

Youth to the rescue

SOUTH Africa's leaders of today could do well to heed the deliberations of the Idasa-organised National Youth Conference on Peace and Reconstruction, held at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg in July. After two days of debate one thing was clear: differences notwithstanding, the youth of this country are willing to listen to each other's often opposing views with patience and tolerance – and they expect their leaders to do the same.

SA youth leaders set tone for reconciliation

BY CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE

Idasa's Simon Ntombela, chairperson of the conference steering committee, at the end summed up the mood: "The fact that youth of political parties over such a wide spectrum could agree to disagree was an important step for democracy, the seeds of which will yet germinate."

All was not plain sailing, however. A disappointing note was sounded at the close when a draft resolution on the way forward was not endorsed by all delegations, although an "extremely high degree of consensus was reached in the four commissions".

But a firm commitment to work for an end to the violence in this country, and to talk about ways and means to reach a political dispensation that would satisfy most people, emerged throughout as tangible evidence that this unprecedented occasion could be termed a success, possibly even a breakthrough. Most of the delegations concurred that a firm foundation of agreement on basic principles was secured, with an almost unanimous signal sent out to their seniors to resume talks for an early negotiated settlement and interim structures leading to a constituent assembly.

This empathy would in future ensure that the youth wings of the different parties and organisations could engage in meaningful discussion – even bargaining, as an ANC youth delegate observed – over their differences, whether bilaterally or in multi-party structures.

In one of the opening addresses, Dr Frank Mdlalose of the Inkatha Freedom Party suggested the conference could provide a shortcut to a non-partisan youth forum, and that the



Photo: Eric Miller

Challenge to power

Power lines impose on a poorly developed Khayelitsha. Similarly, a narrow political negotiation process in South Africa is dominating the agenda while the broader issue of national development could hold the key to eliminating conflict. See Special Feature on development, Page 10.

"youth may yet lead us to the *sonum bonum* (maximum good for the maximum number of people)".

It was an upbeat note to start the conference, signalling the high expectations with which the 13 dele-

gations started out, but over the two days youthful energy was sapped, and the almost naive eagerness and openness at the opening made way for some disappointment and a

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DEMOCRACY in ACTION



Idasa's goals are:

To promote the development of a democratic culture in South Africa

To address fear, prejudice, anger and other obstacles in the transition to a non-racial democracy in South Africa

To engage influential groups and individuals who may be outsiders to the transition process

To provide, wherever possible, information on critical issues and to explore ways of addressing these

To facilitate discussion of constitutional and developmental issues relevant to Southern Africa

To assist and encourage others to contribute to the attainment of these goals

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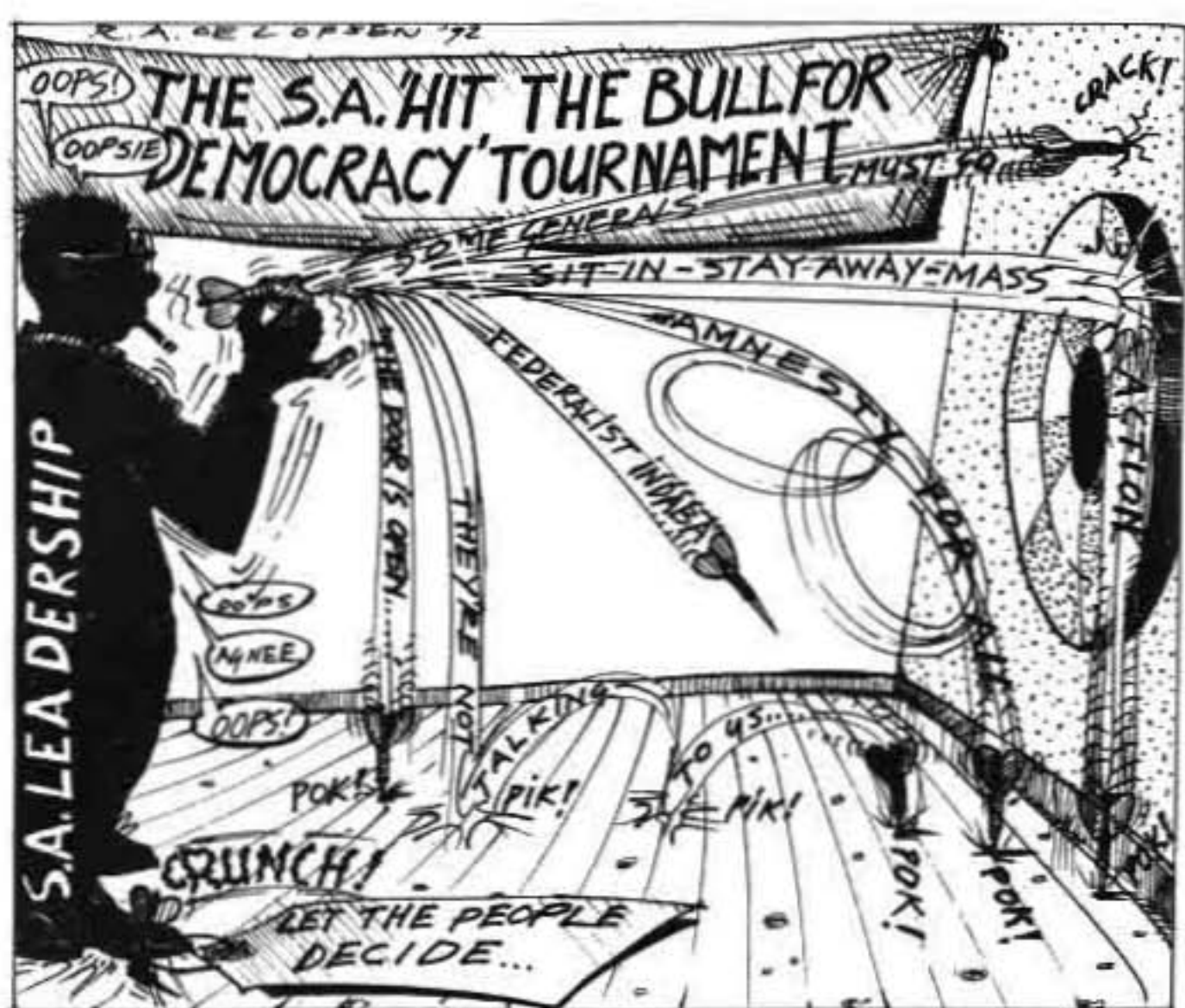
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Forward to a New SA...

A *Weekly Mail* news report cited Idasa as one of its sources. That's not surprising, but we were a little startled to find ourselves referred to as the Institute for a Democratic Alternative to South Africa. True, we are in the business of seeking democratic alternatives, but we understand the necessity of looking beyond our own doorstep.

- To the reporter concerned, we are flattered. Signed, the Peoples' Republic of Idasa.

Prescription for liberation

A Border civic leader at a rural local government conference made a profound observation: women aren't speaking out or becoming involved in civic structures, he found. Musing out loud, he added: "I wonder what's wrong with them. I wish we could just give them a pill to sort out their trouble."

- Hard to swallow? Maybe he was thinking of another pill that has sorted out so many troubles.

Still on the subject

At a Port Elizabeth conference on population development a man proudly got to his feet and announced his explanation for the overpopulation problem: the men of this country have been working very hard.

- In that case we'd hate to think what the country's problems might be like if they didn't go off to work each day. Imagine coupling his solution with the problem of unemployment!

Ja-Nee

And more on the pauvre

Dr Ben van Rensburg, chief economist for the South African Chamber of Business, was asked in an interview whether he could predict a timetable for the urgent development of the Economic Forum as people on the ground were restless. Van Rensburg's reply: "Which people are you talking about?"

- You know the ones. The people he could try telling to eat cake...while they're waiting.

Failing that, they could try religion

Only it might not be so easy. Unisa's Institute for Theological Research issued its programme for a seminar, On Being Unemployed and Religious. It offers all kinds of useful lessons on dealing with unemployment. Only thing it doesn't advise is how the unemployed can afford its R150 fee. Students get a discount; no mention of the unemployed when it comes to costs.

- There's a lesson in this somewhere. Maybe it will be revealed in the paper on "Christian Models towards Addressing the Unemployment Crisis". Or perhaps they could take a song and a prayer as credit.

Must SA bleed to death before the leaders act?



THE brutal massacre which took place at Boipatong and left 40 people dead, shocked a South Africa which had become numbed by endemic violence. Memorial services were held, strong commitments were made, assistance from the international community was sought, in order to start negotiations afresh and in the hope that this would bring an end to the sickening toll of violence.

Despite the pious commitment, the strong declarations, the new initiatives, South Africa continues to bleed. As this magazine goes to press, yet another human slaughter has occurred, this time in Ciskei.

Since Boipatong almost 1 000 people have died and at least 1 200 have been injured. The majority of the victims of violence are women and children.

The figures are chilling: 58 people died and 54 were injured in the PWV, Natal and the Western Cape between 26 August and 1 September alone. We are supposed to be encouraged when we read that the weekly death toll in the PWV area has dropped from an average of 54 from March to July to 25 in mid-August. In Natal, the weekly death rate has risen from 23 on average from March to July to 45 in mid-August.

Against this background, what are the political leaders in Natal saying? Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi is on record that "the ANC must be bugged up", and when Dr Mdlalose is challenged on television, he concedes that the statement was made but that it really meant that the ANC must be "bugged up" peacefully! Harry Gwala, a prominent ANC leader in Natal, is given a standing ovation by a large number of students at the University of Cape Town when he declares that "violence is not taking place in Natal. What is happening is a liberation war". In addition to that, he warns that the ANC may be forced to return to the "armed struggle".

Elsewhere, despite the fact that the PAC in recent weeks has been meeting with the government to seek common ground for negotiation, their spokesmen continue to emphasise that "the armed struggle" is part of the strategy to end apartheid. As preparations were made for the march on Ciskei, despite the volatile climate which exists there, ANC leaders were quoted as saying, "we are prepared to die in the attempt to secure freedom for our people". The question is, was the death count in Ciskei on September 7 really necessary? Is this the price the people must pay for freedom?

Meanwhile, despite all the protestations by the Minister of Law and Order, the overwhelming perception of blacks who are subject to violence almost every day of their lives, is that some elements in the police and security forces are playing a sinister role in the continuing violence. It hardly inspires confidence when deaths in custody continue at an ever-increasing rate.

Mindless violence is destroying the fabric of our society. Family life and communities are undermined. The economy limps on with no hope of recovery against the background of instability. Violence threatens to derail any possibility of genuine negotiations. Against this dismal scenario, what is being done to stop the violence?

The National Peace Accord under the indefatigable leadership of John Hall continues to hold meetings, to discuss strategies, to strengthen their forces. And whilst they meet and deliberate, people are dying. Monitoring agencies seek co-ordination, more teeth and whilst they monitor, people continue to die.

On the negotiation front, South Africans are told that it is impossible to restart formal negotiations because the government and the ANC cannot agree on the release of political prisoners and the ending of the violence! So while they talk about ending the violence and about the release of political prisoners, people die. Is it asking too much from the government and the ANC to appoint an independent arbitrator to resolve a matter such as the release of political prisoners which has been on the agenda for years?

It is well known that the causes of violence are legion and that the socio-economic situation of the majority of South Africans is a major cause. Nevertheless, it is clear that more and more lives are being lost in the ideological battle being fought between the ANC and Inkatha. The carnage taking place cries out for political and community leaders who are prepared to unambiguously condemn violence in word and deed. Must South Africa bleed to death for the want of political statesmen and women who can lead the country away from the path of confrontation to the new possibilities of genuine negotiations and above all, peace?

THERE is no certainty that any initiative is going to end the violence. All we can hope is for initiatives and men and women who will mount these initiatives so that violence is at least curtailed and controlled. Whilst we wait for negotiations to resume so that elections can be held and an interim government can be in place (which will enable co-ordinated action by a cross-section of political leadership to take decisive action against the perpetrators of violence), must we fold our arms and count our dead?

Surely the time is overdue for a high-level meeting, involving political leaders as well as civil society, to fashion a plan and a strategy to deal decisively with the death and destruction which is our daily diet in South Africa? It will be argued that the causes of violence and ways and means of countering violence have been discussed over and over again, but the fact of the matter is that violence continues and people are dying. If such a conference was called, not to attribute blame but to concede that all political parties carry responsibility for the violence and to find ways and means to work together, it may help to stop some of the killing. Such a conference would have to be called not by the government, nor the ANC or Inkatha or any other political party, but by an independent arbitrator.

Whatever else is true, the litany of violence demands action and in particular from those who are supposed to be exercising wise and mature political leadership.

*Alex Boraine
Executive Director*

DEMOCRACY TRAINING CENTRE

Back to school for principals

The Training Centre for Democracy will hold a workshop for high school principals, from September 18-20, to develop organisation and consultation skills.

The programme will include an overview of the state of education in South Africa, discussion on the democratisation of schools and training workshops on democratic leadership, conflict resolution and facilitating meetings.

Democracy goes on tour



The training centre will also be taking its "Introduction to Democracy" seminar to all the country's major centres during October and November. The course will be offered at least twice in each centre, once for members of the business community and once for civic organisations.

The one-day programme will enable participants to explore the meaning of democracy, its procedures and expression in South Africa, both in the workplace and in the broader society.

Seminars will be held on the following dates:

East London 2-3 October
Port Elizabeth 4-5 October
Durban 9-10 October
Cape Town 16-17 October
Bloemfontein 23-24 October
Pietersburg 1-2 November
Pretoria 14 November.

For further information phone Lufuno, Vuno or Marie at (011) 484 3694/7

PORT ELIZABETH

Democracy on the curriculum

Teachers can explore how to introduce and foster democratic practices in the school environment at a "Democracy in the School" workshop, to be held from September 28-30.

The workshop will give teachers an opportunity to tackle the many practical problems which arise in forging a new democratic educational environment.

Mbeki on speaking tour

ANC Director of International Affairs Thabo Mbeki, as a guest of Idasa, will address public meetings in Port Alfred and Port Elizabeth on October 7.

He will also hold a private meeting with some of Port Alfred's civic and business leaders.

WESTERN CAPE

"City Futures" series comes to an end

In September, Idasa will hold the last in its City Futures seminar series on the role and place of local government administration in transition.

