluded that governments were somewhat

afraid of South Africa's dominance of the Southern African region.

During our meeting with the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs we heard that only a new constitution - one that was accepted by the majority of South African citizens - would allow South Africa into both the SADECC and the Preferential Trade Agreement.

The one meeting that impressed many of the members of the business delegation was that with the PAC, who gave us copies of a number of their papers on, for example, education policy, economic policy and other critical issues in South Africa. It came as a surprise to the business delegation that the PAC was so far advanced in producing high level and high quality papers on these issues.

AFTER three days, we moved on to Zambia where the group was enthusiastically welcomed, to extensive media coverage. We met President Kenneth Kaunda and the full boards of the Zambian Industrial and Mining Confederation (Zimco) and the Zambian Association of Manufacturers (Zam).

We also had two extremely productive meetings with the Soviet and Chinese ambassadors.

Problem areas identified by the group were the thriving black market in Zambia's all but destroyed economy, a debased currency, a lack of skills and a lack of basic infrastructure - with what there is collapsing fairly quickly.

We heard a lot about large-scale corruption in the country and that Kaunda, in many ways the father of African nationalism, was out of touch with popular support for a multi-party democracy in Zambia. We arrived at a time when Zambia - or the president - had decided that there will be a referendum on a multi-party democracy in October 1991.

A striking aspect of the trip was a general sense of non-racialism in all three countries and a desire for South Africa to take its place in a Southern African economic region. Overall there is a great desire for the political process in South Africa to be peaceful.

David Screen is the National Director of Idasa

Painful pursuit of empowerment

APPLICATIONS to attend a women's workshop convened by Idasa's Johannesburg office in August came from all over the Transvaal.

A variety of reasons for wanting to attend were expressed by the applicants: a woman from Kagiso who has lost her child sought ways to address the violence, a woman from a rural area wanted to inform urban women about daily raids by homeland police, women from the suburbs wanted to find out what township women were thinking and a woman from a religious order in Bophuthatswana wanted to share her concerns about the future.

As it turned out, an outbreak of violence on the East Rand made it impossible for Kagiso women to leave the township and the younger brother of one of the would-be participants from Soweto was murdered by Inkatha supporters hours before



Sisters in arms at the workshop

the workshop was due to begin.

The 20 women who gathered at a retreat centre overlooking the Hartbeespoort dam were Sotho, Zulu, Xhosa, English and Afrikaans.

The workshop aimed to facili-

tate the identification of commonalities, increase awareness of socio-political issues and encourage individual and collective empowerment.

The women were divided into groups led by volunteer facilitators

from Concerned Social Workers. They were taken through a process which encouraged the identification of social forces and structures which have contributed to feelings of powerlessness.

Identification of individual and collective resources was encouraged, along with reflection on how these can best be employed in restructuring South African society.

In a creative expression exercise half way through the workshop, the women gave vent to their anger, despair and confusion. However, there was a recognition that the birth of a new society, like the birth of a child, is inevitably a painful process and the support which is given and received by women can sustain and strengthen all that is positive in the process of change.

Melody Emmett
Regional Co-ordinator

A night in Duncan Village

By Steve Anderson

WE MET Sindiso for the first time on Friday evening, August 31. He had not planned to be part of the Idasa/Koinonia encounter, but had come to the Gompo Town Hall in Duncan Village, East London, after hearing about the programme

through the grapevine.

There he was, buzzing around the hall, desperately trying to find someone he could host for the night. A little while later he was ushering my wife, Marion, and me into his home and introducing us to his two daughters and his wife, Cecilia.

Sindiso's home was one of

eight on a piece of land the size of the smallest plot I have seen in the white suburbs.

There was only one room, about 3,5m by 3m, one door and no windows. He referred to it as his "shack" and that's what it was: a structure made of wood, with cardboard on the inside for extra insulation and to keep out

the rain. There was a mattress on the floor upon which we sat and chatted, careful not to disturb his three-year-old daughter sleeping at the one end.

While Marion chatted to Cecilia, who had started to boil a kettle on a paraffin cooker and to cut bread for our supper, Sindiso took me to meet a few of his friends, Mzimkulu, Bongane and Lungela.

"You know, Steve," said Mzimkulu with a smile, "you know we are going to write this into our history books because you are the first white man to walk through this door."