For date, time and venue, phone David or Sazi at (021) 462 3635/6.

Fresh debate on democracy symbols

Symbols for a Democratic Cape Town is the subject of a seminar, provisionally billed for October 1, to be held jointly with the University of the Western Cape's Mayibuye Centre.

Phone David or Sazi at (021) 462 3635/6 for confirmation and details.

DURBAN

And on the menu...debate to get your teeth into

A breakfast forum on September 15 will feature Democratic Party MP Dene Smuts. At R40 a head, the meeting will be held at Durban's Royal Hotel from 7.30 to 9.00.

And if 7.30 sounds too early, Idasa will be holding a Futures Forum luncheon a week later, on September 22, also at the Royal. Cost is R60 a head. Guest speaker will be Conservative Party breakaway leader Andries Beyers.

PRETORIA

Policing - past mistakes and future possibilities

The forthcoming focus of Idasa's Pretoria office will be the South African police force - past mistakes and future options.

From October 5-8, a "Policing the 1990s - Towards an Assessment" conference will be held at the Riverside Holiday Inn in Vanderbijlpark. Speakers include Van Zyl Slabbert, Alex Boraine, Peter Waddington, Chris Hani and the SAP's Ray Harrauld. The conference will look at prospects for police reform and accountability.

That will be followed by an Idasa-organised tour to Denmark - to investigate alternative models of police/community relations - by members of Idasa, the SAP, the legal profession and community organisations.

EAST LONDON

Women, health in September line-up

Idasa will hold three workshops in East London in

September: on the 19th the focus at All Saints in Bisho will be on women's ministries, with the ANC's Frene Ginwala on the platform; also that day, Barry Jackson of the Development Bank will join Abner Jack of the Duncan Village Residents' Association in addressing a morning discussion, at the Holiday Inn, on water provision and sanitation; and on September 26 a range of speakers, including University of the Western Cape's Ebrahim Rasool, Chimera Dan and Barbara Klugman of Wits University and Boet Schoeman of the Department of National Health and Population Development, will hold a day-long conference on population growth.

Hopes for post-apartheid city

The highlight of a week-long focus on the city of East London will be a conference on "Building the Post-Apartheid City" on October 15. City planners and policy experts will speak on their visions for the city's future. The week will also include a cultural day, featuring groups from East London and Mdantsane.

BLOEMFONTEIN

Tshwete to score on speaker circuit

The ANC's Steve Tshwete will meet business and sport personalities and will address Vista University students on "Prospects for Peace and Democracy in South Africa" on September 17. Democracy will come up again for debate two days later at a seminar involving the region's key role-players, and on September 20 Idasa in Bloemfontein will get together with Free State organisations and individuals to plan its activities for next year.

Violence: church sends observers

OBSERVATION, documentation, conciliation, investigation, protection, interpretation. The word "monitoring" has many meanings and many facets.

In South Africa, non-partisan monitoring organisations engage in all of these activities. All of them have one aim: the creation of a climate of peace within which mediation and the creation of structured peace processes can be established.

Approximately 70 organisations and branches of organisations are engaged in indepen-

dent local monitoring in South Africa. These organisations are presently engaged in a process of consultation to decide on the best way in which they can empower one another and strengthen the monitoring activity which is needed to stop the violence in South Africa.

Idasa, which was reported in a previous issue of *Democracy in Action* to have been requested to facilitate this process, is now doing this.

In addition to creating a network of independent local monitors, the consultation process -

led by a representative technical group from all regions where there is violence - includes discussions with the structures of the National Peace Accord and with international organisations offering monitoring of the South African transition.

In related developments, the ecumenical church led by the South African Council of Churches has established a programme to bring observers from the international church to South Africa on a regular basis to watch the transition to democracy, aspects of political

violence and negotiation activities.

The UN mission to South Africa led by Mr Cyrus Vance has recommended to the UN that an observer force be sent to South Africa to bolster the peace structures and oversee the transition process.

The government has welcomed the report and it is likely that UN observers will shortly be back in South Africa after a brief visit by a small group to monitor the August stayaway.

Paul Graham
Programme Director

Policing in the 1990s

assessing the legacy of apartheid policing ♦ prospects for police reform ♦ negotiating new forms of control ♦ the policing of violence ♦ monitoring from within ♦ deracialising the police force ♦ prevention of crime ♦ police accountability ♦ building new partnerships ♦ power relations in police/community forums

IDASA will be holding a three-day conference on:

ASSESSMENTS – OPTIONS – SOLUTIONS

October 5 to 8

Speakers include Frank Chikane (SACC) ♦ Van Zyl Slabbert (IDASA) ♦ Jan van Eck (ANC) ♦ Jayendra Naidoo (Cosatu) ♦ Lloyd Vogelmann (Wits) ♦ Alex Boraine (IDASA) ♦ Mike Brogden (Liverpool Polytechnic) ♦ Molly Weatheritt (UK Police Foundation) ♦ Gert Myburgh (Dep Minister of Police)

Where: Riverside Holiday Inn, Vanderbijlpark

Registration fee: Daily attendance R50 per day,
Full attendance (incl overnight accommodation) R300
Limited bursaries are available

I/we _____ would like to attend Policing the 1990s

Address _____

_____ code _____

Phone _____ Fax _____

Organisation _____

I/we enclose a cheque/postal order for R ____ for ____ daily attendance/ ____ full attendance/
(tick where applicable)

I/we ____ do / ____ do not require overnight accommodation (tick where applicable) for ____ person(s)

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touch of cynicism among the newly initiated. The ANC delegation emphasised afterwards that "significant polarisation" remains between groups.

The conference was the result of nine months of behind-the-scenes hard work, initiated by Idasa, to organise a platform where the concerns and needs of youth could be aired. National crises, like the failure of Codesa II after the Boipatong massacre and other party-political hitches, frequently threatened to derail the conference, but the delicate deliberations eventually won the commitment of a spectrum of parties more representative than Codesa.

The steering committee comprised the ANC Youth League (ANCYL), the Democratic Party Youth, the National Party's Youth Action and the IFP's Youth Brigade. Other participants were the Intando Yesizwe Party Youth League from KwaNdebele, the Labour Party Youth, the Dikwankwetla Youth League from QwaQwa, the Inyandza Youth Congress of Kangwane, the Ximoko Progressive Party Youth Wing from Gazankulu, the African Democratic Movement's Youth from Ciskei and the United People's Youth League. The PAC and Azapo youth declined invitations to take part. Observers included youth delegates from the Afrikaanse Sakekamer, the Greek Students' Movement, the Junior Rapportryers-beweging, most church organisations and some language and cultural organisations.



ANC Youth League delegates at the conference

Youth to the rescue

The conference will probably be remembered as the first representative political platform attended by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging Youth as well as the so-called "New Right" Afrikaner Jeugfront (AJF) representing the group that recently broke away from the Conservative Party. "Now the right-wing youth cannot turn their backs on negotiations any more. They have lost their virginity, so to speak," an observer said.

The AWB Youth made it clear from the start that they were attending with the sole purpose of stating their views, and "not to negotiate or even discuss" them. The AJF, on the other hand, took an active part in the discussions and continued to convince the more

sceptical representatives that they are not only willing, but eager, to negotiate their future and, more specifically, their right to self-determination and, eventually, a "volkstaat".

The commissions concentrated on four issues: democracy, peace and reconciliation, education and economic growth and development.

The commission on democracy, facilitated by Professor Willie Esterhuyse, philosophy lecturer at the University of Stellenbosch, reached "strong consensus" on the need to review or restructure Codesa. According to a written report endorsed almost unanimously (the exception being the AWB, who excused themselves for the last plenary session), it was felt that the negotiation process "should be inclusive in order to be democratic". This commission debated the meaning and implications of terms like "volksdemokrasie" and "self-determination", and came to a general agreement that the process towards a democratic dispensation should be "phased", and that it should include, among other features, an interim administrative body which would lead to an elected body with a constitution-making function and certain governing functions.

The most heated debate in this commission arose over the issue of regionalism. The delegates agreed on the need for "some sort of negotiated decentralised structure", and also noted the importance of a constitutionally defined power for regional authorities. However, at the plenary the ANC withdrew its support and registered a dissenting view that these powers, as well as the functions and duties of regional authorities, should be entrenched in a constitution-making body, saying that this point was omitted in the original document. Esterhuyse maintained that it was a difference of interpretation of the agreed-upon report.



Keeping things on track: Paul Graham of Idasa with Sean Cleary, Jabu Maphalala, Prof Willie Esterhuyse and Prof H Vilakazi.



AFRIKANER JEUG FRONT

Two members of the Afrikaner Jeugfront

'If all you can bring into this conference is the national divisions of your elders' cynicism, then you undervalue yourselves'

This difference had an unfortunate turn behind-the-scenes when the NP Youth Action released a press statement – after the commission reportback, but before the plenary discussion and endorsement – commending the ANCYL's purported move in the direction of federalism and remarking on its "hotheaded" attitude in the past. Whether this was in anticipation of the ANCYL backtracking on certain commissions' decisions, or simply an attempt to score political points, the step was criticised by some observers as "pre-emptive". Nevertheless, the ANCYL – who described the press statement as "vicious politicking" – was advised to resolve the issue with the NP through bilateral means, due to lack of time.

At this point it became clear that conference participants had not, as hoped, managed to move beyond the boundaries of current power divisions. Sean Cleary, a trustee of the South African Foundation for Conciliation, attributed this "block-forming" towards the end to the "overwhelming and differing views, not normally part of their own realities" that delegations were confronted with during the discussions.

The commission on peace and reconciliation, which Cleary facilitated, emphasised

the "willingness of all parties to display tolerance for the views of others while presenting, often vigorously, their own perceptions of reality and political beliefs". In this commission, issues like violence, security force actions and private armies caused heated debate among delegates, with observers from various cultural and religious organisations contributing forcefully. Nevertheless, all felt a substantial degree of agreement was achieved – both on the causes of violence and on requirements for ending it. The commission also agreed that peace and reconciliation required "an early, negotiated transition to a broadly representative interim

government of national unity" as well as elections for a constituent assembly.

'The experience amounted to a spiritual liberation that helped to bridge the divide between us and them'

Only the AWB held back, saying it would not bind itself unreservedly to the commission findings, while the AJF added the proviso that none of the findings should be interpreted as restricting their right to press for self-determination in a volkstaat, which they regarded as "essential if future violence was to be avoided".

Also, in the plenary session, the ANC and some other parties objected to the term "private armies", preferring "political armies" which includes the SADF, and wanted the resolution that called for the disbanding of all private armies to be changed to a call for them to be placed under joint control.

Cleary commended this group for emphasising that "leaders of our civil society must assume their responsibility to play a leading role in all areas of socio-economic reconstruction and development". He stressed afterwards: "One of our biggest problems is the fact that our political leaders still seem very jealous of their role and don't want independent outsiders to play a role."

When the conference threatened to fall apart over disagreements and block formation, Cleary intervened: "I don't think you must underestimate how many eyes in South Africa are on you, the youth, during this time when a strong sense reigns that the

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Youth to the rescue

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country is sliding into an abyss, locked into positions we cannot escape.

"There is hope that the youth will find the courage to reach across the divide and find the vision to escape the past. If all you can do is to bring into this conference the national divisions of your elders' cynicism, then you undervalue yourselves".

A substantial degree of agreement was also reached by the commission on economic growth and development, led by Professor H W Vilakazi of the University of Zululand, although the debates on nationalisation and sanctions revealed deep rifts between parties.

Where there was disagreement was on the appropriate policy mechanisms, particularly policy on job creation. Tension also emerged over the effect of sanctions and mass action on the economy, with some delegates recording unconditional opposition, while the ANC and some other parties stressed that it was impossible to separate economics and politics and that mass action and sanctions should be seen in the broader context of the liberation struggle.

The AJF, for its part, stated: "Mass action, sanctions and the like harms the economy, but is a legitimate and democratic right of oppressed people to reach their political goals, although we do not recognise this method as the correct way in the present situation which is one of seeking consensus through negotiations".

Most observers were optimistic throughout the conference - a group of ANCYL delegates stated that the experience amounted to a "spiritual liberation" that helped to bridge the divide between "us and them".

Others noted that the conference might have happened too late. In the closing session the national steering committee moved a proposal that the committee continues to investigate the advisability or possibility of setting up a broad National Youth Forum for youth to address its concerns. The ANC and a few others opposed this on the grounds that the committee was not representative enough and, specifically, because deep divisions still need to be bridged before it could commit itself to a binding structure. After a proposal from the DP the delegates decided to support the proposal to continue without the ANCYL, but to try to persuade it to return to the forum.

Christelle Terreblanche is a journalist based at *Vrye Weekblad*

SA hospitality fails refugees

The human rights of tens of thousands of people are trampled on by South African legislation relating to aliens and the government's lack of policy on refugees. SELLO RAMASALA sketches the dimensions of the problem.

Over 60 000 people were deported from South Africa in 1991 - 75 per cent of them Mozambicans. Their plight is the result of the absence of any government policy on refugees - the term "refugee" is not officially recognised - and of the draconian Aliens Control Act of 1991.

The act regulates the admission of aliens into South Africa, their status and their departure, and also immigration into the country. It gives immigration officers the power to detain and summarily repatriate any person deemed an illegal immigrant.

These are people who are not South African citizens who enter the country at any place other than a port of entry, railway station, border post, airport, or any place specified by the minister where an immigration officer is stationed.

They also include people who do not abide by the conditions attached by an immigration officer to a temporary residence permit. The granting of this temporary permission usually requires payment of a deposit, the amount of which is in the discretion of the immigration officer, theoretically guided by the amount of the return fare to the relevant person's country of origin. A person who breaches any condition of such a provisional stay forfeits this deposit to the state.

The act provides that any person who has been declared a prohibited immigrant shall be informed by the immigration officer of his or her right to make representations to the minister for a review of the declaration. Statistics are not kept in this regard but officials at the Home Affairs Department concede that not a single review occurred in 1991.

This power of review - properly the province of a court - may be delegated by the minister to lesser officials, a situation susceptible to corruption. In addition, representations have to be made within three

days of the declaration, and immediately in the case of persons who arrive by ship. This clearly does not afford the designated prohibited immigrant a fair chance of an adequate review.

There is no provision for legal representation for persons declared prohibited immigrants and all their representations have to be made in writing. Finally, they have the right only to request a review.

While permits for temporary residence are issued by immigration officers, permits for permanent residence are granted by the Immigrants' Selection Board, whose members are appointed by the minister. Either of the two residence permits, permanent or temporary, may be cancelled by the minister. The act makes no provision for appeal against such a cancellation.

Apart from summary repatriation, aliens without the requisite permits suffer other limitations on their rights. They may not be employed, instructed, trained, licensed or authorised to conduct business or carry out any profession or occupation; they may not enter into an agreement or co-operate with anyone in business; they may not be harboured nor may they buy immovable property anywhere in the country.

The Aliens Control Act repealed the Aliens Act of 1937 and the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act of 1972. The former forbade the Immigrants Selection Board to grant permanent residence to a person who could not within a reasonable period after entry assimilate with the European inhabitants of the Republic. The latter declared as prohibited immigrants persons unable by reason of deficient education to read and write any European language.

Although the statute book is now purged of such provisions, the hearts and minds of immigration officers and those who constitute selection boards cannot be changed by



basis of policy towards the Mozambicans?

There can be no doubt about the need for a humane policy on refugees in South Africa. Legislation should provide for the establishment of a national refugee machinery whose mandate should include defining and implementing national policies for assistance to refugees, as well as advising on further legislation on the issue.

Regional co-operation on the problems of refugees could assist to determine the burdens faced by the countries of refuge and ways and

Mozambican refugees; not as welcome as the Angolans and Zimbabweans were.

draftspersons.

The aliens most to be pitied are the tens of thousands of Mozambicans who have fled from the atrocities of Renamo and sought sanctuary in South Africa. They have simply been deported back. The South African government does not recognise them as refugees.

In 1985 the territorial government of Gazankulu took pity on the fugitives, entering into an agreement with the central government which provided for the resettlement of Mozambican refugees in Gazankulu. Kangwane followed suit.

However, the South African government treats as prohibited immigrants any resettled refugee who ventures out of Gazankulu or Kangwane into the rest of South Africa.

There is no doubt that the Mozambican fugitives qualify as refugees in terms of international law, specifically the first article of the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. They are outside their country of origin; they are unable to avail themselves of the protection of that country; and this is attributable to a well-founded fear of being persecuted. Finally, the persecution feared is occurring for reasons of race, religion, nationality or membership in a particular political opinion.

The South African Council of Churches has attempted since 1985 to persuade the government to stop deporting Mozambican

fugitives and instead to negotiate the issue with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). These attempts have been in vain and although a document detailing an "understanding" between the South African government and the UNHCR on "the voluntary repatriation and reintegration of South African returnees" was gazetted in September last year, it deals only with returnees and not refugees.

THE recalcitrance of the government in respect of the Mozambicans stands in sharp contrast to its policy in regard to the flood of Angolans who entered the country in the mid-1970s and the Zimbabweans and Namibians who have arrived since – some of whom are in the South African Defence Force.

Then Home Affairs Minister Connie Mulder said at the time that government policy on the Angolan influx was: "To accommodate the people who fled because they were in danger of their lives, and to provide them with everything they need. It is our policy to treat them in the most humane way we can, irrespective of colour or who they are."

Yet the Angolans admitted to South Africa had no well-founded fear of persecution such as the Mozambican refugees have. If humanity was the basis of policy on the Angolans, why can humanity not be the

means of sharing the burden. Unfortunately the present government has been involved in destabilising almost all the countries in the region, so co-operation in this respect may not be easy to forge. However, the proposal does not apply only to the present government.

The government should undertake studies of the conditions and problems facing refugees, with the assistance of appropriate local and international organisations. The purpose of such studies would be to acquire the information necessary to formulate programmes of assistance and to devise solutions to the problems.

Refugees are different from ordinary foreigners looking for greener pastures. They are human beings, many of whom find themselves unavoidably without property or means of earning a living in their host country. Flight from persecution is not an act of cowardice or treason.

States should abide without qualification by the fundamental principle of refugee law – non-refoulement – which means, in simple terms, that no people should be forced to return to a country where their freedom or their lives are in danger.

Sello Ramasala is a senior researcher with the Law Reform Project of Lawyers for Human Rights. This is a summary of his paper entitled "Aliens, Immigration and Refugees' Control Laws".

Seeking solutions for turmoil in Ciskei

By NDUMI GWAYI

AGAINST the backdrop of accusations, counter accusations and mounting tension, representatives from more than 30 organisations across the political spectrum attended an Idasa conference on violence in the Border/Ciskei region in Bisho on September 4.

During the morning session political parties and institutions made submissions as to the causes of the violence, its impact on the region and possible solutions.

In the afternoon a series of broad agreements were reached with varying levels of consensus, but absent from the discussions after lunch were the Ciskei Council of State, the Ciskei Defence Force and the Ciskei Police Force, although the recently formed Ciskeian party, the African Democratic Movement, (ADM) was present.

There was general consensus on three items:

- The need for a commitment to free political activity in the region as defined in the first chapter of the National Peace Accord and that this commitment should be given symbolic force by the repeal of Section 43 of the Internal Security Act of the Ciskei.

- The need for the dispute resolution structures of the National Peace Accord to be resuscitated and that the Ciskei government should rejoin and commit itself to the Border Dispute Resolution Committee and the accord.

- The need for an independent investigation into violence in the region by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry and the need to enlarge the terms of the commission to cover the Ciskei.

There was majority agreement on two further issues, although the ADM dissented and offered alternatives.

Most parties agreed that an independent, impartial interim administration should take over the government of Ciskei immediately and that Ciskei should be reincorporated into South Africa.

However, the ADM proposed that both these matters should be the subject of national negotiations.

Finally, it was decided that a delegation of church, business, labour, ANC and SACP leaders should represent their views to the State President, the Ciskei Council of State and the general public.

Ndumi Gwayi is the regional director of Idasa in the Border area.

We now face the ultimate management challenge – that of managing our own future as a species

(Maurice Strong, The World Competitiveness Report, 1991)

THE process of development is usually conceived of as a linear progression from a beginning stage (primitive/childlike) through growth and specialisation towards an end-point on a line, which represents the current position of countries regarded as already developed.

Development aid is then conceived of as an effort on the part of developed countries to help the underdeveloped people of the so-called Third World to "catch up" with the rest, often by providing them with capital programmes and projects suited to a First World development environment, where the cultural and infrastructural base upon which these plans originated is already present.

The model for this conception is that of the Marshall Plan, which was in fact one of reconstruction and not development.

Often conceived of as a kind of production process, whereby First World input will produce Third World output in the form of benefits "trickling down" to the poor, this approach has proven itself untenable. The intended "take-off" fails to occur, which is then explained in terms of political and economic ineffectiveness or injustice resulting in exploitation and dependency. The assumption underlying this conception of development is that the latter is equatable with economic growth. As US-based specialists Russel Ackoff and Jamshid Gharajedaghi have pointed out, growth and development are not the same and neither is necessary for the other to take place ("rubbish heaps can grow without developing and people can develop without growing").

This confusion points rather to the lack of an operational definition of development, and therefore the lack of an appropriate measure of it.

In its broadest terms, the development process occurs on two levels, the physical and the aspirational, the first seeking satisfaction of basic needs, measured by standard of living; the second seeking satisfaction of human aspirations, evaluated as quality of life. The latter is obviously harder to measure since it concerns qualities and not quantities.

Satisfaction of basic needs is the precondition without which quality of life is hardly achievable, yet we find they have rarely been achieved in conjunction with one another. Whereas Third World development



Development has become a buzzword the world over. Stellenbosch researcher MARTINE DODDS (above) sheds light on the concept and challenges South Africa's politicians to transcend conflict and embark on a course of 'interactive national development planning'.



problems are largely concentrated around basic needs satisfaction, (ie the generation and distribution of "plenty", with concomitant problems relating to choice, access and justice) and refer to the standard of living axis (means), First World development problems are predominantly concentrated around the quality of life axis (ends). The latter would include the environment, since quality of life is inconceivable under conditions of environmental degradation.

These processes occur simultaneously and influence one another. *How* you seek to satisfy basic needs has implications for your aspirations and ideals; and pursuit of your chosen ideals has implications for basic needs satisfaction, whether this relates to an individual or society as a whole. For example, globally the industrial world's single-minded pursuit of material wealth has had profound negative consequences in terms of

Development: a challenge to power and politicians



good (peace), truth (knowledge) and liberty (justice)". Pursuit of these five universal values (which can mean different things to different cultures) consists in the *generation* (production, which is a differentiation process) and *distribution* (an integrative process) of culture, wealth, peace, knowledge and justice, which form the five broad functional divisions of society.

It is immediately apparent that the so-called First World has in the past concentrated almost exclusively on the generation of wealth, knowledge and freedom, whereby the economic and political dimensions have gained predominance over the others. From a systemic perspective, all these dimensions are equally important and influence each other mutually. The model underlying development in any particular society is the world-view and its organisational models in terms of which the nature of these processes are conceived, designed and regulated.

Increase in people's aspirations and abilities, as purposeful transformation (ie self-development), implies a learning and creative process, which in turn implies the freedom to learn, to choose legitimate goals and ideals (ie those which do not impinge on the freedom of others) and access to resources (choice) as well as the means for furthering competence in fulfilling these goals. Since one cannot learn for another, and development is a learning process, this means that there is only one form of development – self-development. This applies to individuals and nations.

The ability to develop oneself implies furthermore that one has choices, which in turn implies a context of justice within which choice can be exercised through empowerment and participation in the decision-making process. The role of government within such a conception is one of facilitator and guarantor of justice.

Since aspirations (desires, ideals) provide the motivational drive towards increased competence in fulfilling those needs and aspirations, national development requires an alignment of purpose – a shared vision of a desirable future in terms of which alignment of action can be achieved. This translates into a shared mission and commitment.

National development

Since systemic development entails the entire social system (five dimensions and all the subgroups of society) and its environment (including the global society and natural environment), the overall approach or strategy pursued would require an integrated policy direction pertaining to the whole system. This does *not* mean centralised control or decision-making. Functional alignment on a national scale is not necessarily in conflict with regional or local needs and aims, but means that the latter should contribute toward the overall development process in an appropriate manner, not working against the larger system of which it is a part. This would require ongoing debate and interaction between different levels and amongst different components of society, so that mutual understanding can lead to a shared development culture.

The systemic principle underlying the need for alignment emphasises that what occurs in any part of a system has consequences within other parts of the system as well. Thereby, "success" in one part or on one level, may intentionally or unintentionally (eg apartheid system) produce "failure" for others. No level, part or dimension of a social system ought to be changed, planned for or organised without consideration of systemic impact, and, therefore, without the active participation of those affected. This means, furthermore, that success must be seen as a function of the whole, and that no part, level or dimension ought to be developed at the expense of any other.

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destruction and pollution of the environment, an unprecedented population explosion, rapid urbanisation, social complexity, increasing conflict, etc, which have collectively impacted negatively on quality of life.

On a global level, the state of the environment has emerged as a universal concern and is likely to increase in intensity. No sustainable development is possible if we continue to exceed the carrying capacity of the earth, whether this pertains to population numbers or the scale of industrial activity. If one thing is clear, it is that we cannot continue with the same intensity and type of production processes initiated with the industrial revolution roughly 150 years ago. It also means that our modes of economic and social organisation will require transformation. However, it is not possible to discuss all these dimensions within the scope of this article.

Human and social development

Gharajedaghi defines development as "a purposeful transformation, learning and creative process whereby a given system increases its desire and ability to serve its members and its environment by constant pursuit of: beauty (culture), plenty (wealth),

Development challenge

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Short-term planning should also be aligned with long-term planning, since decisions and actions not only affect other components of a system, but carry future consequences as long-term effects. The state of the environment illustrates this only too graphically. Through industrialisation, we not only consumed in 150 years what took millions of years to be formed, but did it at such a pace that the environment, which exists in specific natural cycles which cannot be speeded up like production processes, is unable to renew and regenerate itself. This has culminated in irreversible damage in many instances.

In short, the well-being and progress of any part of a total system is ultimately dependent on the well-being of all the other parts, ie the whole. Apartheid provides a political example which proves the same point. One group (whites) sought to achieve its development at the expense of others (people of colour), learning the hard way that in a multi-minded system, where people have the capacity to learn, choose and judge for themselves, such systemic injustice is ultimately self-defeating and morally unacceptable.

Since all levels, cultural/racial/language groups and communities within society share the same environmental and infrastructural context, along with its particular configuration of resources, opportunities and constraints, conflict over ends (aspirations/ideals) and means (access to the development of competence and resources) needs ongoing and satisfactory resolution if a positive developmental momentum is to be initiated and sustained. Since the aspirations of any particular group or sector have no logical or legitimate precedence over those of any other, the only *just* way in which to achieve alignment of ends and means, is through *interactive participation in choice (ie decision-making), responsibility (ie implementation) and accountability (ie evaluation)*. Political and administrative institutions which preclude participation and close off parts of the system, are conflict generating and constitute obstructions to development.

Participative development planning

The way to achieve this is through participative national development planning and a social systemic approach to national organisation or governance, a discussion which cannot be adequately addressed here.

The emphasis or focus of the participants in the political process would need to shift from the preoccupation with structure, to include that of function (the ends/goals pursued) and process (interpersonal and inter-group dynamics), all of which are addressed in a participative development planning process.



SA's development challenge

South Africa not only faces a legacy of national injustice, but our development challenge is compounded by the discrepancy and historical conflict between First World and Third World components of the society, as well as structural imbalance between urban and rural economies. We face, furthermore, the same challenge as the rest of the world, namely that of changing to a new form of organisation. Functional specialisation, top-down control and business and government organisations designed for no deviation (mechanistic/organismic forms of organisation), have to make way for interactive management where authority and responsibility are not separated through the way in which tasks and roles are designed (management and labour), but optimised together and coupled with accountability.

'The only just way in which to achieve alignment of ends and means is through interactive participation'

The rapidly changing social and economic environment within which organisations have to operate requires creativity, ongoing learning and multidimensionality of people, requirements which are obstructed within the current mode of organisation.