Marion and I slept little that night. The slice of bread and cup of tea we'd had for supper was less than we were used to and we were hungry. The cardboard-covered ground was hard and - in stark contrast to the attitude of our hosts - rather unfriendly; the smell of paraffin made us light-headed and nauseous.

Sometime late that night, with the sound of the neighbour's radio playing, my eyes closed and I slept.

Thank you Koinonia, Idasa and Sindiso for a life-transforming experience.

Steve Anderson is a teacher and was one of 25 whites who took part in the weekend encounter.

Life brighter in Rio slums

DURING our brief visit to Brazil and Peru we were particularly interested in the housing situation in the two countries.

Rio de Janeiro is a modern, vibrant metropolis of 10 million people with its share of dilapidated buildings and even ruins downtown, but it was not the slum I anticipated and not as depressing as our townships.

Slums, or *favelas*, are located in and around the wealthier suburbs of Rio, the largest, Rocincho, being only about 100 metres away from the Sheraton Hotel and one of Rio's upmarket

I was pleasantly surprised with the standard of housing in the favelas. Most are built of red bricks and tin shanties are the exception. Many of the houses have steel (and even some aluminium) window and door

An Idasa staffer in Johannesburg, Marianne Holscher, recently had the opportunity to attend the annual conference of the American Political Science Association in San Francisco. On her way there, she spent several days in South America. Here are some of her impressions:

frames. Judging by all the television antennas and illegal link-ups to street lights, many favela houses are electrified. The biggest everyday problems facing favela dwellers are sewerage and refuse removal and mud slides.

What struck me most was the apparent existence of a truly

integrated Brazilian nation - a successful mix of Portuguese colonists, black slaves and native South Americans.

North of the border, democracy was prodded, scrutinised, pondered and analysed for four days by more than 3 000 political scientists in San Francisco.

Capitalists gloated and socialists were conspicuous by their absence. Where they did show up to make a last ditch stand, they fought a losing battle against overwhelming odds.

Surprising to me was the lack of factual information about recent developments in Eastern Europe. The rapid pace and intensity of events there had caught even experts by surprise.

It was clear that democracy still remains an enigma, but that definite trends towards global democratisation exist.

Treacherous terrain

The tales of murder and violence recounted by Malan are, to say the least, disturbing. The language he uses reflects this: "South Africa calls for strong and sickening words. It has a way of making your brain seethe and your blood boil. South Africans develop antibodies to the poison, they grow numb and blind, but if you leave long enough to detoxify and come back with clear eyes, your



Rian Malan

skull gets fractured. You see too much, and it makes you sick."

The discussion centred very much around personal responses to the book. This necessarily led to talk about the current levels of violence in the country. Somehow the tone was not very hopeful. The South Africa of today does not look much different from the South Africa of the novel.

The solution Malan offers was not received with much confidence by the group. In the words of Creina Alcock, a character the novel who today still lives in Msinga: "You said one could be deformed by this country, and yet it seems to me one can only be deformed by the things one does to oneself. It's not the outside things that deform you, it's the choices you make. To live anywhere in the world, you must know how to live in Africa. The only thing you can do is love, because it is the only thing that leaves light inside you, instead of the total, obliterating darkness."

Bea Roberts

Lights, camera . . . action

THE FIRST "shoot" of Idasa's video-in-the-making on democracy got under way on the banks of the Breede River near Swellendam on a weekend early in September.

Top billing went to 20 pupils from English, Afrikaans, "coloured" and black schools around Cape Town who were to explore a range of values and attitudes through simulation exercises facilitated by two education specialists.

As the camera and sound crew beamed their lights and focused their lenses on the impromptu "actors", the children continued their discussions unperturbed, blissfully unaware of the activity around them.

The exercises varied from listening to trust-building and the benefits of co-operation. The climax came on Sunday morning

during an exercise about power and wealth which brought out (some surprisingly) cut-throat, competitive and ruthless behaviour in virtually all the participants. At one stage tempers raged high as a small group - in the position of the "elite" through sheer chance - attempted to retain control at the expense of the rest.

All knowledge and memory of exercises that had fostered democratic consultation and co-operation in earlier stages of the weekend were forgotten as the students vied for power and the opportunity of pocketing a share of the coins used in the "game".

In the de-briefing session, the implications of their actions started to come home to them. "We were so busy trying to stay in the elite and get the money that we forgot about each other's needs and wants," one boy said.

Video director Dermot Judge was delighted with the footage. His greatest battle during the weekend was to stop his camera crew from using all the video tape in one go - so taken were they with the responses of the students.