Within South Africa, development is not only a "problem" of some sectors of the population or some regions, but the shared responsibility and task of the entire country as well as the Southern African community of nations.

The business of any government – the totality of its activities and institutions – constitutes the process of societal develop-

ment whereby the actualisation of human potential is collectively pursued. As such, it is a striving, not merely for survival, which is a precondition for human development, but a striving for competence and excellence.

South Africa is part of a global community engaged in a specific type of economic and political game which provides a context within which we as a nation have to become competitive in an economically borderless world. The political requirement of that game is democratisation, though it seems unlikely that we can achieve that without addressing the economic dimensions simultaneously.

Government and business leaders alike need to address the environmental impact of economic activity. Any company or nation ignoring environmental performance is likely to be judged harshly by consumers and the outside world. Environmental accounting and auditing will therefore need to become part of a national development policy. This is likely to require ecobalance research and, on product level, research to determine raw material mixes with the least negative environmental impact.

Another key competitive challenge facing South Africa is that of making products that meet the test of international markets while raising the standard of living at home. This requires recognition of the primacy of knowledge as the new "capital". Economic development depends not only on natural resources but on the ability to create, access and operationalise knowledge through product and technological innovation. This challenge will have to be addressed in a new education system. So-called First and Third World components of our society alike are faced with this challenge.

Education and the ability to operationalise new knowledge represented the key factors



the Nedcor/Old Mutual scenarios have also indicated. It is doubtful whether we can even compete in the old form of manufacturing, ie the cost-plus situation South Africa and the US have fallen into despite being so-called "market economies". Within the cost-plus game, the value/price of any commodity or service is not determined by what customers are prepared to pay for it ("dollar vote"), but by the cost of labour plus material (which coincides with Marx's concept of value). When the latter goes up, the price goes up. Our level of inflation and spiralling food and other prices are adequate testimony to this phenomenon. We also spend more and more on education each year, without any perceptible improvement in output.

It is this game which Japan changed by target costing, whereby the product, work processes and task allocation are determined by customer requirements of price and delivery time. Companies that can reach those benchmarks within any industry are in business whereas those who cannot are out of the game. Whether the Japanese can sustain their level of growth is not the issue here. They effectively changed the way products and work are designed, and those benchmarks are operating globally today, which means South Africa would also have to meet them to be competitive. This whilst the state of our agricultural and rural development are such that the base upon which that competitiveness has to be achieved is itself cause for concern.

The negative disposition towards education amongst the youth today, due largely to politicisation of the educational system, does not augur well in this regard. Leaders will have to make a concerted effort to inculcate a culture of learning in South African society if we are ever to pull ourselves out of our current political and economic morass.

Unless the conflict within and among groups in South Africa can be overcome through the creation of a shared sense of purpose and commitment, no constitution, legal apparatus or police force could force people to co-operate in creating a new, developing society. Ideally, the initiation of participative planning (a redesign of the SA system) should have preceded the formal abolition of the existing order as the social and political cohesion required for national development is conspicuously absent in South Africa today.

The so-called negotiation process is a bargaining over political power and is not addressing the development needs of the country. These go far beyond the political dimension, as already indicated in the discussion on the nature of development.

Negotiation is based on an either/or assumption, which is a rule of logic projected onto a reality that simply does not conform to logic. It assumes that the relationship amongst parties, groups, communities, is that of win/lose, right/wrong, ie either one or the other is right and should therefore rule. The party political form of politics is predicated on this assumption, and representative democracy, its outcome, which may result in either the tyranny of the minority (as we have seen) or that of the majority. Systemic development requires participative democracy, which cannot be addressed here.

In systemic terms, the principle is held that for the whole system to win, no part of it must lose (both/and logic). Negotiation presupposes that you bargain with a view to getting as much for your party as you can (power, access, resources, whatever the case may be). This precludes co-operation amongst the bargaining parties, for by co-operating with others, you lose your own ability to get what you want. No amount of goodwill amongst the participants can overcome the conflict potential inherent to this form of interaction, for compromise is simply a relative form of the same game (win a little/lose a little).

The outcome of this dilemma is predictable, especially when parties have equal power to influence the process, whether through intimidation, strikes, the might of the police or economic clout. If you can't get what you want, you cease to play the game and endeavour to undermine opposing parties, thinking that their loss will automatically be translated into your gain (note the ANC's suspension of talks and unconditional demands for resumption of negotiations, the blame all parties lay on each other for violence, attempts to diminish or destroy the credibility of leaders of other parties, etc). Mass action is another effort to make the government lose, in the hope that the

in Japan's meteoric development since World War II - despite resource poverty with regard to what was then considered key factors for economic growth (land, raw materials, minerals, etc). The Japanese, through sheer necessity, managed to redefine the rules of the game by making the development of human resources, and therefore knowledge, the key component of economic effectiveness. Hence also the world-wide management awareness of the need for individual and organisational learning and flexibility. It is doubtful whether the political leadership in South Africa is sufficiently aware of this challenge. It is not a question of working harder than other nations, but one of working smarter, a lesson the US is only slowly beginning to learn, let alone South Africa. The emphasis on training specialists rather than generalists is hampering progress in this regard.

Low-cost, high-quality manufacturing is the sector within which global competitiveness is being defined, and any national development strategy for South Africa would have to take cognisance of that challenge.

'It is doubtful whether the political leadership is sufficiently aware of this challenge'

The emphasis on knowledge as the new capital in the information age means that human resource development becomes the key area of organisational development whether this be in business or public sectors.

When the South African economic and education situation is viewed in the light of the above, the outlook is not encouraging, as

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ensuing harm to the economy would be translated into the ANC/Cosatu alliance's gain at the negotiation table.

Whatever the outcome of the process, it is South Africa and its people who lose. Negotiation means bargaining by parts of the system, for parts of the system and at the expense of other parts of the system. If no part can win outright, it seeks to prevent others from winning by making them lose, whereupon the latter retaliates in the same manner. This process translates into a lose/lose situation for the system as a whole, and that is the current state South Africa finds itself in. If lose/lose is possible, then so is win/win, but that would require a different form of interaction amongst participants in the process, ie a different game with different rules.

'Negotiation means bargaining by parts of the system, for parts of the system, at the expense of other parts of the system'

It is suggested here that neither the political, economic, nor the broader development challenges facing South Africa can be addressed through an either/or form of interaction. We need a process that focuses on what people want and not on eliminating what they don't want (which is usually the other parties). Such a process is one of interactive, participative national development planning, and should be conducted with the aid of facilitators who don't have a stake in the system short of seeing it succeed. Such a planning process would consist of formulating the properties South Africans want this society to have (politically, economically, socially, culturally, educationally, etc), and discovering/designing the means to achieve those ends.

Within such a development debate, the focus is not on opposing parties but a shared focus on the development challenges facing us all. It brings the values of all participating groups into the design process, creates commitment to a successful outcome and a co-operative form of interaction amongst the participants. Such a process need not be confined to the national level, but can proceed on all levels down to that of local communities, with horizontal

SOME people have argued that in order to reach the "right" answer, one has first to pose the right question. In the case of discussions about the future for Afrikaners in a changing South Africa it became apparent that for many, a preliminary issue had first to be resolved: which Afrikaners?

For anyone under the misapprehension that Afrikaners are an homogenous group, discussions among a host of leading Afrikaner academics, editors and politicians showed clearly that there is no single, neat definition as to who constitutes an Afrikaner.

To some it seemed that Afrikaner was synonymous with whites, to others it referred to those who cherished the Afrikaans language and culture but had no political or ideological implications. However, despite the efforts of historians and politicians on the platform — and notwithstanding lively participation from a thoughtful and critical audience — by the end of the day there was no clear consensus as to the direction for, nor the exact definition of, the Afrikaner.

This is not to suggest that the day's discussions were a failure. The questions that were raised, the answers that were suggested and even the failure to find common agreement were revealing in themselves.

In particular, the analysis of Afrikaners in the present and future by Idasa director of policy and planning, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and the responses to his paper by leading Afrikaans editors prompted heated debate.

Structuring his analysis around the "objective" and "subjective" reality of what it meant to be an Afrikaner, Slabbert suggested that these were changing as a result of changes in the political climate in South Africa.

He said while some Afrikaners might still

and vertical integration and co-ordination of such planning at the regional and national levels. It is not possible to outline the process in detail here, though the knowledge and expertise for conducting it is available.

The constitutional debate in South Africa is a debate about means, and is occurring around vague and implicit ends in the form of hidden agendas pertaining to the parties themselves and not to the development challenges facing the country. It is hard to imagine how the inherent conflict built into any negotiation process can be overcome until the focus of the debate is shifted to that of national development.

The notion that political parties and nations can go their own sweet way without considering their impact on others and the

insist that even to ask the question of what it meant to be an Afrikaner implied that you were not one, the reality was that changing socio-political circumstances had affected the way in which Afrikaners view themselves.

Slabbert said that the understanding of what it meant to be an Afrikaner under the P W Botha regime was very different to the

SUE VALENTINE reports on an Idasa seminar in Pretoria.

interpretation given to Afrikaner ideology and identity by De Klerk in the 1990s. A wide spectrum of Afrikaner identities existed in South Africa. On a continuum of Afrikaners ranging from exclusive to inclusive nationalism, were included those who were right-wing, racist and conservative as well as those who were liberals, radicals or even communists.

A major question, however, which could affect many Afrikaners' self-perception was, what might happen to the Afrikaner when s/he did not have exclusive control of political power?

Slabbert said he believed that all the signs showed that the centripetal forces were stronger than the centrifugal forces. There was a genuine search and desire to find unity in diversity and to recognise diversity in unity.

However, the manner in which Afrikaners abandoned their control of power was critical because it would determine what space would be created for different possible Afrikaner identities to develop in the future.

The editor of right-wing Afrikaans news-

environment, is beginning to seem pathological, and failure to develop a model of interaction based on inclusive logic can lead only to increased conflict. The formation of economic and housing forums is a clear indication that the political debate is not sufficient, yet the decisions and policies formulated on such forums have mutual implications and cannot be addressed in isolation.

Political negotiation is not our only option. Trying interactive national development planning is an idea whose time has come.

Martine Dodds is a senior researcher at the Institute for Futures Research, University of Stellenbosch.

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paper *Die Patriot*, Mr Z B du Toit, agreed that diversity among Afrikaners was healthy and important and that unanimity and conformity should not be imposed. Exclusion and division on the basis of race was unacceptable, but ethnic differences should be respected.



MULLER: emphasis on mutual respect

He argued for a complimentary relationship between those who believed in preserving ethnicity and those who advocated a multi-ethnic approach, saying that an ethnic world view was just one aspect of reality.

However, as Van Zyl Slabbert later pointed out, Du Toit was not completely consistent in his appeal for tolerance and diversity. Despite calling on "verligte" Afrikaners not to prescribe to fellow Afrikaners who advocated an exclusive Afrikaner identity, Du Toit proceeded to instruct the "verligtes" that they should not lose themselves by following leaders of other ethnic groups.

In his response to Slabbert's analysis *Vrye Weekblad* editor Max du Preez said there were two kinds of Afrikaners – those who defined themselves ethnically and



Slabbert: dissect Afrikaner "loyalty"

those who defined themselves politically.

"I am an ethnic Afrikaner," he said, adding that it was more important to encourage people to be democrats and South Africans than Afrikaners.

"Ethnic Afrikaners have nothing to fear from Africa, but there is no place for Afrikaner chauvinism in South Africa."

The assistant editor of *Rapport*, Piet Muller, said if the Afrikaner wanted to survive there were two conditions: the Afrikaans culture and language had to enjoy majority status and (white) Afrikaners should stop living in two worlds, drawing false distinctions between themselves and "Afrikaans speakers of colour".

"Brown people have played just as much a part in developing the Afrikaans language as white people," he added.

Muller said it was impossible to use racial purity or blood as a criteria for Afrikaner identity. The emphasis should be placed rather on community values and mutual respect. "The integrity of the South African population is in the interests of us all."

Attention should be given to the South African economy which was "very close to the zero mark" and the lessons of the bitter fighting in eastern Europe should be taken to heart, he said. "We dare not destroy each other, we must respect each other...we cannot toyi toyi over our political future."

During question time the temperature of the debate increased as calls were made from the audience for Afrikaner loyalty and solidarity, but – as Van Zyl Slabbert asked in response – what exactly did loyalty mean and to whom should Afrikaners be loyal?

In one particular exchange a member of the audience, with a strong Dutch accent (who said he had been a naturalised South African since the mid-1970s), called on the advocates of both "inclusive" and

"exclusive" Afrikanerdom to tolerate each other and to allow others to pursue their different ideological/political aspirations.

In response Max du Preez questioned the man's right to identify himself as an Afrikaner when clearly he was a Hollander.

"It would seem that Afrikaners are prepared to accept white Hollanders with foreign accents, but not their fellow 'brown' Afrikaners. Are we not talking about a white nationalism rather than an Afrikaner nationalism? he asked. "Why should Afrikaners have to stand together? Must all Zulus or all Tswanas stand together?"

Afrikanerdom should be a personal, untroubled reality, said Du Preez.

Speaking from the floor, a Free State farmer and ANC member, Cas Human, pleaded impassionately with the audience to face up to the "real" issues confronting South Africa rather than to waste time agonising over the role and future of the Afrikaner.

"No longer is it just a poor whites issue. The issue is our country as a whole! Some people can vote and the majority cannot. Become involved in your country and stop worrying about how *you* are going to be treated. Otherwise you will become 'waste' in the new South Africa."

The afternoon session squared up to "Options for the Afrikaner" with a politically diverse line-up of panelists who drew applause from the audience simply because they were all sharing the same platform.

The only no show was AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche (who had earlier confirmed he would attend). Others represented were Dr Pieter Mulder (Conservative Party), Robert van Tonder (Boerestaat Party), Prof Andries Raadt (Afrikaanse Vryheidstigting), former CP MP Koos Botha,

Piet Coetzer (National Party) and Jan van Eck (ANC).

Dealing with the alternatives that were open to Afrikaners, Pieter Mulder said federalism was a viable possibility. Powersharing had not enjoyed much success around the world. "The ANC must convince me that they will sit on the opposition benches of parliament if they lose an election. I am not yet convinced that that climate is part of South Africa yet."

He said two realities had to be acknowledged: that regions existed and that ethnicity was a significant factor. "Ethnicity is strong enough to destroy economic pacts, we must not underestimate it."

Van Tonder (remarking that Idasa seemed too nice to be a leftwing organisation!) argued that South Africa was not one country but a sub-continent comprising 14 different peoples.

He said if a party stayed away from Codesa it could not be responsible for what took place there. Similarly, Afrikaners should have boycotted the 1908 national convention where just "three Boer leaders fought in vain for their language rights".

Continuing in rousing rhetoric which drew heavily on old antagonisms between Boer and Brit, Van Tonder said there was no such thing as an Afrikaner "volk", but there was a "Boerevolk" with its own political and legislative traditions.

"We want to restore the Boer republics. We are not Afrikaners, much less South Africans, there is no such thing as South Africanism."

Thoughts on the future of the Afrikaner from both Piet Coetzer and Jan van Eck had all the elements of political parties on the campaign trail. During question time later, political point-scoring was very much the order of the day.

Coetzer said the NP was striving towards a political environment in which the Afrikaner identity "in its full diversity could manifest itself and blossom". It was not enough just to create an environment that was democratic, it should also accommodate the needs of all aspects of society.

Van Eck said if the Afrikaner wanted to play the role of liberator rather than oppressor a number of changes were neces-



ANC Afrikaners: Jan van Eck and Cas Human

sary. These included a recognition that Afrikaner fears of fellow black South Africans were the consequence of decades of "cynical propaganda". Afrikaners should also stop seeing themselves as an embattled minority confronted by an antagonistic majority.

Reminding Afrikaners of the words of D F Malan (believe in your God, in your people and in yourself), Van Eck said it was a myth that Afrikaners could enjoy cultural and religious freedom only if they were politically dominant. It was just as important for Afrikaners to free themselves from being the oppressor as it was for black South Africans to be free.

"A democracy is coming, there will be majority rule... If this is so, then go and get involved in the process so that you can influence it," he urged.



Robert van Tonder: not a South African

Closing the day's discussion, Stellenbosch University philosopher Johan Degenaar said it was very important for Afrikaners to define what the term Afrikaner meant, but that such discussions should take place also in the presence of non-Afrikaners.

He encouraged everyone to become philosophers insofar as the precise meaning of words and concepts should be negotiated and defined.

"There is unfinished business in our history. We will get nowhere if we do not address those problems. But we cannot address them in isolation... We must find a definition of Afrikaner, but we must also find out what it means to be a fully-fledged citizen in South Africa, what it means to be a whole person at this time, in this society."

Sue Valentine is media co-ordinator with Idasa.

SOUTH African history, as determined by the Christian nationalist syllabus and textbooks writers and imposed on school pupils nationwide, has long been notorious for its careful selection of themes and sheer dullness in approach.

Their version of our past, together with a similarly slanted set of criteria for proclaiming national monuments, have served to preserve and present a heavily distorted view of the history of South Africa.

BY SUE VALENTINE

For these and other reasons, the Wits University History Workshop, as part of its ongoing efforts to re-examine history from the perspective of ordinary South Africans and to begin to engage with those in the "establishment" who maintain museums and historical sites, held its 1992 convention under the theme "Myths, Monuments and Museums: new premises?".

Asked to think of a prominent South African monument, many might name the Voortrekker monument - that solid, sombre symbol outside Pretoria which preserves one very particular perspective of South African history.

But in a paper on "Monuments and the monumentalisation of myths", Francis Frescura of the University of Port Elizabeth mentioned certain historical sites which have never been recognised and of which many South Africans consequently are ignorant.

These included Sol Plaatje's home, Freedom Square in Kliptown, the burial grounds of early leaders such as Nongqawase, Bambata, Sekhukhuni, Hintsa, Nxele, Sandile, Dingiswayo, Dinizulu among others. In addition, the site of the massacre at Bulhoek in 1920, the historical settlement at Mapungubwe near Messina which dates back to 1050 AD (which today is a shooting range occupied by the SA

Gold dust or

A POPULAR venue for tourists to Johannesburg, the city of gold, is, unsurprisingly, Gold Reef City. But while the venue makes no claims to be authentic, at the same it also hosts school tours for children studying the history of gold-mining and thus does present a very vivid picture of Johannesburg in the early days.

In a discussion of the way in which Gold Reef City presents Johannesburg's history, Wits University historian Cynthia Kros says that while it is a pleasant enough place for a day, the past it presents is "insidious - not just because we historians feel it lies about

Wanted: new premises for SA's real history

Defence Force) and the fortified villages of Mukumbani and Mutele in Venda?

By contrast, Frescura also listed some of the sites which have been proclaimed national monuments, including a now barren piece of ground where the house in which General Louis Botha once stood and Hendrik Verwoerd's house at Betty's Bay (known as "Blaas 'n Bietjie"), which, said Frescura "is reputed to have been designed in 1961 by a man better known as the 'architect of apartheid'".

But why all the fuss over historical sites and museums? According to the editor of the *Journal of American History*, David Thelen, it is because both memories and monuments are central to the way in which people make sense of the world.

"The process of remembering and the content of our memories are our ways of defining who we are in the present, of framing choices for the future, of finding solace from immediate troubles, of building competence

If memories are important and help us to define who we are and where we come from, how should history be remembered by South Africans and just whose stories should be told?

and confidence as interpreters and participants in our everyday relationships," he said.

Thelen argued that monuments could be used in various ways - to show how different people or groups remember the same event differently or to show how the construction of memories have

For many at the conference a burning question was how South African museums would present the realities of policies implemented by the South African state. How to confront white, museum-going audiences with the (previously untold) stories of the past, and how to make museums accessible and meaningful for all South African?

Another American delegate, Lonnie Bunch of the Smithsonian Institute, suggested that museums could play an important role in society as a "moral educator".

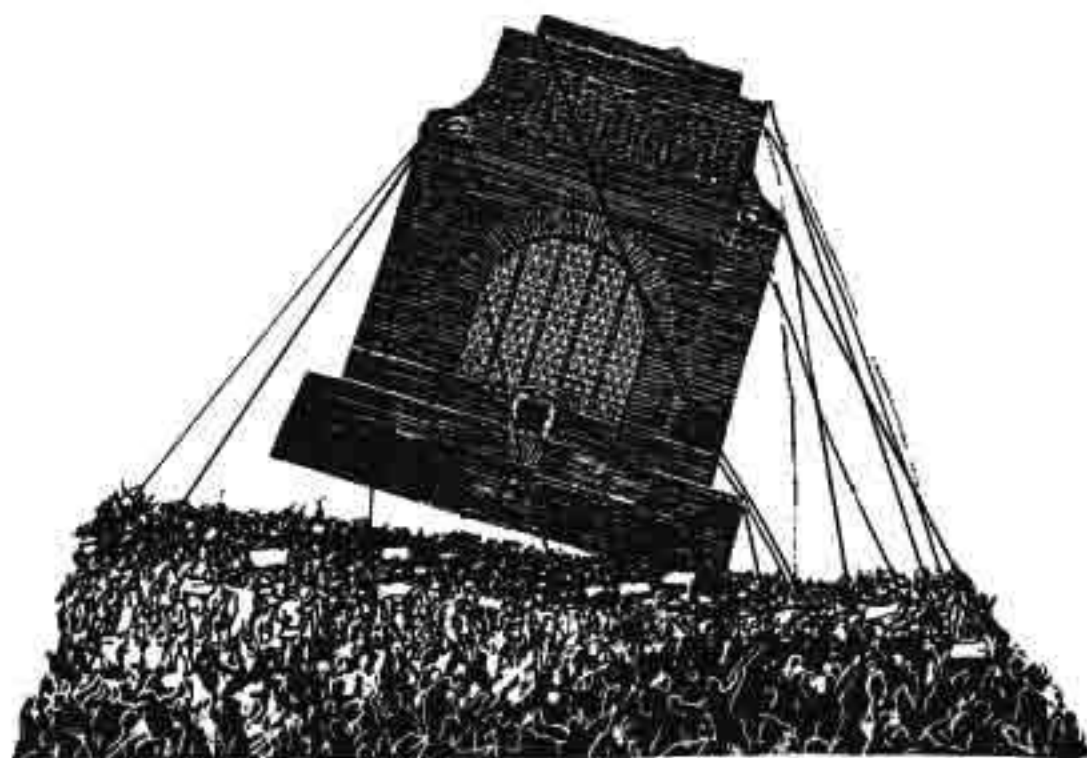
He said museums should be places that allowed diverse people to interact and engage with each other and their history. "There aren't many places in society that allow people to do that; museums can be forums for dialogue and vehicles for empowerment."

He said if South African museum curators and historians embraced the black African past, it would provide a means to illuminate "all the dark corners of the South African past".

Museums needed to change their approach and to build up relationships with the people and groups they wanted to study.

"Museums must enter into collaborative relationships with communities over the long term. Communities must recognise that their opinions are valued and that they are participants in history," said Bunch.

Sue Valentine is media co-ordinator with Idasa.



changed over time. For example, the battle of Little Big Horn in the United States should be shown from the perspective of both the cavalry and the Sioux, or a monument at the battle of Blood River should show how the trekkers and the Zulus experienced the battle differently.

At all times when remembering and reconstructing the past, said Thelen, questions must be asked such as what is being retained and what is being forgotten, what is not included and what is not explained.

just cheap imitation?

the past - but also because it encourages passivity". She says Gold Reef City's past is "a past without compounds or segregation". The role played by blacks in the gold mining industry is little more than hinted at and the blacks at Gold Reef City are mostly "happy songsters, music-makers and dancers". The version of history presented makes no mention of the restriction of movement on black miners, no hint of repression, exploitation, loneliness, fear or mutilation.

However, says Kros, visitors to Gold Reef City do show an interest in the past and how the living conditions have changed and appear to want to learn more about how life

used to be a century ago. But for those actively seeking to understand more about how Johannesburg was shaped Gold Reef City is "too insubstantial".

According to Kros its past is "soothing but unhelpful - pleasant but irrelevant... Gold Reef City allows us to relax in the village square, but it doesn't explain to us how we lost our real square in the real city it claims to represent. "Its duplicity game with history and authenticity arouses our initial interest but it patronises us - offering us trinkets and curios and whimsical glimpses into an anonymous, monochrome past, edged with broekie lace."

Challenge to heritage industry

SOME might say it's history up for sale, others might be more accommodating and suggest that at least it is making people think about their past even if it's not entirely accurate, but whatever way you look at it, the "heritage industry" is big business.

In South Africa a prime example is the rapidly developing and highly successful Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (which has enjoyed an estimated six million visitors in the last two years). But just what picture of

the past does the Waterfront present?

While the Waterfront claims to restore elements of Cape Town's past, University of Cape Town historian Nigel Worden says the Capetonian past presented by the Waterfront is one of a particular form of power and privilege.

"The past of the Waterfront is an intensely British colonial one...No wider interpretation of the history of the city which was linked to the sea is permitted. Little is said about the town or its harbour before 1860. Van Riebeeck receives an obligatory but passing mention in the audio-visual show as the builder of a jetty..." said Worden.

He argues that "the sailors, soldiers, slaves, Khoi, political exiles and fishermen who crowded the harbour before then are conspicuous by their absence".

But it is not only the Dutch or French white settlers who are missing from the image of the past presented by the Waterfront. Worden says even more strikingly absent are the workers who constructed the harbour and the working class Capetonians who made a living working at the docks.

In addition, the first African migrant labourers in Cape Town, who had been recruited from the Transkei and Eastern Cape from the 1870s, were employed at the Alfred and Victoria basins. It was these workers, says Worden, who provided the nucleus of Cape Town's first segregated township at Ndabeni.

What is also missing from the history of Cape Town's waterfront as portrayed by the Victoria and Alfred development is any sense of conflict or tension in the past.

"There is no mention, for instance, of the fierce opposition to the building of a break-water put up by the Port Elizabeth representatives of the Eastern Cape in the 1850s. Strikes, convictism, slavery, migrant labour and racial tension are all missing from the Waterfront displays. The myth of Cape Town's racial harmony is thus confirmed," says Worden.

He argues that the broader appeal of the Waterfront would be greatly increased were the developers to restore the history of *people* - of ordinary men and women - as well as the few "great figures" who are presently represented.

Whether the developers can or will attempt to attract different visitors to the Waterfront and offer some insights into the past with which they can identify will, says Worden, reveal much about the future of privately funded public history in the "new" South Africa.

Pressure is on for affirmative action

Many of the stock negative responses to affirmative action are of little consequence, according to WARREN KRAFCHIK. He argues that it is time to discard the myths and start debating implementation.

THERE will be substantial political pressure on any new government to introduce affirmative action in favour of blacks and women. The roots of this can be seen in the current distribution of senior positions in the South African commercial and government sectors.

For example, in the top 100 companies only 2,2 percent of all managers and less than 1 percent of senior managers are African. Although women represent 36 percent of the workforce in these companies, they comprise only 13 percent of management and less than 1 percent of board members. Of the 3 239 top civil servants, only 4,5 percent are black and only 0,6 percent African (recent comparable figures for women are not available).

The repeal of racist legislation in South Africa will not in itself create equality of opportunity. Those who have traditionally been advantaged are likely to continue to inherit privileges, particularly through the exercise of economic power, over time. To prevent this it is necessary to consider the further empowerment of the disadvantaged. Affirmative action is a general term for a variety of such measures characterised by attempts to redress racial and gender imbalances. The aim is to establish the basis for effective competition and participation in society.

Affirmative action programmes may refer to the extension of additional financial, educational and training facilities to disadvantaged groups, as well as to accelerated promotion. It has been used to refer to both the redistribution of resources and to social responsibility programmes through which the private sector extends financial and other assistance to black communities. For the sake of clarity, I will limit discussion to affirmative action programmes at the workplace, whether in the private or public sector.

One of the arguments traditionally levelled against affirmative action is that it inevitably leads to falling standards and tokenism. While many programmes do end up as expensive window-dressing exercises,

this is a fault of their design and implementation rather than an automatic consequence of affirmative action.