It is hoped that F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, some leading industrialists and unionists will be next on the filming schedule.

Whoever it is, the pupils' will be a tough act to follow!

Sue Valentine
Media Co-ordinator



Pupils discuss the nuts and bolts of democracy while the cameras roll.

Cosas and white pupils meet in PE

PUPILS from Alexander Road High School and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) met in Port Elizabeth in September to debate the implications of open schools.

The three-member teams comprised both Cosas and Alexander Road pupils and the debate was attended by about 500 enthusiastic pupils. A prefect at Alexander Road, Brent Henegan, chaired the meeting.

The issues included the standard of education, language and culture, discipline, overcrowded classrooms and transport.

Those opposed to the opening of schools argued that the stan-

dard of education in the white community would drop because black pupils cannot afford to pay the same school fees as their white counterparts, resulting in poor quality facilities and staff.

Education should be integrated only once the standard of education of blacks and whites was equal, they argued.

Tension was also likely when black pupils, with their experience of Student Representative Councils (SRC), encountered the more hierarchical prefect system prevalent in many white schools.

Those arguing against integration added that overcrowding in black schools could never be alleviated by white schools

opening their doors to black pupils. Unless white schools were enlarged they would be unable to accommodate prospective black pupils. However, the financial constraints on the Department of Education and Culture made this unlikely.

The bussing of pupils to white schools was likely to become a reality and transport costs for black families could well be prohibitive.

The team arguing in favour of open schools called for one education department.

Integration would not mean an end to differences in language and culture. The different cultural backgrounds could cause

serious setbacks. Programmes encouraging an acceptance and understanding of different cultures could help to overcome this.

The floor challenged those who argued for integration to come up with clear measures to cope with the consequences of stayaways, boycotts and violence spreading to the white community. The response was that the struggle was disciplined.

Violence is not on the political agenda, but it does erupt spontaneously and in ambiguous circumstances.

Max Mamase
Regional Director

'Hold together' tours upgraded

THE Durban office of Idasa recently improved the quality and availability of its township tour programme in order to service the training needs of companies in the region. The Bambanani township tour is now run by Shelley Gielink of Third Eye Tours on a full-time agency basis.

"Bambanani", which means "hold together", captures something of the spirit that the programme aims to foster in the city. It is available to anyone, although it is specifically designed for companies because it can feed into ongoing in-house sensitisation and awareness programmes. The business environment is the place where people

of all races and social backgrounds are rubbing shoulders on a daily basis.

The tour programme can also facilitate better management of people by enabling white and Indian management and supervisory staff to better understand the home environment of the people they deal with daily. This is essential where these levels of staff are seeking to encourage greater creativity and productivity in workers.

It is a fact of human nature that people's creative and productive capacities cannot improve before their basic needs of food, sleep, safety and recreation are satisfied. The townships and informal settlements

are depressingly deficient in these respects.

The route commentaries on the tour contain a wealth of intensively researched information and the tour also offers the chance to speak to people in these communities. There is a stop in Inanda at the Bambayi shack settlement, on the site of the farm once owned by Gandhi. Other stops can be made on request, for instance to interview owners of spaza shops or transport operators.

Further details and tour brochures are available from Idasa at (031) 304-8893 or directly from Shelley Gielink at (031) 21-2771.



Tour leader Shelley Gielink in one of Durban's townships.

No relief for people of KwaMakuta

VIOLENCE has devastated the lives of thousands of people in Natal, but few communities have experienced as complete a breakdown of law and order as the community living in KwaMakutha, a township just inland from Amanzimtoti on the South Coast.

This township is part of KwaZulu and as such falls under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu

police force. During the past year, the actions of certain members of this police force were described as a "reign of terror". In April, Joseph Kabanyane, a KwaMakutha resident and member of the SAP since 1958, was one of six applicants who sought a Supreme Court interdict restraining the KwaZulu police from unlawful harassment.

In his words, these policemen "have through their conduct in

attacking and shooting residents at random and for no apparent reason, shown themselves to be highly reckless and a real danger to the livelihood and well-being of local residents".

An interdict was granted by Justice Broome on April 12, and it was subsequently broadened by Mr Justice Bristow in June to include an interim interdict protecting not only the six original applicants, but "all persons in

KwaMakutha", from unlawful harassment, or assault by the KwaZulu police (this is, apparently, only the second time in South African history that such a "class" interdict has been granted).