One reason for tokenism, lowering of standards and consequent programme failure is an over-reliance on quotas. This detracts from the importance of the supportive mechanisms required for successful affirmative action programmes. Such programmes must be accompanied by training sufficient to ensure that newcomers are equipped with the necessary skills, ability and expertise. But training of the individual is not sufficient in itself. As Professor Linda Human of the University of Stellenbosch Graduate School of Business argues, not only do newcomers need orientation, they cannot be expected to simply integrate into an organisation which remains otherwise unchanged. Current organisational members have a critical role to play in the success of affirmative action programmes and managerial expectations are an important component of this. Affirmative action must therefore be aimed not only at the target group, but also at those with whom they will have to work if it is to succeed.

'While many programmes do end up as expensive window-dressing exercises, this is a fault of their design'

A second argument often cited against affirmative action is that it amounts to reverse discrimination which is unacceptable in a society striving towards a code of non-racialism and non-sexism. This argument misses the point. A clear definition of affirmative action reveals it is a short-term, tactical measure - not a principle. It recognises that to achieve equality of opportunity it is essential to level the playing fields first.

Two related problems are of greater concern. If the beneficiaries of affirmative action are defined in terms of racial groups, policies



Barefoot and pregnant in the kitchen....women do the work but don't get the positions.

may entrench ethnic differences at the expense of nation-building. Further, affirmative action may cause the formation of vested interest groups which will resist the withdrawal of any advantage. Elsewhere in the world the beneficiaries have come from disadvantaged minorities whose power to prevent a withdrawal of privileges is limited. In South Africa, the beneficiaries comprise the majority of the population who will have secured political power by the time discussion focuses on withdrawing privileges. An instance of the potential problems involved is offered by Malaysia, where racial and demographic factors are similar. Various attempts to phase out affirmative action have failed and these measures have recently been extended indefinitely.

One suggested solution to both of the above problems is to define the beneficiaries in terms of objective socio-economic criteria such as living conditions, schooling or income levels rather than in ethnic terms. A programme designed on this basis would not perpetuate ethnic differences while benefits would automatically expire as individuals no longer meet the prescribed criteria. A further advantage of this arrangement is that it provides a check that programmes are

carefully targeted at the really disadvantaged rather than dominated by the more vocal urban middle-classes.

A final set of arguments against affirmative action stresses that it has negative effects at both micro-economic and macro-economic levels. The South African experience of affirmative action programmes since the 1930s has been mixed. In general these programmes, following from the first Carnegie inquiry, established a firm footing for Afrikaners in the public (and later private) sectors and significantly enhanced the skills base of the country. On the other hand, political affirmative action, applied since 1948, in favour of National Party or Broederbond members, spawned inefficient bureaucracies and nepotism.

At a micro-economic level affirmative action is required as a response to changing consumer profiles in the South African marketplace. The black population already provides over 40 percent of the value of all retail sales in South Africa; by the year 2000 it is likely to account for well over 50 percent of such purchases. If our economy is to grow, it will rely increasingly on meeting the demands of this market sector which, from an affirmative action point of view, requires appointing and training a whole range of staff, from managers to sales people, who are familiar with new clients' needs.

'It is not a precise instrument capable of fine-tuning gender and racial balance'

At a macro-economic level, affirmative action is required to redress skill shortages which have played an important role in curbing periods of strong economic growth in South Africa. By 1988, despite 12 years of sluggish growth, there were over 40 000 vacancies in professional, technical and managerial positions in the country. By the

year 2000, the Institute for Futures Research estimates that there will be a shortfall of 200 000 senior managerial employees. Obviously we cannot expect to fill all these positions from the declining white male population. We have to expand our recruitment base to upgrade the skill base of the country. Simultaneously, however, we must ensure that we meet this objective without encouraging a large-scale skills flight of qualified whites who feel they have no promotion prospects. One solution to the dilemma is to view affirmative action as a once-off procedure applied together with supportive training on entry. Beyond initial entry, promotion will continue to take place on merit.

NEVERTHELESS, despite economic logic, a sufficient response from the private sector is questionable. Training is expensive, golden handshakes even more so and the benefits from affirmative action programmes are likely only in the medium to long-term. It is for these reasons that many consider legislative intervention a necessity to encourage the process. Indeed, the ANC, PAC and Inkatha are very clear on this matter. The South African Law Commission has stated that an affirmative action clause can be included in a bill of rights to give effect to an equal opportunities clause. The State President himself, in the context of the agricultural sector, has recently made reference to the fact that "much more is needed than the repeal of discriminatory legislation". In short, companies that practice affirmative action now are likely to be better equipped to deal with legislation should it arise.

In sum, many of the stock negative responses to affirmative action are of little consequence. The real problems emerge in the design of a system which effectively channels temporary assistance to those who need it without undermining the current productive and skill base or degenerating into nepotism. Affirmative action is not a precise instrument capable of fine-tuning gender and racial balance and it takes time to train good managers. Thus it is urgent that we discard the myths and begin to shift the debate away from principles and towards practical design issues. One way is to recognise that many companies have eight to 10 years' experience with what has been termed black advancement programmes. Even though the results are often less than satisfactory, these experiences are very valuable as a basis for future programme design. The creation of a forum, including all stakeholders in the debate, to share and evaluate these experiences, is perhaps the way to proceed.

Warren Krafchik is an economics consultant with Idasa.

Democratic spanners in religious works

CHAMPIONING democracy is one thing, learning how to be democratic from day to day is another.

That's been the steep learning curve of the South African branch of the interfaith organisation, World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP), and, to a lesser extent, Idasa's Pretoria office in the ambitious attempt to draft a Declaration on the Rights and Responsibilities of Religious People.

As the process has unfolded it has been instructive to see how it has mirrored the national process. Many of the debates, practical problems and compromises have been present, but on a lesser scale.

The declaration's carefully plotted democratic course started in 1990 when a national interfaith conference on religion-state relations mandated – the magic word – the WCRP to produce a document on religious freedom which could be appended to, or included in, a new constitution for South Africa.

The next step, in classic democratic process theory, was to identify the stakeholders. That was easy: all the religious organisations. But then came the questions:

- what is a religious organisation?
- can all the religious groupings be identified and located?
- is it possible to consult with every religious group?
- what if they don't support the process?

Just dealing with the Christians alone was a headache – with about 100 different religious groupings and a group/sect always waiting to be discovered. The consistent weakness was the woeful lack of information about and access to the African independent churches. Did all of them, in fact, even want to be classified as Christian?

Being a volunteer organisation, WCRP was faced with a lack of money, time and infrastructure. Pragmatism prevailed. Each WCRP region was asked to be sensitive to regional dynamics and draw the main religious groups in its area into a multi-faith dialogue on religious freedom. Right from the start, however, Bloemfontein and the northern and eastern Cape were left out of the process because the WCRP was not pre-

Stumbling through the bog of democracy – to draw up a Declaration on the Rights and Responsibilities of Religious People – was ALICE COETZEE (right) who laments the gap between ideal and practice.



sent in those areas.

Cape Town, Durban, Pretoria and Johannesburg steamed ahead, with representatives of the main faiths – Hindu, Muslim, Jewish and Christian – working together to plan the multi-faith workshops.

Early on in the process, the issue of power through representation came up. In the Pretoria region there were two positions. One was that the present status quo should be reflected, resulting in an overwhelming Christian domination. The other was to be more democratic in spirit by beefing up the numbers of the minority faiths so that meaningful dialogue could develop. In the end, the Pretoria group compromised: Christians were in the majority but the other faiths were significantly represented.

The multi-faith workshops were a success, although some groups cold-shouldered the process, while others were not adequately represented by their representatives on the working committees. One region did not manage to hold a workshop at all.

This confirmed some basic points about democracy:

- true consultation depends on structures being in place, and in South Africa, with our lack of money, structures and people, this is not always possible;
- true participation in democratic debate depends on a high level of public awareness and education.

Another very South African obstacle was a lack of trust; of Idasa's political agenda (within WCRP and outside it) and of WCRP's religious agenda. The fear, not unfounded, was that some of the stronger or more fundamental religious groupings would be cautious about involving themselves in a move which was not directed by them.

This raised a key issue facing every serious designer of democratic process; how to get everyone on board. What do you do

when people/groups exclude themselves and does this necessarily scuttle the democratic process? Are you vicious and insensitive if you wave them goodbye?

After the interfaith workshops, the regional recommendations were sent to the national drafting

workshop attended by representatives from the religions, split along faith lines. Still under-represented were African Christians and Muslim women.

For two intense days the working groups wrote, analysed and dissected 20 clauses covering matters such as religious education, military service, the religious rights of prisoners, personal law and the propagation of beliefs.

FOR ordinary working people to spend their weekends in cold rooms poring over religious clauses was an incredible display of commitment. Was it, as guardians of process would have us believe, a sense of responsibility to a process which kept them involved from the start, had their social diaries hit an all-time low, or was this one of democracy's divine mysteries?

Out of that weekend came the Draft Declaration on the Rights and Responsibilities of Religious People. The next step, under way now, is to disseminate the declaration throughout South Africa so that every religious person has the opportunity to make his/her input.

The national office of every religious organisation is receiving declarations for distribution. Huge amounts have already been distributed to ecumenical gatherings and synods and WCRP regional committees are meeting to work out how they will distribute the document locally.

It's here that everything is at its most diffuse...and where Faith and Hope (to coin a Christian phrase) have to play their part. Now WCRP has to place their hope in people in the religious organisations and in the media to get the message out; and in people on the streets, in churches, temples, synagogues and mosques to receive the message and take an interest and cast their vote...in a manner of speaking.

But what about the people who are illiterate – the submissions need to be written –

and who cannot read English. WCRP can only afford to publish the declaration in English. What about those who do not have access to either the media or a church structure that will inform them about such a document. That's the nightmare of democracy at a macro level in South Africa.

Even at a micro level WCRP has been grappling with democracy in its own committee meetings:

- when is a decision final?
- can members who were not at a meeting later challenge the decisions taken at that meeting?
- what about office bearers who do not do their job?
- how do you keep your sense of humour?!

There are no clear answers, just as there have been no clear answers to the other questions raised above. Just as there is no clear sense of just how democratic the whole process has truly been? And who is to make the value judgement anyway?

One thing is clear, there is a gap between the ideal and the actual practice. The width of that gap depends on time, people, infrastructure and money available to bolster the process. And the width of that gap seems to vary with each process.

What is the oil that keeps the wheels of democracy turning? Looking at the WCRP experience it seems to be things like pragmatism, patience, generosity of spirit, addiction to meetings, the stamina of a horse, the willingness to neglect family/personal life, a thick skin, a well-developed social conscience, a religious calling (ie orders from the Archbishop) plus some romantic idealism.

Now, WCRP's eyes are on the national interfaith conference in November when it is hoped that religious leaders will endorse the declaration. (They will have received the first draft and a revised draft incorporating the public's amendments.) Will the religious leaders feel that they have a mandate to sign a declaration on behalf of their religious groupings? Will they feel that the discussion time has been too short? What happens if they cannot agree?

For the next searing episode of *Stumbling Through the Democratic Bog*, watch the November press for details. In the meantime, get your copy *now* of the *Draft Declaration on the Rights and Responsibilities of Religious People* by contacting Idasa in Pretoria (012) 3421476.

Go on, do it, prove how democratically responsible you are. And if you can't be bothered just think of 10 more questions that will throw a spanner into the democratic process.

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

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Education: Winterveldt tackles Bop

An education forum held in Winterveldt recently heard that one of the problems facing education in Bophuthatswana is that government schools only provide schooling in Setswana while the majority of the people speak Zulu, Pedi and Tsonga.

Hosted by Idasa's Pretoria office and the Pretoria Council of Churches (PCC), the 120 participants included representatives from the Bophuthatswana education department, members of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the Southern African Bishops Conference, the Foundation for Research Development, Learn and Teach, the Wits education department, the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) and teachers from Winterveldt. Prominent local community leaders and members of the ANC, Azapo and the Azanian Students Movement also attended.

Sister Immaculata, the principal of Mercy Centre, and representing the PCC, gave an overview of the education situation in Winterveldt. She said it was "officially recognised" in 1985 that the number of children out of school was greater than the number of children at school. "One of the reasons for this is that immunisation is required six to nine months before admission, and this

keeps many children out of school for an additional year."

She emphasised the need for facilities for the handicapped and mentally ill, for technical and vocational training, and for adult education centres that would encourage the pursuit of hobbies.

Mr Johnny Mokoena, speaking on behalf of the Winterveldt Education Crisis Committee, emphasised the need for government schools to teach pupils in Zulu, Tsonga and Pedi, on the same basis as currently happens with Setswana.

Rules which make it impossible for many children to enrol, like the requirement for birth and immunisation certificates, school fees and extra financial contributions, should be scrapped.

The WECC further recommended that government and private schools should be merged into one system.

They emphasised the need for the empowerment of teachers and the establishment of democratic working links between the government, parents, teachers and students. School committee elections should be held without ethnic discrimination.

Mr Nkitla Tladi, a Bophuthatswana government official, spoke of the ongoing programme of building and

upgrading. He said private schools had mushroomed because of the language problem. If the Bophuthatswana government changed this, the outflow of pupils to Soshanguve and Mamelodi would stop and dropout figures would decline.

Participants questioned the credibility of the Bophuthatswana government and alleged that it used education to further its aims. The forum was suspicious of "good faith" statements made by officials.

A government official, stating that the government was free and open and that it did not practise ethnic discrimination, invited interested parties to voice their grievances openly to the government.

A delegation, comprising the Sisters of Mercy, Idasa, the PCC, WECC and private school teachers, was elected to discuss resolutions formulated at the forum with the Bophuthatswana education department.

These revolve around the language problem, upgrading of teachers, free and compulsory education and community involvement and trust building.

The delegation will report back to the WECC after the meeting.

Paul Zondo
Regional Co-ordinator

Gqozo: local talks needed first

AT AN Idasa "Breakfast Forum" held in Durban in August, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, head of the Military Council of Ciskei, expressed the view that for the negotiation process to continue, Codesa would need to be restructured. He called for negotiations to take place at local and regional level before talks proceed at the national level.

Brig Gqozo's said two schools of thought had emerged from past negotiations - those who believed in a federal system and those who supported a centralised socialist system. His support of a federal system was based on the fact that any future constitution should take into account realities about cultural diversity. He maintained that people were already distributed over regions according to their ethnic backgrounds. A federal system would need smaller regions to thrive.

Gqozo stated that federalism could be combined with a Bill of Rights, an independent judiciary and judicial review of unconstitutional laws. He also suggested a rotating or shared leadership as well as two houses in a central parliament - one to represent the majority and one with proportional representation of the regions - both having equal power.

As regards mass action, Gqozo said he would not compromise on his stand against this form of protest which he believed had no place in a civilised society. In response he called for "mass sanity".

Gqozo also came out against elections for a constituent assembly. He believed a new constitution should be drawn up by a multi-party forum.

Advisory board for Natal

IDASA executive director Dr Alex Boraine visited Durban in August to welcome the institute's first regional advisory board.

Members of the board were democratically elected by regional staff, using the criterion of individual involvement in promoting democracy.

Political events, both nationally and in the Natal region, are changing rapidly. Many members of the advisory board are

seasoned political observers and intellectuals and their function will be to provide regular briefings on the political and socio-economic trends in the region. Idasa can assess these and then deal with the cutting-edge issues. The board will also play an important part in evaluating Idasa's work in the region and will contribute towards drawing up future programmes.

The board members are: Prof

Ari Sitas (University of Natal); Lugisile Ntsebeza (University of Natal); Richard Lyster (Legal Resources Centre) Paddy Kearney (Diakonia); Pat Horn (ANC Women's League, Cosatu); Vish Supersad (civics); Thami Skenjane (unions, civic, ANC Women's League); Shireen Hassim (University of Natal) Margaret Winter (city councillor); Radley Keys (Democratic Party) and Mandla Mchunu (University of Natal).

Partye stel standpunt voor Vrystaat boere

PIETER MÖLLER

DIE VRYSTAATSE Landbouunie se 1992 jaarkongres op 18 en 19 Augustus het vir die eerste keer in die geskiedenis van sy bestaan politieke partye en organisasies van oor 'n wye spektrum heen saam op die verhoog gehad om hul onderskeie organisasies se landboubeleid uit the spel.

Hierdie stukkie geskiedenis het sy ontstaan gehad tydens streeksvergaderings wat in die Vrystaat gehou is en waartydens 'n eenparige besluit deur boere geneem is om politieke rolspelers die geleentheid te bied om hul party of organisasie se landboubeleid te stel.

Met die hulp van Henning Myburgh en sy bekwame span van die Vrystaatse Idasa-kantoor, is daar gereël vir verteenwoordigers van die onderskeie partye en organisasies by die kongres. Die genooies was die ANC, IVP, KP en NP.

Die spanning het alreeds gedurende die eerste dag hoog geloop toe 'n mosie ingedien is waarin versoek is dat die betrokke besprekingspunt uit die kongresprogram geskrap moes word. Nadat tot stemming oorgegaan is, is hierdie mosie met 'n meerderheid stemme verwerp.

In sy bydrae het mnr Paul Farrell van die NP gesê 'n landboubeleid kan slegs die omstandighede skep waarbinne boere genoeg bekostigbare voedsel vir die totale bevolking winsgewind kan

produseer. Die sukses van die landbou hang egter steeds af van die klimaatsomstandighede asook die doeltreffende insette van die onderneemers self.

Mnr Derek Hanekom van die ANC het gesê in 'n blanke Suid-Afrika het boere in die verlede verskeie voordele geniet, onder andere lae rentekoerse en subsidies. Die grootste verontagsaming van die vryemarkstelsel was egter die beperkinge op grondbesit wat op 'n kleurbasis berus het. Dit is dus belangrik om toegang tot grondbesit te herstel.

Mnr Dries Bruwer van die KP het gesê 'n regering wat vir die landbou sorg, sorg vir sy bevolking. Die beste resep vir vreedsame naasbestaan is volgens die KP gesetel in 'n beleid van partisipie waar elke bevolkingsgroep homself regeer in sy eie vaderland. Hy het bygevoeg dat die KP die engste politieke party in die parlement is wat uitsluitlik veg vir die belange van die blanke maar terselfdertyd elke ander bevolkingsgroep dit gun om te veg vir die belang van hul eie mense.

Die IVP se verteenwoordiger het nie opgedaag nie.

Die kongres het hierna eenparig besluit om na aanleiding van die besprekings die verskillende beleidrigtings te bestudeer en 'n standpunt in dié verband te formuleer.

Pieter Möller is die streeksekretaris van die Vrystaatse Landbou-unie.

Cape Town: history with a difference



Khayelitsha: stark reality of different worlds

TAXI RANKS, squatter shacks, Spaza shops and container schools are the elements which make up the "One City" tour currently being run by Idasa's Western Cape office.

Two or three times a week, Paula Gumede and Charles Erasmus pile a group of people into a taxi and take them on an alternative trip around the Cape Peninsula to rediscover the history of the city in a way no school textbook can offer.

The tour is part of the "Democratic City" campaign launched by the regional office earlier this year and gives people a chance to explore the diverse worlds of the city of Cape Town.

Still in its infancy, the tour will be launched officially in October.

Starting from the Parade, the tour moves out to District Six and from there travels to Langa, Bonteheuwel, Crossroads, KTC, Khayelitsha and finally Mitchell's Plain.

Charles and Paula provide interesting facts and statistics on the places and people and the tour group is encouraged to explore and speak to residents in the areas visited.

The duration of the tour is approximately three hours and rates vary. Anyone wishing to go on the tour may contact Charles or Paula at (021) 462-3635.

Chantél Edwards
Media Department

Population debate opens doors

A representative group of some 150 people attended a one-day conference on "people centred population development" hosted by Idasa's Port Elizabeth office in August.

Delegates concluded that the current population development programme lacked credibility, that there was a lack of

consultation and communication with communities and that the role and contribution of women was not being addressed. The aim of the conference was to increase awareness of the concept of population development and the urgency of problems South Africa faces in this area, and to

make a contribution towards the development of a programme that is more sensitive to the needs of the community as a whole.

The parameters of the debate were drawn by a range of academics and speakers from political parties and a considerable amount of consensus

emerged from the discussion.

Although no decisions were taken as to how this debate could be taken forward, the conference created a platform for people from different constituencies to be exposed to each other on neutral ground.

Sonia Schoeman
Regional Co-ordinator

Teenagers make 'Voices for Peace' heard in musical

WHILE political, church, business and labour leaders bargained, pleaded and haggled through June and July, a group of exuberant South African and American teenagers hijacked the peace train to Pretoria and caught the capital city's attention with their youthfully idealistic musical "Voices for Peace."

Drawn from schools in Mamelodi, Eersterus, Laudium and Menlo Park, the 18 South African teenagers teamed up with 15 Americans in a three-week bridge building programme run jointly by Idasa's Pretoria office and the Washington DC-based foundation, Creative Response, which promotes cross cultural understanding through the performing arts.

It was the first time that this ambitious programme was run in South Africa. Using dance, drama and music its aim was to expose the teenagers to the social, political and economic issues in one another's communities, to build relationships across community divisions and enhance leadership and team-building skills.

Along the way the white teenagers learnt to toyi-toyi, the black teenagers learnt to speak out, and all of them learnt that the best thing about show business was the applause.

It all started at the beginning of the year when Creative Response asked the Pretoria



Members of the group in action on stage.

office to facilitate the South African part of the programme.

The American contingent, headed by Creative Response's artistic director, Steve Riffkin and jazz musician Rickey Payton, arrived on July 1.

After two days of orientation, spanning the full spectrum from Mamelodi squatter camps through to Waterkloof shopping malls, the two groups met, eyed each other warily and then, as one, the South Africans united swiftly against the "overpowering" Americans.

It was the beginning of a long road towards understanding requiring open communication and often painful self examination as the teenagers

struggled to come to terms with the racial and cultural divisions in their communities.

Yet, solid friendships formed during the two weeks at a camp in the Magaliesberg where the group created a play based on their own experiences and on an analysis of the society around them.

The drama that emerged was drawn from the life story of Mamelodi participant, Raymond Hlope, whose father died on the mines and whose mother abandoned him and his younger brother when they were small. To put himself through school, Raymond works Saturdays as a gardener.

In "Voices for Peace" Raymond works for a Menlo

Park family and makes friends with the son, Deon Louw, one of the Hoërskool Menlo Park pupils. As Raymond introduces Deon to another world, scenes from the one-acter focus on prejudice, homeless children, squatters, workers struggling for fair wages, political aspirations and finally violence. High energy music and dance, from R&B through to lay-down-my-soul gospel screamers, counterpoint the drama.

The play ends with Deon being killed at a political rally.

The miracle was that "Voices for Peace" was created from nothing to a performance-ready play in 10 days. In the final week it was performed twice in Mamelodi community centres, at schools in Eersterus and Pretoria, the Transvaal College of Education in Laudium, the Wits Theatre and at a church hall in Waterkloof.

Satisfying was the way in which the communities, Mamelodi in particular, embraced the programme so that the impact was not limited to the children or their parents but had a wider ripple effect. So much so that many are calling for the process to continue.

Alice Coetzee is a regional co-ordinator in the Pretoria office

By Alice Coetzee

Farmers urged to negotiate their future

FARMERS can no longer expect privileged treatment. They, too, will have to roll up their sleeves and join the power game of negotiating their own future.

Stellenbosch academic and distinguished "prophet of doom" Sampie Terreblanche issued this warning to the executive structures of the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions.

At an Idasa conference on the crisis in agriculture held recently in Pretoria, Prof Terreblanche outlined the ideologically motivated socio-economic policies of the Nationalist government over the past decade. He argued that these had inevitably led to a shift in priorities in government spending. The result had been a withdrawal of approximately R15 billion from agri-

culture in favour of defence, the civil service, black education and so on.

Dr Johan Willemsse (a private consultant), underscoring much of Terreblanche's argument, made the plea to farmers that they should form themselves into a coherent force capable of representing their own interests. He also called for the development of agricultural policies suitable for the

political transition currently under way in South Africa.

Interesting floor discussion followed, dealing mainly with the positioning of the agricultural sector in relation to the state and the rest of society.

Although much consensus was reached, nothing was seen as binding on any individual or organisation.

*Kerry Harris
Regional Co-ordinator*

Good introduction to Africa's political leaders

BY SHELAGH GASTROW

WHO'S WHO IN AFRICA: LEADERS FOR THE 1990s by Alan Rake, The Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, N J & London 1992.

AS outlined in its preface, this book is an attempt to provide pen portraits of the most prominent political figures in sub-Saharan Africa.

Alan Rake, together with John Dickie, produced a similar publication in 1973 and one can only hope that he does not intend to wait another 20 years before the next update!

A book of this nature has been sorely

needed by those with an interest in Africa: diplomats, academics, journalists or laypersons interested in African politics. However, as with any "Who's Who", it is always difficult to stay up-to-date and the reader cannot assume that all the personalities featured in this book remain relevant. For example, the coup in Sierra Leone has swept away many of that country's entries in the book.

Rake has also included some second-tier leadership in cases where he expects them to make an impact in future. However, taking into account the resources of *New African* which Rake edits, and the contacts he must have on the continent, more of such entries should have been included.

In the case of South Africa, this shortcoming is exposed by the lack of entries on such figures as Cyril Ramaphosa, Jacob Zuma and Dikgang Moseneke. In contrast there is an emphasis on church figures such as Desmond Tutu, Frank Chikane and Alan Boesak and some of the old guard including Alfred Nzo, Denis Worrall and Magnus Malan. In the Angolan section there are no entries for MPLA general secretary Marcelino Moco and Joaoquim Pinto de Andrade who established the civic movement, while both are key figures in any future leadership scene. Furthermore, at least one Malawian opposition figure, such as trade unionist Chadufwa Chihana, should have been provided, and not merely current power figures like Banda and Tembo.

Rake also includes a paragraph assessing each figure and some of these assessments are questionable in that he has tried, perhaps, to be too kind to some who have clearly enriched themselves at the expense of their countries. In addition, some descriptive terms, such as "highly civilised" (Joshua Mayani-Nkangi of Uganda) can be insensitive.

Taking into account that every critic will complain about who has been left out in a "Who's Who", Rake should be commended for being able to compile a collection of 320 profiles from a continent where such information is difficult to obtain, except through personal interviews or extensive research. In developed countries one has access to newspaper libraries, microfiche, academic theses, trial records, history books and more, but in many African countries these sources are non-existent and a great deal of initiative and inventiveness is required to put together an accurate profile.

The entries are informally written and make interesting and easy reading. General information is first given on each country, such as the system of government in operation and population size. Rake indicates that emphasis has been given to the most important or populous countries and therefore Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa and Cote d'Ivoire have comparatively high coverage compared to many others (although Lesotho does well with 11 entries compared to Gabon, one of Africa's richest countries, with six). South Africa has 21 entries.

This book can be highly recommended as a reference source and should be stocked in any good library.

Shelagh Gastrow co-ordinates Idasa's Africa Programme and is the author of "Who's Who in South African Politics".

Creative thinking on environment and development

BY LALA STEYN

RESTORING THE LAND: ENVIRONMENT AND CHANGE IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, Mamphela Ramphela (consultant editor) with Chris Mcdowell, Panos UK 1991.

THIS is a useful and thought-provoking publication on the need to link environmental restoration to the economic development of communities most devastated by apartheid.

It is a collection of 23 articles compiled in 18 easily readable, and, for the most part stimulating, chapters. As such it does not try to develop a coherent argument or theoretical base although the thread that emerges to bind it together is the belief expressed by many authors that economic development and environmental restoration must be linked. It covers a wide range of environmental issues, both rural and urban, touching on environmental law and including perspectives on Southern Africa. It includes useful articles on the search for alternatives, some are case studies while others postulate general principles.

In her conclusion the consulting editor, Mamphela Ramphela, states that "the restoration of the land to itself means, too, the restoration of the land to the people". This is an important point which does not always clearly emerge from all the contributions.