In spite of these interdicts, Idasa's Community Conflict Monitoring Service and human rights attorneys are inundated by a steady stream of people from KwaMakutha alleging violence against them by vigilante groups, which they say include members of the KwaZulu police. In many instances these police officers have been identified by name.

An element of the problem appears to be that the community hall in the township has become the home of Inkatha refugees from violence, as well as accommodating a section of the local KwaZulu police force.

The grievances of these refugees may be feeding a dynamic whereby individuals, possibly including some policemen, are engaging in a vendetta against the rest of the community.

The complexities mean that interdicts alone are not going to bring peace to the community. The political nature of the problem calls for a more comprehensive peace accord similar to those negotiated in other parts of the province. Without this, the monitors, the police and the courts have no prospect of success and the tragic spiral of violence and counter-violence has no end in sight.

NP 'smelling of roses'

THE only organisation in South Africa "smelling of roses" at the moment is, irony of ironies, the National Party.

This was the view expressed by Idasa director of policy and planning Dr Van Zyl Slabbert in a hard-hitting address at the end of the Five Freedoms Forum conference on negotiations in Johannesburg in August.

He criticised the failure of organisations opposed to apartheid to co-operate in creating a united front. In the context of ongoing violence, this created the impression that the only organisation working effectively for a non-racial democracy in South Africa was the National Party.

The conference itself could be criticised on this basis in that it ended without agreement on a process for the future. What was encouraging, though, was that a number of delegates called on the Five Freedoms Forum, or any other organisation to organise

further conferences or workshops/seminars on some of the critical issues raised.

These included school education, a future economic system, urbanisation, local government, and the civil service - or "public administration in the new South Africa", as it was called.

The conference began with keynote addresses from Mr Thabo Mbeki of the ANC and Dr Oscar Dhlomo of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy. The aim of these opening addresses was for the two leaders to spell out the negotiation options but both speakers failed to address any real issues, perhaps for understandable reasons.

An excellent panel discussion on negotiations followed, with speakers including Dr Pallo Jordan of the ANC, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, Mr Essop Pahad of the South African Communist Party, Labour Party member Mr Miley Richards and Mr Frank Mdlalose of

the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The panel were required to answer questions, for example, who should participate in negotiations, what issues should be negotiated and who governs during negotiations?

There was no real disagreement on the first two questions, but the form of interim government raised some interesting debate and discussion, from the panel as well as the floor.

Delegates then had the difficult task of choosing to participate in two out of 18 different commissions, ranging from school education to sport to the transformation of our cultural institutions.

The commission on violence, led to heated debate between members of the ANC and Inkatha. The commission on education, on the other hand, led almost to a feeling of despair at the magnitude of the problem.

David Screen
National Director

Reversing Africa's decline

By **Anthoni van Nieuwkerk**

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: FROM CRISIS TO SUSTAINABLE GROWTH – A LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVE STUDY, the World Bank, Washington DC, 1989, (300 pages).

REVIEWING this study by the World Bank is less a matter of criticism than of emphasising the important role of Africa in a future South Africa. If we are to take seriously the fact that we are part of this continent, then we should start by taking notice of what is happening up north.

This focus becomes even more important when we consider pronouncements by political leaders like Mandela and De Klerk that South Africa will in future play a key role in the development of the Southern African region.

There is another reason for taking note of Africa. The world is increasingly moving away from sterile East-West relations. Multipolarity seems to be replacing ideological confrontation, and economic restructuring has become the key variable.

The world will soon be dominated by regional trading blocs, with the United States, the European Community and the Pacific Rim taking the lead. Many suggest that South Africa's future strength lies in developing closer ties with Africa, and in particular with Southern Africa.

If these suggestions are to become reality, and indications are that they will, then South Africans had better learn more about Africa.

If this learning is to be worth anything, we should try to avoid the ideological lenses through which most of us have viewed the land beyond the Limpopo.

The World Bank's study, which is a comprehensive review of post-colonial Africa's political and economic development (or lack of it), is an ideal introduction. Published in November 1989, it is destined to exercise a profound influence on policy directions as Africa enters the new decade.

Previous World Bank reports have achieved little more than stirring up controversy. Different non-governmental organisations, like the United National Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and various others, frequently disagreed with each other over the most appropriate development strategies for Africa.