Ramphela expresses a concern that it is not going to be easy to maintain a balance between the conflicting demands of economic development and the maintenance of ecological balances. Jacklyn Cock raises the need for an alternative developmental perspective which "links the struggle against poverty and social injustices with the struggle against abuse of the environment". She

raises the issue of the "rainbow coalition" between green groups, trade unions, community organisations and others, as an important way forward towards realising this alternative developmental perspective. One serious omission is that there is no article that deals with the issue of the restoration of the land to the people of South

Africa. As the book was published in 1991 we can assume that most articles were written in 1990. This was the year the government scrapped racist land laws and installed, after protracted struggle, an Advisory Commission on Land Allocation to hear the land claims of the communities forcibly removed. This was the year such communities "illegally" returned to their land, facing arrest, assault and prosecution.

It is precisely the environmental issue which the government uses as one of its reasons for not wanting to restore the land to victims of forced removals. They say these communities will denude the land and practise bad farming methods. Communities' responses to these accusations reveal how



Desegregated but still divided

ALL SCHOOLS FOR ALL CHILDREN
by Julie Frederikse, Oxford University
Press, 1992. (135 pages)

THIS book holds many essential and sobering lessons for us in South Africa who are only starting out now on the long journey to non-racial, non-sexist, equal and equally accessible education for all our children.

A collection of extensive interviews with Zimbabwean teachers, parents and pupils who have experienced the transition to a desegregated, post-independence educational environment, it gives us an opportunity to anticipate – and hopefully avoid – some of the pitfalls lying in the way of major transition. Frederikse wrote this book under the auspices of the National Education Coordinating Committee, and the NECC's foreword implores "all South Africans who care about the future of education in this country to read this book, and ponder the lessons it has to offer".

The success story of post-independence Zimbabwe is one of a rapid move towards integration and multiracial harmony among the young, coupled with a dramatic increase in the numbers of children attending schools, particularly at the primary levels. The down side is the warning repeated in so many of the frank and explicit accounts; Zimbabweans found that as racial tensions in their schools diminished, new class-based

discrimination and conflict emerged in its place. As Frederikse puts it: "There is clearly a danger that social divisions on class lines could become as contentious and unjust as the racial divisions of the past... The interviews in this book indicate that this growth of class consciousness has been matched by an almost total collapse of race consciousness."

Frederikse found desegregation in Zimbabwean schools meant predominantly two things; a flood of wealthier black children entering formerly white suburban and privileged schools, with "township" schools remaining unracial and becoming increasingly impoverished and under-resourced.

She issues another warning: most newly integrated schools continued the practices of the former white schools with black students forced to adopt the customs, structures and ethos of what is largely a colonial or British model at the expense of their own languages and priorities.

She concludes: "A major lesson of this study is that unless the integration of schools is based on firm principles of redressing past inequities, it will merely result in the admission of a minority of blacks to positions of privilege in a society which is still divided." For us, who are experimenting with "Model C" varieties of limited integration, it is a timely warning that we would do well to heed.

Moira Levy, Media Department

Many questions, no single answer

QUESTIONABLE ISSUE: ILLEGITIMACY IN SOUTH AFRICA edited by Sandra Burman and Eleanor Preston-Whyte, Oxford University Press 1992, 296 pages.

TRADITIONALLY illegitimate births are defined by most societies as those births which fall outside certain social and legal boundaries, namely the institution of marriage.

Defining illegitimacy within the South African context becomes extremely difficult if one considers the country's diverse cultural composition as well as the devastating effects of apartheid on the family unit.

Clearly it has become a way of life with over 40 percent of all children in South Africa born to unmarried women.

The book proves to be a rich source of diverse perspectives presented by academics and practitioners in the fields of law, anthropology, religious studies, economics, clinical psychology, psychiatry and paediatrics. Case studies show the psychological effect of illegitimacy and shocking statistics of inadequate welfare facilities. Inadequate legal rights and provisions and the social status of such children and their unmarried parent are among the issues dealt with.

The book explores the incorporation of the child into the family and society within the confines of the Hindu, Jewish, Christian and Islamic religions. The extent and success with which this is done varies and the emotional scars are born by all, be they adult or child.

Several recommendations have been proposed by the authors and they include: legal reforms; improved state welfare and maintenance structures; provision of public health facilities and clinical and educational intervention programmes; and removal of gender stereotyping which limits social mobility for poorer women and their children.

The editors, however, feel that there is no single answer to the need for positive guidance towards more desirable social models.

With the South African situation of disrupted family life posing such a unique problem, a problem which according to this book shows no signs of abating, there is an urgent need for action. This book provides the guidelines for that action.

Chantel Edwards, Media Department



Environment and development

From Page 25

they grapple with the need for land and for justice to be done, and the need to protect the environment for future generations. A range of communities and NGOs would have been able to make a valuable contribution in this field. The omission of this issue seems to be a glaring oversight.

Some of the articles written by academics or journalists fail to identify the key issue at stake in a particular situation. For example Emile Boonzaier comprehensively explains how the Richtersveld park came to incorporate the community in its management, gives a good description of what happened but is unable to hone in on key issues and lessons that would be useful for other communities in similar situations.

On the other hand, the article on the fight for health and safety in the workplace written by the Chemical Workers Industrial Union, which describes the "rainbow coalition" in action against Thor Chemicals, is one of the most useful and challenging. The

perspective of those directly involved in struggles on the ground, and not removed, is most instructive, especially in case studies.

One of the most probing and thought-provoking articles is that by David Dewar entitled "Cities under stress". He sketches the environmental problems of rapid urbanisation clearly and succinctly as well as tackling the thorny question of how to address these. This is one of the few articles on the urban environment which directly addresses the effects of urbanisation on the land, water, air and vegetation. It is encouraging to look for solutions from his perspective, one which views the urbanisation process as one of the "most positive dynamics in the history of our country".

In the foreword the Panos Institute expresses the hope that the book will make a useful contribution to debate and understanding in post-apartheid South Africa. This book should do that.

Lala Steyn works for the Surplus People Project.

Alternatives must keep masses aware

FOUR big newspaper groups monopolise the information market in South Africa. The Argus group, Times Media, Perskor and Nasionale Pers are conglomerates that control 90 percent of the country's daily and weekly newspapers. SABC and M-Net dominate the radio and television exclusively.

The Argus group in turn is owned by Anglo American, Perskor by Rembrandt and Nasionale Pers by Sanlam. Therefore big business and the minority government have almost total control of the information sector. If so-called free market economics is maintained, this stranglehold on the flow of information will continue to the detriment of any future democracy. Meaningful political changes cannot be divorced from the free flow of information.

Liberation movements which threaten the very lives of these monopolies are therefore vilified, and literally destroyed with disinformation, lies and propaganda. The alternative media has a great responsibility in keeping the masses aware of all plots, strategies and divisive actions which threaten the march forward to a non-racial democracy

*Moses Tsolo
Katlehong*

Impressions of Idasa tour to neighbouring states

■ South Africans can live, eat, play, sleep, travel, learn and talk together as one nation. This has become apparent and true of this tour, where a group of community leaders across the racial lines, coming from various sectors such as farmers, civil society, educationists, local government, housewives and students spent all in all 16 days together as a family.

It was a moving experience to discover that the quest for democracy can work miracles. Democracy itself gives birth to a free new society, which is prepared to live and work together to resolve the country's problems.

Politically both Zimbabwe and Zambia are now moving towards true democracy.

Both countries are now opting for multi-party democracy. In fact the constitutions of both countries do allow for multi-party activities. In Zimbabwe the newly formed "Forum for Democratic Reform Trust" is geared to go all out to ensure that democracy works and that democratic choices are available to the individual. In Zambia the new government is itself a product of leaders from across the political spectrum. It is clear that democracy has come to stay in Africa.

*Stephen Mosala
Bloemfontein*

■ Travels to other parts of Africa often lead to a rediscovery of some popular notions about the continent and its people: romanticism and mysticisms of a Karen Blixen experience; the warm smiles and friendly greetings of the African inhabitant and the rich sounds and sensual rhythm of traditional music.

But these signs of the "good life" cannot hide the misery and degradation of the human condition on the African continent. The post-colonial political kingdom has collapsed, a condign punishment for those who believe that the richness and diversity of human needs are but political. We are now left to participate in a mindless exercise of recycling the political and economic garbage of the past while the beggar continent is struggling towards its autonomous death.

Government for the common good will return once we have rediscovered the meaning of individual responsibility and ethics. God is not going to save Africa. We Africans must do it.

*Hennie Strydom
Bloemfontein*

Idasa trip revealing

WE are in Std 8 at Fish Hoek Senior High and have been studying District Six. As we never knew anything about the area, what we learned came as a shock. A picture was drawn of how the area used to look and when we went on a field trip recently it was very difficult to imagine that the wasteland on which we trod used to be someone's home.

We feel the community should be made aware of the present situation so that District Six can be restored.

*Bronwyn Purdy and C L Gray
Fish Hoek*

(With acknowledgement to *Cape Times*)

Wide chasm in SA unchanged

THE crass insensitivity with which the government has handled the Boipatong tragedy, and the lack of understanding of black anger, is indicative of the chasm which continues to separate the majority of whites from most black South Africans.

It is probably true to say that for the average, uninformed white South African the massacre is simply another example of blacks killing blacks for reasons which have nothing to do with them.

Nothing could be further from the truth: the reasons for the violence have everything to do with whites. However, by applying the misnomer black-on-black to the violence in Natal and Transvaal, its true nature has been concealed, and the South African government has been allowed to abrogate its responsibility for bringing it to an end. The political power struggle which is being played out involves not only Inkatha and the ANC, but all those who stand for apartheid and the status quo on the one hand, and those who seek to transform South African society, on the other.

Until February 1990 the identity of the protagonists in the violence was clear: the government and its surrogate Inkatha which, in the form of the KwaZulu government had been co-opted into administering apartheid, were ranged against the UDF and Cosatu.

Perceptions of Inkatha merely acting in self-defence are a distortion of what was actually happening in areas which, for most whites, might as well have been on another planet. The government strategy was, however, obvious, and was summed up in a conversation I had with a National Party MP in 1987. Confirming an awareness of Inkatha violence, he argued that it was far preferable - especially for South Africa's image in the rest of the world - to have Inkatha dealing with the "radicals" than for the government to have to use white soldiers and policemen for the task.

The violence will not come to an end unless some effective means of policing the police is found. If it is not, the future will become increasingly bleak for all of us.

*Mary de Haas
Durban*

(Letter shortened)

Of words that don't come easy

THIS is a very *obvious* country, in terms of national truths and inevitable events. We get along in quaint jerky fashion, the weirdos and old-style revolutionaries among us are few and on a clear day one can almost see who will wind up with whom on the warm side of the hereafter. On ordinary days, which are in the majority, we avoid drawing attention to the politically obvious. It is better to gaze into the distance, pray quietly for a Codesa 3 and keep the fingers crossed for sanity – both personal and national.

Meanwhile, a beautiful revolution wastes away in the wings. In Brooklyn where I live, the white and black kids of the working class are playing together in the parks. They don't take their cues from the barbarians, it seems. Their parents are waiting though, the whites fearful, pessimistic and thoroughly *deurmekaar* about current politics and the future. They thought they had done their bit in the March referendum, they took the brave step advocated from above for a secure future. But six months down the line, the muddle continues. Clearly the fight was not called off, the future is not about to start.

In Brooklyn, Benoni and other ordinary South African places, which are in the majority, people are unable, or have little inclination, to keep up with the Cyril-Roelf show or the Pallo-Stoffel shuffle. Many of them have withdrawn again into the old thought patterns, their brief moment of liberation has been lost. And this can be very depressing to people who like to dream a little on the side, and have much goodwill in reserve.

A revolution surely must be made official at some stage; it needs shaping from above and below. Our own precious one, alas, desperately needs a creative team of managers to flesh out the content and, visibly and audibly, reinforce the *process* from above.

The content of the process has become so confused that nobody knows how a good New South African behaves. Somewhere along the line we will probably find out. Or maybe, when the time is ripe, the leaders will tell us where the interests of party politics end and the priorities of the new South Africa begin. In the meantime, we can all just hope that this jerky trek will lead us to the promised land.

A little while after the referendum, Laurens van der Post, now 85 years old, spoke with visionary common sense in *Rapport* about the key ingredients of the revolution this country needs. "Many people think that all that needs doing is to change the political system. And, I warn you, that won't work," he told the interviewer.

He mentioned the need for an inspired leadership communicating with the populace and the importance of spending time on thrashing out principles and values. What kind of country do we want and how will we get there. "Politics don't

determine values, values determine politics," he said.

"In this whole process people must choose their words well and use language that speaks to people's hearts. The word has power. In World War 2, what else but words did Churchill have to save his people from total ruin?"

When last were words of that calibre addressed to us as a nation? All we get is Nelson Mandela trying to placate or Pik Botha reminding us of the importance of prayer in these difficult times. The rest snipe, smile knowingly or are simply silent.

The rulers, sparse in spirit as they have become in their addiction to power, can't really afford to go public on their values at this

stage. It would be too embarrassing. In any event, their energies are committed in the battle to avoid, or at least delay, the politically obvious – a transfer of power to those elected by the majority of South Africans.

THEY have little to offer to inspire their traditional following, in fact one senses that they expect black leaders to offer themselves as a source of inspiration to whites. Once inspired though, the whites must not become confused if the National Party grind those same black leaders into the ground. As a substitute for enduring signals of hope and reconciliation, they are flaunting their political charms in places where we know their hearts are not. Our current rulers are out to impress and to conquer, not to inspire and help create for the good of all.

The democratic alliance, on the other hand, insists on pursuing strategies that make little sense to most influential South Africans at this time. They are locked into show politics that are also impressive but do not have much power to inspire or produce more than progress of the stop-start variety we know so well.

A visiting American political specialist, whose name regrettably eludes me, reminded us recently that it is easy to initiate change but not so easy to sustain it. He termed the latter an "art form". To sustain change, one needs more than intuitive skills, he said. What is required is a national framework that combines action and talk, a kind of psychological formula for taking the country along with you over mountain and through dale.

Most South Africans are traversing the dreary landscape of informed pessimism at present. Things are not working out at any level. Van der Post's prescription of powerful words is probably the best we can hope for in the immediate future.

By RONEL SCHEFFER

Ronel Scheffer is production editor in Idasa's media department.