IN GENERAL, the World Bank's structural adjustment programmes were severely criticised for their negative social consequences. The bank's claim that countries undergoing structural adjustment were doing better than those which were not, were hotly contested.

Some of these criticisms are justified. But it is also true that, as Africa enters the 1990s, the problems are so staggering that no-one can afford to ignore what is being said by Africa's largest multilateral lending agency.

The report concludes in its final chapter that the outlook for Africa is "potentially devastating". Looking at the impressively laid out tables, graphs and other data in the

report, one cannot but agree.

What, then, is to be done?

The report stresses that disaster can be averted only through quick action. But there are no quick fixes, no blueprints. In fact, although broad agreement exists on the gravity of the problems, their complexity makes effective collaboration among the many partners in Africa's development extremely difficult.

The report argues that Sub-Saharan economies need to grow by at least four to five percent annually to achieve food security, provide jobs and register a modest improvement in living standards.

Agriculture will be the main foundation for growth. Structural transformation will necessitate the building of African capacities to produce a better trained, healthier population and to strengthen the institutional framework within which development can take place.

Thus, the report strongly supports the call made by the ECA and UNICEF for a human-centred development strategy.

By restructuring economies, putting people first and fostering self-reliance, Africa's decline could be reversed. The alternative is too awful to contemplate – a pronouncement which holds true for South Africa as well.

(The report is available, free of charge, from the Publications Sales Unit, The World Bank, 1818 H Street, N.W., Washington DC 20433, USA.)

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'n Vars kykie na 'n sosiale teologie

Deur **Ian Liebenberg**

'n **TUISTE VIR ALMAL**, Johann Kinghorn. Sentrum vir Kontekstuele Hermeneutiek, Universiteit van Stellenbosch, R29.

DIÉ boek wat begin met 'n aanhaling van Hoofman Albert Luthuli, Suid-Afrika se eerste Nobelprys-wenner, is opgedra aan B.B. Keet en geskoei binne die parameters van 'n "sosiaal teologiese studie" oor Suid-Afrika, en skep verwagtinge by die leser.

Die titel verwys na aardse mense in 'n spesifieke land; ons mense en ons land. Kinghorn gebruik die woord tuiste, nie gastehuis, somer net huis of "tydelike behuising" nie. Hy praat in Afrikaans oor 'n tuiste. En hy praat oor "almal" - nie party mense, groepe, kleure of kerke nie, maar almal.

'n Voorwoord deur Bernard Lategan erken by voorbaat dat die boek "vanuit 'n wit perspektief" geskryf is. En eskatologies, ook! Dit is bedoel vir die dag "wat die barrikade nie meer daar sal wees nie".

Eerstens word gekyk na apartheid en 'n vlugtige oorsig van die ontstaan en groei, sowel as die religieuse inkleding daarvan, word gegee.

Tweedens word gekyk na die "tragies komiese" uitvloeisels – en walglike gevolge – van apartheid, iets waarvan min mense buite die wit gemeenskap nog oortuig moet word. Tog bly 'n terugblik altyd belangrik; dit bemiddel 'n beter verstaan van ons situasie.

Derdens word gekyk na die konsep en spanningsvelde wanneer die woord "demokrasie" en "teologie" ter sprake kom. Teologie en demokrasie, sowel as die problematiek van industriële ontwikkeling en politieke mag, word aangesny.

Teologies-antropologiese perspektiewe, of noem dit somer "God-Mens" perspektiewe, word behandel in hul verskeidenheid: gelykheid, eenheid, afhanklikheid, geregtigheid, vrede en genade.

Laastens, word daar gesoek na grondliggende gemeenskaplike samelewings-waardes.

Een van die sterk punte van die boek is die behandeling van die ekonomiese onreg van apartheid, en die deurwerk van die gedagte dat apartheid nooit ekonomies neutraal was nie. Dit herinner ons daaraan dat die "blankes" mettertyd 'n ryker kerngroep ("core") geword het, en dat Suid-Afrika een van die mees skeefgetrekte ekonomieë in die wêreld het.

Die onderhandelbaarheid van die vorm van die toekomstige staatsbestel en ekonomie word as standpunt gestel en gemotiveer. Die ononderhandelbaarheid van die nie-rassige aard daarvan word ook gestel en beklemtoon.

Daar word gesoek na, en geargumenteer om, 'n skeppings-teologie wat vertrek uit liefde, versoening en geregtigheid, eerder as vasgeval bly in die sondige aard van die sondeval. Kortom: 'n positiewe "skeppingsteologie" waarsonder "die Christelike teologie, 'n monoloog (word) waarvan die eggo's teruggekaats word van die mure van katedrale wat vir die algemene lewe nog net as kunsobjekte nuttig is".

Sosiale vormgewing op 'n interdisiplinêre wyse aan woorde soos diakonia (diens), vrede, geregtigheid, word goed hanteer. Teoloë sal moeilik kan verskil met die omvattende inhoudgewing aan diakonia, geregtigheid en versoening en die sosiale implikasies daarvan. Tog is dit jammer dat daar nie meer inhoud gegee is aan die sintese van 'n sosiaal-relevante Christologie en humaniteit nie. Veral in Kinghorn se stelling dat daar gemeenskaplike waardes tydens die oorgangsproses teenwoordig is, impliseer 'n potensiële kragveld vir 'n sosiaal-relevante Christologie wat noord en suid, Europa en Afrika versoen.

Die boek, hoewel leesbaar, is myns insiens nie deurgaans toeganklik vir gewone mense nie. Nietemin is dit 'n vars briesie in 'n andersins redelike steriele gereformeerde teologie in Suid-Afrika.

Ian Liebenberg is die Direkteur van Navorsing by Idasa.

'N MOEDSWILLIGE Nusas-student het herhaaldelik by 'n onlangse konferensie op Stellenbosch opgestaan om by verskeie van die sprekers te hoor of dit dan nou regtig nodig is om spesiale debatte te voer oor die rol van die Afrikaner in 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika.

Dit was 'n goeie vraag veral in die lig van die feit dat almal weet wat 'n politieke-uitelende mengelmoes van mense Afrikaners is, en ook omdat niemand op die konferensie van die Stellenbosse Aktuele Aangeleentheidskring dit wou waag om prontuit te sê wie nou eintlik as 'n Afrikaner bestempel kan word nie.

In die dae van toenadering en onderhandeling sou dit 'n ernstige politieke flater wees om die eenvoudige waarheid, gelouter tot die absolute minimum vereiste, kaalkop te stel: tot apartheid verdwyn sal 'n Afrikaner 'n wit geklassifiseerde wees wat Afrikaans as moedertaal êrens in die familie het, en natuurlik ook 'n bietjie erkenning aan die kultuur gee. Afrikanerskap is iets waarvoor 'n mens tegekyrt trots en baie skaam moet wees, en waarvan jy nooit kan ontsnap nie al is die oorspronklike sonde nou ook deur die vadere gepleeg. Dr Neville Alexander van die National Language Project is bruin en praat standaard Afrikaans maar kwalifiseer nie as 'n Afrikaner nie. En al is Patrick Lekota van die ANC se Afrikaans plek-plek beter as die van sommige Afrikaners, kan hy – as hy enigsins wou – ook nie die paal haal nie.

Maar die Nusas-student was heelwaarskynlik kiewelrig om 'n ander rede. Afrikaners vergeet soms om hul plek te ken, en hul gewaande unieke aard en status in die land is 'n kwessie wat Engels-sprekendes veral lankal vervies. Noudat die ANC na die Afrikanergemeenskap vry – om politieke en ander beter redes – steek die hubris weer sterk kop uit. Dit sal ironies wees as Afrikaners nou – op 'n stadium wanneer die geskiedenis hulle as't ware 'n tweede kans gun om hul trots te herwin – weer hulle eie waarde oorskakel.

Daar is natuurlik 'n tikkie jaloesie wat gepaard gaan met die frustrasie van Engels-sprekendes, gevoed deur kulturele meerderwaardigheid en ergerlikheid dat hulle deur die "dom" boere regeer moet word. Maar dit doen geen afbreek aan die geldigheid van hul besware nie.

Afrikaners, dikwels selfs die mees verligtes onder hulle, bly heel anachronisties na verskonings soek om hulself af te sonder in sub-groepe. Kulturele sentimentaliteit, eibelangrikheid, eksklusiwiteit en self-bejammering is faktore wat dit aanhelp. Dit sou dan so swaar wees om 'n Afrikaner te wees – die strugle vertrou jou nie; niemand het

Het Afrikaners 'n besondere rol om te speel in 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika? Of moet hulle maar gewoonweg saam met almal in die land die moue oprol en aan die werk spring?

Deur Ronel Scheffer

waardering vir die opofferings wat jou politieke oortuigings van jou eis nie, of 'n benul van die vreeslike pyn wat met verandering

gepaard gaan nie.

Jong Afrikaners verwag medaljes vir hul dapper "breek met apartheid" en verlustig hulle in aanvalle op die wat nog nie in die kraal van die "nuwe" Suid-Afrika aangekom

Afrikaners moet 'hul plek ken'



Cobus de Swardt, links, en Ben Cronje.

'Die toekoms van hierdie land gaan nie oor die vrese en bewinge en sombere horisonne van die Afrikaner nie'

het nie. 'n Verskriklike bohaai word gemaak wanneer 'n Afrikaner by die ANC se militêre vleuel aansluit – die stroom Engels-sprekendes wat dit al dekades lank doen vergelyk glad nie.

BY DIE SAAK-konferensie het Breyten Breytenbach hierdie soort Afrikaner-sentrisisme as "belaglik, oneerlik en arrogant" bestempel. "Die toekoms van hierdie land gaan nie oor die vrese en bewinge en sombere horisonne van die Afrikaner nie," het hy gesê, "maar 'n konferensie het seker 'n tema nodig."

Die joernalis Hennie Serfontein het 'n beroep gedoen vir 'n bietjie meer beskeidenheid aan die kant van die regering en die Afrikaanse koerante in die tye van onderhandeling. Die verlede is nog lank nie verwerk nie en ons moet nog baie meer openbare skuldbelydenisse soos die van adjunk-minis-

ter Leon Wessels sien.

Dieselfde geld natuurlik ook vir Afrikaners links van die regering wat hul minder progressiewe mede-Afrikaners half kopskuddend en onbegrypend benader. Die genade word dikwels verwar met verdienstelikheid en geen Afrikaner kan sê hy of sy is niks aan die genade verskuldig nie. Afrikaners se toekoms in die land sal ook steeds afhanklik wees van 'n milde maat van genade.

Die neiging van Afrikaners om andersdenkendes in eie geleedere te onteien of af te maak as rare verskynsels, is by die konferensie deur die vurige ANC-voorsitter vir Kaapstad-Sentraal, Cobus de Swardt, geopper. Regsgesindes, het De Swart gesê, word verkeerdelik as die "nuwe booswigte" van Suid-Afrika uitgekryt. Hul ideologiese vader, die Nasionale Party, het hulle verlaat en weier nou om verantwoordelikheid te aanvaar vir die mense wat gevorm is deur sy beleid.

De Swardt se raad aan Afrikaners was om

hulle kulturele hang-ups opsy te skuif en om die keuse van 'n "African" te maak; om te begin bou aan 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika, sy aan sy met hul mede-burgers van alle tale en kleure. "Die novelty van 'n whitey in die struggle wees, is lankal verby," het hy gesê.

Die rapport en wedersydse respek wat bestaan tussen Afrikaner en swart Suid-Afrikaner is duidelik wanneer hulle as gelykes ontmoet. Die moontlikheid van versoening tussen die twee kulture kan 'n ramspoedige duiseligheid tot gevolg hê, wat kan lei tot kort-sigtige gelowe soos dat Afrikaner en ANC alleen die land se probleme kan oplos en dat ander groepe nie eintlik 'n belangrike rol te speel het nie.

Ironies genoeg was Dr Ben Cronje van die FAK een van die nederigste partye by die SAAK-konferensie. Sommige sal sê dat

die FAK baie het om oor nederig te wees, maar party van hul leiers weet darem wanneer hulle die minste moet wees. Dr Cronje het half ontuis gelyk op die verhoog langs De Swardt, maar hy het moedig sy sê gesê – niks opspraakwekkends nie, maar ook nie arrogant of skynheilig nie.

Die kultuur-identiteit van die Afrikaner is oor die jare heen verpolitiseer en misbruik vir politieke gewin, het hy gesê. Die praktyk het egter reeds bewys dat Afrikanerskap nie aan 'n spesifieke politieke identiteit gekoppel kan word nie. Afrikaners het 'n verantwoordelikheid om hierdie persepsie reg te stel.

Afrikaners moet geleenthede skep om met ander in die land te kommunikeer. Hulle sal 'n goeie toekoms in die land hê as hulle daarin kan slaag om die respek van ander af te dwing, maar hierin kan hulle alleen slaag deur respek aan ander te betoon.

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